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January—June 1946

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By SL. & L.

CALENDAR FOR 1946

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

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

APRIL							AUGUST							DECEMBER						
S.	...	...	7	14	21	28	S.	...	4	11	18	25	...	S.	1	8	15	22	29	...
M.	...	1	8	15	22	29	M.	...	5	12	19	26	...	M.	2	9	16	23	30	...
T.	...	2	9	16	23	30	T.	...	6	13	20	27	...	T.	3	10	17	24	31	...
W.	...	3	10	17	24	...	W.	...	7	14	21	28	...	W.	4	11	18	25	...	...
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Administration of India 1946

British India consists of the 11 Provinces of Assam, Bengal, Bihar, Bombay, Central Provinces, Madras, North West Frontier, Orissa, Punjab, Sind and the United Provinces, plus the Chief Commissionerships of British Beluchistan, Delhi, Ajmer-Merwara, Coorg, the Andamans and Nicobar Islands, Panth Piploda, and does not include any Indian States.

The name India describes the central peninsula of Southern Asia, south of the Himalayas, reaching eastward to Siam, French Indo-China and China. It is bounded on the north by Afghanistan, Nepal Bhutan and Tibet; on the south by the Bay of Bengal, the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea, on the west by the Indian Ocean, Arabian Sea Persia and Afghanistan. Its territory is as large as that of Europe minus Russia. Burma was separated from India politically (April 1, 1937).

The climate ranges from the extremely hot in the southeast to cooler elevations of the north-west mountains, the whole being tropical in general character. The highest point in the world is Mt. Everest, 29 141 ft., in the Himalayas, between India and China.

Approximately 20% of the area is forested, among the timber products being sandalwood, teak, ironwood, deodar, satinwood date palm, Cocoanut, sago, banyan and acacia.

The country is essentially agricultural, 70% of the people livingthe refrom. The most important crop is tea and engages the daily employment of nearly a million persons. Other principal agricultural products are: rice. coffee, wheat, sugar cane, cotton, jute, linseed, mustard, sesamum, castor seed, groundnut and rubber. Corn, barley, tobacco and indigo are also grown.

India has an usually wide range of minerals and was famous for its riches from time immemorial. The country has yielded much gold, silver, diamonds and rubies to the western world. The most important minerals today are coal, petroleum, gold, lead, manganese, salt silver, tin, mica, copper, tungsten, iron, and zinc.

The chief industry, after agriculture, is the weaving of cotton clothes, followed by silk rearing and weaving, shawl and carpet weaving, wood-carving and metal-working.

The cities of above 200,000 inhabitants with their population are:

City	Pop.	City	Pop.
Calcutta proper	40,00,000	Lucknow	274,659
Bombay	1,489,883	Amritsar	264,840
Madras	7,77,481	Karachi	386,655
Hyderabad	466,894	Cawnpore	243 755
Delhi	447,442	Poona	233,885
Lahore	671,659	Agra	229,764
Ahmedabad	313 789	Nagpur	301,957
Bangalore	306,470	Benares	205,315

In British India there are 211,192 "recognised" educational Institutions with 13,911,172 scholars: and 19,354 "unrecognised" schools with 597,443 scholars. There are 20 universities.

There are more than 45 races speaking 200 languages, 2,400 castes and tribes, and 700 Indian States. Each cult, caste and tribe adheres to its religious beliefs and social rules. The religious population follows—Hindus, 239 195,140; Muslims, 77,677 545; Buddhists, 12,786,806; Tribal, 8,280 347; Christians, 6,296,763; Sikhs, 4,335,771; Jains, 1,252 105; Zoroastrians, 109 752; Jews 24,141.

Units of the British Regular Army the Indian Army, Auxiliary and Territorial Forces, the Indian Army Reserve, the Royal Indian Navy, the Indian States Forces the Royal Air Force and the Indian Air Force form the defense. Members of the British Regular Army in Indian service are paid by India. The Auxiliary Force is composed of persons of British extraction and subject to call for local service. The Indian Territorial Force comprises provincial and urban battalions and a University Training Corps, all subject to general service. The Indian Army Reserve comprises reservists of all arms. The Indian States maintain the Indian State Forces and are trained by British officers. The strength of the Indian Army was estimated at 1,000 000. The Royal Indian Navy consists of five escort vessels, a survey boat, patrol ship and trawler.

In London the governmental affairs of India are handled by the Secretary of State for India. At New Delhi, the capital of India, there is a British governor-general and, under the Government of India Act (1935), two legislative chambers, the Council of State and the House of Assembly.

The Government of India Act establishes a federation embracing British India and the Indian States with a measure of autonomy for some of the provinces. These provinces are: Bengal, Bombay, Madras, Assam, Bihar, Orissa, Punjab, Sind, Central Provinces United Provinces, and Northwest Province. Delhi has separate administration. Each Province has a Governor appointed by the King, a Cabinet and Legislature of two chambers except in Orissa, Punjab, Sind, Central Provinces, and N. W. Fr. Province there is only one chamber.

Reigning Sovereign—His Majesty George the VI

(Ascended the Throne: 11th. December 1936)

India Office

Secretary of State for India—The Right Hon. Lord Pethick Lawrence.

High Commissioner of India—*Sir* Samuel Runganadhan.

Government of India

(Area—18,08,679 sq. miles with a population of 352,837,778 of people—nearly one-fifth of human race. British Provinces area—1,318,346 sq. miles and population: 289,491,241.

Viceroy & Governor General

H. E. Field Marshal the Rt. Hon. Viscount Wavell of Syrenaica and Winchester, P. C., G. C. B., G.M.S.I. G.M I.E., C. M. G.

His Excellency General Sir Claude John Eyre Auchinleck, G.C.I.E., C.B., C.S.I., D.S.O., O.B.E., A.D.C., **Commander-in-Chief** in India.

Interim Government

A communique issued from the Viceroy's House on Aug. 24, 1946 stated:

His Majesty the King has accepted the resignations of the present members of the Governor General's Executive Council. (See Vol. I 1945). His Majesty has been pleased to appoint the following:—

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.
Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.
Dr. Rajendra Prasad.
Mr. M. Asaf Ali.
Mr. C Rajagopalachari
Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose.
Dr. John Matthai.
Sardar Baldev Singh
Sir Shafaat Ahmed Khan.
Mr. Jagjivan Ram,
Syed Ali Zahir.
Mr. Cooverji Hormusji Bhabha.

Two more Muslim members will be appointed later.

The Interim Government took office on September 2, 1946.

Who's Who in Interim Government

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru

President, Indian National Congress 1929-30, 1936, 1937 and 1946, General Secretary, All-India Congress Committee, 1929; Member All-India Congress Committee since 1918; Secretary Home Rule League, Allahabad, 1918.

Imprisoned, 1921, released and again jailed 1922; underwent imprisonment for Salt Satyagraha, April 1930 and released in January 1931, again imprisoned in 1932 in connection with Civil Disobedience Movement; released and again imprisoned in 1934; released 1935, imprisoned for the 8th time in 1940 under the Defence of India Rules. Again for the ninth time, in August 1942, Released on 15th. June 1945. M. A, Bar-at-Law.

Born 1889, Educated: Harrow School and Trinity College, Cambridge, Bar-at-Law of the Inner Temple, Advocate, Allahabad High Court. Married 1916.

Publications: Autobiography, Glimpses of World History, Soviet Russia. Collections of Essays, The Discovery of India, etc.,

Address: Anand Bhaban, Allahabad.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

Known as "Sardar" (Leader) was acclaimed as such by Mahatma Gandhi in acknowledgment of his leadership of the Bardoli Campaign.

Entered Public life in 1916 as an associate of Mahatma Gandhi who had established his Satyagraha Ashram at Ahmedabad. Came into prominence as a Satyagrah leader first at Kaira and then in the Nagpur National Flag agitation and elsewhere, and in the Bardoli No-tax Campaign.

Went to jail severel times in pursuance of the Civil Disobedience movements. Arrested and imprisoned under Defence of India Act, October 1940: released in 1941 owing to illness, and

imprisoned again in August 1942, Released on June 15, 1945.

Chairman, Congress Parliamentary Sub-Committee. Treasurer of the Congress. Member, Congress Working Committee. President of the 46th Indian National Congress, Karachi 1931.

Negotiated with the Thakore Saheb of Rajkot on the question of reforms in the Government of the State, 1938-39.

Born October 3, 1875, at Karamsad near Nadiad. Bar-at-Law (Middle Temple).

President, Ahmedabad Municipality, 1924-28.

Address: Bhadra, Ahmedabad.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad

Member Congress Working Committee, President, Indian National Congress, 1934 and 1938.

General Secretary, Reception Committee Gaya session of the Congress, 1922, was Secretary and President, Bihar Provincial Congress Committee for several years and was President, Bihar Provincial Conference in 1920 and 1929.

He organised non-official relief in the devastation caused by the earth-quake in Bihar in 1934 and subsequently in Quetta and was President of Bihar and Quetta Central Relief Committee.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad has also taken active interest in education and was a member of the Patna University Senate for a number of years. He presided over All-India Hindi Literary Conference at Cocanada, 1928 and at Nagpur in 1936. He is Rector of Bharatiya Ithihas Parishad (Indian Academy of History). He was Vice Chancellor of "Bihar Vidyapith" and founded the Patna Law Weekly.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad worked in Champaran District among the tenants with Mahatma Gandhi in 1917.

Born December 3, 1884. M. A. M. L. L.L.D. (Allahabad). Professor, University Law College, Calcutta, 1914-16. Vakil, High Courts, Calcutta and Patna, till 1920; gave up practice in the Non-co-operation movement.

Imprisoned several times. Arrested and imprisoned under the Defence of India Rules in August 1942. Released on June 15, 1945.

Address: Sadakatasram, Patna.

Mr. Asaf Ali

Deputy Leader of the Congress Party in the Central Assembly. Former Member of the Congress Working Committee.

He was tried under the Defence of India Rules in 1918 and was acquitted Imprisoned several times in connection with Congress Satyagraha Movement. Imprisoned under Defence of India Rules in August 1942, and released in May 1945.

Born: 1888. Educated: Delhi and Lincoln's Inn, London.

Publications: Constructive-Non-Co-operation.

Address: Kuchai Chelan, Delhi.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari

Is a member of the Congress Working Committee Premier of Madras, 1937-39 (Portfolios Home and Finance). General Secretary, Indian National Congress, 1921, to 1922. Member of the Council of the All-India Spinners' Association from the beginning upto 1935.

Secretary, Prohibition League of India. Member-in-charge, Anti-drink Campaign of the Indian National Congress.

For many years Director of the Dakshin Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha. Conducts Village Ashram for reviving hand spinning and abolition of untouchability Took charge of the Presidentship of the Indian National Congress after the conviction of Dr. Kitchlew, but handed over the Presidentship to Babu Rajendra Prasad in view of developments arising out of Mr. Gandhi's fast on the issue of untouchability. President, Tamil Nadu Provincial Congress Committee till 1935.

He differed from the Congress attitude towards the Muslim League's demand for Pakistan, carried on a campaign in favour of his viewpoint from May, 1942, and brought about the Gandhi-Jinnah meetings in 1944.

Born in 1879. Educated: Bangalore, Madras; joined Bar in 1900; had a lucrative practice at Salem. Joined Rowlatt Act Satyagraha campaign movement in 1920. Arrested and sentenced to one year's imprisonment on December 4, 1940, under the Defence of India Act.

Edited Mr. Gandhi's paper "Young India" during the latter's imprisonment.

Publications: Some Tamil short stories and books on Socrates, Marcus Aurelius, Bhagavad-Gita and Upanishads and Chats behind Bars; also written a Prohibition Manual containing all about the drink and drug problem in India. The Way Out. Ambedkar Refuted and Fatal Cart and other stories.

Address: Bazlullah Road, Thyagarayanagar, Madras.

Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose

Leader of the Opposition and of the Congress Party in the Central Legislative Assembly.

He joined the Calcutta High Court in 1914. From 1923 to the beginning of 1932

he was Managing Director of the late C. R. Das's Nationalist daily "Forward" and its successor "Liberty."

He was returned to the Bengal Legislative Assembly on the Congress ticket in 1927. He was one of the Aldermen of the Calcutta Corporation from 1924-32. He was arrested on February 10, 1932, under Regulation III of 1818 and detained for nearly 3½ years and released in 1935.

He was returned uncontested to the Indian Legislative Assembly from the Calcutta Constituegcy in 1934 but could not take his seat because of detention. He was returned to the Bengal Legislative Assembly in 1937 and elected Leader of the Congress Party and became the Leader of the Opposition in the Assembly. He was arrested under the Defence of India Rules on December 11, 1941, and detained for nearly 4 years and released on September 14, 1945.

Born: September 1889. Educated Calcutta, M.A.B.L., Bar-at-Law.

Address: Woodburn Park, Elgin Road, P.O., Calcutta.

Dr. John Matthai

Member, Indian Tarrif Board, 1925-31, and President 1931-35. Director-General, Commercial Intelligence and Statistics, 1935-40. Joined the Tatas, 1940; appointed Director 1944.

Born: January 1886. Educated: Madras, the London School of Economics and Oxford, D. Sc. (London). Practised Law, 1910-14. Officer on Special duty, Co-operative Department, Madras 1918-20. Professor of Economics, Presidency College, Madras, 1920-25.

Member Madras Legislative Council 1922-25.

Publications: Village Government in British India, Agricultural Co-operation in India, Excise and Liquor Control.

Address: Bombay House, Bruce Street, Fort, Bombay.

Sadar Baldev Singh

The Hon'ble Sardar Baldev Singh, leader of the Panthic Akali Party in the Punjab Assembly, is Minister for Development and Civil Supplies in the Punjab Coalition Ministry. He was Development Minister in the former Unionist Ministry.

He came into prominence in June 1942, when under the terms of the Sikander-Baldev Singh Pact, he was included by the late Sir Sikander Hyat Khan as Sikh representative in his Cabinet. Before he succeeded Sardar Dasaunda Singh as Minister, he was elected President of the Sikh All-Party Conference, which held its first session in Amritsar under the auspices of the Akali Party and Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandak Committee.

Aged 43, Sardar Baldev Singh comes from a Jat Sikh family of Ambala district. His father Sardar Sir Inder Singh, was a civil engineer. He resigned from Government service and built up the immense business that the family now owns.

From the Khalsa College, Amritsar, his father translated him to the sphere of business even before he passed the intermediate examination. Years later the Sardar undertook a tour of Europe and America.

Sir Safaat Ahmed Khan

Was High Commissioner for India in the Union of South Africa, 1941-45, Member Federal Public Service Commission, New Delhi, 1940; Member United Provinces Legislative Council. 1924-30. President, All-India Muslim Conference, 1933.

Delegate, Indian Round Table Conference, and Secretary to the Muslim Delegation to the Conference, 1930-32. Member of the Federal Structural Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference. Member of the Joint Select Committee of Parliament of Indian Constitutional Reforms 1933.

Born 1893. Educated, Moradabad and the University of Dublin. Litt D. (Dublin), 1918, Was Professor, Modern Indian History, Allahabad, for long period. Founder and Editor of Journal of the Indian History till 1925.

Published Anglo-Portuguese Negotiations relating to Bombay, 1667-1763. etc.

Mr. Jagjiwan Ram

M L. A. (Bihar), President, All-India Depressed Classes League. He was Secretary of the Bihar Provincial Congress Committee till June 1946. He was one of the Parliamentary Secretaries in the last Congress Ministry (1937-39).

Syed Ali Zahir

General Secretary, All Parties Shia Conference, Member, 1937-46. Member, Lucknow University Court. Member, Municipal Board, Lucknow for a number of years. Leading Lawyer, Lucknow.

Son of Sir Syed Wazir Hassan. Ex-Chief Judge, Chief Court of Oudh, Lucknow.

Educated. Allahabad and Oxford B. A. L.L.B, Bar-at-Law (Middle Temple) 1921, He is now 49.

Mr. C. H. Bhabha

Director, Oriental Insurance Company. He is 35.

At 11 A.M. on September 2, 1946 seven Members of the new Interim Government were sworn in by H. E. the Viceroy at the Viceroy's House, New Delhi. They were Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Dr. Rajendraprasad, Mr. Asaf Ali, Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, Mr. Jagjiwan Ram, and Syed Ali Zaheer. They took the oath of allegiance, the oath of office and the oath of secrecy, after which there was a brief meeting of the Members of the new Interim Government.

The five Members-designate absent were Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Dr. John Matthai, Sir Safaat Ahmed Khan, Sardar Baldev Singh and Mr. C. H. Bhabha.

Distribution of Portfolios.

A Press note issued from the Viceroy's House on September 1, 1946 stated :—

The Portfolios of the new Interim Government have been distributed by H. E. the Governor General as follows :—

External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations : Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, (Vice-President).

Defence : Sardar Baldev Singh.

Home including Information and Broadcasting : Sarder Vallabhbhai Patel.

Finance : John Matthai.

Communications (War Transport and Railways) : Mr. M. Asafali.

Agriculture and Food : Dr. Rajendra Prasad

Labour : Mr. Jagjivan Ram

Health, Education and Arts : Sir Safaat Ahmed Khan.

Legislative and Posts and Air : Syed Ali Zahir.

Industries and Supplies : Mr. C. Rajagopalachari.

Works, Mines and Powers : Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose.

Commerce : Mr. C. H. Bhabba.

Muslim League Joins Interim Government

Four out of the five representatives of the Muslim League, who were appointed members of the Interim Government, were sworn in by His Excellency the Viceroy at the Viceroy's House, New Delhi on October 26, 1946. They were Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan. Mr I. I. Chundrigar, Mr. Abdur Rab Nisthar, and Mr. Gaznafar Ali Khan. Mr. Jogendra Nath Mandal who was in Bengal took charge of his office telegraphically.

After the swearing-in ceremony there was a brief meeting of the Cabinet.

Announcing the allotment of portfolios to the new members of the Interim Government, a Press Communiqué issued from the Viceroy's House on October 25 stated : The portfolios to be held by the representatives of the Muslim League who have recently been appointed Members of the Interim Government have been allotted by His Excellency the Governor-General as follows .

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan . Finance.

Mr. I. I. Chundrigar : Commerce.

Mr. Abdur Rab Nishtar : Communications (Posts and Air).

Mr. Gaznafar Ali Khan : Health.

Mr. Jogendra Nath Mandal : Legislative,

Consequent changes among the other portfolios are as follows :—

Dr. John Matthai : Industries and Supplies.

Mr. Rajagopalachari : Education and Arts.

Mr. Bhabha : Works, Mines and Power.

The other portfolios remains as before i. e. .—

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel : Home and Information and Broadcasting.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad : Food and Agriculture.

Mr. Asaf Ali : Transport and Railways.

Sardar Baldev Singh : Defence.

Mr. Jagjivan Ram : Labour.

An earlier Communique issued on October 15, announcing the Muslim League's decision to join the Interim Government and the appointment of the five League nominees, stated inter alia that in order to make it possible to reform the Cabinet the following members had tendered their resignations :—

Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose.

Sir Safaat Ahmed Khan.

Syed Ali Zaheer.

Government of Bengal

Area :—82,955 sq. miles ; Population—7,00,00,00. (Provisional to the nearest thousand).

Governor

Sir Frederick Burrows, G.C.I.E. Assumed office February 18, 1946.

Ministry (Its composition, Political complexion etc.,)

Muslim League formed April 24, 1946 :—

(1) Mr. S. H. Suhrawardy, Chief Minister, Portfolio, Home.

(2) Mr. Mohammad Ali, Portfolios ; Finance, Health and Local Self-Government.

(3) Mr. Syed Muazzemuddin Hosain Portfolio; Education

(4) Mr. Ahmed Hossain; Portfolios; Agriculture, Forest and Fisheries.

(5) Mr. Abdul Gafran; Portfolio, Civil Supplies.

(6) Mr. A. F. M. Abdur Rahman; Portfolios; Co-operation, Credit & Relief.

(7) Mr. Samsuddin Ahmed, Portfolios; Commerce, Labour and Industries

(8 Mr. Tarak Nath Mukherjee; Portfolio, Irrigation and Waterways

(9) Mr. Nagendra Narayan Ray; Scheduled Caste; Portfolios; Judicial and Legislative.

(10) Mr. Fazlur Rahman; Portfolios; Land and Land Revenue and Jails Branch of the Home Department.

(11) Mr. Dwarkanath Barori; Portfolios, Works and Buildings.

Parliamentary Secretaries

(Chief Whip) Zahur Ahmed Choudhury, M.L.A., Chief Minister's Department (Constitution and Elections, Common Service, General Administrations and Organisation and Methods); (2) (Whip) Abdui Karim ; M.L.A. (Muslim League). (3) Abdul Khaleque M.L.A, Education and Lands and Land Revenue Departments (Muslim League). (4) Hamiduddin Ahmed, M.L.A., Home and Commeree, Labour and Industries Departments (Muslim League). (5) Mafuzuddin Ahmed, M.L.A., Chief Minister's Department (Development and Publicity branches) and whip (Muslim League) (6) K. Nasarullah, M. L. A., Home Department (Jails. Evacuees and Defence) and Whip (Muslim League). (7) Syed Abdus Salim, M.L A, Chief Minister's Department (Establishment Branch and Whip (Muslim League). (8) Masiuddin Ahmed, M.L A., Co-operation, Credit and Relief, and Irrigation and Waterways Departments (Muslim League). (9) Maulana Abul Aziz, M.L.A. Madrassah Education (Muslim League). (10) Ebrahim Khan, M.L.A. Agriculture Forest and Fisheries Departments. (Muslim League). (11) Eskandar Ali Khan, M.L.A. Civil Supplies Department and Whip (Muslim League). (12) Mohd. Abdur Rashid, M.L.C., Finance and Health and Local Self-Goverment departments and Whip (Muslim League).

Legislative Assembly (Lower House) Total Seats 250.

Legislative Council (Upper House) Total Seats 63.

Calcutta population—40,00,000.

Summer Capital and its population Darjeeling—25,900.

Receipt and Expenditure—

Receipts—Rs. 31,78,91,000.

Expenditure—Rs. 31,75,65,000.

Government of the Punjab

(Area—136,880 Sq. miles, Population—28,418,819).

Governor

H. E. Sir Evan Meredith Jenkins, K.C.S.I., K.C I.E., (Assumed charge April 8, 1946)

Ministry (its composition, political, complexion etc.

Coalition formed on March 11, 1946.

(1) Lt. Col. Sir Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana, Premier (Muslim Unionist).

(2) Sardar Swarna Singh (Akali), Minister of Development, Succeeded Sardar Baldev Singh, who since been appointed Member of the Interim Government at the Centre.

(3) Nawab Sir Muzaffarali Khan Qazilbash, Minister of Revenue (Unionist)

(4) L. Bhim Sen Sachar, Finance Minister (Congress).

(5) Main Mohammad Ebrahim Barque, Minister for Education (Unionist).

(6) Ch Lehri Singh, Minister for Public Works (Congress).

Parliamentary Secretaries.

(1) Main Muhammad Rafiq (Irrigation) Unionist

(2) Mian Bagh Ali (Revenue) Unionist.

(3) Chaudhuri Sundar Singh (Public) Works) Congress.

(4) Sardar Gurbachan Singh (Development) Akali.

(5) Chaudhuri Abdul Ghafoor Qamar (General) Unionist.

(6) Sardar Sajjan Singh (Finance) Congress.

(7) Rao Sahib Rao Mohar Singh (Premier) Unionist.

(8) Mr. C. E. Gibbon (Premier) Anglo-Indian.

(9) Sardar Shiv Saran Singh Gyani (Revenue) Akali.

(10) Chaudhuri Harbhaj Ram (Revenue) Independent,

(11) Mr. Sant Ram (Finance) Congress.

(12) Mr. Fazal Ilahi (Education) Independent.

(13) Sardar Narotam Singh (Development) Akali.

(14) Chaudhuri Mehar Chand (Public Works) Congress.

(15) Chaudhuri Natu Ram (Additional) Congress.

Numerical Strength of Parties

The total number of seats in the Legislative Assembly is 175 including the Hon'ble Speaker. They are divided into parties as follows as on 11-12-46

Party Analysis (Legislative Assembly).
Muslim League 77; Congress 48; Panthik 21; Unionist 16; Independent 5; (7 Seats are vacant.)

Capital and its population—Lahore—671,659.

Summer capital and its population—Simla—18,349.

Receipts and Expenditure. Revenue Estimate:—*Rs. 21,29 73,000* (1946-47) *Expenditure*:—*Rs. 20,82,52,000* (1946-47).

Government of Sind

(*Area—46,378 sq. miles*; *Population—4,535,008*).

Governor

Sir Francis Mudie, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., O.B.E. I.C.S., (Jan. 15, 1946.)

Council of Ministers

Muslim League formed February 8, 1946 and reformed January 3, 1947, after the General Elections in December 1946.

(1) Mr. Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Premier, Portfolio: Finance.

(2) Mr. M. A. Khuhro; Portfolios: P. W. D. and Post-War Development.

(3) Pir Illahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali, Portfolios: Education, Local Self-Government and Public Health.

(4) Pirzada Abdus Sattar, Portfolios: Revenue, Excise and Forests.

(5) Mir Ghulam Ali Khan Talpur, Portfolios: Food, Civil Supplies, Agriculture and Industries.

(6) Mir Bunde Ali Khan Talpur, Portfolio: Home.

Parliamentary Secretaries

(1) Mr. Muhammad Azam Khan.
(2) Kazi Fazullah.
(3) Kazi Muhammad Akbar.
(4) Mr. Ahmed Khan.
(5) Mr. Rahim Bux.
(6) Mrs. J. G. Allana.

Numerical Strength of Parties

Party Analysis (Legislative Assembly)
Total seats 60. (As on Jan: 3. 1. 1947).
Congress 20; Muslim League 35; Muslim Jamiat 2; Europeans 3.

Capital and its Population:—Karachi—386,655.

Budget. Revenue:—Rs. 8,03,29,000
Expenditure:—Rs 8,00,13,000.

Government of Orissa

(*Area—82,000 Sq. miles*; *Population—87,28,544.*

Governor

H. E. Sir Chandulal Trivedi K.C.S.I., C.I.E. I.C.S., (April 1946).

Council of Ministers

Congress: formed April, 23, 1946.

(1) Sir Hare Krishna Mahatab, Prime Minister, Portfolios: Home, Finance, Publicity, Planning and Reconstructions.

(2) Sri Nabakrishna Choudhury, Portfolios: Revenue, Supply and Transport.

(3) Pandit Lingaraj Misra, M. A. Portfolios: Education, Forest and Health.

(4) Sri Nityananda Kanungo. B.A. B L., Portfolios: Law, Local Self-Government and Development.

(5) Sri Radhakrishna Biswas Roy, Portfolios: Public Works, Commerce and Labour.

Numerical Strength of Parties

Party Analysis (Legislative Assembly).
Total Seats 60. (As on 5-8-1946)
Congress 47; Muslim League 4; Communist 1; Independents 4; Nominated by Government 4.

Capital and its population, Cuttack 79,107. Summer Capital: Puri: 42,916.

Receipts and Expenditure:—Receipts Rs.3,57,51,000. Expenditure—Rs. 3,92,26,000

Government of Assam

(*Area—87,334 Sq. miles; Population—10,930 388*)

Governor—Sir Andrew Gourlay Clow, K C.S.I. C.I.E I.C.S. (May 4, 1942)

Council of Ministers

Congress: formed February 11, 1946:—

(1) Srijut Gopinath Bardoloi, M.A., B.L., Prime Minister, Portfolios: Education and Publicity.

(2) Basanta Kumar Das, B.L., Portfolios: Home, Judicial, Legislative and General Departments.

(3) Srijut Bishnuram Medhi, M.SC. B.L., Portfolios: Finance and Revenue.

(4) Maulavi Abdul Matlib Mazumdar, M.A. B.L., (Jamiat-ul-Ulema): Portfolios: Local Self-Government, Agriculture and Veterinary.

(5) Baidyanath Mookherjee, B. A. Portfolios: Supply, Reconstructions Mechanically-propelled Vehicles and Jails.

(6) The Rev. J. J. M. Nicholos Roy, B.A. Portfolio: Public Works.

(7) Srijut Ramnath Das, B.L. Portfolios: Medical Public Health and Labour.

(8) Mr. Brimbar Deuri, Portfolio: Forests.

(9) Maulavi Abdur Rashid, Portfolio Industries, Co-operation, Registration and Muslim Education.

Parliamentary Secretary

Mr. Purnananda Chetia.

Numerical Strength of Parties

Party Analysis (Legislative Assembly.)
Total Seats 108 as on 8. 8. '46.

Congress 60; Jamiat-ul-ulema 3; Muslim League 31; Independent 14.

Legislative Council :—Total Seats 22 (of which 4 are nominated).

(As on 8-8-1946)

Congress 4; Muslim League 2; Independents 16.

Capital and its Population—Shillong —38,192. No Summer Capital.

Receipts and Expenditure :—Receipts Rs. 5,15,59,000; Expenditure :—Rs. 5,05,32,000.

Government of Madras

(*Area 1,24,368 Sq. miles. Population—4,98,40,564*).

Governor :—Lieut-General Sir Archibald Edward Nye G.C.I.E., K.C.B., K.B.E., M. C., Assumed charge May 6, 1946.

Advisory Council

Congress : formed April 30, 1946.

(1) Mr. T. Prakasham Premier, Portfolios : Public, Home, Food, Police, Finance, Planning.

(2) Mr. V. V Giri, Portfolios : Industries, Labour, Electricity, Co-operation and Emigration.

(3) Mrs. Rukmini Lakshmipathi, Portfolios : Public Health and Medicine.

(4) Mr. K. Bhashyam, Portfolios : Law, Courts, Registration and Prison Legislation.

(5) Mr. K. Koti Reddi. Portfolios : Hindu Religious Endowments, Charitable Institutions, Excise and Debt Relief.

(6) Mr. Daniel Thomas, Portfolio : Local Administration.

(7) Mr. K. R. Karant, Portfolios : Land Revenue and Commercial Taxes.

(8) Mr. M. Vaktavatsalam, Portfolios: Public Works (General), Irrigation and Highways.

(9) Mr. T. S, Avinashilingam Chettair, Portfolios, Education.

(10) Mr. V. Kurmayya, Portfolios : Public Information, Broadcasting and Harijan uplift.

(11) Mr. P. S. Kumarswami Raja, Portfolio : Agriculture, Commerce and Trade, Statistics, Marketting, Museum, Communication, Post and Telegraphs, Banking, Insurance, Rural Indebtedness and Veterinary.

(12) Mr. B. Veeraswami, Portfolios Forests and Cinchona, Fisheries and Village Industries.

(13) Mr. R. Raghava Menon, Portfolios : Transport and House Control Motor Transport, Additional Minister for food.

Parliamentary Secretaries

(1) T. Viswanadham, M.A B.L,
(2) V. Raghavayya, B.A.B.L.
(3) N. Sankara Reddi,
(4) B. S. Murthy B.A.
(5) B. Venkatachalam Pillai, B.A.B.L.
(6) R. Subha Iyar, B A.B.L.
(7) L. C. Pais, B.A.B.L.
(8) L. S. Karayalar, B.A.B.L.
(9) K. Lingaraju.
(10) G. Rajamannar Chetty.
(11) V. M. Rameswamy, B.A.B.L.
(12) B. Parameswaran, B.A.
(13) R. Venkata Reddi, B.A. B.L.
(14) M. P. Damodaran, B.A.

Legistative (Lower House)

Total Seats 215.

Legislative (Upper House)

Total Seats 55.

Party Analysis (Legislative Assembly).

(As on 6-8-1946)

Congress 165: Muslim League 29; Europeans 7; Anglo Indians 2, Independents 9; Nationalists 1; Communists 2.

Party Analysis (Legislative Council)

Congress 32 : Muslim League 7; Europeans 1; Justice 2; National Democrats I; Independents 2; Independent Nationalists 1; Nominated 9.

The total estimate revenue receipts (including 894 lakhs proposed for transfer to the Revenue account from the Revenue Reserve Fund) and the expenditure on Revenue account for 1946-47 for the Madras province with reference to the revised budget 1946-47 as presented to th e Legislature, are Rs. 57,42.92,600 and Rs. 57,42,77,300 respectively.

Government of Bombay

(*Area :—76,443 sq. miles*; *Population—20,849 840.*

Governor—Sir John Colville, G.C.I.E.,T.D (24 March 1943))

Ministry (its composition, political complexion etc.

Congress : formed April 23, 1946 :—

(I) B. G. Kher, B.A. LL.B. Prime Minister, Portfolios : Political service and Education.

(2) Morarji R. Desai, B.A. Portfolios: Home and Revenue.

(3) Dr. M. D. D, Gilder, B.A. M.D. F.R.C.S. Portfolios : Health and Public Works.

(4) L. M. Patil. B.A. LL.B. Portfolios: Excise and Reconstruction.

(5) Dinkarrao N. Desai, M.A. LL.B. Portfolios : Law and Civil Supplies.

(6) Vaikunth L. Mehta B.A.; Portfolios Finance,—Co-operation and Village Industries.

(7) Gulzarilal Nanda, M.A. LL.B; Portfolio : Labour.

(8) M. P. Patil, B.A. LL.B; Portfolios Forest and Agriculture.

(9) G. D. Vartak, B.A. Portfolios: Local Self-Government.

(10) G. D. Tapase, B.A. LL.B; Portfolios: Industries, Fisheries and Backward Classes.

Parliamentary Secretaries

(1) Mr. S. R. Kanthi.
(2) Mr. K. F. Patil.
(3) Mr. S P. Gaoker.
(4) Miss Indumathi Seth.
(5) Mr. Yashvantrao Chawan.
(6) Mr. D. K. Kunte.
(7) D. N. Wandrekar.
(8) Mr. P. K. Savant.

Legislative Assembly (Lower House) Total Seats 175.

Legilative Council (Upper House) Total seats not less than 29 and not more than 30.

Party Analysis (Legislative Assembly) (As on 23-8-1946)

Congress 127; Muslim League 31; Progressive Communists 1; Hindu Maha-Sabha 1; (plus 2 seats vaccant.)

Party Analysis (Legislative Council)

Congress 16; Muslim League 4: Liberals 1; Hindu Mahasabha 1, (of which three are filled by nomination).

Capital and its population—Bombay City—1,489,883.

Summer Capital and its population—Poona—13,51,233.

Receipts—Rs. 30,94,87,000.

Expenditure—Rs. 30,89,73.000

Govt. of the United Provinces

(*Area*—1,12,191 *sq. miles*; *Population*—5,63,46,456).

Governor—H. E. Sir Francis Verner Wylie, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., (December 6, 1939).

Ministry (its composition, political complexion Congress: formed April 1, 1946:—

(1) Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, B.A., LL.B; Premier; Portfolios: Home Affairs and Food.

(2) Rafi Ahmed Kidwai; Portfolios: Jails and Police.

(3) Dr. Kailash Nath Katju, M.A, LL.D., Portfolios: Justice, Industries and Labour.

(4) Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit; Portfolios: Local Self-Government and Health.

(5) Hafiz Muhammad Ibrahim, B.A. LL.B, Portfolios: Communications.

(6) Shri Sampurnanad, B. Sc. Portfolios: Education and Finance.

(7) Shri Hukam Singh, B.A. LL.B; (appointed August 7, 1946), Portfolios: Revenue and Forests.

(8) Nisar Ahmed Sherwani (appointed August 7, 1946), Portfolios: Agriculture and Animal Husbandry.

(9) Shri Girdhari Lal (appointed August 7, 1946); Excise, Registration and Stamps.

Parliamentary Secretaries

(1) Chandra Bhan Gupta, M.L.A.
(2) Lal Bahadur Shastri, M L.A.
(3) Charan Singh, M.A. B.Sc. M.L.A.
(4) Govind Sahai, M.L.A.
(5) Jagan Prasad Rawat, B.Sc. LL.B. M.L.A.
(6) Keshav Deo Malaviya, M.L.A.
(7) Waheed Ahmed, M.L.C.
(8) Atma Ram Govind Kher, B.A. LL.B. M.L.A.
(9) Latafat Hussain, M.L.A.
(10) Udaibir Singh, M.L.A.
(11) Maulavi Mahfuz-ur-Rahaman, M.L A.
(12) Raghukul Tilak, M.A. LL.B. M.L.A.
(13) Thakur Har Govind Singh, B.Sc. M L C.

Legislative Assembly (Lower House Total seats 228.

Legislative Council (Upper House) Total Seats 60 (52 elected and 8 nominated).

Party Analysis (Legislative Assembly)

Congress 151; Nationalist Muslim 7; Muslim League 53; Zamindars 6; Independents 5; Ahrar 1; Europeans 3, Vacant 2

Party Analysis (Legislative Council)

Congress 26, Muslim League 10; Independents 12; Unattached to any party 11; Vacant 1.

Capital and its population—Allahabad; 2,60,630.

Summer Capital and its population—Naini Tal—21,313.

Receipts and expenditure:—*Receipts*—Rs. 29,15,02,000 Expenditure—Rs. 29,44,37,800.

Government of Bihar

Area—69,348 Sq. Miles; *Population—37,985,581.*

Governor—H. E. Sir Hugh Dow K.C.S.I., C.I.E, I.C.S. (Assumed charge May, 10, 1946.)

Ministry (Its composition, Political complexion etc.)

Congress: formed April 2, 1946:—

1. Shri Krishna Singh, Portfolios: Appointments, Political, Judicial and Jails.

2. Anugrah Narayan Singh, Portfolios: Finance, Labour, Supply and Price Control.

3. Dr. Syed Mahmud; Portfolios: Development (minus cottage industries) and Transport.

4. Jaglal Chaudhuri, Portfolios: Excise and Public Health.

5. Ramcharitra Singh, Portfolios:

Irrigation, Public Health (Engineering), Electrification and Legislative.

6. Badri Nath Varma, Portfolios: Education and Information.

7. Krishna Ballabh Sahai, Portfolios Revenue and Forests.

8. Pandit Benodanand Jha, Portfolios Local Self-Government and Medical.

9. Qaiyum Ansari, (Nationalist Muslim) Portfolios: P. W. D. (Roads and Building and Cottage Industries.

Parliamentary Secretaries

1. Shivanandan Prasad Mandal, M.L.A.
2. Nirapada Mukherji, M L.A.
3. Bir Chandra Patel, M.L.A.
4. Sukhlal Singh, M.L.A.
5. Shah Muhammad Umair, M.L.C.
6. Abdul Ahad Mohd Noor, M L.A.
7. Devendra Nath Samanta, M.L.C
8. Bhola Paswan, M L A.
9. Boniface Lakra, M.L.C.

Legislative Assembly (Lower House) Total Seats 152 (including the speaker).

Legislative Council (Upper House). Total Seats 30.

Party Analysis (Legislative Assembly) (As on 12-10-1946)

Congress (including 5 Nationalist Muslims and excluding the speaker) 102, Muslim League 34; Unattached 15; No Party (the speaker) 1.

Party Analysis (Legislative Council)

Congress 15; Muslim League 4; Coalition 10; No party (the President) 1.

Capital and its population—Patna—196,435.

Summer Capital and its population—Ranchi—62,562.

Receipts and Expenditure:—Receipts—Rs. 13,62,39,000. Expenditure—Rs. 13,60,10,000.

Government of Central Prov.

Area—98,575 Sq. Miles; *Population*—1,68,13,584 (excluding States.)

Governor—H. E. Sir Frederick Chalmers Bourne K.C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S. (October 2, 1940).

Ministry (Its composition, Political complexion etc.)

Congress: formed April 27, 1946.

1. Pandit Ravi Shankar Shukla, Prime Minister, Portfolios: Home Affairs.

2. Pandit Dwarka Prasad Mishra, Portfolios: Development and Local Self-Government.

3. Durga Shankar Kripa Shankar Mehta, Portfolio: Finance.

4. Sambhaji Vinayak Gokhale, Portfolios: Education.

5. Ramrao Krishnarao Patel, Portfolios: Food and Revenue.

6. Dr. Syed Minhajul Hasan, Portfolio: Medical and Public Health.

7. Dr. Waman Sheodas Barlingay, Portfolio: Public Works.

8. Rameshwar Agnibhoj, Portfolio: Agriculture (Scheduled Caste).

9. Baba Anandrao Deshmukh: Portfolio: Excise.

Parliamentary Secretaries

1. Mrs. Vimalabai Deshpande.
2. Mr. H. J. Khandekar.
3. Dr. R. A. Belsare.
4. Mr. K. N. Khandaro.
5. Mr. G. S. Agnihotri.
6. Mr. Kunyilal Dubey.
7. Mr. Premshankar Bhagat.
8. Mr. Ramgopal Tewari.
9. Dr. Bhagal.

Legislative Assembly (Lower House) Total Seats 112. (As on 13-8-1946)

Party Analysis

Congress 93; Muslim League 13; Independents 5; (Excluding speaker).

Capital and its population—Nagpur 3,01,957.

Summer capital and its population—Panchmari, 6,696.

Receipts and expenditure:—Receipts—Rs. 9,48,14,000. Expenditure—Rs. 9,46 57,000.

Govt. of N.W. Fr. Province

Area—30,38,067 Sq. Miles; *Population—5,415,666*)

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

Ministry (Its composition, political complexion etc.)

Congress: formed March 9, 1946:—

1 Dr. Khan Sahib, Premier, Portfolios: Law and Order; P. W. D. Electricity, Civil Defence, Motor Transport and resettlement of Demobilised personnel.

2. Qazi Attaullah Khan, Portfolios: Revenue, Civil Supplies, Legislative Judicial, Forests, Guzaras, Jails, Hospitals and Public Health.

3. Lala Mehr Chand Khanna, Portfolios: Finance, Information, National Savings Scheme, Elections, Industries, and Companies, Co-operative Societies, Agriculture, Veterinary and Marketting. Stationery and printing.

4. Khan Mohammed Yahya Jan, Portfolios: Education, Local Self-Government, Archaeology, Geological Surveys, Census and Gazetteers.

Parliamentary Secretaries

1. Mian Jaffar Shah, (Chief Parliamentary Secretary).

2. Sardar Ishar Singh.
3. Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan Swati.
4. Mehta Madan Lal.
5. Syed Qaim Shah.

Legislative Assembly (Lower House)
Total Seats 50. (As on 7-8-1946).

Party Analysis

Congress 30; Congress Nationalists 2; Muslim League 17; Akalis 1.

Population of the Capital—Peshawar City 173,430. Peshawar Cantonment 42,453. Summer Capital—Nathiagalli.

Revenue receipts—Rs. 2,63,99,000
Revenue expenditure—Rs. 2,68,77,000

Federal Court of India

Chief Justice of India—The Hon Sir Patrick Spens, O.B.E. (Apptd. in 1943).

Judges

The Hon. Mr. Justice Srinivasa Varadachariar, Kt., (Appt. in 1939).

The Hon. Mr. Justice Sir Mohd. Zafarulla Khan, K.C.S.I., (Apptd. in 1941).

Indian States (with Salutes)

(Area—712,508 sq. miles; Population —81,810,846).

Assam State

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

Baluchistan State

Kalat—His Highness Beglar Begi Mir Sir Mahmud Khan, G.C.I.E. Wali of—
Date of Birth—1864
Date of succession—1893
Area of State in square miles—73,278
Population of State—328,281
Revenue—Rs. 17,78,000
Salute in Guns—19

Baroda State

Baroda—His Highness Farzandi-i-Khas-i-Daulat-i-Inglishia Maharaja Sir Pratapsingh Gaekwar, G.C.I.E. Sena Khas Khel Shamsher Bahadur, Maharaja of—
Date of Birth—29th June, 1908
Date of succession—7th Feb. 1939
Area of State in sq. miles—8,164
Population of State—28,550,10
Revenue—Rs. 245·28 lacs
Salute in guns—21

Bengal States

Cooch Behar—H. H. Maharaja Jagaddipendra Narayan Bhup Bahadur, Maharaja of—
Date of Birth—15th December, 1915
Date of succession—20th Dec. 1922
Area of State in sq. miles—181,835
Population of State—6,39,898
Revenue—About Rs. 38½ lacs
Salute in guns—13

Tripura—H. H. Maharaja Manikya Bir Bikram Kishore Deb Barman Bahadur K.C.S.I., Maharaja of—
Date of Birth—19th August, 1908
Date of succession—13th August, 1923
Area of State in sq. miles—4,116
Population of State—382,450
Revenue—Rs. 33,42,104 (including the revenue of the zamindaries in British India)
Salute in guns—13

Bihar & Orissa

Kalahandi—H. H. Maharaja Pratapkeshori Deo, Maharaja of—
Date of Birth—5th October '19
Date of succession—19th September '39
Area in sq. miles—3,745
Population 5 99,751
Revenue—6,43,000
Salute in guns—9

Mayurbhanj—Maharaja Sir Pratap Chandra Bhanj Deo, K.C.I.E. Maharaja of—
Date of Birth—18th February, '01
Date of succession 23rd April '28
Area in sq. miles—4,243
Population—9,89,887
Revenue—Rs. 84 lacs
Salute in guns—9

Patna—H. H. Maharaja Rajendra Narayan Singh Deo, Maharaja of—
Date of birth—31st March '12
Date of succession—16th January '24
Area in sq. miles—2,511
Population—16.32,220
Revenue—Rs. 11,02,251
Salute in guns—9

Sonpur—H. H. Maharaja Sing Deo, K.C.I.E. Maharaja of—
Date of birth—28th June 1874
Date of succession—8th August '02
Area in square miles—906
Population—226,751
Revenue—Rs. 3,74,000 nearly
Salute in guns—9

Bombay Presy. States

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

Bansda—H. H. Maharawal Shri Indrasinhji Pratapsinhji, Raja of—

Date of birth—16th February 1888
Date of succession—21st Sept, '11
Area in square miles—215
Population—40,125
Revenue—Rs. 7,98,000 nearly
Salute in guns—9

Baria—Lt. Col. His Highness Maharaol Shree Sir Ranjitsinhji, K.C.S.I. Ruler of—
Date of birth—10th July 1886
Date of succession—20th Feb. '08
Area in sq. miles—813
Population—1,89,206
Indian States Forces—Cavalry (Irregular) Strength 17. 1 Company Ranjit Infantry 153 : 1 Platoon Militia, Strength 50
Salute in guns—9

Bhor—H. H. Meherban Srimant Raghunathrao Shankarrao, Pant Sachib of—
Date of birth—20th September 1878
Date of succession—17 July '22
Area in square miles—925
Population—130,420
Revenue—Rs. 600,000 nearly
Salute in guns—9

Cambay—H. H. Nawab Mirza Hussain Yawar Khan Saheb Bdr. Nawab of—
Date of birth—16th May '11
Date of succession—21st January '15
Area in sq. miles—392
Population—87,761
Revenue—Rs. 10,00,000 nearly
Indian State Forces—19 infantry ; 166 Police Forces ; 15 Body guards.
Salute in guns—11

Chhota Udepur (Mohan)—H. H. Maharawal Shri Natwarsinhji Fatehsinhji, Raja of—
Date of birth—16th November '06
Date of succession—29th August '23
Area in sq. miles—88,034
Population—1,62,145
Revenue—Rs. 13,08,248
Salute in guns—9

Danta—H. H. Maharana Shri Bhavanisinghi Hamirsinhji, Maharana of—
Date of birth—12th September 1899
Date of succession—20th November '25
Area in sq. miles—347
Population—19,541
Revenue— Rs. 1,75,000 nearly
Salute in guns—9

Dharampur—H. H. Maharana Shri Vijoyadevii Mohandevji, Raja of—
Date of birth—3rd December 1884
Date of succession—26th March '21
Area in sq. miles—704
Population—1,12,031
Revenue—Rs. 8,50,000
Salute in guns—9

Idar—H. H. Maharajadhiraja Shri Himmat Singhi Sahib Bahadur
Date of birth—2nd September 1899
Date of succession—14th April '31
Area in sq. miles—1,669
Population—3,07,798
Revenue—Rs. 24,66,000 nearly
Salute in guns—15

Janjira—H. H. Nawab Sidi Muhammad Khan Sidi Ahmad Khan, Nawab of—
Date of birth—7th March '14
Date of succession—2nd May '22
Area in sq. miles—379
Population—1,10,388
Revenue—Rs. 11,00,000
Salute in guns—11

Jawhar—Shrimant Yeswantrao Maharaj, Raja of—
Date of birth—11th December '17
Date of succession—11th December '27
Area in sq. miles—308
Population—65,291
Revenue—Rs. 5,20,000
Salute in guns—9

Khairpur—H. H. Mir Faiz Mahomed Khan Talpur, Mir of—
Date of birth—4th January '13
Date of succession—December '35
Area in sq. miles—6,050
Population—227,168
Revenue—Rs. 25·84 (lacs)
Indian State Forces—Khairpur "Faiz" Light infantry, 215 ; Khairpur Camel Transport Corps, 72
Salute in guns—15

Kolhapur—Col. H. H. Shri Sir Rajaram Chhatrapati Maharaj, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Maharaja of—
Date of birth—30 July 1897
Date of succession—6th May '22
Area in sq. miles—3,217·1
Population—9,57,157
Revenue—Rs. 126,86,527
Salute in guns—19

Lunawada—Lieut. H. H. Maharana Shri Virbhadrasinhji Saheb of—
Date of birth—8th June '10
Date of succession—2nd October '30
Area in sq. miles—388
Population—95,163
Revenue—About Rs. 5,50,000
Dynastic Salute—9 guns

Mudhol—H. H. Srimant Raja Bhairvsinh (minor), Raja of—
Date of birth—15 October '29
Date of succession—9th November '37
Area in sq. miles—369
Population—62,832
Revenue—Rs. 4,85,000 nearly

Indian State Forces—Mudhol Sajjan Sinh Infantry—115
Salute in guns—9

Rajpipla—Captain H. H. Maharana Shri Sir Vijaya Sinhji Chhatrasinhji, K.C.S.I.
Date of birth—30 January 1890
Date of succession—26th September '15
Area in sq. miles—1,517·50
Population—2,48,068
Revenue—Rs. 24,32,000
Indian State Forces—Rajpipla Infantry 152 : Rajpipla Bodyguard 25
Salute in guns—13

Sachin—His Highness Nawab Sidi Muhammad Haider Muhammad Yakut Khan, Mubarizud Daula, Nusrat Jung Bahadur, Nawab of—
Date of birth—11th September '09
Date of succession—19th November '30
Area in sq. miles—57·80
Revenue—Rs. 4,00,00/-
Indian State Forces—Sachin Infantry 80
Salute in guns—9

Sangli—Captain H. H. Raja Shrimant Sir Chintamanrao Dhundirao alias Appasaheb Patwardhan, K.C.I.E., Raja of
Date of birth—14th Feb. 1890
Date of succession—15th June 1903
Area in sq. miles—1,136
Population—2 93,498
Revenue—Rs. 16,80,224
Salute in guns—9

Sant—Maharana Shri Jorawasinhji Pratapsinhji, Raja of—
Date of birth—24th March 1881
Date of succession—31st. August 1896
Area in sq. miles—394
Population—83,531
Revenue—Rs. 485,826
Salute in guns—9

Savantvadi—(Minor) H. H. Raja Bahadur Shrimant Shivram Savant Bhonsle
Date of birth—13th August '27
Date of succession—5th July '37
Area in sq. miles—930
Population—2,52,170
Revenue—Rs. 6,13,478
Salute in guns—9

Central India States

Ajaigarh—H. H. Maharaja Sawai Bhupal Singh Bahadur, Maharaja of—
Date of succession—7th June '13
Date of birth—13th November 1866
Area in sq. miles—802
Population—84,790
Revenue—Rs. 500,000 nearly
Salute in guns—11

Alirajpur—H. H. Maharaja Pratap Singh K.C.I.E., Maharaja of—
Date of birth—12th Sept 1881
Date of succession—14th February 1891
Area in sq. miles—836
Population—112,754
Revenue of the State—Rs. 5,85,000
Salute in guns—11

Baoni—H. H. Azam-ul-Umara Iftikhar-ud-Daulah Imad-ul-Mulk Sahib-i-Jah Mihin Sardar Nawab Mohammad Mushtaq-ul-Hasan Khan Sardar Jung
Date of birth—7th February 1896
Date of succession—28th October 11
Area in sq. miles—121
Population—25,256
Revenue—Rs, 2,25,000
Salute in guns—11

Baraundha (Pathar Kachar)—Raja Gaya Parshad Singh, Raja of—
Date of birth—1865
Date of succession—9th July '09
Area in sq. miles—218
Population—15,912
Revenue—Rs. 45,000 nearly
Salute in guns—9

Barwani—His Highness Rana Devisinghji
Date of birth—19th July '22
Date of succession—21st April '30
Area in sq. miles—1,178
Population—1,76,632
Revenue—Rs. 11,04,510
Salute in guns—11

Bhopal—Lt. Col. H. H. Iftikhar-ul-Mulk Sikandar Saulat Nawab Haji Muhammad Hamidulla Khan Bahadur, G.C.I.E., G.C.S.I., C.V.O., Nawab of—
Date of birth—9th September 1894
Date of succession—17th May '26
Area in sq. miles—7,000
Population—700,000
Revenue—Rs. 62,00,000 nearly
Indian State Forces—Bhopal (Victoria) Lancers—141 : Bhopal Sultania Infantry—772 ; Bhopal Gohar-i-Taj Own Company—164
Salute in guns—19

Bijawar—H. H. Maharaja Govind Singh Minor, Maharaja of—
Date of birth—17th June '34
Date of succession—11th Nov. '41
Area in sq. miles—973
Population—1,20,928
Revenue—Rs. 3,55,271
Salute in guns—11

Charkhari—H. H. Maharajadhiraja Sipahdar-ul-Mulk Armardan Sing Ju Deo Bahadur, Maharaja of—
Date of bith—29th December '03
Date of succession—6th October '20
Area in sq. miles—880
Population—123,405
Revenue—Rs. 3,26,000 nearly
Salute in guns—11

Chhatarpur—H. H. Maharaja Bhawani Singh Bahadur, Maharaja of—
Date of birth—16th August, '04
Date of succession—5th April, '32
Area in sq. miles—1,130
Population—1,61,207

Gross Revenue Nearly—Rs. 12,00,000
Indian State Forces—412
Salute in guns—11

Datia—Major H. H. Maharaja Lokendra Sir Govind Singh Bahadur, K.C.S.I.
Date of birth—21st June 1886
Date of succession—5th August '07
Area in sq. miles—911
Population—148,659
Revenue—Rs. 19,00,000 nearly
Indian State Forces—Datia 1st Govind—Infantry—200
Datia Govind Infantry (B Company)—117
Salute in guns—15

Dewas (Senior)—His Highness Maharaja Sir Vikramsinha Rao Puar, K.C.S.I., B.A. Maharaja of—
Date of birth—4th April '10
Date of succession—21st December '37
Area in sq. miles—449,50
Population—89,479
Revenue—Rs. 7,00,000
Salute in guns—15

Dewas (Junior Branch)—H. H. Maharaja Sadashivrao Khase Saheb Pawar, Maharaja of—
Date of birth—13th August 1887
Date of succession—4th February '34
Area in sq. miles—419
Population—70,513
Revenue—Rs. 6,83,000
Salute in guns—15

Dhar—Lieut. H. H. Maharaja Anand Rao Puar Saheb Bahadur, Maharaja of—
Date of birth—24th November, '20
Date of succession—1st August '26
Date of Investiture—16th March, '40
Area in sq. miles—1,799,34
Population—2,5a 210
Revenue—Rs. 3,000,000
Indian State Forces—Dhar Light Horse 66; Dhar Infantry (Laxmi Guard) 263
Salute in guns—15

Indore—H. H. Maharajadhiraja Raj Rajeshwar Sawai Shri Yeshwant Rao Holkar Bahadur, G.C.I.E., Maharaja of
Date of birth—6th September '08
Date of succession—26th February '26
Area in sq, miles—9,902
Population—over 15,00,000
Revenue—Rs. 1,21,81,100
Indian State Forces—Indore Holkar Escort—141, Indore 1st Battalion, Maharaja Holkar's Infantry Companies, "A" & "B"—380
Indore Holkar Transport Corps—266
Salute in guns—19

Jaora—Lt. Col. H. H. Fakhrud-Daulah Nawab Sir Mohammad Iftikhar Ali Khan Bahadur, Saulat-i-Jang, G.B.E., K.C.I.E. Nawab of—
Date of birth—17th January 1883
Date of succession—6th March 1895
Area in sq. miles—601
Population—1,16,738
Revenue—Rs. 16,00,000
Salute in guns—13

Jhabua—H. H. Raja Udai Sing, Raja of
Date of birth—6th May 1875
Date of succession—26th April 1895
Area in sq. miles—1,336
Population—128,932
Revenue—Rs. 3,50,000 nearly
Salute in guns—11

Khilchipur—Raja Rao Bahadur Sir Durjansalsing, K.C.I.E., Raja of—
Date of birth—26th August 1897
Date of succession—19th January '08
Area in sq. miles—278
Population—45,625
Revenue—Rs. 2,24,000
Salute in guns—9

Maihar—H. H. Raja Brijnath Singhi Deo Bahadur, K.C.I.E. Raja of—
Date of birth—22nd February 1896
Date of succession—16th Dec. '11
Area in sq. miles—407
Population—68,991
Revenue—Rs. 5,00,000
Salute in guns—9

Nagod—(Unchehra)—H. H. Raja Mahendra Singhjee Deo Bahadur, Raja of—
Date of birth—5th February '16
Date of succession—26th Feb. '26
Area in sq. miles—501'4
Population—87,911
Revenue—Rs. 3.00,000 (nearly)
Salute in guns—9

Narsinghgarh—H. H. Raja Sir Vikram Singhji Sahib Bdr. K.C.I.E. Raja of—
Date of birth—21st Sept. '09
Date of succession—23rd April '24
Area in sq. miles—734
Population—1,24,281
Revenue—Rs. 7,09,291 (nearly)
Salute in guns—11

Orchha—H. H. Saramad-i-Rajaha-Bundelkhand Shri Sawai Sir Vir Singh Dev Bahadur, K.C.S.I. Maharaja of—
Date of birth—14th April 1899
Date of succession—4th March '03
Area in sq. miles—2,080
Population—314,661
Revenue—Rs. 13,00,000 (nearly)
Salute in guns—15

Panna—H. H. Maharaja Mahendra Sir Yadvendra Singh Bahadur, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Maharaja of—
Date of birth—31st January 1894
Date of succession—20th June '02
Area in sq. miles—2.596
Population—2,12,130
Revenue—Rs. 9,50,000 (nearly)
Salute in guns—11

Rajgarh—H. H. Raja Rawat Bikramaditya Singh Bahadur (minor), Raja of—
Date of birth—18th December '36
Date of succession— Do Do
Area in sq. miles—962
Population—1,48,609
Revenue—Rs. 8,63,200
Salute in guns—11

Ratlam—Major-General H. H. Maharaja Sir Sajjan Singh, G.C.I.E., K.C.S I., K.C.V.O.
Date of birth—13th January 1880
Date of succession—29th Jan. 1893
Area in sq. miles—693
Revenue—Rs. 10 lacs
Indian State Forces—Shree Lokendra Rifles—Authorised Strength—161
Salute in guns—13 permanent, local 15

Rewa—H. H. Maharaja Dhiraj Sir Gulab Singh Bahadur, G.C.I.E., K.C.S I., Maharaja of—
Date of birth—12th March '03
Date of succession—31st October '18
Area in sq. miles—13,000
Population—18,20,806
Salute in guns—17
Revenue—Rs. 60,000,00

Sailana—H. H. Raja Sahib Sir Dileep Singhji Bahadur, K.C.I.E., Raja of—
Date of birth—18th March 1891
Date of succession—14th July '19
Area in sq. miles—297
Population—40,228
Revenue—Rs. 3,00,000
Indian State Forces—1. Cavalry 30: 2. Infantry 44; 3, Police 130
Salute in guns—11

Samthar—H. H. Maharaja Sir Bir Singh Deo Bahadur K.C.I.E., Raja of—
Date of birth—26th August 1864
Date of succession—17th June 1896
Area in sq. miles—180
Population—33,216
Revenue—3,50,000 (nearly)
Salute in guns—11

Sitamau—H. H. Raja Sir Ram Singh, K.C.I.E., Raja of—
Date of birth—2nd January 1880
Area in sq. miles—201
Population—26,549
Revenue—Rs. 2,55,076
Salute in guns—11

Gwaliar State

Gwalior—H. H. Maharaja Mukhtar-ul-Mulk, Azim-ul-Iqtidar, Rafi-ush-Shan, Wala Shikoh, Motasham-i-Dauran, Umdat-ul-Umra, Maharajadhiraja Alijah, Hisamus-Salta-nat George Jayaji Rao Scindia, Bahadur, Srinath, Manuri i-Zaman, Fidwi-i-Hazrat-i Malik-Muazzam-i-Rafi-ud-Darjat-i-Inglistan, Maharaja of—
Date of birth—26th June '16
Date of succession—5th June '25
Area in sq. miles—26,367
Population—3,523,070
Revenue—Rs. 241·81 lacs nearly
India State Forces—
Gwalior 1st Yayaji Lancers—526
" 2nd Alijah " —526
" 3rd Maharaja Madho Rao Scindia's Own Lancers—526
" 1st Maharani Sakhya Ray's Own Battalion—763
2nd Maharaja Jayaji Rao's Own Battalion—765
3rd Maharaja Scindia's Own Battalion—772
" 4th Maharaja Bahadur Battalion —772
" 7th Scindia's Battalion (Training)—488
" Mountain Battery—260
Scindia's House Artillery—138
" Sappers Artillery—178
" Pony Transport Corps—476
Salute in guns—21

Hyderabad State

Hyderabad—Lt. General H. E. H. Asaf Jah Muzaffar-ul-Mulk wai Mamalik, Nizam-ul-Mulk Nizam-ud-Daula, Nawab Sir Mir Usman Ali Khan Bahadur, Fateh Jang, Faithful Ally of the British Government, G.C.S.I., G.B.E, Nizam of—
Date of birth—6th April 1886
Date of succession—29th August '11
Area in sq. miles—100,465
Population—17,877,986
Revenue—Rs. 894·98 lacs
Indian State Forces—Hyderabad 1st Imperial Service Lancers, 544
Hyderabad 2nd Imperial Service Lancers, 544
Salute in guns—21

Jammu & Kashmir State

Jammu & Kashmir—Lieut-General H. H. Raj Rajeshwar Maharajadhiraj Maharaja Sbri Harisinghji Bahadur, Indar Mahindar, Spar-i-Saltan-i-Englishia, G.C.S I., G.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., LL.D., Maharaja of—
Date of birth—September 1895
Date of succession—September '25
Area in sq. miles—84,471
Population—40,21,616
Revenue—Rs. 257·92 lacs
Indian State Forces—
1. 1st Line Troops (Fighting Service) Jammu and Kashmir Body Guard Cavalry—653
2. 1st Jammu & Kashmir Mountain Battery 314
3. 2nd Jammu & Kashmir Mountain Battery 262
4. 1st " " " Infantry 679
5. 2nd " " " Rifles 690
6. 3rd " " " " 679

7. 4th Jammu & Kashmir Mountain Infantry 690
8. 5th " " " Light " 679
9. 6th " " " " " 772
10. 7th " " " " " 690
11. 8th " " " " " 679
12. 9th " " " " " 679

1st Line (Troops Administrative Service)

13. J. & L. A. T. C. 365
14. Jammu & Kashmir Infantry Training Battalion 1969
15. Jammu & Kashmir Army Training School 26
16. Auxiliary Service
17. Jammu & Kashmir Military Transport 299
18. Jammu & Kashmir State Band 68
19. " Fort Dept. 117
20. Military Veterinary Corps 21
21. Military Medical Corps 40

Salute in guns—21

Banganapalle—H. H. Nawab Saiyid Fazle Ali Khan Bahadur, Nawab of—
Date of birth—9th November '01
Date of succession—22nd January '22
Area in sq. miles—275
Population—44,631
Revenue—Rs 3,53,758
Salute in guns—9

Cochin—H. H. Sir Kerala Varma, Maharaja of—
Date of birth—29th Vrischigon 1039 M.E.
Date of succession—13th April '41
Area in sq. miles—1480
Population—1,422,875
Revenue—Rs. 1,21,46,238
Indian State Forces—34 Officers and 370 men
Salute in guns—17

Pudukkottai—H. H. Sri Brihadamba Das Raja Rajagopal Tondaiman Bahadur,
Date of birth—23rd June '22
Date of succession—24th October '28
Area in sq. miles—1,179
Population—4,38,348
Revenue—Rs. 20,74,000 nearly
Salute in guns—11

Travancore—H. H. Sir Padmanabha Dasa Vanchi Pala Rama Varma Kulasehara Kiritapti Manney Sultan Maharaja Raja Ramraja Bahadur Shamser Jang, G.C.I.E., Maharaja of—
Date of birth—1st November '12
Date of succession—1st Septembar '24
Area sq. miles—7,661·75
Population—6,070,018
Revenue—Rs. 28073 lakhs
Salute in guns—19; Local 21

Mysore—H. H. Maharaja Sri Chamraja Wadiar Bahadur, Maharaja of—
Date of birth—18th July '19
Date of succession—8th September '40
Area in sq. miles—29493
Population—73,29 lakhs including Civil & Military Station, Bangalore
Revenue—Rs. 4,65,66,000 nearly
India State Forces—Mysore Lancers 495; Horse 136; Bodyguard 125; 1st Infantry 772; 2nd Infantry 1130; Palace Guard 500
Salute in guns—21

Punjab States

Bahawalpore—Major His Highness Rukn-ud-Daula, Nusrat-i-Jaug, Shaif-ud-Daula, Hafiz-ul-Mulk, Mukhlish-ud-Daula, Wa-Muinud-Daula Nawab Al-Haj Sir Sadiq Muhammad Khan V Abbassi Bahadur, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O. Nawab Ruler of—
Date of birth—30th September '04
Date of succession—4th March '07
Area in sq. miles—22,000
Population—Over one million
Revenue Rs.—1,40,000
Indian State Forces—Bahawalpur 1st Sadiq Infantry; Bahawalpur 2nd Haroon Infantry; H. H. the Nawab's own Bodyguard Lancers
Salute in guns—17

Bilaspur—(Kahlur)—H. H. Raja Anand Chand, Raja of—
Date of birth—26th January '13
Date of succession—18th Nov. '27
Area in sq. miles—448
Population—1.10,000
Revenue—3,00,000 nearly
Salute in guns—11

Chamba—H. H. Raja Lakshman Singh the Ruler of Chamba State (Minor)
Date of birth—8th December '24
Date of succession—7th. Dec. '35
Area in sq. miles—3,127
Population—18,89,38
Revenue—Rs. 9,00 000
Salute in guns—11
Council of Administration appointed by Government to carry on Minority Administration. President—Lt. Col. H. S. Strong, C.I.E. Vice-President & Chief Secretary—Dewan Bahadur Lala Madho Ram. Member—Rai Bahadur Lala Ghanshyam Dass.

Faridkot—Lt. H. H. Farzand-i-Saadat Nishan-i-Hazrat-i-Kaisar-i-Hind Barar Bans Raja Har Indar Singh Bahadur,
Date of birth—29th January '15
Date of succession—23rd December '18
Area in sq. miles—643
Population—164,346
Revenue—Rs. 17.00,000
Indian State Forces—Faridkot Sappers-Headquarters 8. (Field Company) Sappers & Miners 129. Bodyguard Lancers 27. Infantry 112. Band 35
Salute in guns 11

Jind—Colonel H. H. Farzand-i-Dilband

Rasikh-ul-Itikad Daulat-i-Inglishia Raja Rajgan Maharaja Sir Ranbir Singh, Rajendra Bahadur, G.C.I.E. G.C.S.I. Maharaja of—
Date of birth—11th October 1879
Date of succession—7th March 1887
Area in sq. miles—1,259
Population—308,183
Revenue—Rs. 28,00,000 nearly
Salute in guns—13

Kapurthala—Colonel His Highness Farzand-i-Dilband Rasikh-ul-Itkad Daulat-i-Inglishia Raja-i-Rajgan Maharaja Sir Jagatjit Singh Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.B.E., Maharaja of—
Date of birth—21th November 1872
Date of succession—5th September 1877
Area in sq. miles—652
Population—3,78,380
Revenue—Rs. 34,00,000 roughly
Salute in guns—13

Loharu—Capt. H. H. Nawab Mirza Amin-ud-Din Ahmed, Fakhar-ud-Daula Khan Bahadur, Nawab of—
Date of birth—23rd March '11
Date of succession—30th Oct. '22
Area in sq. miles—222
Population—27,892
Revenue—Rs 1,33.000 nearly
Salute in guns—9

Malerkotla—Lt.-Colonel H. H. Nawab Sir Ahmed Ali Khan Bahadur, K.C.S.I. K.C.I.E., Nawab of—
Date of birth—10 September 1881
Date of succession—23rd August '08
Area in sq. miles—168
Population—80,322
Revenue—Rs. 15,61,000
Indian State Forces—Sappers—Headquarters 16; Lancers (Bodyguard) 40; Infantry 226; Field Company Sappers & Minners 295
Salute in guns 11

Mandi—Major H. H. Raja Sir Joginder Sen Bahadur, K.C.S.I., Raja of—
Date of birth—20th August '04
Date of succession—20th April '13
Area in sq. miles—1,200
Population—2,07,465
Revenue—Rs. 12,50,000
Salute in guns—11

Nabha—H. H. Farzand-i-Arjmand, Aquidat-Paiwand-i-Daulat-i-Inglishia, Barar Bans Sarmut Raja-i-Rajagan, Maharaja Pratap Singha Malvendra Bahadur, Maharaja of—
Date of birth—21st September '19
Date of succession—February '28
Area in sq. miles—928
Population—263,334
Revenue—Rs, 24,05,000
Salute in guns—13

Patiala—Dr. H. H. Farzand-i-Khas Daulat-i-Englishia Mansur-ul-Zaman Amir-ul-Umra . Maharajadhiraj Raj Rajeswar Shri Maharaja-i-Raigan Shri Yadavindra Sinhji LL.D., Mahendra Bahadnr, Maharaja of—
Date of birth—7th January '13
Date of succession—23rd March '38
Area in sq. miles—5,932
Population—1,625,520
Revenue—Rs. 1,57,00,000
Indian State Forces—

	Combatants:	Non-combatants
1. 1st. Rajindar Lancers	475	178
2. 2nd. Patiala Lancers	212	85
3. War Strength 2nd P. Lrs.	60	0
4. P. H. A.	90	28
5. 1st. R. S. Infantry	732	66
6. 2nd Yadavendra „	665	61
7. 3rd P. S. „	662	51
8. 4th Patiala „	662	51
9. Training Batalion	635	45
10. Patiala Transports Corps	99	33
11. S. M. Vety. Hospital	5	9
12. Army Trg. School	39	10
13. Patiala Wireless Section	46	6
14. Deputy Company	227	10
	4609	633

Salute in guns—17

Sirmur (Nahan)—H. H. Lt. Maharaja Rajendra Prakash Bdr. Maharaa of—
Date of birth—10th January '13
Date of succession—Nov. '33
Area in sq. miles—1.141
Population—1,48,568
Revenue—Rs. 10,00,000 nearly
Indian State Force—Sappers—Headquarters 5; Band 23; No. 1 Company 142, No. 2 Company 155; State Bodyguard Lancers 31
Salute in guns—11

Suket—H.H. Raja Lakshman Sen, Raja of
Date of birth—1894
Date of succession—13th Oct. '19
Area in sq. miles—420
Population—54 328
Revenue—Rs. 2,67,000
Salute in guns—11

Bashahr—H. H. Raja Padam Singh
Date of birth—1873
Date of succession—5th August '14
Area in sq. miles—3,820
Population—86,077
Revenue—Rs 3,34,600 nearly
Salute in guns—9

Rajputana States

Alwar—H. H. Shri, Sewai Maharaj Tej Sinhji Bahadur, Maharaja of—
Date of birth—19th March '11
Date of succession—22nd July '37
Area in sq. miles—3217
Population—7,49,751

Revenue—About Rs. 40,00,000
Indian State Forces—1, Jey Paltan Infantry 865; 2. Pratap Paltan infantry 331; 3. Alwar Mangal Lancers 158; 4. Garrison Force 28
Salute in guns—15

Banswara—H. H. Rai-i-Rayan Maharawal Sahib Sri Sir Pirthi Sinhji Bahadur, K.C.I.E. Maharaja of—
Date of birth—15th July 1888
Date of succession—8th January '14
Area in sq. miles—1,946
Population—2 99,913
Revenue—Rs. 8,17,726
Salute in guns—15

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

Bikaner—General H. H. Maharajadhiraj Rajeswar Narendra Shiromoni Maharaja Sri Ganga Sinhji Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., G.B.E., K.C.B., A.C.D., LL.D., Maharaja of—
Date of birth—13th Oct. 1880
Date of succession—31st Aug. 1887
Area in sq. miles—23,317
Population—12.93,000
Revenue—Rs. 1,58,11,000
Indian State Forces

Ganga Risala (Camel Corps)	532
Sadul Light Infantry	773
Dungar Lancers (including H. H.'s Body Guard	342
Bijey Battery	245
Camel Battery	20
Artillery Training Cenre	158
2nd Battalion Bikaner State Infantry	697
3rd Battalion, Bikaner State Infantry	362
Training Battalion	413
Motor Machine Gun Sections	100

Salute in guns—Personal 19, Permanent 17

Bundi—His Highness Hadendra Siromoni Deo Sar Buland Raj Maharajadhiraj Saheb Bahadur G.C.I.E.
Date of birth—8th March 1893
Date of succession—8th August '27
Area in sq. miles—2,220
Population—2,49,374
Revenue—Rs. 15,50,000
Salute in guns—17

Dholpur—Lt. Col. H. H. Rais-ud-Daula Sipahdar-ul-Mulk Maharajadhiraja Sri Sawai Maharaja-Rana Sir Udaibhan Singh Lokindar Bahadur Diler Jang Jai Deo, K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O., Maharaj-Raja of—
Date of birth—25th February 1893
Date of succession—29th March '11
Area in sq. miles—1,200
Population—2,30,188
Revenue—Rs. 17,53,000 nearly
Indian State Forces—Dholpur Narsingh Infantry 164: Dholpur Sappers and Miners 75
Salute in guns—15

Dungarpur—H. H. Rai-i-Rayan Mohimahendra Maharajadhiraj Maharawal Sri Sir Lakshman Singhji Bahadur, K.C.S.I., Maharawal of—
Date of birth—7th Mar. '08
Date of succession—15th Nov. '18
Area in sq. miles—1,460
Population—2,74,282
Revenue Nearly—Rs. 24,00,000
Salute in guns—15

Jaipur—H. H. Saramad-i-Rajaha-i Hindustan Rai Rajindra Sri Maharajadhiraja Sir Sawai Man Singh Bahadur, G.C.I.E., Maharaja of—
Date of birth—21st August '11
Date of succession—7th September '22
Area in sq. miles—16,682
Population—26,31,775
Revenue—Rs. 1,35,00,000 nearly
Indian State Forces—Jaipur Infantry—772 Jaipur Lancers—526; Trpt. Corps—570
Salute in guns—17

Jaisalmer—H. H. Maharajadhiraj Raj Rajeshwar Param Bhattarak Sri Maharawalji Sir Jawahir Singhji Deb Bahadur Yadukul Chandrabhal Rukan-ud-Daula, Muzzaffar Jang Bijaiman K.C.S.I., Ruler of—
Date of birth—18th Nov. 1882
Date of succession—26th June '14
Area in sq. miles—16,062
Population—93,246
Salute in guns—15

Jhalawar—H. H. Dharmadivakar Prajavatsal Patit-pawan Maharaj Rana Shri Sir Rajendra Singh Ji Dev Bahadur, K.C.S.I., Maharaj Rana of—
Date of birth—15th July 1900
Date of succession—13th April '29
Area in sq. miles—813
Population—1,22,375
Salute in guns—13

Jodhpur—Air Commodore His Highness Raj Rajeswar Saramad-i-Rajai-Hind Sahib Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., K.C.V.O. A.D.C., LLD. Maharaja of—
Date of birth—8th July '03
Ascended the throne—3rd October, '18
Area—36,071 sq. miles
Population—21,34,848
Revenue—Rs. 157,71,521
Indian State Forces—
Jodhpur Sardar Rissala—508; Jodhpur

Training Squadron—147 ; Jodhpur Sardar Infantry, including Training Coy, (163) and State Military Band (39)—864 : 2nd Jodhpur Infantry—669 : Jodhpur Mule Troops—80 ; Fort Guard—94.
Salute in guns—17

Karauli—H. H. Maharaja Sir Bhompal Deo Bahadur Yadukul Chandra Bhal, K.C.S.I., Maharaja of—
Date of birth—18th June 1866
Date of succession—21st August '27
Area in sq. miles—1,242
Population—152,413
Estimated Gross Revenue—6,28,000
Salute in guns—17

Kishengarh—H. H. Umdae Rajhae Baland Makan Maharajadhiraja Maharaja Sumair Singhji Sahib Bahadur, (Minor) Maharaja of—
Date of birth—27th January '29
Date of succession—24th April '39
Area in sq. miles—858
Population—1,04,155
Revenue—Rs 7,50,000
Salute in guns—15

Kotah—Colonel H. H. Maharao Sir Umed Singh Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.B.E., Maharao of—
Date of bith—15th September 1872
Date of succession—11th June 1889
Area in sq. miles—5,684
Population—6,85,804
Revenue—Rs. 53·68 lacs
Salute in guns—19

Pratabgarh—H. H. Maharawat Sir Ram-Singhji Bahadur, K.C.I.E., Maharwat of
Date of birih—'08
Date of succession—'29
Area in sq. miles—889
Population—91,967
Revenue—Rs. 5,82,000 nearly
Salute in guns—15

Shahpura—H. H. Rajadhiraj Umaid Singhji, Raja of—
Date of birh—7th March 1876
Date of succession—24th June '32
Area in sq. miles—405
Population—61,173
Revenue—Rs. 3,36,762
Salute in guns—9

Sirohi—H. H. Maharajadhiraj Maharao Sir Sarup Ram Singh Bahadur G C.I.E., K C.S.I., Maharao of—
Date of birh—27th Sept. 1888
Date of succession—29th April '20
Area in sq. miles—1,994
Population—2,33,870
Revenue—Rs. 11,48,771
Salute in guns—15

Tonk—H. H. Said-ud-daula Wazir-ul-Mulk—Nawab Hafiz Sir Mohammad Sadat Ali Khan Bahadur Sowalat-i-Jung, G.C.I.E., Nawab of—
Date of birth—13th February, 1876
Date of succession—23rd June '30
Area in sq. miles—2,553
Population—3,53,687
Revenue—Rs. 19,30,000 B. C, nearly
Salute in guns—17

Udaipur—(Mewar)—Lt. Col. H. H. Maharajadhiraja Maharana Shri Sir Bhopal Singhji Bahadur, G.C.S.I., Maharana of—
Date of birth—22nd February 1884
Date of succession—24th May '30
Area in sq. miles—12,753
Population—1,925,000
Revenue—Rs. 80 00,000 nearly
Salute in guns—19

Sikkim State

Sikkim—H. H. Maharaja Sir Tashi Namagyal K.C.I.E. Maharaja of—
Date of birth—1893
Date of succession—5th Dec. '14
Area in sq. miles—2,818
Population—81,721
Revenue—Rs. 4,33,000
Salute in guns—15

United Provinces States

Benares—H. H. Maharaja Vibhuti Narayan Singh Bahadur (minor) Maharaja of—
Date of birth—5th November '27
Date of succession—5th April '39
Area in sq. miles—875
Population—451,327
Revenue—Rs. 30,42,921
Salute in guns—13 (Local 15)

Rampur—Captain H. H. Alijah Farzand-i-Dailpazir-i-Daulat-i-Inglishia Mukhlis ud-Daula Nasir-ul-Mulk Amir-ul-Umara, Nawab Sir Saiyid Mohammad Raza Ali Khan Bahadur Mustaid Jung, K.C S.I., Nawab of—
Date of birth—17th Nov. '06
Date of succession—20th June '30
Area in sq. miles—892·54
Population—464,919
Revenue—Rs. 51,00,000 nearly
Salute in guns—15

Tehri (Garhwal)—Lt. Colonel H. H. Maharaja Narendra Shah, K.C.S.I., of—
Date of birth—3rd Aug. 1898
Date of succession—25th April '13
Area in sq. miles—4,502
Population—3,18,482
Revenue—Rs. 18,30,000 nearly
Indian State Forces—Tehri H, Q. Infantry and Band—100
Tehri Pioneers Narendra—101
" Sappers and Miners—129
Salute in Guns—11

Western India States

Bhavnagar—Lt. H. H. Sir Krishna Kumarsinghji Bhavsinghji K.C.S I. Maharaja of—
Date of birth—19th May '12
Date of succession—18th July '19

Area in sq. miles—2,961
Population—5,00 274
Revenue—Rs. 109,68,620
Indian State Forces—Bhavnagar Lancers —270 ; Bhavnagar Infantry—219
Salute in guns—13

Cutch—H. H. Maharajadhiraj Mirza Maharao Shri Sir Khengrajl Sawai Bahadur G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E. Maharao of—
Date of birth—23rd Aug. 1866
Date of succession—1st Jan. 1876
Area in sq. miles—8,249,5
Population—5,00 800
Revenue—Rs. 31,00,000 n early
Salute in guns—17 Perm. 19 Local

Dhrangadhra—Major H. H. Maharaja Shri Ghanashyamsinhji Ajitsinhji G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Maharaja of—
Date of birth—31st May 1889
Date of succession—February, '11
Area in sq. miles—1 167
Population—95 946
Revenue—Rs. 25,00,000 nearly
Salute in guns—13

Dhrol—H. H. Thakor Saheb Shri Chan* drasinhji Saheb, Thakor Saheb of—
Date of birth—28th Aug. '12
Date of succession—20th Oct. '39
Area in sq. miles— 282·7
Population—27.63 9
Revenue—Rs. 289·281
Salute in guns—9

Gondal—H. H. Maharaja Shri Bhagavatsinji Sagramji G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Maharaja of—
Date of birth—24th Oct. 1865
Date of succession—14th Dec. 1869
Area in sq. miles—1,024
Population—2,05,846
Revenue—Rs. 50,00,000
Salute in guns—11

Junagadh—Captain H. H. Nawab Sir Mahabatkhanji, Rasulkhanji K.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Nawab of—
Date of birth—2nd Aug. 1900
Date of succession—2nd Jan. '11
Area in sq. miles—3,336 9
Population—545,152
Revenue—Rs. 1,00,000,000
Indian State Forces—Junagadh Lancers 173 ; Junagadh Mahabatkhanji Infantry 201
Salute in guns—15

Limbdi—Thakor Saheb Shri L. Chhatrasalji Digvijaysinji, Thakor Saheb of—
Date of birth—19th Feb. '04
Date of succession—6th Jan. '41
Area in sq. miles—343 96
(exclusive of about 207 sq. miles in the collectorate of Ahmedabad).
Population—44,000 nearly
Revenue—Rs. 7,00,000 nearly
Salute in guns—9

Morvi—H. H. Maharaja Shri Lakhdhirji Waghji, G.B.E., K.C.S.I., Maharaja of—
Date of birth—26th Dec. 1876
Date of Succession—11th Jan, '22
Area in sq. miles—822
Population—112,023
Revenue—Rs. 50 lacs nearly
Salute in guns—11

Nawanagar—Lt. Col. H. H. Maharaja Jam Shri Sir Digvijaysinji Ranajitsinji Jadeja, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., A.D.C., Maharaja Jam Sahib of—
Date of birth—1st Sept. 1895
Date of succession—2nd April '33
Area in sq. miles—3,791
Population—5,04,006
Revenue—Rs. 94,00,000 nearly
Salute in guns—15

Palanpur—Lt. Col H. H. Nawab Shri Taley Muhammed Khan Bahadur, G.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., Nawab Sahib of—
Date of birth—7th July 1883
Date of succession—28th Sept. '18
Area in sq. miles—1,774,64
Population —3,15,855
Revenue—Rs. 11,61,987
Salute in guns—13

Patiala—H. H. Thakor Sahib Shri Bahadursinji Mansinhji K.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Thakor Saheb of—
Date of birth—3rd April '00
Date of succession—29th Aug. '05
Area in sq. miles—288
Population—62,150
Revenue—Rs. 9,00,000
Salute in guns—9

Porbandar—Captain H. H. Maharaja Shri Sir Natawarsinhji, Bhabsinhji K.C.S.I., Maharaja Rana Saheb of—
Date of birth—30th June '01
Date of succession—10th Dec. '08
Area in sq. miles—642·25
Population of State—1,46,648
Revenue—Rs. 26,00,000 nearly
Salute in guns—13

Radhanpur—H. H. Nawab Saheb Murtaza-Khan Jorawarkhan Babi Bahadur Nawab of—
Date of birth—10th Oct, 1899
Date of succession—7th April '37
Area of State in sq. miles—1,150
Population of State—70,530
Revenue—Rs. 8,00,000 to 10,00,000
Salute in guns—11

Rajkot—H. H. Thakor Saheb Shri Pradumansinji, Thakor Saheb of—
Date of birth—24th Feb. '13
Date of succession—17th August '40
Area in sq. miles—2824
Population of State—1 03,033
Revenue—Rs. 13.40,872 nearly
Salute in guns—9

Wadhwan—H. H. Thakor Saheb Shri Surendrasinhji, Thakor Saheb of—

Date of birth—4th January '22
Date of succession—27th July '34
Area—242·6 sq. miles excluding the area in the British India District of Ahmedabad.
Population—50,934
Revenue—Rs. 6 lacs
Salute—Permanent 9 guns

Wankaner—Captain H. H. Maharana Shri Sir Amarsinhji, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Maharana Saheb of—
Date of Birth—4th January 1879
Date of succession—12th June 1881
Area in sq. miles—417
Population—55,024
Revenue—Rs. 7,67,000
Salute in guns—11

Indian States (without Salute)

Baluchistan States

Las Bela—Mir Gulam Muhammed Khan, Jam Sahib of—
Date of Birth—December 1895
Date of Succession—March '21
Area in sq. miles—7,132
Population—50,696
Revenue—Rs. 3,78,000 nearly

Bihar & Orissa States

Athgarh—Raja Sreekaran Radhanath Bebarta Patnaik, Raja of—
Date of birth—28th Nov. '09
Date of succession—22nd June '18
Area in sq. miles—168
Population—55,508
Revenue—Rs. 1,76,000

Athmalik—Raja Kishor Chandra Deo
Date of birth—10th November '04
Date of succession—3rd November '18
Area in sq. miles—730
Population—59,749
Revenue—Rs. 1.81,000 nearly

Bamra—Raja Bhanugana Tribhuban Deb, Raja of—
Date of succession—1st January '20
Date of birth—25th February '14
Area in sq. miles—1988
Population—1,34,721
Revenue—Rs. 5,81,000

Baramba—Raja Sree Narayan Chandra Birbar Mangraj Mahapatra, Raja of—
Date of birth—10th January '14
Date of succession—20th August '22
Area in sq. miles—142
Population—52,924
Revenue—Rs. 1,03,000 nearly

Baud—Raja Narayan Prasad Deo of—
Date of birth—14th March '04
Date of succession—10th March '13
Area in sq. miles—1,264
Population—124,411
Revenue—Rs.—2,72,000 nearly

Bonai—Raja Indra Deo, Raja of—
Date of birth—6th January 1884
Date of succession—19th February '02
Area in sq. miles—1,296
Population—68,178
Revenue—Rs. 2,36,000 nearly

Daspalla—Raja Kishore Chandra Deo
Date of birth—16th April '08
Date of succession—11th December '13
Area in sq. miles—568
Population—53,833
Revenue—Rs. 1,41,993

Dhenkanal—Raja Sankar Pratap Mahendra Bahadur, Raja of—
Date of succession—16th Oct. '18
Date of birth—5th November '04
Area in sq. miles—1,463
Population—2,33,691
Revenue—Rs. 5,13,000 nearly

Gangpur—Raja Bhawani Shankar Sekhar
Date of birth—14th May 1898
Date of succession—10th June '17
Area in sq. miles—2,492
Population—3,09,271
Revenue—Rs. 6,76,000 nearly

Hindol—Raja Bahadur Naba Kishor Chandra Singh Mardraj Jagadeb, M.B.A.S., F.R.S.A., Raja of—
Date of birth—14th June 1891
Date of succession—10th February '06
Area sq. miles—312
Population—48,896
Revenue—Rs. 1,45,000

Keonjhar—Raja Shri Balabhadra Narayan Bhanj Deo, Ruler of—
Date of birth—26th December '05
Date of succession—12th August '26
Area in sq. miles—3,217
Population—529,786
Revenue—Rs. 15·56 lakhs nearly

Khandapara—Raja Harihar Singh, Mardraj Bhramarbar Ray, Raja of—
Date of birth—26th August '14
Date of succession—26th December '22
Area in sq. miles—244
Population—64,289

Kharsawan—Raja Sriram Chandra Singh
Date of birth—4th July 1892
Date of succession—6th February '02
Area in sq. miles—157
Population—44,805
Revenue—1,18,000 nearly

Narsinghpur—Raja Ananta Narayan Mansingh Harichandan Mahapatra
Date of birth—9th September '08
Date of succession—5th July '21
Area in sq. miles—207
Population—48,448
Revenue—Rs. 129,000

Nayagarh—Raja Krishna Chandra Singha Mandhata Raja of—
Date of birth—15th August '11
Date of succession—7th Dec. '18

Area in sq. miles—552
Population—1,61,409
Revenue—Rs. 392,210

Nilgiri—Raja Kishore Chandra Mardraj Harichandra, Raja of—
Date of birth—2nd Feb. '04
Date of succession—6th July '13
Area in sq. miles—284
Population—73,109
Revenue—Rs. 2,14,589

Pal Lahara—Raja Muni Pal, Raja of—
Date of birth—26th November '03
Date of succession—18th April '13
Area in sq. miles—452
Population—23 229
Revenue—Rs. 75,000 nearly

Ratrakhol—Raja Bir Chandra Jadumani
Date of birth—1894
Date of succession—3rd July '06
Area in sq. miles—838
Population—31,225
Revenue—Rs. 75,000 nearly

Ranpur—Raja Birbar Krishna Chandra Mahapatra, Raja of—
Date of birth—About 1887
Date of succession—12th July 1899
Area in Sq, miles—203
Population—41,282
Revenue—Rs. 65.000

Seraikella—Raja Aditya Pratap Singh Deo Ruler of—
Date of birth—30th July 1887
Date of succession—9th Dec. '31
Area in sq. miles- 449
Population—156,374
Revenue—Rs. 418,000 nearly

Talcher—Raja Kishore Chandra Birbar Harichandan, Raja of—
Date of birth—9th June 1880
Date of succession—18th December 1891
Area in sq. miles—399
Population—86,482
Revenue—Rs. 8,97,668 gross

Maratha States—(Bombay Presy)

Akalkot—Meherban Shrimant Vijayasingh Fatehsingh, Raja Bhonsle Raja of—
Date of birth—13th Dec. '15
Date of succession—4th April '23
Area in sq. miles—498
Population—92,605
Revenue—Rs. 7,58,000 nearly

Aundh—Meherban Bhavanrao alias Bala Sahib, Pant Pratinidhi of—
Date of birth—24th Oct, 1868
Date of succession—4th November '09
Area in sq. miles—501
Population—88,762
Revenue—Rs. 3,38,378.

Phaltan—Major Raja Shrimant Malojirao Mudhojirao alias Nana Saheb Naik Nimbalkar Raja of—
Date of birth—11th September 1896
Date of succession—17th October '16
Area in sq. miles—397
Population—58,761
Revenue—Rs. 8,56,000 nearly

Jath—Lt. Raja Shrimant Vijayasinghrao Ramrao Dafle Raja of—
Date of birth—21st July '09
Date of succession—14th August '28
Area in sq. miles—981
Population—91.099
Revenue—Rs. 4,25,000

Jamkhandi—Meherban Shankarrao Parashuramrao alias Appasaheb Patwardhan, Raja Saheb of—
Date of birth—5th Nov. '06
Date of succession—25th Feb. '24
Area in sq. miles—524
Population—1,14,282
Revenue—Rs. 10,06 715

Kurundwad—(Senior) Meherban Chintamanrao Bhalchandrarao alias Balasaheb Patwardhan, Chief of—
Date of birth—13th Feb. '21
Date of succession—10th September '27
Area in sq. miles—182'5
Population—88,760
Revenue—Rs. 3.76,000 nearly

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

Miraj—(Sr)—Narayanrao Gangadharrao alias Tatyasaheb Patwardhan Chief of—
Date of birth—6th September 1898
Date of succession—11th Dec. '39
Area in sq. miles—342
Population—93,838
Revenue—Rs. 4,41,000 nearly

Miraj (Jr)—Meherban Sir Madhavrao Harihar alias Baba Saheb Patwardhan, K.C.I.E., Raja of—
Date of birth—4th March 1889
Date of succession—16th Dec. 1899
Area in sq. miles—196½
Population—40,686
Revenue—Rs. 3,68,515 nearly

Ramdurg—Meherban Ramrao Venkatrao alias Rao Saheb Bhave Chief of—
Date of birth—16th Sept. 1896
Date of succession—30th April '07
Area in sq. miles—169
Population—33.997
Revenue—Rs. 2,69,000 nearly

Savanur—Captain Meherban Abdul Majid Khan, Jang Bahadur Nawab of—
Date of birth—7th Oct. 1890
Date of succession—30th January 1893

Area in sq. miles—70
Population—16,830
Revenue—Rs. 1,69,000 nearly

Mahi-Kantha States

Ghodasar—Thakor Shri Fatehsinghji Ratansinji Dabhi, Thakor Saheb of—
Date of birth—7th Aug. '09
Date of succession—31st May '03
Area in sq. miles—16
Population—Rs. 51,000

Ilol—Thakor Shivsinghji, Thakor of—
Date of birth—31st December '01
Date of succession—18th Oct. '27
Area in sq, miles—19
Population—3,349
Revenue—Rs. 41,000

Katosan—Thakor Takhatsinhji Karansinhji Thakor of—
Date of birth—9th Dec. 1870
Date of succession—January '01
Area in sq. miles—10
Population—4,818
Revenue—Rs. 51,000

Khadal—Sardar Shri Fatehsinhji Rajsinhji, Thakor Shri of—
Date of birth—1899
Date of succession—7th February '12
Area in sq. miles—8
Population—2,852
Revenue—Rs. 35,000 nearly

Malpur—Raolji Shri Gambhirsinhji Himatsinhji—
Date of birth—27th Oct. '14
Date of succession—23rd June '23
Area in sq. miles—97
Population—16,582
Revenue—Rs. 1,10,000 approx.

Pethapur—Thakor Fatehsinhji Gambhirsinhji, Thakor of—
Date of birth—3rd Oct. 1895
Date of succession—1896
Area in sq. miles—11
Population—3,931
Revenue—Rs. 34,000 (nearly)

Varsoda—Thakor Joravarsinhji of—
Date of birth—17th April '14
Date of succession—18th July '19
Area in sq. miles—11
Population—8,424
Revenue—Rs. 33.000 nearly

Vijayangar—Rao Shri Hamir-sinhiji
Date of birth—3rd January '04
Date of succession—27th June '16
Area in sq. miles—135
Population—12,000 (approx)
Revenue—Rs. 1,00,000 nearly

Rewa Kantha States

Bhadarwa—Shrimant Thakur Saheb Shree Natvarsinghi Ranjitsinhji, Thakor of—
Date of birth—19th November '03
Date of succession—26th April '85
Area in sq. miles—27 (excluding several Wanta villages under Baroda States)
Population—13,520
Revenue—Rs. 1,14,000 nearly

Jambugodha—Meherban Rana Shri Ranjitsinhji Gambhirsinhji, Thakore Saheb of—Parmar Rajput. He enjoys full Civil and Criminal powers
Date of birth—4th January 1892
Date of succession—27th September '17
Area in sq. miles—143
Population—11,385
Revenue—Rs. 142,000

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

Nasvadi—Thakor Ranjitsinhji, Thakor of—
Date of birth—24th March '05
Date of succession—13th Sept. '27
Area in sq. miles—1950
Population—4,197
Revenue—Rs. 33,000 nearly

Palasni—Thakor Indarsinhji Thakor of—
Date of birth—16th Aug. 1885
Date of succession—30th May '07
Area in square miles—12
Population—1,766
Revenue—Rs. 22,000 nearly

Sihora—Thakor Mansinhjee Karansinhjee
Date of birth—14th November '07
Date of succession—13th June '28
Area in sq. miles—19 (approx)
Population—5300
Revenue—Rs. 36,000 nearly

Uchad—Thakor Mohomadmia Jitawaba
Date of birth—15th October 1895
Date of succession—24th June '15
Area in sq. miles—8,50
Population—2,330
Revenue—Rs. 41,000 nearly

Umetha—Thakor Ramsinhji Raisinhji
Date of birth—19th August 1894
Date of succession—1st July '22
Area in sq. miles—24
Population—5,355
Revenue— Rs. 73,000 nearly

Central India States

Alipura—Rao Harpal Singh, Rao of—
Date of birth—12th Aug. 1882
Date of succession—26th March '22
Area in sq. miles—73
Population—14,580
Revenue—Rs. 70,000 nearly

Bakhtgarh—Thakur Rai Singh, Thakur of
Date of birth—3rd October 1889
Date of succession—30th May '12
Area in sq. miles—66
Population—10,414
Revenue—Rs. 74,000 nearly

Garauli—Diwan Bahadur Chandrabhan Singh, Chief of—
Date of birth—2nd April 1883
Date of succession—20th Dec. 1883
Area in sq. miles—21
Population—4,965
Revenue—Rs. 36,000 nearly

Jobat—Rana Bhimsing, Rana of—
Date of birth—10th November '15
Date of succession—20th May '17
Date of getting Ruling Power—14th March '36
Area in sq. miles—131,20
Population—20,945
Revenue—Rs. 81.550

Kachhi-Baroda—Maharaj Benimadho Singh
Date of birth—3rd October '04
Date of succession—13th June '06
Area in sq. miles—34'53
Population—5000
Revenue—Rs. 71000/-

Kathiwara—Rana Thakur Sahib Onkarsinhji, Rana of—
Date of birth—5th December 1891
Date of succession—8th June, '03
Area in sq. miles—70
Population of State—6096
Revenue—Rs. 44,880

Kothi—Raja Bahadur Sitaraman Pratap Bahadur Singh, Raja of—
Date of birth—26th July 1892
Date of succession—8th August '14
Area in sq. miles—169
Population—20,087
Revenue—Rs. 70,000 nearly

Kurwai—Nawab Sarwar Ali Khan of—
Date of birth—1st December '01
Date of succession—2nd October '06
Area in sq. miles—142
Population—19,851
Revenue—Rs. 2,64,000 nearly

Mota Barkhera—Bhumia Nain Singh of—
Date of birth—7th November '07
Date of succession—4th June '12
Area in sq. miles—39
Population—4,782
Revenue—Rs. 53,000 nearly

Multhan—Dharmalankar, Dharm-bhushan Dharm-Divaker, Shreeman Maharaj Bharat Sinhji Sahib, Chief of—
Date of birth—1893
Date of succession—26th August '01
Area in sq. miles—100
Population—11,804
Revenue—Over Rs. 1,00,000

Nimkhera—Bhumia Ganga Singh, Bhumia
Date of birth—'11
Date of succession—27th March '22
Area in sq. miles—90
Population—8,358
Revenue—Rs. 62,000 nearly

Paldeo—Chaubey Shiva Prasad, Jagirdar of
Date of birth—1st March '08
Date of succession—3rd Oct. '23
Area in sq. miles—53'14
Population—9,038
Revenue—Rs. 50,000

Piploda—Rawat Mangal Singh, Rawat of
Date of birth—7th September 1893
Date of succession—5th Nov. '19
Area in sq. miles—35
Population—9,766
Revenue—Rs. 1,14,000

Sarila—Raja Mahipal Singh, Raja of—
Date of succession—11th Sep. 1898
Area in sq. miles—35'28
Population—6,081
Revenue—Rs. 1,00,000

Sarwan—Thakur Mahendra Singh
Date of birth—6th November '09
Date of succession—23rd April '21
Area in sq. miles—71
Population—7,199
Revenue of the State—Rs. 60,000 nearly

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

Tori Fatehpur—Dewan Raghuraj Singh, Jagirdar of—
Date of birth—28th Jan. 1895
Date of succession—7th April '41
Area in sq. miles—36
Population—6,269
Revenue—Rs. 31,000 nearly

Central Provinces States

Bastar—Maharaja Pravir Chandra Deo
Date of birth—25th June '29
Date of succession—28th Feb. '36
Area in sq. miles—13,725
Population—6,34,915
Revenue—Rs, 13,22,699

Chhuikhadan—Mahant Bhudhar Kishore Das of—
Date of birth—April 1891
Date of succession—30th Sept. '03
Area in sq. miles—154
Population—26,141
Revenue—Rs. 1,22,000

Jashpur—Raja Bijay Bhushan Singh Deo
Date of birth—11th Jan. '26
Date of succession—8th Feb. '26
Area in sq. miles—1,923
Population—2,23,632
Revenue—Rs. 3,62,342

Kanker—Maharajadhiraj Bhanupratap Deo Chief of—
Date of birth—17th September '22
Date of succession—8th Jan. '25
Area in sq. miles—1,429

Population—122,928
Revenue—Rs. 3,88,000
Kawardha—Thakur Dharamraj Singh Chief of—
Date of birth—18th August '10
Date of succession—4th Feb. '20
Area in sq. miles—805
Population—72,820
Revenue—Rs. 2,93,175
Khairagarh—Raja Birendra Bahadur Singh, Raja of—
Date of birth—9th November '14
Date of succession—22nd October '18
Area in sq. miles—931
Population—157,400
Revenue—Rs. 5,80,000 nearly
Korea—Raja Ramanuj Pratap Singh Deo Raja of—
Date of birth—8th December '31
Date of succession—November '09
Area in sq. miles—1,647
Population—90,500
Revenue—Rs. 7,00,199
Makrai—Raja Drigpal Shah Hathiya Rai
Date of birth—24th September '18
Date of succession—30th October '18
Area in sq. miles—155
Population—12,803
Revenue—Rs. 2,01,000 nearly
Nandgaon—Mahant Sarveshwar Das, of—
Date of birth—30th March '06
Date of succession—24th June '13
Area in sq. miles—871
Population—1,47,919
Revenue—Rs. 7,91,000
Raigarh—Raja Chakradhar Singh, Raja of
Date of birth—19th August '05
Date of succession—23rd August '24
Area in sq. miles—1,486
Population—2,41,634
Revenue—Rs. 6,46,000 nearly
Sakti—Raja Liladhar Singh, Raja of—
Date of birth—3rd Feb. 1892
Date of succession—4th July '14
Area in sq. miles—138
Population—41,595
Revenue—Rs. 1,20,000 nearly
Sarangarh—Raja Bahadur Jawahir Singh,
Date of birth—3rd Dec. 1888
Date of succession—5th Aug. 1890
Area in sq. miles—540
Population—1,17,781
Revenue—Rs. 3,14,000 nearly
Surguja—Maharaja Ramanuj Saran Singh Deo C.B.E. Maharaja of—
Date of birth—4th Nov. 1895
Date of succession—31st Dec. '17
Area in sq. miles—6,055
Population—5,51,307
Revenue—Rs. 7,58,500 nearly
Udaipur—Raja Chandra Chur Prasad Singh Deo, Raja of—
Date of birth—5th June '23
Date of succession—8th Dec. '27
Area in sq. miles—1,052
Population—71,124
Revenue—Rs. 3,22,000

Madras States

Sandur—Raja Srimant Yeshwantha Rao Anna Saheb, Rao Sahib, Hindu Rao Ghorapade, Mamlukatmadar Senapati Raja of—
Date of birth—15th November '08
Date of succession—5th May '28
Area in sq. miles—167
Population—11684
Revenue—Rs. 2,03,000

Punjab States

Dujana—Jalal-ud-Daula Nawab Mohammad Iqtidar Ali Khan Bahadur, Mustaqil-i-Jan, Nawab of—
Date of birth—20th Nov. '12
Date of succession—21st July '25
Area in sq. miles—100
Population—25,833
Revenue—Rs. 1,650,000 nearly
Kalsia—Raja Ravi Sher Singh Sahib Bahadur, Raja Sahib of—
Date of birth—30th October '02
Date of succession—25th July '18
Date of Investiture with full ruling power: 6th April '22
Area in sq. miles—192
Population—59,848
Revenue—Rs. nearly 3,50,000
Pataudi—Nawab Muhammad Iftikar Ali Khan Bahadur, Nawab of—
Date of birth—17th March '10
Date of succession—30th Nov. '17
Date of Investiture—10th Dec. '31
Area in sq. miles—160
Population—24,500
Revenue—Rs. 3,10,000

Simla Hill States

Baghal—Raja Surendra Singh, Raja of—
Date of birth—14th March '09
Date of succession—14th Oct. '22
Area in sq. miles—124
Revenue—Rs. 1,00,000 nearly
Baghat—Raja Durga Sing, Raja of—
Date of birth—15th Sept '10
Date of succession—30th Dec. 1941
Area in sq. miles—36
Population—93,595
Revenue—Rs. 1,10,000
Bhajji—Rana Birpal, Rana of—
Date of birth—19th April '06
Area in sq. miles—96
Population—14,263
Revenue—Rs. 99,000
Jubbal—Rana Sir Bhagat Chandra Bahadur K.C.S.I., Ruler of—
Date of birth—12th Oct. 1888
Date of succession—29th April '10
Area in sq. miles—288
Population—28,500
Revenue—Rs. 8,50,000 nearly
Keonthal—Raja Hemandar Sen, Raja of—
Date of birth—21st January '05

Date of succession—2nd Feb. '16
Area in sq. miles—116
Population—25,599
Revenue Rs.—1,30,000 nearly
Kumharsain—Rana Vidyadhar Singh
Date of birth—1895
Date of succession—24th August '14
Area in sq. miles—97
Population—12,227
Revenue—Rs. 75,000
Nalagarh—Raja Jogindra Singh, Raja of—
Date of birth—1870
Date of succession—18th Sept. '11
Area in sq. miles—256
Population—52,737
Revenue—Rs. 2,71,000 nearly
Tiroch—Thakur Surat Singh, of—
Date of birth—4th July 1887
Date of Succession—14th July '02
Area in sq. miles—75
Population—4,219
Revenue—Rs. 1,30,000 nearly

Western India States

Bajana—Malek Shri Kamalkhan Jivankhan, Chief of—
Date of birth—6th December '07
Date of succession—2nd Feb. '20
Area in sq. miles—183,12
Population—14,017
Revenue—Rs. 1,82,424 average
Bantwa Manavadar—Babi Ghulam Moyuddinkhanji Fatehdinkhanji, Chief of—
Date of birth—22nd December '11
Date of succession—October '18
Area in sq. miles—221·8
Population—14,984
Revenue—Rs. 8,46,000 nearly
Chuda—Thakore Shri Bahadursinghji, Jarovarsinhji, Thakore of—
Date of birth—23rd April '09
Date of succession—20th January '21
Area in sq. miles—782
Population—1[illegible],338
Revenue—Rs. 2,11,000 nearly
Jasdan—Darbar Shree Ala Kachar, Chief of—
Date of birth—4th November '05
Date of succession—11th June '19
Area in sq. miles—296
Population—36,632
Revenue—Rs. 6,00,000 nearly
Kotda-Sangani—Thakore Shree Pradyumna-Sinhji
Date of birth—5th December '20
Date of succession—23rd Feb. '30
Date of Installation—10th Dec. '40
Area in sq. miles—90
Population—12 165
Revenue—Rs. 1,50 000 nearly
Lakhtar—Thakore Saheb Shri Indra-Sinhji Valavarsinji, Thakore Saheb of—
Date of birth—15th April '07
Date of succession—2nd July '40
Area in sq. miles—247,438
Population—21,123
Revenue Rs. 4,49,000
Lathi—Thakore Saheb Shri Pralhadsinhji, Thakore of—
Date of birth—31st March '12
Date of succession—14th October '18
Area in sq. miles—41·8
Population—10,812
Revenue—Rs. 2,60,000
Malia—Thakore Shri Raisinhji Modji, of—
Date of birth—14th February 1898
Date of succession—20th Oct. '07
Area in sq. miles—103
Population—12,060
Revenue—Rs. 3,02,000
Muli—Thakore Shri Harichandrasinji, of—
Date of birth—10th July 1899
Date of succession—3rd December '05
Area in sq. miles—133·2
Population—16,390
Revenue—Rs. 1,57,000
Patdi—Desai Shri Raghubirsinji, of—
Date of birth—8th Jan. '26
Date of succession—25th Oct. '28
Area in sq. miles—39·4
Population—2,508
Revenue—Rs. 1,14,000
Sayla—Thakor Sahab Shri Madarsinji, Vakhatsinji, Thakor Saheb of—
Date of birth—28th May 1868
Date of succession—25th Jan. '24
Area in sq. miles—222·1
Population—13,351
Revenue—Rs. 2,54,000
Thana Devli—Darbar Shri Vala Amra Laxman, Chief of—
Date of birth—28th Nov. 1895
Date of succession—12th Oct. '22
Area in sq. miles—94·2
Population—11,348
Revenue—Rs. 3,00,000 nearly
Tharad—Waghela Bhumsinhji Dolatsinhji Thakor of—
Date of birth—28th Jan. '00
Date of succession—19th Feb. '21
Area in sq. miles—1,260½
Population—52,839
Revenue—Rs. 99,000 nearly
Vadia—Darbar Shree Suragwaala Saheb Chief of—
Date of birth—15th March '05
Date of succession—7th Sept. '30
Area is sq. miles—90
Population—13,749
Revenue—Rs. about 2 lacs
Zainabad—Malek Shri Aziz Mahomed Khanji Zainkhanji, Talukdar of—
Date of birth—21st June '17
Date of succession—26th January '23
Area in sq. miles—30
Population—3,456
Revenue—Rs. 1,200,000 nearly

Chronicle of Events

January 1946

Lord Pethick Lawrence, the Secretary of State for India, in a broadcast to India, said :—"1946 will be a crucial year in India's history."

Prof. Robert Richards, leader of the British Parliamentary Delegation, declared in New Delhi, "All of us are particularly anxious to do something to further the interests of India, not two hundred years hence but in the course of next few months."

Mr. G. M. Syed was removed from the presidentship of the Sind Provincial Muslim League by the Committee of Action of the All-India Muslim League.

The British Parliamentary Delegation commenced making contacts with representatives of different political groups.

Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose said in Calcutta, "British Imperialists had realised that the day of final reckoning had come".

His Excellency the Viceroy said at the annual session of the Chamber of Princes, "I can assure you that there is no intention on our part to initiate any change in this relationship or these rights without your consent."

The Chamber of Princes promised substantial reforms in the interests of the States' people.

The first budget session of the Central Legislative Assembly opened in New Delhi.

A public reception was accorded to the three I. N. A. officers, Messrs. Shah Nawaz, P. K. Sehgal and Dhillon.

Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's 50th. birth day was celebrated in Calcutta and in other parts of India."

The Independence Day was celebrated on the 26th., all throughout India.

Mr. Shah Nawaz, in a speech in Calcutta, requested the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs and all to unite and send the Britishers out of India.

His Excellency the Viceroy declared in the Indian Legislative Assembly : "His Majesty's Government have a determination to establish a new Executive Council formed from the political leaders."

The warrant against Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali was cancelled. She urged in Calcutta, "the total boycott of British goods."

1st. The Secretary of State for India, Lord Pethick-Lawrence, in a broadcast to India from London, said, "1946 will be a crucial year in India's history.—"I want you to realise that myself, the British Government, and I believe, the whole of the British people earnestly desire to see India rise "to the free and full status of an equal partner in the British Commonwealth. We will do our utmost to assist India to attain that position. There is no longer any need for denunciations or organised pressure to secure this end. If there was ever a time when there was cause for that, it is so no longer."

The 12th. annual general meeting of the National Institute of Sciences of India was held at Bangalore. Mr. D. N. Wadia presided.

Sir S. Radhakrishnan, in signing the report of the Sapru Committee, made the following observations :—"I regret very much that it is found necessary

to provide for weightages and proportions to Communities in the constitution of Cabinets in the Centre and the units. These provisions are likely to retard the development of a common spirit of Indian citizenship which is so essential for the efficient functioning of a Modern State."

The Government of Bombay informed the Maharastra Congress Parliamentary Board that their request that security prisoners intending to stand as candidates to the Provincial election on Congress tickets should be allowed to forward their application to the Board could not be granted.

Mahatma Gandhi said at the prayer meeting at Contai, "Thousands of Hitlers would neither be able to win their hearts nor take away their freedom if six and half a crores of Bengalis lived peacefully as they were behaving at the payer meeting."

2nd. The framers of the Sapru Committee Report made a statement in Bombay, with a view to removing any misunderstanding likely to be caused in the public mind by Sir H. P. Mody's note communicated to the Press relating to the alleged omission of Parsis in the recommendations made by the Committee.

The hon. Dr. N. B. Khare, Member, Viceroy's Executive Council, made a passing reference at Nagpur, to his talks with Mahatma Gandhi at Calcutta.

A Bill to amend the Madras Debt Conciliations Act, 1936, was published in the Fort St. George Gazettee, for eliciting public opinion.

Indian nationalists in Great Britain were making similar prepartions to those made at the San Francisco Conference to impress upon the delegates to the United Nations Assembly, meeting in London on January 10, the case for immediate Independence to India.

Mr. G. M. Syed, President of the Sind Provincial Muslim League was expelled from the All-India Muslim League by the Action Committee of the League which met at Meerut.

The Subjects Committee of the States' Peoples Conference met at Udaipur. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru presided.

The 33rd. session of the Indian Science Congress Commenced at Bangalore.

3rd. In a clash between Muslim League and Ahrar Workers at Ludhiana, one man died and two others received injuries

Sir Akbar Hydari, Member for Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, in an interview at Marmagao, spoke of the post-war plans of his department. He said, "My task is to get the people to work by catching their eyes and ears.

4th. A meeting of the Parliamentary Board of the Madras Provincial Nationalist Muslim Majlis was held at 'Julal Bagh', Madras, with Mr. A. M. Allapichai, President of the Provincial Majlis, in the chair. Representatives from the various districts attended the meeting.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad in the course of an epilogue to his book "India Divided", wrote, "Any scheme must fulfil two fundamental conditions. It must be fair and just to all Communities. It must be more. It must also rise above the din and dust of the present day controversy and visualise for this country and for its millions something of which all may be proud and for which they can live, work and die".

A public reception was accorded in Delhi to the three I.N.A. officers, Messrs. Shah Nawaz, P. K. Sehgal and Dhillon. Mr. Asaf Ali presided.

5th The eighteen-point programme on which Mahatma Gandhi dwelt at the Workers Conference in Calcutta, was explained in his pamphlet, "Constructive Programme—Its meaning and Place."

Mr. Sorensen, of the British Parliamentary Delegation, referring to the I.N.A., at Karachi, said that they were particularly delighted at the gesture of the Commander-in-chief in setting free Captains, Shah Nawaz Khan, Sehgal & Lt. Dhillon. He felt that it would produce profound effect in British political circles and Indo-British relations.

A Communique from New Delhi, said: "His Excellency the Viceroy received Mr. M. A. Jinnah at the Viceroy's House this morning. The interview, which was arranged at His Excellency's request began at 11-30 a.m. and lasted about an hour".

A reception was accorded to Messrs. Shah Nawaz, Dhillon and Sehgal, the three I. N. A. officers at Lahore.

The Rajputana Women's Conference was held at Udaipur under the president-

ship of Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru sent a message stating that unless the women of a country were emancipated, it could not make progress.

The death anniversary of the late Maulana Mohammad Ali was observed in New Delhi, under the auspices of the Delhi Provincial Muslim League.

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, General Secretary of the All India Muslim League, addressing a gathering at Gauhati, said, "Pakistan means the freedom of the whole of India including ten crores of Muslims from British rule, assuring that two major nations of India, Hindus and Mussalmans, will not be in a position to dominate each other."

6th. Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, left Bombay for a change of climute.

Mahatma Gandhi's views on communal unity as an item of the Eighteen Point Constructive Programme were set forth in his pamphlet, "Constructive Programme. Its Meaning and Place."

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, presiding over a meeting in Bombay said. "If the I. N. A. trial had shown anything, it was the recognition under inter national law, that any subject country had the right to organize its own army and overthrow the ruling power"

Prof. Robert Richards. Leader of the British Parliamentary Delegation, declared in New Delhi, "We have been sent here not to postpone action regarding India. All of us are particularly anxious to do something to further the interests of India, not two hundred years hence, but in the course of next few months"

The Chingleput District Political Conference met in Madras. Mr. I. V. Sadagopachari presided.

Sir Ardeshir Dalal, Member for Planning and Development, Government of India, who visited Bengal and Orissa, held discussions on post-war planning with officials as well as members of various commercial organizations in those provinces, in Calcutta.

7th. At a meeting of the Hindu Mahasabha at Poona, Dr. Moonje said that freedom could never be won by passing resolutions. It was a historical fact that nations won and maintained their independence on the strength of their armies and if India was to win Swaraj, it would have also to build a national army. The meeting congratulated three released I. N. A. officers, Messrs. Shah Nawaz, Dhillon and Sehgal.

Mrs. Hansa Mehta, President of the All-India Women's Conference, at a Press Conference at Karachi, declared: "Modern woman does not know about her future status and we are fighting to bring home to her the true position".

8th. Mahatma Gandhi said in the "Khadi Jagat" (published by the All-India Spinners' Association) that "Swaraj is within our reach, if we can make the Constructive Programme acceptable to all and carry it out through the agency of the people at large." The Mahatma sketched out an eleven point code for the conduct of the s udents.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad received a communication from the Secretary of State for India, directed through the Bengal Governor, intimating that the Parliamentary Delegation would like to make his personal contact.

Mr. G. M. Syed, in a statement from Karachi, challenged the validity of the direction of the Committee of Action of the All-India Muslim League removing him from the presidentship of the Sind Provincial Muslim League and expelling him from the Muslim League itself.

9th The Parliamentary Delegation commenced making contacts with representatives of different political groups. The members met Mr. Asaf Ali in New Delhi.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, at a Press Conference at Karachi, said that India was likely to dominate politically and economically the Indian Ocean region. In the natural order of events, the countries to the left and right of India would come closer together for mutual protection and mutual trade.

Sir Ardeshir Dalal tendered his resignation from the Viceroy's Executive Council which was accepted by His Majesty the King.

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala, declared at Patiala, "The Indian Princes to day are more cautious than before of the need of not only co-ordinating inter-statal policy on important matters, but also of co-operating

with British India in promoting the political and economic advancement of India on sound and progressive lines."

Sheikh Abdullah, Vice-President of the All-India States' People's conference, in an interview at Navsari, said: "Self-determination on a common basis as demanded by Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League cannot be conceded by any Indian, as it will be harmful to the Muslims as well as the Hindus of India."

10th. Mr. M A. Jinnah, in a "Victory Day" message said: "I congratulate the Musalmans who are going to celebrate the unique victory on January 11. in the first round of the battle of election to the Central Assembly."

The members of the British Parliamentary Delegation had a two-hour meeting with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at New Delhi. Earlier, the members of the Delegation met Mr. Jinnah and Dr. Ambedkar.

11th. At the session of the I. N. A. Court Martial trying Captain Burhanuddin, Jemadar Reza Hossain Answari, the first prosecution witness was cross-examined by Counsel for the Defence, Mr. Nuruddin Ahmed.

Sheikh Abdullah, President of the Kashmir State Conference, addressing a public meeting at Vesma (Navsari), said, 'If Indians in British India are slaves to the imperialist power, people of the Indian States are twice slaves".

Mr. M. A. Jinnah declared at New Delhi that Mussalmans were a powerful, well-organised and determined nation and were prepared even to shed their blood for Pakistan.

12th. Mahatma Gandhi addressed a Conference of about 500 Congress workers of Assam at the Sarania Asram, when he explained the scope of his constructive programme. The gathering included a number of women workers.

The Parliamentary Delegation left Delhi for Lahore and Peshawar. They hoped to meet Dr. Khan Sahib, Premier and Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan.

A Government grant of Rs. 50,000 to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal was announced by Professor Meghnad Shah in Calcutta.

13th. Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose, speaking at a reception given to him on behalf of the citizens of Calcutta, said, "British Imperialists realised that the day of final reckoning had come and they would have to leave this country bag and baggage."

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, addressing a public meeting at Ahmedabad, said that the Congress had decided to contest the election only to prove how far people were behind the Congress.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, writing in the magazine *Asia and the Americas* solemnly warned that "India as she is cannot play a secondary part in the world. She will either count for a great deal or not count at all."

Allama Mashriqui, the Khaksar leader, was mobbed by a crowd of hostile Muslim Leagures, mostly college students, at Lahore, when he attempted to address a meeting in the compound of the Islamia College.

14th. Three official bills due to be placed before the budget session of the Central Assembly, one seeking to amend the Insurance Act, another to amend the Workmen's Compensation Act and a third to amend the Code of Criminal Procedure, were gazetted.

15th. Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, addressing a Progressive Group meeting in Bombay, said, "The only lesson which the historic I. N. A trial has taught the Indians is that the freedom of the country comes before all other issues."

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru received a telegram from the Secretary of the Gwalior Rajya Sarbajanik Sabha, containing allegation of the police opening fire for "three hours indiscriminately" and making cavalry, bayonet and lathi charges on workers and the general public, including women and children on the 11th. day of a "peaceful labour strike" at the Birla Mills, Gwalior.

16th. Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali and Mr. Achyut Patwardhan addressed a letter to the Congress President examining the implication of the resolution passed by the Congress Working Committee at its Calcutta session re-affirming its policy of non-violence.

The Government of India appointed a Technical Committee on Ports under the Chairmanship of Sir Godfrey Armstrong, Port Planning officer of the War Transport Department, Government of India.

The Congress Central Parliamentary Board met at New Delhi, at the residence of Mr. Asaf Ali.

At the annual session of the Chamber of Princes at New Delhi, His Excellency the Viceroy said, "I can assure you that there is no intention on one part to initiate any change in this relationship or these rights without your consent."

17th. The five members of the British Parliamentary Delegation visited textile mills and the factories in Bombay.

Mahatma Gandhi visited the Dum Dum Central Jail and met the Security Prisoners numbering 201.

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, speaking at a reception in Bombay, said : "The proclamation of a free India, the formation of a free Indian Government outside the soil of India and the organization of the Indian National Army were a great chapter in World's history.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, addressing a meeting at Lahore, commented on the speech of Sardar Patel wherein he had declared that the Muslim League had succeeded in the Central Assembly elections, but it would not decide the issue.

18th. The Chamber of Princes declared on behalf of all members through the Chancellor, H. H. the Nawab of Bhopal, promising popular Assemblies with elected majorities suitable to the special circumstances in India, rule of law, security of person and property and a number of fundamental rights of citizenship, including habeas corpus, free expression of opinion, equality before law, abolition of racial and religious discrimination and also forced labour.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, President of the All-India States' Peoples Conference welcomed the Princes' declaration of rights as "a definite sign of the times."

19th. All the ten members of the British Parliamentary Delegation met Congress leaders of Bombay.

Rev. Sorensen, one of the members of the British Parliamentary Delegation arrived at Agra and had an interview with Mr. Jai Prakash Narain, in the Agra Central Jail.

The Congress Party in the Central Assembly elected Sj Sarat Chandra Bose as the leader of the Party.

The Muslim League Party in the Central Assembly elected Mr. M. A. Jinnah as leader of the Party and Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan as Deputy Leader.

Mr Sehgal prepared a comprehensive scheme costing two and a half crores of rupees for relief to and permanent resettlement of I. N. A personnel.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said in an interview in New Delhi, that if the Axis Powers had won the war, their victory would have been disastrous for freedom and democracy throughout the world. He, however, added that the victory of the United Nations had thus far been a victory only in war, and not in peace.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, in his book, "Ambedkar Refuted," wrote, "It is a pity that Dr. Ambedkar ignores and understates the good work done by the Congress under the inspiration and driving force of Gandhiji."

20th. The Government of India announced an All-India agricultural and food policy. The policy was defined as intended to promote the welfare of the people and to secure a progressive improvement of their standard of living."

The All-India I. N. A. Enquiry and Relief Committee, which met in New Delhi, under the presidentship of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, adopted resolutions expressing regret at "the delay and obstruction on the part of Government of India in dealing with the request of the Committee to send a deputation to Burma and Malaya and the non-receipt of permission to the medical mission for Burma and Malaya organised by Dr. B. C. Roy under the direction of the Congress Working Committee."

21st. The first budget session of the Central Legislative Assembly opened in New Delhi with Sir Cowasji Jehangir as chairman.

The Central Legislative Assembly passed without division an adjournment motion, moved by N. G. Ranga (Congress) to discuss the Government of India's failure to refuse to co-operate with the British Government in their violent operation in Indonesia and Indo-China, even after the war with Japan was over."

Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose, leader of the opposition, said he protested not only on behalf of the Congress party, but the wider Indian public, against the atrocities committed by the Government of India outside India's borders.

22nd. Mr. Shah Nawaz Khan of the I. N. A., who arrived in Calcutta from Delhi for participation in the Netaji birth day celebrations, gave the country a message on the eve of Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose's 50th. birthday.

The Congress Central Election Board announced the names of the Congress candidates for 15 seats for the Bombay Legislative Assembly from the city of Bombay.

Sir Robert Hutchings, Food Secretary to the Government of India, left Washington considerably disappointed with the amounts of rice and wheat India would be able to secure through allocation by the combined Food Board.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, the adjournment motion concerning large scale retrenchment of railwaymen was made the occasion by a number of speakers to air their views on matters not particularly connected with the subject.

Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's 50th. birthday was celebrated in Calcutta and in other parts of India.

23rd. In the Central Legislative Assembly, the Chairman, Sir Cowasjee Jehangir, admitted an adjournment motion tabled by Mr. Mohanlal Saxena (Congress) "to censure the Government for not releasing the detenus detained under Ordinance III of 1944."

Mahatma Gandhi exhorted the people of the South, (in Madras) to learn Hindusthani and contribute to the Harijan Fund.

The City Police of Bombay dispersed a large procession by using tear gas. The police also made lathi charges.

24th. In the Central Legislative Assembly, Mr. G. V. Mavlankar, Congress nominee was elected President of the Central Assembly by 66 votes as against 63 votes secured Sir Cowasjee Jehangir.

Members of the British Parliamentary Delegation met Mahatma Gandhi at his residence in Hindusthani Nagar, Madras.

Mahatma Gandhi, in a reference to his meeting with the members of the Parliamentary Delegates (in Madras , observed : 'Swaraj has to come through our own strength, but we might get help from other quarters. It will be welcome. But we should understand that freedom could never come as a gift from outside."

Mr. Shah Nawaz of the I. N. A. replying to the address of welcome presented to him on behalf of the public of Calcutta, requested Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs and all to unite and send the Britishers out of India.

25th. Members of the Parliamentary Delegation had another meeting with Mahatma Gandhi, in Madras, when issues relating to India's Independence were comprehensively discussed and views exchanged.

The Congress Party won all the 47 General seats in the Assam Legislative Assembly.

The Commissioner of Police, Bombay, following the recrudescence of trouble in the City, issued Curfew order between the hours of 9 p.m. and 6 a m.

Lt. G. Dhillon of the I.N.A., addressing a public meeting in Bombay, paid tribute to the uncompromising spirit of Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose.

26th. The Independence Day was celebrated all throughout India.

The Silver Jubilee celebration of the Dakhina Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha was inaugurated by Mahatma Gandhi, before a gethering of students in Madras.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel stressed the need for unity and discipline for securing the freedom of India at the Independence Day celebration in Delhi.

The Convocation of the Dakhin Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha was held in Madras. Mahatma Gandhi presided.

27th. Mahatma Gandhi addressed a convention of Harijans in Madras.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in a message to London said : "The time has come for the final decision about India's freedom and the ending of colonialism and Imperialism in Asia."

Mahatma Gandhi attended the session of the Constructive Workers' Conference in Madras, when problems relating to women's uplift were discussed. Dr. Mathulakshmi Reddi, in the course of her presidential address, dealt at length with the rights and duties of Indian women

28th. His Excellency the Viceroy said in the Central Legislative Assembly: "I have not come here to make any novel or striking political announcement", and added that His Majesty's Government "have a determination to establish a new Executive Council formed from the political leaders and to bring about a Constitution-making Body or Convention as soon as possible."

Mahatma Gandhi made an exhortation to the new graduates to live up to their pledge to serve India and the cause of unity, through the propagation of Hindusthani, at the Convocation held in Madras, in connection with the Silver Jubilee celebration of the Dakhin Bharat Prachar Sabha.

Acharya J. B. Kripalani General Secretary of the Congress, in an interview at Lucknow, observed: "There is no objection to groups being formed in the Congress provided they do not get their mandate from outside and their first loyalty is to the Congress."

Tho British Parliamentary Delegation met representatives of about half-a dozen political parties and other associations in Calcutta.

Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit arrived at Karachi from America. She observed: "India's struggle is Asia's struggle for freedom from imperialistic yoke."

29th. Mahatma Gandhi addressed the concluding session of the Constructive Workers' Conference in Madras.

The Central Legislative Assembly agreed without a division to a Congress Party motion to appoint a Committee of 9 members to go into the question of India's adherence to the Final Act of Breton-Woods Conference and report at an early date to the House and asking that pending consideration by the Assembly of this report no further action be taken by the Government in respect of the Fund or the Bank.

Pandit Jawaharlal in a statement to the Press at Allahabad, condemned the attacks on the Communist Headquarters in Bombay.

Mrs. Asaf Ali came to Calcutta, the warrant against her being cancelled. She observed: "We do not expect any magnanimity, we do not expect any quarter, nor shall we give any".

30th. The Central Legislative Assembly talked out Dewan Chamanlal's adjournment motion to "discuss the treatment of I. N. A. men in the Bahadurgarh Camp."

Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali, making her first public appearance in Calcutta, after 41 months of underground political life, urged "the total boycott of British goods within the next three months as the best programme before the country. We must be on our guard that power does not slip away to the monopoly capitalists in India"

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in a statement from New Delhi, about the attack on the Head-quarters of the Communist Party in Bombay, said that the attack revealed a state of affairs which deserved the serious consideration of all those who were concerned with the growth of healthy public life in the country.

31st. The Central Legislative Assembly discussed a proposal to make more yarn available to handloom weavers. The debate was on a resolution moved by Syed Ghulam Nairang (Muslim League) recommending that an emergency ordinance be passed compelling cotton textile mills to release at least one-third of the yarn produced by them for the use of handlooms.

The members of the British Parliamentary Delegation met Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at Allahabad.

The Central Assembly carried without division Mr. A. Ayyangar's adjournment motion to censure the Government for "recruiting European officers to the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police permanently in view of the government to hand over the administration very shortly to the people of the country."

February 1946

Mr. Gopinath Bardoloi formed a Ministry in Assam.

The formation of a coalition between the Congress and the groups of Mr. G. M. Syed and Khan Bahadur Maula Bux was announced at Karachi.

H. E. the C. in C. commuted the sentence of life imprisonment on Capt. Abdul Rashid to 7 years' R. I.

Sir J. P. Srivastava announced in the Central Assembly that he proposed to take a delegation to London re. food situation in India.

Mr. Reginald Sorensen, Member of the Parliamentary Delegation, gave the impressions of the tour at Karachi.

The House of Lords gave a second reading to the India Bill.

His Excellency the Viceroy announced the decision of the Government to cut the basic cereal ration all over British India.

In the Central Assembly, Sir Edward Benthall presented the Railway Budget which anticipated a decline of Rs. 48 crores.

At the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference at Allahabad, resolutions were passed urging the removal of restrictions.

Lord Pethick Lawrence expressed confidence about the Cabinet Mission to India.

The House of Lords passed through the Committee Stage of the India Bill.

H. E. the C-in-C commuted the life sentence on Capt. Burhaud-Din to 7 years' R. I.

Mr. Attlee, Prime Minister announced in the House of Commons that three British Ministers were coming to India to discuss with leaders of Indian opinion the framing of an Indian constitution.

1st. The Central Legislative Assembly debated the admissibility of a number of adjournment motions including one on the Government's "silence" about Pandit Nehru's application for a passport to Burma and Malaya.

Mr. Gopinath Bardoloi, Leader of the Congress Party in the Assam Assembly undertook to form a Ministry in Assam.

The Baroda Praja Mandal captured 29 seats out of 31 in the Baroda Legislative Assembly.

The Central Assembly continued the debate on food. Mr. Ram Narain Singh suggested that the inter-district ban on the movement of food grains should be raised immediately and the Central measures relaxed as soon as possible. The Government, he said, should improve irrigation facilities and encourage hand-spinning and weaving as supplementary employment for agriculturists.

2nd. The formation of a coalition between the Congress and the groups of Mr. G. M. Syed and Khan Bahadur Maula Baksh, under the leadership of Mr. Syed, was announced at Karachi.

Mr. C. A. Hartley, Bengal's Director General of Food, told the Associated Press of America: "I can see no reason at the present stage to anticipate any nature of famine in Bengal".

A Press Note stated that the Government of Bengal decided to abolish the tax on profession, trades and callings.

3rd. A manifesto issued by twenty-four leading economists of India on the Indian financial and currency policy, contained a warning to the Government of India that it was driving Indian economy about to the brink of disaster by continuing to finance His Majesty's Government's purchases in India even after the cessation of hostilities by the same inflationary procedure as during the war.

Prof. N. G. Ranga, M.L.A. (Central) presiding over the annual Conference of the Bengal Provincial Students' Conference in Calcutta, stressed on the role that students could play in educating the masses of India.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel had long discussions with Mr. G. M. Syed and Khan Bahadur Haji Maula Baksh on organizational matter of the Sind Assembly Coalition Party.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, speaking at the Martyrs' Day meeting at Allahabad, declared: "I honour the dead of 1942. I am proud of them. I am not at all sorry as some incline to be, on their death.....Even if 2000 people died and died with honour, I would not have been sorry."

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar addressed the concluding session of the Delhi Provincial Scheduled Castes Federation.

4th. The Central Legislative Assembly passed Mr. Ghulam Bhik Nairang's amended resolution for releasing more yarn for the use of handlooms.

The Central Assembly passed without a division Seth Govind Das's adjourn-

ment motion to censure the Government on their "failure" to protect Indian interests in South Africa.

The members of the Parliamentary Delegation had a discussion with Mr. M. A. Jinnah, who amplified for them the various aspects of Pakistan.

In the Central Assembly, the release of all I. N. A. officers and men as well as all political prisoners under detention or imprisonment was urged in a resolution moved by Pandit Govind Malaviya.

H. E. the Commander-in-chief commuted the sentence of life-imprisonment by the Court Martial on Capt. Abdul Rashid to 7 years' rigorous imprisonment.

Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose, in a statement in Calcutta, said: "There have been broad hints about the intention of the British Government in conjunction with the Government of India to dump demobilised British Servicemen on this country to relieve unemployment at home. The policy of the Government of Bengal seems to be in keeping with that move".

5th. In the Central Legislative Assembly, Sir J. P. Srivastava announced during the debate on the food situation that he proposed to take a delegation to London and then to Washington to press India's case for more food grains to meet India's shortage which he estimated at three million tons.

The reconstruction of the Central Government was the subject of a question in the Central Assembly.

Maulana Azad, addressing a Press Conference at Karachi, said that Congress would welcome the formation of an all-party Government in Sind purely on provincial basis.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, Sir M. Yamin Khan was elected Deputy President.

In the Central Assembly, a number of questions relating to constitutional developments were put at question time.

6th. Lord Pethick-Lawrence, Secretary of State for India introduced in the House of Lords and formally read for the first time, "the Statutory bar to future replacement of the existing Viceroy's Executive Council by members drawn from Indian political parties will be removed by a Bill to amend the Government of India Act, 1935."

The death occurred in Calcutta of Sir Upendra Nath Brahmachari.

The Hon. Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Premier of Sind tendered his resignation and that of his colleagues to His Excellency the Governor of Sind.

7th. In the Central Legislative Assembly the President admitted the adjournment motion tabled by Mr. N. V. Gadgil (Congress) to discuss "the imminence of a general strike in the Ports and Telegraphs Department in pursuance of the decisions taken by certain unions."

In the Central Assembly, Mr. Philips Mason, the War Secretary, replying to question about the I. N. A. said that about 19,500 Indian Army members of the I. N. A. had been recovered, of whom 6008 were in custody in India and 2,000 in S. E. Asia.

Mr. Reginald Sorensen, member, British Parliamentary Delegation, declared in New Delhi: "The urgency of the declaration of Indian independence by the British Government cannot be too strongly emphasised."

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad said in Calcutta, "The urgency of the declaration of Indian Independence by the British Government cannot be too strongly emphasised.

Lord Pethick Lawrence said in London, "This year, in the course of the next few months, we hope to make a stride forward and put India in a new position which will mark a milestone in the history of the freedom of the world."

8th. In the Central Legislative Assembly, Mr. H. Weigthman, the External Affairs Secretary, informed Prof. N. G. Ranga that "the refusal to afford facilities for Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to visit Indonesia was made with the agreement of the Supreme Allied Commander in view of the disturbed conditions prevailing there, which made undesirable the presence of any one not engaged in a task of military necessity."

The Muslim League Party in the Central Assembly accepted the Government's invitation to join Sir J. P. Srivastava's delegation to London and Washington to present Indian case for increased import of food-grains.

Acharya J. B. Kripalani declared at Mannargudi, "The freedom of India is the only issue at the moment. Other things pale into insignificance."

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, speaking at a meeting at Barabanki, said that the poverty of the Indian masses was the fundamental problem facing the country.

The British Parliamentary Delegation summing up their impressions of their five weeks' tour of India acknowledged (in New Delhi) that party differences disappeared in the unity of the demand for independence.

President Truman, in a statement at a Press Conference at Washington, threw into relief the grave rice shortage in India.

9th. Mr. Gopinath Bardoloi, leader of the Congress Party in the Assam Assembly, who was asked by H. E. the Governor of Assam to form a Ministry in the province, submitted a list of seven names, including himself as Premier, for his Cabinet.

Mahatma Gandhi, in an article in the 'Harijan', dealt with his tour of Madras Province, his reaction to vast crowds of people that had gathered at his prayer meetings, the untouchability that existed among the people and his feelings when he visited places of pilgrimage.

Mr. P. K. Sehgal, joint Secretary of the All-India I. N. A. Relief Committee, outlined at Lahore the tentative plan for the resettlement of the released I. N. A. personnel, which was formulated by the Committee.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, Mr. H. Y. Oulsnam, Secretary, Health Department, introduced the Pharmacy Bill. The Bill provided for a minimum standard of professional education to practice pharmacy and the establishment of a Central Council of Pharmacy.

10th. Mr. Reginald Sorensen, member of the Parliamentary Delegation, gave his impressions of the tour in a statement to the Press at Karachi.

The Muslim League's demand for two separate Constituent Assemblies—one for Hindustan and the other for Pakistan was reiterated in Calcutta by Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin.

Dr. Syed Abdul Latif, in the course of a speech at Calicut, observed: "The politics of a minority cannot be the politics of the majority; so what is the issue for Muslims in the North-west and North-east India cannot be the issue for Muslims in the South."

11th. His Excellency the Viceroy had a talk with Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in New Delhi, in connexion with the food situation in the country. Mahatma Gandhi had also been invited but as he was not well enough to travel, the Viceroy's Private Secretary proceeded to Wardha to acquaint him with the latest facts of the situation.

A communique announcing Lord Wavell's invitation to Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah said that the Viceroy, "in view of the necessity for full understanding and co-operation by all leaders at this crisis, wishes to acquaint them of the facts and of the measures being taken, and to invite them to use their influence in the country to assist him in meeting the emergency."

The police opened fire on three occasions in Calcutta, during disturbances after students' demonstration to protest against the sentence passed on Mr. Abdul Rashid, an I. N. A. officer.

The Central Legislative Assembly discussed Pandit Malaviya's resolution for the release of I. N. A. men and political detenus.

The Government of Madras launched a scheme for encouraging in the drought-affected districts to sink irrigation wells on a large scale to increase food production.

12th. Mahatma Gandhi made the suggestion at Wardhaganj, that a National Government should be formed, representative of the elected members of the central legislature, irrespective of parties, to meet the food crisis in the country.

The police opened fire on 14 occasions in Calcutta to disperse the mobs. 14 people were killed and about 200 injured.

The Central Legislative Assembly passed without a division Mr. Asaf Ali's adjournment motion to censure Government on its "failure to instruct its delegates to U. N. O. to convey to the Security Council now in session in London the strong views of the elected members of the Assembly on the subject of Anglo-dutch operation against the nationalist forces of Indonesia."

A Press Note issued by the Delhi Government said: "Certain allegations have been made against the local administration in a report on the disturbances in Delhi in August 1942, recently compiled by Mr. Jugal Kishore Khanna, General

Secretary, Delhi Provincial Committee, and reproduced in a certain section of the Press"

13th. The Central Legislative Assembly carried without division Mr. Mohamed Nauman's adjournment motion to discuss the indiscriminate arrest of a large number of Muslim League Workers and others in Delhi by the Delhi police on Feb. 12 in connexion with the peaceful hartal and protest demonstration staged by the Delhi public against the discriminatory treatment meted out to Mr. Abdul Rashid and demand for the release of I. N. A. personnel.

Outrages were committed during continued disturbances in Calcutta despite the presence of military patrols in the streets.

At a meeting of the Postmen and Lower Grade Staff Union at Lahore, Mr. Krishna Prasad gave the assurance that the Government were examining sympathetically postal and telegraph employees' demands in regard to scales of pay and pensions and that energetic steps to redress their genuine grievances were already taken.

H. E. the Governor of Madras appealed to the public at Coimbatore, to extend their co-operation to the Government in its efforts to meet the food crisis.

14th Calcutta was quiet. Traffic in the city remained suspended.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, the Labour Commissioner, Mr. S. C. Joshi introduced a Bill further to amend the Factories Act, 1934.— The amendment seeks to reduce the maximum weekly working houre of 54 and 60 to 48 and 54 for perennial and seasonal factories respectively. The Bill also provided for a corresponding reduction in the daily limits by an hour a day.

Dr. Dalton, Chancellor of the Exchequer during the food debate in the House of Commons, said, "Britain will do her utmost to stave off the shocking calamity overhanging the people of India. But even one utmost may be terribly small."

Sir A. Ramaswami Madaliar, the leader of the Indian delegation to U. N. O. in his speech in London, appealed for help to prevent a famine in India. He also referred to the Bengal famine and said: "While one and a half million died of starvation, and three million unofficially, not one foreigner in India was allowed to starve during that terrible time. This may be a very fantastic way of exercising the traditional Indian hospitality."

The House of Lords gave a second reading to the India (Central Government and Legislature) Bill.

15th. The police opened fire at Meerut on a crowd which tried to break through a police cordon and attacked them with brickbats.

A communique issued from New Delhi, set out the reasons why it was decided to commute the life sentence passed on Capt. Shah Nawaz and the other two accused in the first I. N. A. case and award a sentence of seven years' R. I. in Capt. Abdul Rashid's case.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, addressing a gathering at Gorakhpur, said: "India is on the threshold of tremendous changes. She is restless and fully prepared to wrest power from unwilling hands."

16th. Mr. Tushar Kanti Ghosh, presiding over the fifth session of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference held in Allahabad, declared: "Nothing short of a radical change of the Government and their policy will assure anything like the freedom of the Press or freedom of information, which is necessary for peace in India, no less than world peace."

His Excellency the Viceroy in a broadcast from New Delhi, on the "very serious shortage of food" in India, stated that as a method of meeting it, the Government had decided to cut the basic cereal ration all over British India from one pound to 12 ounces, with 4 ounces more for manual workers. He said, "I entirely appreciate that this is an inadequate ration, but it is all that our present resources will allow. If we get additional resources that will enable us to increase this ration, we shall certainly do so."

The U. S. Government was ready to give all possible help to the Indian Food Delegation.

His Excellency the Governor of Bengal met several leading Calcutta citizens representing different communities and interests at a Conference at Government House (Calcutta) when the food situation was discussed, Sir Frederick Burrows, Governor-designate, Bengal, was also present.

Hakim Abdul Jalil Nadvi, President of the Peshawar Congress Committee,

said at Peshawar, "The Frontier Province has given a verdict against the Muslim League."

17th. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in a Press interview said that the food situation in India must not be used as a "political football."

Mr. Jinnah, in a statement said that the Government of India Press Communique concerning their policy of trial and punishment of Indian "National" Army men, issued last week, was "legally wrong, logically untenable and indefensible."

The Government of Bengal issued a Press Note explaining the position in respect of the "protected areas" in Calcutta.

His Excellency Mr. R. G. Casey in a broadcast speech bade good bye to the Province of Bengal, on the eve of his retirement from the Governorship of the Province.—He announced that the Central Government made provision in the Budget for a subvention to Bengal of about Rs. 7 crores.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, in a statement on the Calcutta disturbances, said, "The Government must share a large share of responsibility for whatever has happened. At the same time, students and young men must act with a greater sense of responsibility if they are to serve the cause of Indian freedom."

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in a statement from Allahabad, declared that the reason why the Congress representatives declined to join the Food Delegation going to Britain and America was that it included members who share responsibility for the Bengal Famine and on that ground no one trusts them. Such a delegation should have "a really national character".

18th. In the Central Legislative Assembly, Sir Edward Benthall, War Transport Member, presented the Railway Budget which anticipated a decline of Rs. 48 crores in gross traffic receipts in 1946-47.

In the Central Assembly, Sir Archibald Rowlands, Finance Member, introduced a Bill, in which he proposed a decimal system of coinage.

Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose, in a statement to the Press from New Delhi, referred to rumours about plans for the arrest of Mr. G. M. Syed and one or two more members of the opposition in the Sind Assembly. He appealed to Lord Wavell to see that the Constitution is not violated by the adoption of "devious and and underhand methods."

At the All India Newspaper Editors' Conference at Allahabad, resolutions were passed urging the removal of the restriction, demanding the incorporation in the new constitution of India of a declaration safeguarding freedom of the Press and welcoming the Government's decision to continue the consultative machinery.

19th. Mr. Attlee, Prime Minister announced in the House of Commons and Lord Pethick-Lawrence in the House of Lords: "Three British Cabinet Ministers are going to India to discuss with leaders of Indian opinion the framing of an Indian constitution. They are Lord Pethick Lawrence, Secretary of the State for India, Sir Stafford Cripps, President of the Board of Trade and Mr. A. V. Alexander, first Lord of the Admiralty."

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President, in a statement, said that if the British Government failed to honour the September, 1945 declaration in letter and in spirit the Congress would consider the necessary steps for a final and decisive struggle. The Congress decision to wait and watch should not be construed as unwillingness to fight.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said with reference to the visit to India of three British Ministers. "Such a group might help to fill in the details of arrangements for independence, but the first requirement was recognition and proclamation of India's right to full independence."

The Council of State rejected by 23 votes to 13, Mr. V. V. Kalikar's resolution recommending the withdrawal of pending I. N. A. trials and the unconditional release of I. N. A. officers and men.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, Mr. Philip Mason, War Secretary, in reply to Mr. Ranga, made a statement on the nine I.N.A. men who were hanged.

Fifty members of the "Azad Hind Fauz" were released from Bahadurgarh camp.

20th. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in an interview on H.M.G.'s decision to send a Cabinet mission to India, said: "I have already made it clear that we are definitely opposed to the setting up of a single constitution-making body and also to the formation of what is now described as a representative political executive of the Governor-General as an interim arrangement."

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, commenting on the proposed visit of the British Cabinet Delegation, said: "I earnestly hope that India's problems will be solved by negotiation and that India will not have to resort to any further struggle to attain her goal of independence."

Mr. A. dec. Williams, Food Commissioner, Bengal, announced a cut of over 6 oz in the daily ration.

Lord Pethick Lawrence told a Press Conference of Empire journalists in London, about the Cabinet Mission to India that he had every confidence not only that the Mission would reach a solution, but would reach it in a reasonable time.

His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal, Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, appealed to Indians to make a united effort for achievement of Indian national freedom, based on compromise and mutual sacrifice.

21st. British military police opened fire near the Town Hall, Bombay, following a tense situation connected with the naval ratings' strike.

22nd. The R. I. N. ratings who sought Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's advice, informed Sardar Patel that they had decided to accept his advice to surrender unconditionally.

Sardar Patel told the R. I. N. repesentatives, "The Congress will do its best to see that there is no victimization and that the legitimate demands of the naval ratings are accepted as soon as possible."

The House of Lords passed through the Committee stage the India (Central Government and Legislature) Bill which removed the limitation on membership of the Viceroy's Executive Council which might be an obstacle to the Viceroy in reforming that Council in accordance with Indian opinion.

British troops fired several rounds to disperse a riotous and menacing mob in Bombay.

The Government of India ordered the release of Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar, who was in detention.

23rd. Mahatma Gandhi, in a statement, said, "I have followed the events now happening in India with painful interest. This mutiny in the Navy and what is following is not, in any sense of the term, non-violent action.

Disturbances broke out in Bombay. The police and military opened fire many times on unruly and menacing crowds, resulting in more casualties.

All the R. I. N. ships under the control of mutineers surrendered unconditionally. It was officially stated that the surrender was accepted.

The police opened fired on an unruly crowd at Karachi.

The Central Legislative Assembly passed by 74 votes to 40, Mr. Asaf Ali's adjournment motion to discuss "the grave situation that has arisen in respect of the Royal Indian Navy affecting practically the whole of it as a result of mishandling by the immediate authorities concerned."

A Rs. 7 crore irrigation scheme of great importance to Bengal, was sanctioned by the Government.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in a telegram to the British Centre made the demand that the British people should press for the abandonment of Imperialism in India.

24th. Looting, burning and destruction of public property continued in Bombay for many hours after Curfew came into force.—Police opened fire twice and four persons were injured as a result of the firing.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah addressing a meeting in Calcutta, said. "we are fighting the elections not to capture the Ministries in the provinces, but to give a decent burial to the Government of India Act, 1935, and thus establish Pakistan in the country."

Mahatma Gandhi, in an article in the 'Harijan', amplified his outlook towards the threatened food crisis by commenting on various points.

The Frontier Congress Parliamentary Party, which met at Peshawar, under the chairmanship of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad decided to act under the guidance of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan in the matter of formation of a Ministry in the Province.

25th. In the Central Legislative Assembly, the financial aspect of better amenities for railway passengers and increased pay to lower paid staff, was discussed during the debate on a Congress Party cut motion which was passed without a division.

Gen. Sir Claude Auchinleck, C-in-C India, in a broadcast from New Delhi,

on the R. I. N. strike said that there would be no collective punishment, no vindictive action or indiscriminate retribution but the ringleaders and others would be individually tried and those found guilty would be punished.

The situation in Bombay was quiet.

26th. His Excellency Sir Arthur Hope relinquished the office of the Governor of Madras and left Madras for Bombay enroute to England.

The Breton-woods Committee's interim report presented to the Central Assembly endorsed the statement made in the House by the Finance Member that India was not bound in any way by the terms of the Anglo-American Loan Agreement of December, 1945.

Lord Pethick-Lawrence, Secretary of State for India at a dinner in London, expressed confidence in the success of his miasion to India because of the men with whom he was going.

Mahatma Gandhi, in a statement, declared, "The barricade life has always to be followed by the constitutional. That front is not taboo for ever. Emphatically, it betrays want of foresight to disbelieve British delegation and precipitate a quarrel in anticipation."

H.E. the C-in-C. India commuted the life sentence passed on Capt. Burhanud-Din, Baluch Regiment to one of 7 years' rigorous imprisonment.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, a Muslim League cut motion to reduce the demand under the head "open Line Works" by Rs. 3,47,98,000 was carried by 66 votes 36.

27th. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, (in Bombay) answered many questions in a Press Conference on subjects including the British Cabinet Delegation, the R. I. N. disorders, the place of the Defence Services in the national struggle for freedom, underground activities, so called revolutionary programmes and violence and non-violence.

In the Legislative Assembly, the Finance Member, Sir Archibald Rowlands said that he had telegraphed to London in an attempt to establish the authenticity of a reported press interview with British officials on the question of India's sterling balance.

28th. In the Central Legislative Assembly, the Finance Member presenting the first post-war budget, indicated a revenue deficit of Rs. 144·95 crores as against 155·29 crores anticipated in the Budget Estimates.

Sir Claude Auchinleck, C-in-C in India announced in the Council of State that the withdrawal of Indian troops from Indonesia would start from Mach 1.

March 1946

The three members of the British Cabinet Mission—Lord Pethick-Lawrence, Sir Stafford Cripps and Mr. A. V. Alexander—arrived in India.

Lord Pethick-Lawrence stated in Delhi: "We have come.....to play our full part as representing His Majesty's Government in helping Indians to achieve their independence"

Mr. Attlee, Prime Minister, said in the House of Commons: "It is no good applying the formula of the past to the present position".

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad defined the attitude of the Congress in tackling the food problem.

Employees of the post officers and of the R. M. S. in Calcutta and Howrah resolved to go on strike from the 23rd. March, unless their grievances were redressed.

The formation of a coalition Party in the Punjab Assembly was announced.

The Congress Working Committee met in Bombay. The Committee chiefly discussed the food situation in the country and the visit of the Cabinet Mission.

The life of the Council of State was extended.

Invitations were sent out on behalf of the Viceroy and the Cabinet Delegation to Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah for interviews with the delegation.

Mr. Srikrishna Sinha was requested by the Governor of Bihar to form a Ministry.

Mr. Gopinath Bardoloi, Premier, Assam Assembly made a speech re. educational policy of the Government.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, the Finance Member announced the re-introduction of the half-anna post card.

Sir A. R. Mudaliar announced the allotments of wheat and rice by the combined Food Board.

1st. The Central Legislative Assembly passed the Finance Member's motion expressing assent to the interim report of its committee on the Bretton Woods Agreements.

Mr. C. E. Clarke, presiding at the annual meeting of the Calcutta Trades Association, said, "India can look forward to an era of continued progress in the field of trade and commerce provided that economies are not so greatly overshadowed by politics."

The Nawab of Mamdot, Leader of the Muslim League Assembly Party in the Punjab, had an interview with Sir Bertrand Glancy, Governor of the Punjab.

2nd. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in a statement to the Press, defined the general attitude of the Congress on the question of tackling the food problem.

Spokesmen of the Food, Agriculture and the Health Departments stated to Press correspondents in New Delhi, that distress had already manifested itself in five districts in Bombay, four districts in Mysore State and two districts in Madras, and that relief work had been started in the said areas.

Lord Halifax (the former Viceroy) in a statement in New York, declared: "India's best interests demand that complete transfer of responsibility from the British to Indian hands should be made in good order if that is humanly possible."

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru declared at Jhansi, "If the British Cabinet Mission fails to solve the pressing problems which are clamouring for a solution, a politicel earthquake of a devastating intensity would sweep the entire country."

3rd. The Health Survey and Development Committee presided over by Sir Joseph Bhore recommended a free-to-all medical service costing Rs. 1,000 crores in the first ten years alone.

Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, President of the United Nations Economic and Social Council said at Ottawa that he had received the Canadian Government's assurances that it would "do all that was possible in the circumstances to help alleviate the distress that threatened India."

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel said in Bombay, "India must be free and was bound to be free in the course of this year."

4th. His Excellency the Governor of Bengal decided to restore the status quo in respect of the Bengal Sales Tax.

The Dehra Dun Express coming to Calcutta collided with a goods train at Baghauli railway Station.

Employees of post offices and of the R. M. S. in Calcutta and Howrah at a meeting in Calcutta, endorsed the notice given by the Federation of Postal and Telegraphs Unions to go on strike from March 23rd, if the demands of the men were not met by the authorities.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, the principal criticisms of the Budget centred around the huge demand for the Defence.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, in a statement in Bombay, expressed the view that if the political issues between Britain and India were not satisfactorily settled, India would reluctantly withdraw from the Bretton-Woods Conference.

5th. In the Central Legislative Assembly, Mr. P. J. Griffiths, leader of the European Group, said that the Finance Minister had stated that this would be the last Budget introduced by a British Finance Member and the destinies of the country before the next Budget would pass entirely into Indian hands.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah addressing a public meeting at Shillong reiterated the

Muslim League's demand for the inclusion of Assam in the eastern zone of Pakistan.

The formation of a coalition Party in the Punjab Assembly with the Congress, the Akali and the Unionist Parties as constituent units was announced at Lahore.

The Central Government referred the dispute between the Indian Posts and Telegraph Department for adjudication under the Defence of India Rules to Mr. Rajadhyaka of the Bombay High Court.

6th. The Central Legislative Assembly passed by 56 votes to 36, Mr. A. Ayyangar's adjournment motion to censure the Government on the accident to the Dehra Dun Express at Baghauli.

His Excellency the Governor of the Punjab called upon Sir Khizar Hayat Tiwana, leader of the Unionist Party to form a ministry.

The Council of State held a general discussion on the Budget.

7th. Mr. M. A. Jinnah in an interview said: "I am more than happy that we have already won the battle of Pakistan in the Punjab by carrying away 90p.c. of the Muslim seats."

Malik Sir Khizar Hyat Khan stated at Lahore, "The policy to be pursued by the Coalition Ministry in the economic sphere will continue to be the uplift of the backward classes and areas, rural as well as urban."

Demonstration against Victory Day celebration turned into mob violence and incendiarism.

H E. Sir Frederick Burrows, Governor of Bengal, in his first broadcast to the people of the province from Calcutta, said: "I have come out here to work with you for the fulfilment of your hopes and the creation of conditions under which your higher aspirations can be achieved.

8th. The Central Legislative Assembly passed without a division the adjournment motion moved by Nawab Siddique Alikhan (Muslim League) to censure Government on "shooting of innocent citizens and use of tear gas and lathi charges against them by the police in Delhi."

Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Sind Premier in an interview said: "In order to have a stable Ministry in Sind, there should be fresh election."

9th. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who was invited to address the Calcutta University convocation, spoke about the role that Indian Universities should play in building a new India.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, addressing a labour rally at Howrah said that the Congress was fully prepared to meet the Cabinet Mission and talk to them frankly.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, replying to an address in Calcutta, said that a new technique was being used by the Congress to persuade the British Government to come to a settlement with them.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, observed at Bardoli, 'The British are saying they want to go from India. We may feel that the Imperialists are not sincere, but yet we should believe them and give them a chance to quit peacefully."

10th. Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, head of the Indian Food Mission to London and Washington, stated at Washington that the Mission had completed presentation of its case to the Combined Food Board and was awaiting the Board's decision.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, addressing a meeting at Chittagong, said, "We have reached the door of Swaraj. But the door is still closed and has to be opened."

With reference to the R. I. N. Ratings' strike, Mahatma Gandhi observed that success through mutiny would not help India.

11th. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru observed at Dacca: "Violence is a sign of weakness. Killing one or two persons by throwing a bomb could not bring Swaraj."

A dozen Muslim League members were expelled from the League for contesting the elections to the provisional Assembly against League candidates in Bengal.

The Central Legislative Assembly passed without a division the Congress Party's cut motion to censure Government on its failure to carry out its policy of development in Civil Aviation with Indian capital and under Indian management.

12th. The Congress Working Committee met in Bombay under the presidentship of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. Mahatma Gandhi was also present.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru explained the difference between the Congress idea of self-determination and Pakistan, in an interview in Calcutta.

Police opened fire at Cawnpore when rioting broke out in the City.

The Central Legislative Assembly, by 61 votes to 40, cut Rs. 93,34,000 out of the demand for Rs. 1 36,29,000 for the Information and Arts Departments.

The Budget Session of the Assam Legislative Assembly and the Assam Legislative Council commenced.—There was a closing balance of over Rs. 57 lakhs.

The life of the Council of State was extended till the end of the year.

The Budget session of the Sind Legislative Assembly commenced.

The Council of State negatived Pandit Kunzru's resolution asking the Government of India to take immediate steps to stop recruitment of non-Indians to the I. C. S. and Indian Police.

13th. The Congress Working Committee considered in Bombay what should be the attitude of the Congress Party in the Central Legislature towards the Finance Bill, in view of the special appeal of the Viceroy not to throw it out.

Lord Rankeillom stated in the House of Lords that the British Government did not intend to publish the Cabinet instructions to the Cabinet Mission to India and that the precise application of the principles underlying the 1942 declaration relating to Indian States and the protection of minorities would be subject to modification in the light of the Mission's discussions.

The Central Legislative Assembly passed without a division Prof. Ranga's cut motion to censure Government on the "negligence", inefficiency and failure of the Food Department to tackle the food problem satisfactorily."

The C-in-C. commuted the death sentence passed by the Court Martial in Subedar Shingam Singh and Jem. Fateh Khan of the I. N. A. to 14 years' rigorous imprisonment.

At the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes in New Delhi, the general food situation in the country with particular reference to the Indian States was reviewed.

14th. The Congress Working Committee in Bombay discussed the food situation in the country. Mahatma Gandhi suggested the appointment of a Sub-committee to prepare a report on the food situation and accordingly a Sub-committee was appointed

The Congress Party in the Central Legislative Assembly decided to vote against the Finance Bill at the consideration stage. That did not necessarily mean the rejection of the Bill.

Mrs. Bonily Khongmen was elected Deputy Speaker of the Assam Assembly when the House met at Shillong.

Mahatma Gandhi made an appeal to the people of India to await patiently the outcome of the British Cabinet Mission and to give the British Government a chance to fulfil their promises to India.

15th. The Congress Working Committee, in a resolution adopted at its meeting in Bombay on the international situation, deplored the prevailing tendencies in the world and said that peace and freedom could not grow out of the seeds of continuing conflict and war.

An urgent communication from the Viceroy to Mahatma Gandhi containing a new proposal in regard to the food situation was delivered by Mr. Abell, Private Secretary to the Viceroy.

Mr. Attlee, Prime Minister, said in the House of Commons, "It is not good applying the formula of the past to the present position. The temperature of 1946 is not the temperature of 1920, 1930 or even 1942 The slogans of earlier days have been discarded. Sometimes, words that seemed at that time to Indians to express the height of their aspiration are now set aside and other words and ideas thrust forward..... we cannot allow a minority to place their veto on the advance of a majority."

The four-day session of the Congress Working Committee concluded after giving the final touches to the "instrument of instructions" to the Cnngress delegation which would meet the British Cabinet Mission.—The whole of the afternoon sitting was devoted to the discussion of the visit of the British Cabinet Ministers.

In the Assam Legislative Assembly, members of the Muslim League Party expressed disapproval of the Budget for 1946-47 presented by the Congress Ministry.

The Government of Madras issued a Press Note explaining the scheme of intensive procurement of food grains in operation in the Province

The Central Legislative Assembly agreed to refer the Finance Member's Income-tax Act Amendment Bill to a Select Committee.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru declared in Bombay, that "Indian opinion as a whole, will strongly resent any aggression on Iran or Turkey by any Power."

16th. In the general debate in the House of Commons, Mr. Godfrey Nicholson, a member of the Parliamentary Delegation to India said that he found India a changed country—India was politically adult.

The Nawab of Chhattari, President of the Nizam's Executive Council, Mr. W. V. Grigson, the Rev. Mr. Whittaker were injured, when a large crowd armed with lathis, swords and lances forced itself into Shah Manzil, Hyderabad (Dn).

Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose, in a statement welcomed Mr. Attlee's speech in the House of Commons.

In the Assam Legislative Assembly, during the Budget debate, members protested against the Congress Ministry's attitude towards immigrants in the province.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru welcomed the "change in tone and approach" in Mr. Attlee's speech in the House of Commons.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in a statement regretted that "Mr. Attlee has done rope-walking when he said "on the other hand we cannot allow a minority to place a veto on the advance of a majority".

17th. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, speaking on the "Hindusthani Culture" in Bombay, said that in order to create a new India, it was necessary that cultural harmony should be created among the communities of India.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru left for Malaya for a short tour of the Colony.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah accused Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress of spoiling the atmosphere for negotiation with the British Cabinet Mission.

18th. An official Communique stated in New Delhi that invitations were sent out on behalf of the Viceroy and the Cabinet Delegation to Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah for interviews with the delegation on April 3 and 4 respectively.

Bengal Government's plans to grow more food in the province were explained at a Press Conference in Calcutta.

The Congress President, in an interview in New Delhi, declared that he saw no reason why a solution of the Indian problem should not be considered hopeful.

In the Frontier Assembly, Mr. Abdul Quaiyum asked a series of questions on the food situation.

19th. The British Cabinet Mission left Britain by air after farewell statements by its three members expressing high hopes for successful fulfilment of their task.

The Assam Legislative Assembly passed the demands for grants under the head "General Administration Land Revenue and Veterinary."

The Madras Budget for 1946 disclosed a Surplus of Rs. 61 68 100.

In the Sind Assembly, the no-confidence motion against the Sind Home Minister, Mir Ghulam Ali, was defeated by 30 votes against 29.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, the debate on the first reading of the finance Bill began. Dewan Chamanlal opened the debate. He said that the Finance member's proposals should be considered in the context of the situation in India.

20th. In the Council of State, Sir J. P. Srivastava, initiating the food debate, gave an indication that the reported deadlock in the combind Food Board in Washington on the question of World wheat distribution would not in any way affect India's prospects of getting sufficient quantities of food grains.

Gen. Sir Claude Auchinleck, C-in-C, India in an interview in London, said, "the strength of the three Indian fighting services, the Army, Navy and the Air Force, when present plans for demobilization have been carried out, should be adequate to fulfil the local defence commitments of a self-governing India."

When the Central Legislative Assembly resumed further consideration of the Finance Bill, non-official members who participated in the debate expressed themselves strongly against the abolition of the E. P. T.

Two members of the Indian Food Delegation issued a direct appeal to the people of United States to help India.

21st. In the Central Legislative Assembly, during the debate on the Finance Bill, Mr. T Chapman Mortimer supported the removal of the Excess Profits Tax.

In the Central Assembly, Estates not exceeding Rs. 100,000 in value were exempt under the Estate Duty Bill as introduced by the Finance Member.

H H. the Maharaja of Cochin announced at the installation Durbar, his decision to appoint a second Minister from among the elected members of the Legislature.

22nd. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, on the eve of the British Cabinet Mission's arrival in India, discussed the prospects of the negotiations in Bombay.

Leaders of the Nationalist Party, addressing a meeting in the Durban City Hall announced their party's approval of the Land Tenure Section of the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Bill.

In New Delhi, tear gas was twice used on a procession of about 100 police men in front of the Faiz Bazar police station.

The Shiromani Akali Dal made a demand for the creation of a Sikh State which should include a substantial majority of the Sikh population and their sacred shrines and historic gurdwaras.

23rd. The Cabinet Mission arrived at Karachi by plane.

Lord Pethick Lawrence, in a statement said: "As my colleages and I set foot on the soil of India, we bring to the people of this country, on behalf of the British Government and of the British people, a message of cordial friendship and good will—We are convinced that India is on the threshold of great future."

Mr, Sri Krishna Sinha, former Prime Minister, was requested by H. E. the Governor to form a Ministry in Bihar.

Mahatma Gandhi characterized the experiment of introduction of decimal coinage in India, as, 'scientific and yet manifestly against the immediate interests of the poor."

24th. Lord Pethick-Lawrence, Sir Stafford Cripps and Mr. A. V. Alexander, (of the Cabinet Mission) arrived at New Delhi and were welcomed by His Excellency the Viceroy.

Dr. N. B Khare, Member for Commonwealth Relations, Government of India, speaking at Nagpur made a plea to U. N. O. to take up the issue raised by the Asiatic land tenure legislation under discussion in the Union Parliament.

At Karachi, a resolution urging upon the members of the British Cabinet Mission not to force upon India any constitution which did not accede to the demand of Pakistan was passed at a meeting held in observance of the Pakistan Day.—Mr. M. A. Gazdar presided.

The view that the Indian States should be represented on the Constituent Assembly by elected representatives of the States' people was expressed in a resolution passed by the Deccan States' Convention at Sangli, under the presidentship of Mr. A. B. Lathe.

25th. Lord Pethick-Lawrence, Sir Stafford Cripps and Mr. A. V. Alexander, (members of the Cabinet Mission) answered several questions in New Delhi, re. Mr. Attlee's statement in the House of Commons on March 15, that "we cannot allow a minority to place their veto on the advance of a majority."

The Central Legislative Assembly rejected Mr. Asaf Ali's adjournment motion regarding the Delhi police strike.

In the Assam Legislative Assembly, Mr. Gopinath Bardoloi, Premier, made a speech on the educational policy to be pursued in Assam with particular reference to primary, secondary and collegiate education.

In the Central Assembly, the debate on the Finance Bill was resumed.

The Budget session of the Padukottah Legislative Council commenced at the Durbar Hall. Khan Bahadur P. Khalifulla presided.

The Sind League Ministry was defeated by 30 votes to 29.

Lord-Pethick-Lawrence, Secretary of State for India made a declaration in New Delhi: "We have come with only one fixed intention, and that is to play our full part as representing His Majesty's Government in helping Indians to achieve their independence. Beyond that we have open minds and are not committed to any particular views. But that does not mean we come in a hesitant or indecisive frame of mind."

26th. The Council of State by 23 votes to 19 rejected Rai Bahadur Satyendra

Kumar Das's resolution recommending to the Government of India "to direct all the Provincial Governments to continue to pay all the State and Security prisoners their allowances at the rates which they were being paid at the time of their release up to six months after their release so that they may re-seek out their source of income."

Mr Attlee, Prime Minister, stated in the House of Commons that he had informed the Prime Ministers of South Africa, Australia, New Zealand and Canada before he made his statement of India on March 15.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, Sir J. P. Srivastava, Food Member, said that while no dependable allocation had been made, imports of food grains were likely to be 64 pc. of India's demand on the Combined Food Board.

H. E. H. the Nizam issued a firman published in the Gazette Extraordinary on the Hyderabad disturbances.

27th. In the Central Legislative Assembly, the Finance Member announced the restoration of the half anna post-card, reduction in the Kerosine duty and reduction of the price of match-box to half-anna a box.

The Bihar Budget showed a surplus of Rs. 50 lakhs for 1946-47.

The Cabinet Delegation were in Conference with the Viceroy and the Secretary of State had a talk with the Food Member and the Director-General of Food.

28th. The Cabinet Mission had a 2½ hours' Conference with the Provincial Governors, in New Delhi.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, the Finance Bill, as amended to provide for reductions in taxation announced by Sir Archibald Rowlands, was passed by 63 votes to 57.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad declared at Lucknow: "The Indian National Congress will never agree to the setting up of two Constituent assemblies."

Bengal's first post war budget (for 1946-47), revealed a revenue deficit of Rs. 9½ crores.

29th. The British Cabinet Delegation again met all the Provincial Governors in group in New Delhi.

In the Council of State, the Finance Minister, Sir Cyril Jones introduced the Finance Bill.

30th. Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, on his return to India, announced at Karachi that the Combined Food Board had allotted 145,000 tons of rice and 1,400,000 tons of wheat and maize for India for the Calendar year 1946.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, as President of the All-India States' Peoples Conference in a statement at Allahabad, said: "Any major change in India and certainly the recognition of India's independence must take into consideration the States' (peoples) problem."

The Council of State continued the debate on the Finance Bill and passed the third reading by 30 votes to 4.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, the Congress Party moved a "cut" reducing the demand under customs by Rs. 2 lakhs representing dearness and war allowances paid to officers drawing Rs. 1,000 per month and above.

31st. Sir Chandulal Trivedi, Governor-designate of Orissa, and lady Trivedi arrived at Cuttack by air from Delhi.

Sir Badridas Goenka, speaking at the 19th. annual meeting of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry in New Delhi, extended the fullest co-operation to the Cabinet Mission reaching an immediate settlement.

The Sind Assembly restored the rejected grant under head "Forests" for Rs. 7,99,000.

April 1946

The British Cabinet Mission began their task of meeting India's political leaders.—Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Mahatma Gandhi, the Indian Princes, the representatives of the Europeans and Anglo-Indians, the Sikh leaders, and the representatives of the landholders and various other representatives were interviewed in New Delhi.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru suggested the formation of an "Interim Government."

The Bombay Ministry was sworn in.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah reiterated his views on Pakistan.

The Cabinet Mission made an appeal to Indian leaders for their utmost efforts to reach a solution acceptable to all sides.

The Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha submitted a memorandum to the Cabinet Mission recommending immediate declaration of India's independence.

The All-India Landholders' Delegation submitted a memorandum to the Cabinet Mission.

The Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri died at Mylapore.

Pandit Ravi Shankar Shukla formed a Ministry in the C. P.

Mr H. S. Suhrawardy formed a Ministry in Bengal.

The Congress Ministry in Orissa was sworn in at Cuttack with Mr. Hare Krishna Mahtab as the Premier.

Mr. Herbert Hoover made an appeal to the people of the U. S. and Australia to help the famine-striken people of India.

The Cabinet Mission discussed alternative proposals that might be put to the Congress and the Muslim League.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad suggested the name of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as the next President of the Indian National Congress.

The Cabinet Mission, in a statement, said that the Delegation wanted to find a basis for settlement by agreement between the main parties.

The Congress Ministry in Madras was formed with Mr. T. Prakasam as the Premier.

1st. The British Cabinet Mission began their task of meeting India's political leaders.—Dr Khan Sahib, Congress Premier of the N. W. F. P. was the first to be interviewed in New Delhi.

Sir Stafford Cripps had an interview with Mahatma Gandhi. He also joined a Press Conference in New Delhi.

The first Indian Governor of Orissa (Sir Chandulal Trivedi) was sworn in at Cuttack.

The Central Legislative Assembly continued the debate on Pandit Govind Malaviya's resolution urging the abandonment of I. N. A. trials and release of all men and officers of the I. N. A., as well as political prisoners under detention.

The Budget session of the Sind Assembly concluded and the House was prorogued.

2nd. The Cabinet Mission discussed problems of Indian States with the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes and five other Princes.

Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, leader of the Muslim League Party, Bengal, was asked by H. E. the Governor to assist him in the formation of a Cabinet.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, in a statement from Calcutta, said: "There has been an inter-provincial conspiracy of Government officials in order to do everything possible to help the cause of Muslim League candidates and thus try to weaken the Indian National struggle for independence.

The Central Legislative Assembly discussed non-official Bills.

Mahatma Gandhi issued a statement on the implications of "Quit India".

3rd. The Cabinet Mission had their first interviews with Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Mahatma Gandhi in New Delhi.—The atmosphere at both interviews was very friendly.

Sir Tej Bahadur told Press correspondents in New Delhi, that in his talks with the Cabinet Mission he laid stress on the necessity of an interim Government being formed "almost immediately."

Mahatma Gandhi observed: "It is unmanly to disbelieve the Cabinet Mission."

The States Constitutional Advisory Committee at a meeting in New Delhi, heard

from the Chancellor, the Nawab of Bhopal, an appreciation of the main trend of discussions between the Princes' delegation and the Cabinet Mission.

The Central Legislative Assembly passed the Finance Member's Bill to further amend the Indian Income-Tax Act (1922) as reported by the Select Committee.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru made the prediction in New Delhi that if "the people of India are suddenly confronted with the prospect of no independence coming by agreement, there will inevitably be an enormous upheaval in India".

The Bombay Ministry was sworn in

The Congress President in his meeting with the Cabinet Delegation stressed the firm and unalterable view of the Congress that a single Constitution-making body should be formed to frame the Constitution for a single united India.

The Council of State continued discussion on Pandit H. N. Kunzru's resolution on Kenya

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan of Travancore said in New Delhi: "The emergence of Pakistan will lead to the inevitable elimination of India as a world power, and therefore Pakistan should be opposed at all costs.

4th. The Cabinet Mission met Mr. M A. Jinnah and Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Premier of Sind

Mr. Attlee said in the House of Commons: The claims of Indian people, who fought alongside Britain and of liberated countries must rate higher than those of the Germans and the Japanese"

Sir J. P. Srivastava, Food Member, addressing the Central Food Advisory Council, said that measures taken by Government to solve the problem of food shortage consisted largely of steps to maximize imports of food grains and to mobilize to the utmost all available internal resources.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru said in New Delhi, "The British ought to make it clear to India that they are not going to force Pakistan upon the Hindus."

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in a statement in New Delhi, said, "The elections in Bengal were reduced to mockery."

The Central Assembly passed Dr. Ambedkar's Bill to further amend the Factories Act (1934).

5th. The Cabinet Mission interviewed Sikh leaders, the Punjab Premier and the Scheduled Caste leader, Dr. Ambedkar.—The Sikh leaders declared themselves unequivocally in favour of a united India but stated that if Pakistan come into existence the Sikhs must have a separate State of their own in the Punjab

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru declared in New Delhi, "The Congress is not going to agree to the League demand for Pakistan under any circumstances whatsoever—even if the British Government agrees to it."

Mr. H S. Suhrawady, replying to the Congress President's statement, re: elections in Bengal said, "If there has been any official interference during the recent elections in Bengal, it has been on behalf of the Congress".

Mahatma Gandhi declared in New Delhi, 'we should be all proud of the I. N. A. men."

The Central Legislative Assembly passed the Bill to amend the Indian Cocoanut Committee Act, 1944, seeking to provide for the creation of a cocoanut Improvement Fund.

6th. The Premiers of Bombay, U. P. and Bihar and Pandit Ravi Shankar and Mr. Hare Krishna Mahtab talked with the Cabinet Mission. They met the Mission jointly

Pandit Pant, Premier of the U. P., who acted as the principal spokesman, told the Associated Press of India that the discussions with the Mission covered the whole field of Indian political question, such as independence, United India, Pakistan, establishment of an interim Government with popular support and cognate matters.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, Dewan of Travancore, said in an interview that the Princes would be ready to surrender to a duly constituted Central Government, in which they would have a voice on such things as National Defence, External Affairs, customs and communication, but would never submit to a division of India.

Allama Mashriqui, the Khaksar leader, in a statement from New Delhi, said, "I entirely agree with the Congress President that the Muslim League could

not possibly have secured the number of seats that it has if British officials had not openly supported it everywhere."

Mr Hare Krishna Mahtab, in a note presented to the Cabinet Mission, made a strong plea for the amalgamation of 26 Orissa States of the Agency with Orissa province.

There was an informal interview between Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Lord Pethick-Lawrence.

7th. Mr. M. A. Jinnah addressing the Muslim League Legislators' Convention in New Delhi said, "So far as Muslim India was concerned, the conception of a United India is impossible. If any attempt is made to force a decision against the wishes of the Muslims, Muslim India will resist it by all means and at all costs."—....."We are prepared to sacrifice anything and everything but we shall not submit to any scheme of Government prepared without our consent."

The Working Committee of the Bengal Hindu Mahasabha, in Calcutta, discussed the possible line of settlement of the Indian political problems and the reconstruction of the Mahasabha organization. Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee presided.

At a Press Conference at Patna, presided over by Mr. Anugraha Narain Sinha, it was stated, "A survey of the present stock position and the immediate commitments does not justify at present any expectation of famine in any part of the Province."

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad said in New Delhi, "The Congress stands for Independence without any reservation and on the basis of a United India. It is in favour of the fullest freedom being given to the units within the Federation so that they may live as they wish."

8th. In the Council of State, Gen. Auchinleck C-in-C, India, speaking on a resolution moved by Pandit H. N. Kunzru, said that it was the intention of the Government of India to create a completely national army, officered and manned throughout by Indians, in the shortest possible time without lowering the very high standard of efficiency and competence of the Indian Army.

Mahatma Gandhi, during his interview with the Cabinet made the two observations. "Pakistan, which connotes division of India, will be a sin and the two nation theory propounded by Mr. Jinnah is absurd."

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in an interview in New Delhi, observed: "It is too early to say much about the present conversations with the British Cabinet. They are eager to find a solution but there are forces at work trying to limit this freedom."

The Subjects Committee of the Muslim League Legislator's Convention met in New Delhi and passed the main resolution on the constitutional issue.

9th. Mahatma Gandhi met His Excellency the Viceroy and the Commander-in-chief, India, in New Delhi.

The Muslim League Legislators' Convention at Delhi passed a resolution, demanding a sovereign independent State of Pakistan and declared that implementation of the demand without delay was a *sine qua non* for League participation in an interim Government at the Centre.

The Central Legislative Assembly agreed to refer to a select committee the Labour Member's Bill to constitute a fund to promote the welfare of labour employed in the mica mining industry.

The Cabinet Mission heard three spokesmen of the Indian States (they were the Nawab of Chhatari, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar and Sir Mirza Ismail).

10th. Mr. C. P. Lawson, President of the European Association of India and Mr. Frank Authony, President of the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association met the Cabinet Delegation in New Delhi.

Mr. Anthony told the A. P. I. that he made it clear to the Mission that his community had completely entered the nationalist fold and would not ask for any special safeguards.

Sardar Patel in an interview in New Delhi, clarified the position of the Congress regarding the right of self-determination of any territorial unit in India including the right of secession.

The Council of the All-India Muslim League in New Delhi, adopted resolutions defining the League's attitude towards the Anglo-American Commission for

Palestine, the Indonesian peoples' struggle for freedom and the Anti-Asiatic Legislation before the South African Parliament.

11th. The British Cabinet Mission issued a statement indicating that they proposed to enter on the next and most important phase of the negotiations, and making what is in fact an appeal to Indian leaders for their utmost efforts to reach a solution acceptable to all sides.

Mr. Vishnu Sahaya, Director General of Food said in New Delhi, "With India heading towards its most critical stage in the food crisis, one in four, and perhaps one in every three, among the country's 400,000,000 inhabitants is under stringent rationing or receiving Government aid to-day."

Sardar Sant Singh, the Sikh leader, declared in London, "A revolution would occur if the British tried to force Pakistan on the Indian people."

In the Central Legislative Assembly, the Labour Member, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar introduced a Bill to provide for filling minimum wages in certain employments by Provincial Governments.

12th. The Cabinet Mission had talks with Mr. P. J. Griffiths, Leader of the European group in the Central Assembly, Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose, Pandit H. N. Kunzru and Mr. Hussain Imam.

Mr. Griffiths said after his interview, "Europeans are in full support of complete and immediate self-government for India. We are looking forward to remaining in India as traders and businessmen with the goodwill and friendship of Indian people which we know we shall have."

The Congress Working Committee commenced in New Delhi. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad presided.

The Committee discussed a suggestion for a Confederation as a solution for the political deadlock in the country.

The Central Legislative Assembly passed with a few amendments the Labour Member's Bill which required employers in industrial establishments formally to define conditions of employment under them.

Mr. Kamraj Nadar, President, Tamil Nad Congress Committee, said in New Delhi, "There is no necessity on the part of Parliament or the Madras Government to think of taking steps to extend sec. 93 proclamation in Madras".

Dr. M. R. Jayakar, at a Press Conference in New Delhi, gave an exposition of the case against Pakistan and explained the substitute for it put forward by the Sapru Report.

13th. The Congress Working Committee held a further sitting in New Delhi.—Maulana Azad told the Press that the Committee had further discussions on the negotiations with the Cabinet Mission.

14th. The Congress Working Committee reviewed the talks which Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel had with the Cabinet Mission.

The Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha met in New Delhi, under the presidentship of Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee. The Committee approved the memorandum which was to be submitted to the Cabinet Mission.—The memorandum contained the following points: Immediate declaration of Indian independence, formation of an interim Government to which complete power and authority must be transferred: and complete autonomy for the provinces with the residuary powers lying with the Centre.

15th. The All-India Landholders' Delegation met the British Cabinet Mission in New Delhi. They submitted a memorandum to the Mission, outlining their demands and the safeguards they wanted in the Constitution of India.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad declared in New Delhi: "The Congress stands for four fundamental things. First, complete independence; second, united India, third, one federation composed of fully autonomous units, which will have residuary powers in their hands; and fourth, two lists of Central Subjects, one compulsory and the other optional."

In the Central Legislative Assembly, Mr. H. Weightman, External Affairs Secretary stated, "India will not be represented at the forthcoming foreign Ministers' Conference in Paris on April 25."

In the Council of State, the President ruled out of order an adjournment motion in connexion with the appointment of Sir Hugh Wood.

16th. The second phase of the Cabinet Mission's talks in India opened with a meeting with Mr. M. A. Jinnah.

Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar announced in the Central Assembly that, in the event of the South African Bill (restricting Indians' right to occupy and acquire land) being passed into law, the Government of India would take steps to bring the issue before the U. N. O.

The Central Assembly passed a Government resolution recommending to the Governor-General in-Council ratifications of the amendments to the Constitution of the International Labour Organization made at the Paris Conference in October 1945.

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, at a Press Conference in New Delhi, expressed his strong opposition to Pakistan.

In the Central Assembly, the question of the Indianisation of the Railway Board was raised once again.

17th. The Cabinet Mission had a meeting with Sir. P. I. Ragan, President of the Justice Party in Madras.

It was learnt that the Cabinet Mission in the course of their talk with Mr. Jinnah, informed him that power could be transferred only to one body and not two bodies. Therefore the establishment of two centres in India could not be conceived under Constitutional law and practice. The Mission also drew his attention to the need for a single Centre for security reasons.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad had his second interview with the Cabinet Mission. Maulana Azad was accompanied by Mr. Asaf Ali, member of the Congress Working Committee.

The death occurred of the Right Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri at his residence in Mylapore.

The Congress Working Committee passed a resolution on Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's report on his visit to Malaya and also considered the report of the Constitutional Sub Committee, suggesting changes in the Congress Constitution, to make it tight and effective.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, the prospect of securing imports of food from abroad formed the subject of a number of questions and supplementaries.

The Central Assembly took up the Finance Member's supplementary demand for a sum not exceeding rupees four crores for additional payments to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation organization during the year ending 31st. day of March 1947.

The Council of State took up for consideration Dr. G. V. Deshmukh's Bill to give Hindu married women a right to separate residence and maintenance under certain circumstances.

18th. Mahatma Gandhi paid a surprise visit to Lord Pethick Lawrence.

In the Council of State, Gen. Sir Claude Auchinleck, C.-in-C in India, referring to the future of the Royal Indian Air Force, said: "The Government have already announced that the minimum strength of the post-war R. I. A. F. will be 10 squadrons plus the necessary auxiliaries to maintain a balanced force and emphasized that this force would be expanded as rapidly as conditions permit and personnel becomes available."

Sir Rahimutulla M. Chinoy in his address to the annual meeting of the All-India organization of Industrial Employers in Calcutta, observed that about 5,000,000 people and their dependents would be affected by unemployment which would result from the liquidation of war time activities.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, the Salt Duty was the subject of a question put by Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava.

19th. The Sixth All-India Co-operative Conference opened at Lucknow. Dewan Bahadur Hiralal Kaji presided.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad sent a message to the Transvaal Indian Congress.

20th. Major Gen. J. S. Ballentine, M. G. A., Eastern Command, at a Press Conference announced, "To assist in the alleviation of food shortage in India, an arbitary cut in atta and rice ration for the 100,000 British and Indian troops in Eastern Command has been made."

21st. The Sind Government's long range policy to reform the Hurs was described by Mr. H. I. Lambrick, Special Commissioner for the Hurs in an interview to A. P. I.

Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose said in Calcutta, "I need hardly say that if any proposals are made for the dissection of Bengal or of the Punjab, they will be seriously resisted."

22nd. H. E. the Governor of the Central Provinces requested Pandit Ravi Shankar Shukla to form a Council of Ministers.

Sardar Patel expressed the conviction, in New Delhi, that the Congress Party would be willing to accept international arbitration in the settlement of the political problem in India. He explained some of the aspects of the Constitutional situation.

Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, Leader of the Muslim League Parliamentary Party in Bengal, formed a Ministry consisting of seven members of the Muslim League and one Scheduled caste representative.

23rd. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru addressing a meeting of the Bhopal State Peoples' Conference at Bhopal made an appeal to the people of India to rise above petty squabbles and internal bickerings which "benefit not us but our enemies" and to focus their entire attention on the vital issues at stake.

The Congress Ministry in Orissa was sworn in Cuttack. The Cabinet consisted of Mr. Hare Krishna Mahtab (Premier), Mr. Nityananda Kanungo, Mr. Lingaraj Misra, Mr. Nabakrishna Chowdhury and Mr. Radha Krishna.

His Excellency the Governor of Madras requested Mr. J. Prakasam to form a Council of Ministers.

His Excellency Sir Frederick Burrows, Governor of Bengal, said in Calcutta, "It is essential that all the money which we can spare at this time should be loaned to the Government to enable it to implement the plans that it has for the general welfare of the country."

24th. The Cabinet Mission returned to Delhi from Kashmir and reviewed the constitutional negotiations in conjunction with the Viceroy.

Mahatma Gandhi had an interview with Mr. Herbert Hoover, Chairman of the United States Famine Emergency Committee.

The new Bengal Ministry headed by Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy as Chief Minister was sworn in at Government House, Calcutta.

The Combined Food Board, at its meeting in Washington announced that at least 292,500 tons of wheat would be allocated for India for the month of April.

25th. Members of the Cabinet Mission met among themselves in New Delhi. The Viceroy was also present. At the meeting Sir Stafford Cripps communicated the trend of his talks first with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and later with Mr. M. A. Jinnah.

The Cabinet Ministers discussed alternative proposals that might be put to the Congress and the Muslim League with a view to bridging the differences between them.

Mr. Herbert Hoover declared in Bombay that food-grain supplies available around the Indian Ocean "must be unlocked" for India, and estimated that they would solve a good deal of the problem here."

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, in a statement to the Press, in New Delhi, said, "It is difficult to understand the sudden reversal of policy, which has now been indicated by the orders announcing the Court Martial trials of Col. Kasliwal, Col. Inayat Hassan and Lt. Rasul Bux and which has naturally caused considerable disappointment all over the country."

26th. The Cabinet Mission had another Conference with the Viceroy in New Delhi. After the Conference, Sir Stafford Cripps called on Maulana Abul Kalam Azad at his residence to have an informal discussion with him. Later Sir Stafford Cripps met Mahatma Gandhi.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, in a statement, declared that under the present circumstances Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was best suited to become the next Congress President. The Working Committee shared this view.

Mr. Hoover discussed the food situation in Madras Presidency with the Governor of Madras and other Madras representatives.

27th. The Cabinet Mission issued the following statement: "On its return from Kashmir, the Cabinet Delegation decided to initiate, by informal contact, further attempts to find a basis for settlement by agreement between the main parties. As a result, the Delegation has invited the Presidents of the Congress and the Muslim League to nominate representatives of the Working Committees of the Congress and the Muslim League to meet the Delegation and to continue the negotiations."

Mr. Herbert Hoover, President Truman's World Food investigator, reported to the U. S. A. from Bangalore that many districts of India were "on the edge

of the precipice" of famine, and appealed to the American people to "stretch every resource" to help the stricken people.

28th. The Congress Working Committee considered the invitation by the Cabinet Mission to the Congress President for a joint sitting of the three parties. The invitation outlined the basis for discussion by the tripartite Conference.

Both the Congress and the Muslim League Working Committees authorised their Presidents to appoint representatives to confer with the Cabinet Mission.

Mr. J. Prakasam, leader of the Madras Congress Legislative Party, continued his talks with the leaders of the Andhra, Tamil Nad, Kerala and Karnatak groups in connexion with the formation of a Ministry.

29th. Mr. M. A. Jinnah's reply to the Cabinet Mission's invitation to the Muslim League to allow the tripartite meeting was received at the Viceroy's House (New Delhi).

Mr. Herbert Hoover appealed to Australia to advance shipments from her available supplies to aid famine-threatened India.

The Congress Ministry in Madras was formed with Mr. J. Prakasam as Premier.

The Congress Working Committee concluded its Delhi meeting.—The British Cabinet Mission's latest letter in reply to Maulana Azad was considered. It contained the assurance that the Congress delegation was free to raise fundamental issues, that the discussions would not strictly be confined to the proposals mentioned in the Mission's earlier letter and that by agreement to take part in the Conference, the Congress was not in any way committed to the proposals outlined in the invitation.

30th. Mr. J. Prakasam and nine other members of the new Ministry were sworn in before H. E. Sir Henry Knight, acting Governor of Madras

Arrangements were complete for the reception of the Cabinet Mission and the representatives of the Congress and the Muslim League parties in Simla.

May 1946

The British Government's decision to make immediate arrangements to enable Indians to decide the future constitution of India and to set up at once an Interim Government, in which all the portfolios, including that of the war member, would be held by Indian leaders having the full confidence of the people, was announced in the statement issued by the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy on May 16.

Mr. Attlee, Premier, read in the House of Commons, the plan outlined in a White Paper which the British Cabinet Mission considered "the best arrangement to ensure the speedy setting up of a new Constitution for India."

His Excellency the Viceroy expressed the desire that "the Government of India should be in the hands of the ablest of India's leaders."

The tripartite Conference between the British Cabinet Mission and the League and Congress began at Simla.—The first item discussed was the question of a Union Centre for all India.

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai died in Bombay.

The Government of India appointed a Pay Commission to enquire into the terms and conditions of service of Government employees.

The Simla Conference ended in a break-down.

President Truman assured the Viceroy that India's food shortage was "thoroughly recognized by the U. S. A."

Mr. M. A. Jinnah regretted that "the Mission should have negatived the Muslim demand for the establishment of a complete sovereign State of Pakistan."

The Cabinet Mission and the Cabinet Delegation declared that under the new Constitution, H. M. G. would cease to exercise the powers of Paramountcy.

The Cabinet Delegation & the Viceroy in a statement said: "The scheme stands as a whole and can only succeed if it is accepted and worked in a spirit of co-operation."

Sardar Mangal Singh, M. L. A. (Central) addressed a communication to the Viceroy, requesting him to re-consider the Sikh case.

1st. His Excellency the Viceroy and the three British Ministers as also Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Sardar Patel left New Delhi for Simla.

The General Secretary of the Congress, in a statement said that the A. I. C. C. office received the names of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Acharya Kripalani for the Presidentship of the next session of the Congress.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, addressing a group of Ahrar leaders in New Delhi, explained the food situation in the country.

Mahatma Gandhi said that the Cabinet Mission had come with good intentions, but that the extent of their success would depend on their own strength and purity, if they did not have these, they were bound to be disappointed.

2nd. The members of the Cabinet Mission, who arrived at Simla, held a Conference with the Viceroy.

There was a meeting between the Viceroy and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at Simla.

Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress Delegation arrived at Simla.

3rd. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad made an appeal to railwaymen in India not to take any precipitate action when delicate negotiations were going on and the country was threatened with a famine.

The Combined Food Board in Washington, recommended a second-quarter rice allocation of 146,000 metric tons for India.

Sir J. P. Srivastava, Food Member, Government of India, stated at a Press Conference in New Delhi, "The Indian F od Delegation was informed on two separate occasions of the import programme of 1,400,000 tons of wheat and wheat substitutes and 145,000 tons of rice proposed for India for the first half of the year as a result of the negotiations among H. M. G., the U. S. Government and the Combined Food Board. The first occasion was on March 16 in Washington and the second was at the meeting of the London Food Council held on March 26."

4th. It was announced in New Delhi that the Provincial Ministers in charge of post-war reconstruction would meet on May 20 and 21, under the chairmanship of Sir Akbar Hydari.

5th The Tripartite Conference between the British Cabinet Mission and the Muslim League and Indian National Congress delegates began at Simla. An official Communique issued at the end of the day's Conference, stated that the first item discussed was the question of a Union Centre for all India.

The General Council of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation at its meeting in Bombay decided to give the Government of India notice on June 1, that workers on all Indian railways, would go on strike at midnight on June 27 unless their demands were conceded by that date.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad wrote to the Viceroy, requesting him to intervene in the matter of the railwaymen's strike.

6th. The Simla talks continued.—It was understood that the Conference continued to discuss the crucial question of power and organization of a Union Centre for all India. But no decision was reached.

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai died in Bombay.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru sent a message to Dr. Shariar, the Indonesian Premier.

7th. Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah saw the Viceroy and Sir Stafford Cripps at Simla.

8th. The following official statement was issued from Simla:—

"In view of the importance of the issues that have arisen in the discussions of the Conference, the Cabinet Delegation have suggested to the other parties

that the next meeting should be postponed until tomorrow, Thursday, May 9, at 3 p.m."

The Combined Food Board in Washington, allocated 265,000 tons "or perhaps less" wheat to India.

Mr. Attlee called a special Cabinet meeting to consider the menacing food situation in India.

The tripartite talks at Simla were again adjourned till May 9.

The "apalling" conditions of labour in the rice milling industry in India were referred to in the Rege Committee's report on Labour conditions in the industry.

9th. Members of the Viceroy's Executive Council, including His Excellency the Commander-in-chief, placed their respective portfolios at the disposal of His Majesty the King and His Excellency the Viceroy in order to facilitate arrangements which the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy were seeking to make.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was elected President of the next session of the Indian National Congress.

The appeal of Capt. Burhannuddin of the I. N. A. was rejected by the Federal Court.

10th. The third day's session of the Simla Conference continued.—The League insisted that there should be two groups of provinces. The first group would consist of Muslim majority provinces, and the other of Hindu majority provinces.

The establishment of agricultural colleges and demonstration farms in all districts, expansion of irrigation projects to facilitate food production, and province-wide road construction were some of the features of the development programme of the Orissa Government.

A Press Communique said: "In accordance with the announcement made during the Budget session of the Central Legislative Assembly on February 9, 1946, the Governm nt of India have appointed a Pay Commission to institute an inquiry into the terms and conditions of service of Government employees.

11th. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru met Mr. M. A. Jinnah at Simla.

The Simla Negotiations were resumed. The following communique was issued at the conclusion of the day's conference:—

"The Conference met again at 3p.m. and sat till 5-45 p.m. They reviewed the progress made and adjourned until 6 p.m. tomorrow".

Mr. A. M. Williams, Vice-President, All-India Railwaymen's Federation in a statement said: "I am surprised at the manner in which the Railway Board have tried to rationalize the most irrational and unjustifiable attitude that they have taken towards the most reasonable and just demands of Indian Railwaymen".

Mr. V. N. Rajan, Director of Supplies, Bengal Government said: "It is estimated that Bengal's requirements total some 10,500,000 tons, while the available total production in the province will be about 9,750,000 tons, leaving a net deficit of 750,000 tons."

12th. The Simla Conference ended in a break-down. In an official Communique the Tripartite Conference said: "After considering the views put forward by the two parties, the Conference has come to the conclusion that no use would be served by further discussions and that, therefore, the Conference should be brought to a conclusion.

"The Cabinet Mission desire to emphasize the fact that no blame can be placed on either party for the break-down of the Conference as both sides did their utmost to come to a settlement."

President Truman assured the Viceroy, in a personal message that India's food shortage was "thoroughly recognized" by the U. S. A. and was receiving "the most sympathetic consideration on the highest levels of the Government.

Mahatma Gandhi warned people against believing that the Cabinet Mission were returning without doing anything and that Indian leaders would again return empty handed.

13th. Mahatma Gandhi said: "The Cabinet Mission have declared their intention to remove British rule from India. I believe it must and will go."

Mr. Herbert Hoover said to a Press Conference: "you are going to get more food from the United States by voluntary than by compulsory means". He estimated 2,886,000 tons as "Indian Ocean areas" minimum cereal requirements in the critical period from May 1 to Sep. 30.

14th. Khan Bahadur Nurul Amin was elected Speaker of the Bengal Legislative Assembly.

The Cabinet Mission moved down to Delhi to resume their negotiations.

Mr. Attlee, Prime Minister, told the House of Commons that he would be able to make a statement on India before the end of the week.

15th. A Communique issued from New Delhi stated: "Examination of the adequacy of the present structure of pay Scales of railway, postal and other employees of the Central Government will be one of the most important duties of the Central Pay Commission, the appointment of which was announced on May 10. The Commission will also enquire into and report as to the principles on which the remuneration of industrial workers and daily rated employees of the Government should be based."

H. E. Sir Archibald Nye arrived at Chetinad to acquaint himself of the food situation in Ramnad district.

16th. Mr. Attlee, Premier, in the House of Commons read the plan outlined in a White Paper which the British Cabinet Mission to India considered "the best arrangement to ensure the speedy setting up of a new Constitution for India."

The British Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy recommended that the future Constitution should take the following basic form:

"There should be a Union of India, embracing both British India and the States, which should deal with the following subjects: Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications and should have the powers necessary to raise the finances required for the above subjects.

(2) "The Union should have an Executive and a Legislature constituted from British Indian and States' Representatives. Any question raising a major Communal issue in the Legislature should require for its decision a majority of the representatives present and voting of each of the two major Communities as well as a majority of all the members present and voting.

(3) "All subjects other than the Union subjects and all residuary powers should vest in the Provinces.

(4) "The States will retain all subjects and powers other than those ceded to the Union.

(5) "Provinces should be free to form Groups with executives and legislatures, and each group determine the Provincial subjects to be taken in common.

(6) "The Constitutions of the Union and of the Groups should contain a provision whereby any Province could, by a majority vote of its Legislative Assembly, call for a reconsideration of the terms of the Constitution after an initial period of ten years and at 10 yearly intervals thereafter.

On Pakistan, the statement said: "We are unable to advise the British Government that the power which at present resides in British hands should be handed over to two entirely separate Sovereign States. The Delegation and the Viceroy have been forced to the conclusion that neither a larger nor a smaller sovereign State of Pakistan would provide an acceptable solution for the Communal problem."

Lord Pethick-Lawrence, in a broadcast from New Delhi, said: "There is a passionate desire in the hearts of Indians, expressed by the leaders of all their political parties, for independence. H. M. G. and the British people as a whole are fully ready to accord this independence whether within or without the British Commonwealth and hope that out of this will spring a lasting and friendly association between our two peoples on a footing of complete equality."

Sir Stafford Cripps explaining the Cabinet Mission's Statement at a Press Conference in New Delhi, said: "We hope from the bottom of our hearts that the Indian people will accept this statement in the spirit of co-operation in which it has been drawn up and that within a week or two the process of Constitution-making may begin and the interim Government may be formed."

Mr. Gopinath Bardoloi, Premier of Assam, said in Calcutta, "The eviction policy that is being carried into in Assam is the policy of the last Government which was predominantly Muslim League and in no particulars have we exceeded it in any shape, manner or intensity."

17th. His Excellency the Viceroy, in a broadcast from New Delhi expressed the earnest desire that "in these critical times ahead, in the interim period while the new Constitution is being built, the Government of India should be in the

hands of the ablest of India's leaders, men recognized as such by the Indian people whom they will trust to further their interests and bring them to their goal. Such a Government will be purely Indian Government except for its head, the Governor-General, and will include, if I can get them me I want, recognized leaders of the main Indian parties, whose influence, ability and desire to serve India are unquestioned."

Mahatma Gandhi declared in New Delhi : "The Cabinet Mission's proposals contained the seed to convert this land of sorrow into one without sorrow and suffering."

Mr. A. V. Alexander, a member of the Cabinet Mission, said in New Delhi : "It has been our ambition throughout to see that this great nation is not torn asunder by civil strife."

Gen. Auchinleck, explaining the Cabinet Mission's proposals to the armed forces in India, said : "All political matters will be in the hands of the new War Member under whom I shall serve, just as the Commanders in Britain serve under Civil Ministers."

18th. Correspondence and documents relating to the Simla Conference were published in New Delhi. They gave a graphic picture of the difficulties encountered by the Conference in reaching an agreement.

Travancore was given the highest quota of Sind's surplus rice in the basic plan of the Government of India.

The Congress Working Committee which met in New Delhi, was unable to finish its task of discussing and coming to a final conclusion on the British Cabinet Delegation's statement. The Committee heard Mahatma Gandhi's account of his talks with the Secretary of State for India and Sir Stafford Cripps.

19th. The Congress Working Committee considered a draft letter to the Cabinet Mission asking for further information about some of its proposals. The Committee was particularly interested in knowing whether the proposals contemplated the possibility of any province being able to opt out of its section right at the beginning. The provinces particularly in mind were Assam and the N. W. F. P.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru expressed the hope, re : Cabinet Mission plan, that it "marks the beginning of a new era in our history and that era may be one of brightness even greater than ever before in our long history."

20th. The Congress Working Committee decided to authorize the Congress President to address a communication to the Secretary of State, seeking clarification on a number of points in the Cabinet Mission's proposals.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had an interview with His Excellency the Viceroy.

Central grants for provincial five-year post-war development plans were discussed and settled at a Conference, the first to be held since the provincial elections, of Provincial Development Ministers with the Government of India, Planning & Development Department.

21st. Mr. Gopinath Bardoloi, Assam Premier, submitted a memorandum to the Congress Working Committee, opposing the grouping of Assam and Bengal together as proposed in the British Cabinet Mission's statement.

Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah, President of the National Conference, members of the Working Committee and all leading workers of the National Conference were arrested by the Kashmir Government.

22nd. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in a statement, said, "I regret that the Mission should have negatived the Muslim demand for the establishment of a complete Sovereign State of Pakistan, which, we still hold, is the only solution of the Constitutional problem of India and which alone can secure a stable Government and lead to the happiness and welfare, not only of the two major Communities, but of all the people of this Sub-Continent."

Maulana Azad received a reply to his letter to the Cabinet Delegation.

The Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy, in a Memorandum to the Chancellor of Princes, declared that under the new Constitution, H. M. G. would cease to exercise the power of Paramountcy. "The void will have to be filled either by the States entering into a Federal relationship with the Succession Government or Governments in British India or, failing this, entering into particular arrangements with it or them."

23rd. A talk between the Viceroy and the Congress President and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru carried the negotiations for implementing the Cabinet Mission's proposals,

particularly in regard to the steps required to be taken for setting up the Provisional Government to a further stage.

The Congress Working Committee discussed the Cabinet Mission's proposals in more detail than on any previous day, as it had before it the Mission's reply to Maulana Azad's letter, asking for clarification on some points and also the gist of conversations he and Pandit Nehru had with the Viceroy.

Allotments of wheat to India which the U. S. and Canadian Governments agreed to support, would secure to India shipments in 1946 at a very much higher rate than in any previous year despite the acute world shortage of all cereals.

24th. The Congress Working Committee criticized what it considered as objectionable features of the British Cabinet Mission's proposals and declared that in the absence of "a full picture of the proposed Provisional Government the Committee is unable to give a final opinion at this stage on the proposals".

The Military fired on processionists who came out in defiance of the Government's prohibitory order in Kashmir.

Master Tara Singh declared at Amirtsar: "Sikhs are contemplating direct action against the Government and it is just possible that we may set up a triangular "porcha" against the British Government, the Congress and the Muslim League which are going to be the three major parties in the Interim Government."

25th. The Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy in a statement after considering the statements of Mr. Jinnah and the Congress Working Committee, said: "The scheme stands as a whole and can only succeed if it is accepted and worked in a spirit of co-operation". The Delegation added: "As the Congress statement recognizes, the present Constitution must continue during the interim period; and the Interim Government cannot therefore be made legally responsible to the Central Legislature."

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said in New Delhi, "The Central Government to be formed during the interim period should be a real Provisional Government with freedom to act internally and externally as it chooses. We want it to be responsible to the Central Legislature because that is the only body at present to which it can be made responsible."

26th. Mahatma Gandhi said in the *Harijan*: "After four days of searching examination of the State paper issued by the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy on behalf of the British Government, my conviction abides that it is the best document the British Government could have produced in the circumstances."

After a Conference (in New Delhi) with Mr. S. C. Joshi, Labour Commissioner, several members of the Committee of Action of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation indicated that the proposed strike "will not be precipitated."

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru met His Excellency the Viceroy in New Delhi.

27th. The Madras Legislative Assembly passed the Bill to provide for increased salaries to Ministers etc.

At a joint meeting of the Frontier Congress Parliamentary Party and the Provincial Congress Party, a resolution criticizing the grouping of the Provinces as envisaged in the Cabinet proposals was passed. The meeting was held in Kohat and was addressed among others by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan.

In the Madras Legislative Assembly, Mr. J. Prakasam, Premier, moving a resolution on the serious food situation in the province, said: "However efficient we may make our own organization, and even with the marshalling of all our resources, a time will come and it may be any time before October—when we shall be entirely dependent on supplies from outside the province or from overseas."

28th. In the House of Lords, Lord Rankeillom asked Government whether the proposals of the White Paper for a Constituent Assembly in India would require to be submitted for approval of the Imperial Parliament, and whether adoption of all or any of the recommendations set forth in para 15 of the paper was regarded by the British as essential.—The Earl of Listowell replied: "When a new Constitution for India has been framed by the Constituent Assembly, some action by Parliament will no doubt be required, but its precise nature cannot be determined until the conclusions of the Assembly are known."

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan said re: Cabinet Mission: "I would like the people to look at the new British proposals not with the prejudiced eyes of

either a Congressman or a Muslim Leaguer, and to look at them not as a Hindu or a Muslim, but to judge them with an unbiassed mind. I think the Cabinet Ministers have made an honest attempt to solve India's political problem. The British proposals are the best under the present circumstances."

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru emphasized the need for mutual co-operation between Rulers of the Indian States and their subjects as the best policy and condemned the reversal of that policy in Kashmir.

29th. The Budget session of the Mysore Representative Assembly commenced at Bangalore under the presidentship of Pradhan Shiromani N. Madhava Rau, Dewan of Mysore.

In the Madras Legislative Assembly, the debate on the food and cloth situation commenced.

Nawabzada Allaha Nawaz Khan, Speaker of the Frontier Legislative Assembly, said at Peshwar, "The Frontier Pathan will resist to the last all attempts at merging his province with Sind and the Punjab."

30th. Negotiations to avert a railway strike failed. The police opened fire on a mob at Worli, Bombay.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah expressed the hope that they might be able to solve the constitutional problem facing India in a friendly and amicable manner.

In the Madras Legislative Assembly, the debate on the food situation in the Province concluded, following the Prime Minister's reply to the points raised by the opposition.

Mr. Herbert Morrison, Lord President of the Council, disclosed in the House of Commons, that as a result of his talks in Washington, the quantity of wheat and coarse grain recommended for India over a period of five months—from May to September—was 1,165,000 tons.

Sardar Mangal Singh M. L. A. (Central) addessed a communication to the Viceroy, requesting him to re-consider the Sikh case.

June 1946

The Congress rejected the Cabinet Mission's interim plan and accepted the long term proposals relating to the convening of a Constituent Assembly to frame the Constitution for India.

Strike notices on behalf of the railway employees in Calcutta were served on different railway administations.

The Government of Bombay declared a "state of emergency" in certain parts of Bombay.

The Muslim League Council discussed the Cabinet Mission's plan in secret Council.

The All-India Muslim League Council accepted the Cabinet Mission's proposals.

The Sikh Panthic Conference at Amritsar, appointed a Council of Action to give a long fight to the British Government.

The Congress President sent a letter to the Viceroy, rejecting the proposals for an Interim Government based on parity of representation between the Congress and the Muslim League.

The Cabinet Mission were in communication with the British Prime Minister.

The All-India Hindu Mahasabha considered the Interim Government proposals.

His Excellency the Viceroy decided to proceed with the formation of an Interim Government.

The Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy announced the appointment of a Caretaker Government.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah disapproved of the "indefinite" postponement of the Interim Governmrnt.

The Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy refuted the suggestion of Mr. Jinnah that they had gone back on their word.

The Cabinet Mission left for England.

1st. Strike notices on behalf of railway employees' organizations in Calcutta were served on different railway administrations having their head offices in the city.

Mr. Herbert Morrison's statement in the House of Commons, suggesting the possibility of increased food grains into India, was treated with a good deal of reserve.

A "state of emergency" was proclaimed by the Government of Bombay in the disturbed labour area in Worli.

2nd. Mahatma Gandhi said in the *Harijan* : "Intrinsically and as legally interpreted, the State Paper seems to me to be a brave and frank document. Nevertheless, the official interpretation would appear to be different from the popular. If it is so and prevails it will be a bad omen."

The Bombay Government decided on measures to put down lawlessness in the Worli chawls with a firm hand.

The Congress President, Maulana Azad, received a communication from the Viceroy clarifying certain points raised in the resolution of the Congress Working Committee.

3rd. The Muslim League Working Committee met in New Delhi, under the presidentship of Mr. M. A. Jinnah. All members of the Committee were present.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, in a statement to the Press, said : "The most urgent moral need for India is freedom, and the way to fuller freedom lies through a settlement reached now, and not through any postponement, giving fresh bases of life to all our controversies."

Mr. M. A. Jinnah met the Viceroy twice at Simla.

In the Madras Legislative Assembly, the three-day debate on the cloth position in the Province concluded.

In the House of Commons, Mr. Henderson said, "About 235,000 tons of cereals were shipped to India in May and over 200,000 tons have already been arranged for shipment in June."

Mr. Attlee met Indian and other British Commonwealth and Empire Newspaper Executives and Editors and welcomed them to Britain, when he opened the Sixth Imperial Press Conference in London.

4th. The Muslim League Working Committee ended its deliberations on the Cabinet Mission's proposals. No resolution was passed and the Cabinet Mission's proposals were left over for the League Council to decide.

Sir Edward Benthall, Railway Member, Government of India, in a statement said : "The Government of India have referred to adjudication all the demands, excepting the question of retrenchment, put forward by the Railwaymen's Federation."

5th. The Muslim League Council discussed the Cabinet Mission's plan in secret session.

6th. The All-India Muslim League Council accepted the Cabinet Mission's proposals by an overwhelming majority.—The Muslim League Council, in its resolution, accepted the Cabinet Mission's scheme and agreed to join the constitution-making body but added that the League would keep in view the opportunity and the right of secession of provinces or groups from the Union which is provided in the Mission's Plan by implication.

7th. A Press Note issued from Bombay stated : "A meeting of the Rulers and Ministers, who met the Cabinet Delegation early in April, was held to-day under the Chairmanship of H. H. the Nawab of Bhopal. The meeting reviewed the statement issued by the Cabinet Mission on May 16, 1946, and also the memorandum on Indian States issued by them on May 22, 1946."

Mr. Abdur Rab Nishtar, a member of the Muslim League Working Committee, at a meeting in New Delhi, declared : "The Muslim League has accepted the Cabinet Mission's proposals after cool deliberation in the hope that these would eventually lead us to our cherished goal of Pakistan."

Sir Robert Hutchings, Secretary, Food Department, Government of India, addressing a Press Conference in New Delhi, explained the factors which caused

the rise in prices of rice in certain areas in East Bengal and the steps the local Government were taking in the matter.

Mr. Jinnah had an interview with the Viceroy in New Delhi.

8th. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, addressing the General Council of the All-India States' Peoples Conference, referred to the "explosive background in Indian States" and reaffirmed the objective of the Conference as responsible Government in the States under the aegis of rulers as Constitutional heads.

The Bengal Government arranged to move from Calcutta to deficit areas in East Bengal 459,000 maunds of rice and paddy by rail & inland steamer.

The Bengal Provincial Congress Executive Committee adopted a resolution viewing with grave alarm "the progressive deterioration of the food situation in the country, which has culminated in a major crisis affecting the lives of the millions of their countrymen.

Mr. J. Prakasam, Premier, Madras, in an interview, observed: "I am glad the Muslim League Council has decided in favour of the proposals made by the British Cabinet Mission. This ought to have happened long ago. Better late than never."

9th. The Congress Working Committee resumed its deliberations in New Delhi. The entire proceedings were devoted to the consideration of the Viceroy's reply to the Congress President's letter seeking fuller definition of the status, powers and composition of the Provisional Government.

The Muslim League Working Committee in New Delhi, decided at its meeting that Muslim candidates for election to the Constituent Assembly should be chosen by the Central Parliamentary Board of the League in consultation with party leaders in Provincial Assemblies and the Presidents of Provincial Muslim League Committees.

Sardar Baldev Singh, Development Minister of the Punjab, contradicted the news that he had resigned from the Punjab Government.

10th. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had an interview with the Viceroy in New Delhi.

In the Congress Working Committee, opposition to parity between the Muslim League and the Congress in the Interim Government and to participation in by European M. L. A's in the Constituent Assembly stiffened.

More than 1,000 Sikhs headed by Akali leaders at Amritsar, took a pledge to make every sacrifice in opposing the Cabinet Mission's scheme.

A delegation from Assam reached Delhi to see Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress President, to consider Assam's strong opposition to the grouping with Bengal.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, in an interview at Peshawar, said, "During my recent tour of the southern districts I talked to individuals and addressed several public meetings and found that all Pushto-speaking people of the N. W. F. P. are strictly against the compulsory grouping clause of the British Cabinet Mission's proposals."

The Standing Finance Committee for Railways heard a survey of the financial implications of the demands of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation and discussed suggestions to prevent the threatened strike.

On behalf of the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes, which met in Bombay, the Nawab of Bhopal, Chancellor of the Chamber, welcomed the Cabinet Mission's proposals.—The Standing Committee also accepted the Viceroy's invitation to set up a Negotiating Committee envisaged in the Cabinet Mission's proposals.

11th. Mahatma Gandhi met the Viceroy in New Delhi. Mahatmaji explained to the Congress Working Committee what took place at his meeting with the Viceroy.

The Sikh Panthic Conference at Amritsar appointed a Council of Action to give a tough fight to the British Government in case the proposals of the British Cabinet Mission were not modified according to their wishes.

The Standing Committee of the All-India States Peoples' Conference in New Delhi declared that in Kashmir as in other States in India "there can be no solution of the problems that face the people without the achievement of freedom and full responsible Government, and that, in order to consider the changes that should be brought about forthwith for this purpose, it is necessary that the present conflict in Kashmir should be ended and normal conditions restored."

The Government of India announced the recall of their High Commissioner in South Africa.

Mr. Tushar Kanti Ghosh submitted a resolution calling for the widest freedom

of the Press in India at the Imperial Press Conference in London.

Mr. Clement Attlee, the British Premier at the Labour Party Conference held at Bournemouth, expressed the view : "If Indians decide to go outside the British Commonwealth, the British Labour Movement would stretch out a hand of fellowship to them."

12th. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel had an interview with the Viceroy.

Sir Stafford Cripps saw the Muslim League President, Mr. Jinnah.

Mr. C. P. Lawson, M. L. A. (Central) President of the European Association, with reference to the Constituent Assembly made the suggestion in New Delhi that Europeans would consider favourably any proposal accepted by both the major political parties.

His Excellency the Viceroy saw the Nawab of Bhopal.

13th. The Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, sent a letter to the Viceroy finally rejecting the proposals for an Interim Government based on parity of representation between the Congress and the Muslim League. In the opinion of the Congress, such a Government would always be faced with frequent conflicts on communal grounds and could never rise above such consideration and view national aspirations and desires as they should be viewed.

Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, Chief Minister, Bengal, at a Press Conference in Calcutta, said that when the province's food position was discussed there was no doubt that matters were getting serious.

His Excellency the Viceroy saw Mr. Jinnah, Pandit Nehru, and Sardar Patel separately.

14th The Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru were summoned by the Viceroy for a further discussion on the question of the composition of the Provincial Government.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad wrote to the Viceroy rejecting not only his third and latest proposal for Congress-Muslim League participation in the Interim Government, but also indicated that the Congress would reject the whole of the Cabinet Mission's long-term proposals, if they were not amended in one particular. —The amendment required that European members of the Bengal and Assam Legislatures should not participate in elections to the Constituent Assembly either by voting or by standing as candidates. The Congress also opposed parity representation in the Interim Government.

The Congress President's letter added that the Congress would adhere to its interpretation—which was derived by the Cabinet Mission—that provinces were free from the beginning to join or remain outside the group provided for in the British proposals. The letter also said that the Constituent Assembly would be a supreme sovereign body once it came into existence.

Finally, there was criticism of the failure to provide for representation of the States by their people instead of their rulers in the Constituent Assembly.

Maulana Azad wrote to the Viceroy in connexion with the deteriorating food situation in Bengal and suggested that officers should be made responsible for any loss, waste or damage of the foodstuffs in Government godowns and that strong action should be taken against wholesome food being wasted in the midst of scarcity.

The Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha appointed a Committee consisting of Dr. B. S. Moonje, Mr. L. B. Bhopatkar, Mr. N. C. Chatterjee and Mr. Ashutosh Lahiri to draft a resolution embodying the Mahasabha's attitude to the Cabinet Mission's proposal.

15th. The Cabinet Ministers and the Viceroy reviewed the entire situation in the light of the Congress President's letter rejecting the proposal for provisional Interim Government and the long-term settlement.

The Cabinet Mission were in communication with Prime Minister Attlee and the British Cabinet.

The Bengal Europeans decided not to seek rspresentation in the proposed Constituent Assembly.

The Government of Madras issued orders for the formation of Village, Taluk and District Committees associating non-officials with the work of procurement and distribution of food-grains in order to make the food administration popular and effective.

In a communication to the Congress President and the League President, it was stated that the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy were left with no choice but to give a decision of their own, so that the proposals contained in the White Paper issued by H. M. G. might be implemented.

The All-India Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha discussed the Cabinet Mission's proposals. Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee presided.

16th. His Excellency the Viceroy announced that in consultation with the Cabinet Ministers, he decided, in the absence of agreement between the Congress and the Muslim League, to proceed with the formation of an Interim Government.

His Excellency decided to issue invitations to 14 leading personalities belonging to the two major parties and the minorities to join the new Executive Council which would start functioning about June 26.

The Congress Working Committee adopted a resolution expressing sympathy with the Indians in South Africa in their struggle against the anti-Indian policy of the Union Government.

Mahatma Gandhi had an interview with Lord Pethick Lawrence.

17th. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad saw the Cabinet Mission. Mr. M. A. Jinnah visited the Secretary of State.

The Muslim League Working Committee held a session.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, in a telegram to the British Prime Minister, protested against the allotment of only one seat to Scheduled Castes in the Interim Government, and insisted on two seats to be filled by nominees of the All-India Scheduled Castes Federation.

The All-India Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha considered the Interim Government proposals and declared: "The Committee cannot accept the basis on which the Interim Government has been constituted by the Viceroy. The principle of parity between caste Hindus and Muslims which formed part of the Wavell Plan in June 1945, has been revived and thrust upon the country."

The Congress Working Committee met and continued discussion on the Viceroy's statement.

18th. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad met the Viceroy.

The Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy held a Conference to review the talks they had with the Congress and the League Presidents.

A Communique from New Delhi stated: "The Government of India have approved of the resolution submitted by the Standing Finance Committee for Railways in regard to various matters arising out of the present demands of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation."

Neither the Congress nor the Muslim League Working Committee announced any decision on the Interim Government, despite meetings of some length.

Master Tara Singh, the Akali leader, expressed the view at Amritsar, "The Sikhs may boycott the Interim Government."

19th. The Congress decided to join the Interim Government, under certain conditions.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah wrote a letter to the Viceroy, re: Composition of the Interim Government.

Sir Tej Bahadur, in a statement, appealed to Indian party leaders to accept proposals of the Viceroy for the formation of an Interim Government.

An order was served on Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, prohibiting his entry into Kashmir State.

20th. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was arrested at Domel following his defiance of the State ban on his entry into Kashmir.

The Congress Working Committee adjourned *sine die*; thus the prospects of the Congress Working Committee arriving at an early decision on the formation of the Interim Government suffered a set back.

The Muslim League Working Committee also adjourned without fixing a definite date for its next meeting.

Sir Stafford Cripps had a meeting with Mahatma Gandhi.

The railway strike scheduled to commence at midnight on 27, was abandoned.

21st. The Congress Working Committee met at Maulana Azad's residence.—The Viceroy and the Cabinet Mission indicated to the Congress President that they would be glad if the Congress Working Committee would let them have its decision on the Interim Government.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was released.

22nd. The Congress Working Committee met at Maulana Azad's residence. The reply to be sent to the Viceroy regarding the decision of the Congress was discussed.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was on his way back to Delhi, in obedience to instructions issued by Maulana Azad on behalf of the Congress Working Committee.

23rd. Last minute efforts to avert a breakdown in the negotiations with the Congress over the Interim Government left the position fundamentally unchanged.

A Conference between the Viceroy and the Cabinet Mission on the one hand,

and Maulana Azad, Sardar Patel, Pandit Nehru and Dr. Rajendra Prasad on the other, took place at the Viceroy's House.

Mahatma Gandhi wrote in the *Harijan*: "That the Europeans will neither vote nor offer themselves for election should be a certainty if a Constituent Assembly worthy of the name is at all to be formed."

The Sind Congress Assembly Party discussed the situation as affecting the Hindu minority in the province under the League Ministry.

24th. The Congress Working Committee decided not to join the Interim Government announced by the Viceroy and the Cabinet Mission. It was likely to accept conditionally the long-term plan for Constitution making outlined in the statement of May 16.

25th. The Congress President, Maulana Azad informed the Press that the Congress had rejected the Cabinet Mission's interim plan and had accepted the long-term proposals relating to the convening of a Constituent Assembly to frame the Constitution for India.

After a session of the Muslim League Working Committee, a letter signed by Mr. Jinnah was sent to the Viceroy conveying the Muslim League's decision agreeing to join the Interim Government "on the basis of the statement issued by the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy on June 16 and the clarifications and assurances given by the Viceroy, after consulting the Cabinet Mission, to the President of the Muslim League in his letter dated June 20."

Mahatma Gandhi gave a directive to the people to follow the lead given by the Congress Working Committee in accepting the Cabinet Mission's long-term plan.

Maulana Azad sent a letter to the Viceroy, stating the reasons for the rejection of the Interim Government proposal.

26th. The Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy announced that a temporary care-taker Government of officials would be set up and the negotiations to form a representative Government would be adjourned for a short interval while the elections to the Constituent Assembly took place. The statement said: "The Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy are glad that Constitution making can now proceed with the consent of the two major parties and of the States."

Maulana Azad, in his review of Delhi Negotiations, said: "In our prolonged negotiations with the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy, my colleagues and I have been throughout guided by one governing principle. It was the achievement of Indian independence and the solution of all outstanding problems by methods of peaceful negotiations."

The Congress Working Committee concluded its session after passing a resolution rejecting the Interim Government proposal and accepting the long-term arrangement. The Committee emphasized the imperative need for setting up a representative Provisional National Government at the earliest possible date.

27th. Mr. M. A. Jinnah expressed the Muslim League's emphatic disapproval of the "indefinite" postponement of the Interim Government on the basis of the Cabinet Mission's Statement of June 16.

Mahatma Gandhi gave his blessing and fullest support to the Congress decision to enter the Constituent Assembly for the purpose of framing a new Constitution for a free and independent India.

In the Bihar Legislative Assembly, when Mr. Sri Krishna Sinha, Premier, moved the Budget demand for grant for the police, they were characterized as an "army of occupation maintained to preserve the interests of the British Government."

28th. The Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy, in letters written to Mr. Jinnah, refuted the suggestion that they had gone back on their word with regard to the formation of an Interim Government. The Mission added: "Our course of action was determined by what had been laid down in Para 8 of the statement of June 16, and we had made it plain to you before your Working Committee meeting on June 26, that we proposed to follow this course."

The Mission stated that they did not propose to postpone elections to the Constituent Assembly.

The Director-General, Posts and Telegraphs received from the honorary General Secretary, All-India Postmen and Lower Grade (including R. M. S.) Staff Union, a notice that unless its 12 listed demands were conceded before July 11, the members of the Union would go on strike from that date.

29th. The names of the 7 members of the Care-taker Government were announced.

The Cabinet Mission left for England.

Notes on Indian History

It has truly been said that a History of India that reveals the whole panorama of the vast millenia of her distinctive life and civilisation in its actual shape and colour and due proportion and perspective, still remains to be written. The materials for drawing such a vast outline and making such a comprehensive and connected sketch are not yet in hand. A fairly definite outline and connected sketch which gives the promise of being some day developed into what is called "scientific history" has, however, been steadily emerging out of the mist that veils the immensity of India's past—a mist which (thanks to the labours of the investigators) has perceptibly thinned without being as yet actually lifted as far as one can now make one's incursion into the age that saw the birth of Budhism and Jainism in India in the Sixth Century B. C. Beyond that there is still only "cosmic nebulae" relieved here and there by a few stray constellations of lucidly distinct historical facts. These "nebulae" have probably a depth and density to be measured only in terms of millenia. But from the position where we can now make our historical prospecting, these vast remote dark spaces of Indian history recede and shrink and fold up and, at last, look like a far-away blank, black spherule beyond the galaxy of human remembrance.

Ancient Indian history is, apparently, "full" of such gaps and blanks. Beyond the time when Alexander the Great invaded the Punjab (326 B. C.), the galactical system of detailed and authentic Indian history does not far extend. There are too many unexplored blank spaces and unformed, chaotic nebulæ beyond that time still. Beginning approximately with that period we are furnished, sometimes in abundance with fairly trustworthy material in the shape of contemporary Greek testimony bearing on Indian history, and also, as time rolls on, with inscriptional and other kinds of decipherable and dependable domestic evidence. Of course, an immense mass of "documentary" evidence and evidence in the more or less fluid, volatile state of tradition, heresay and folk-lore (written or unwritten) have always lain by the side of the historian hitherto busy with his inscriptions, plates, coins, artefacts and any corroborative evidence that may be forthcoming from outside. And that mass of ancient Indian documentary evidence and tradition has, generally, lain neglected by his side. It has been, generally, of little help to him in reconstructing, "on scientific lines", the missing skeleton of ancient Indian History. It has been, however, of great use to the comparative mythologist, philologist and authropologist.

But even the historian who seeks to reconstruct on scientific line the missing skeleton of ancient history, whether of India or of any other country, should do well to remember that the dry bones of the skeleton he may have been able to put together will not be true, living history unless they can be made instinct with the touch of life which literature, art, tradition, 'myths', folk-lore, religious and social institutions in their earlier and later forms alone can give. From coins, plates etc., we can build a possible or even probably frame-work of chronology into which we can put our little bits of tested facts according to one possible plan or other. Such a mosaic of dates and facts (mainly relating to dynastic succession, war and conquest) is of course important as necessary ground-plan of history. But it is not the completed structure of history. It is not history as organic process of evolution. So we have to distinguish between structural or morphological history and organic "physiological" history.

Now India has been so poor in comparison with some other ancient countries like Egypt, Babylonia and China in her "materials" for writing the first kind of history, and the available materials, as we saw, do not carry us much beyond the time of Budha and Mahavir in the Sixth Century B. C. Recently, however, a very old and, apparently, a high order of civilisation has been unearthed in the Indus Valley in the Punjab and in Sind, which according to current official beliefs, is of Summerian pattern. The buried cities now discovered bring to light not only very interesting features of a civilisation thriving in the western part of India in so remote a past (when the Indo-Aryans had not, according to the common view, yet migrated into India), but they even put into our hands interesting clues that may eventually help us to unraval many of the riddles of our Vedic and post-Vedic history. The Tantrik cult, for instance, may have older and deeper roots in the soil of India than have so far been granted or suspected. Nothing contemporaneous with or earlier than the Indus Valley civilisation has yet been unearthed in

other parts of the sub-continent. So the present trend of speculation is to regard the Indus Valley civilisation as short wedge driven into Western India—the whole of which was still at the low level of aboriginal darkness (with the possible exception of some parts that might have risen to the Dravidian 'light' level)—probably by the races and civilisation of Sumer.

We are still in the dusk-land of probabilities or even less than probabilities as to the date, origin, early habitats and earlier forms not only of the Indus Valley but also of the Dravidians and Indo-Aryan people. We do not know for certainty when and from where the Indo-Aryans came into India. The fact of Aryan immigration into India itself, though generally accepted, is still disputed. And if immigration be admitted, we have, probably, to admit not one but several successive streams of immigration. Such theory apparently called for to account for some of the critical turnings and "sudden mutations" in our ancient historical evolution, will lead to many unexplored avenues of enquiry as to ages and dates, origins and characteristics.

The Rigveda

The Rigveda—the earliest and the most informing and instructive "documentary" evidence that we possess—appears to set the stage amidst scenes which show the Aboriginal, Dravidian and Indo-Aryan factors fighting for supremacy first in the Vindhya Range which with the impenetrable forest mantle, stood as barrier between Northern India (Aryyavatta) and Deccan. Gradually we find the aborigines cornered and driven to the hills and forests where their descendants, more or less Aryanised, still continue to live. In considerable parts they were also absorbed into the fold of an Aryan society and culture. And in being absorbed they did not fail to impart some little part of their own character of the Aryan complex. There was not so much of racial or even linguistic fusion as of cultural assimilation. The process of Aryanisation in language, culture, etc., has been a process admitting, naturally, of different shapes and degrees, leaving at the one end aboriginal races that have almost kept aloof from Aryan influence and having at the other others that have become part and parcel of the Aryan system. The Aryanisation of the Dravidian peoples, specially in religion, culture and civilisation, has been a much more perfected process. But on the other hand the Dravidian impress on the Aryan system is also in many places, deep and unmistakable. The Dravidian is co-ordinated or even subordinated to the Aryan but not lost in the latter. This power of assimilation of alien races and cultures without losing the individuality of its own essential Type or Pattern and without at the same time making the diverse elements assimilated lose whatever is essential in them—has been a special characteristic of the Indo-Aryan race and culture-complex. This has meant organic unity or unity in diversity of a more fundamental and abiding nature than can, perhaps, be claimed for the political or national unity with which histories are completely familiar. Historians, accordingly, commonly miss the unity which lies deep and sees only the diversity which lies on the surface. India to them is thus a veritable chaos of jarring elements of races, language, religions, castes, sects and cultures which have never known unity before the days of the unitary political rule of the British. Of course the introduction, in later times, of the Semitic religions Muhammedanism and Christianity—disturbed to some extent the ages-long unity and balance of the Aryo-Dravidian culture and social system in India. But even these elements were in the process of being slowly drawn into the sphere of influence of what we may call the genius of India. In other words, a slow but sure process of cultural assimilation even of these "militant" factors was going apace. Buddhism, which had risen as a "revolt" against orthodox Hinduism—but yet as a revolt from within—and which dominated the situation in India for several centuries, ended in the land of its birth by being eventually absorbed and assimilated into the parent religion. Jainism and many other old or later "revolts" have thus "squared their accounts" with the same parent religion, and have been for many centuries living peaceably side by side with one another and with the latter.

This power of assimilation and co-ordination in which all the components make their own contributions and are permitted to live side by side as members of a commonwealth of cultures, has been the secret of the wonderful resisting and staying power of the Indian culture-complex against such disintegrating forces as have smashed up many and old and glorious civilisation of the world. And it can be easily shown from facts that this staying power has been in evidence not only in the realm of cultural contacts and impacts but also in that of social and political

ones. There have been many raids into India and invasions before and after Christ, but it is a travesty of facts to imagine that Indian resistance has always been weak and short-lived and that such invasions are typically like the raids of Mahmud of Gazni which even swept away Indian armies and kingdoms like cobweb or a house of cards. Before her final subjugation by the Mahammadan Power—and the final subjugation of the whole of India was anything like an accomplished fact only for a time during the reign of great Mogul Emperors—India had been, it should be borne in mind, a mighty Power and a Model of civilisation and culture for at least three thousand years. And it should be remembered further that when the British in India turned from trade to conquest (always with native help and alliance) they had to settle their accounts not only with Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan in the South but mainly the Maharatta and Sikh Powers which had risen on the ruins of the Mahammadan Power in India.

Unitary Indian Empire

But there were and still have been other factors which, to some extent, operate against India developing a compact and coherent political and military organisation except occasionally like, for instance, the Great Roman Empire of old or the British Empire in modern times. We possess, apparently, no connected retrospect of the remote past of which the Vedas, Epics and Purans speak. But as far as appearances go an unitary, centralised, Indian Empire was the exception and not the rule. In later times also, an Empire like that of Asoka was not a common achievement. As we said, India has possessed deep-laid cultural and institutional unity beneath all her diversities. India has fought, and fought bravely, for the integrity of her sacred Land, her sacred religion and tradition, and for their sacred visible Symbols and Embodiment. But one has rarely fought for the "State" as such or an Empire as such. The spirit of her culture did not favour the formation and consolidation of Nationalism in the sense it is commonly understood, and her basic institutions would hardly consist with any forms of centralised State control. The all-controlling and co-ordinating Principle was Dharma (the Principle of Human Values and Conduct) rather than any State agency. Each village, for example, was a self-contained commune and autonomous unit owing permanent allegiance to the reign of Dharma and only temporary allegiance to any kingship that might function for the time being. So the village communes continued to live though kingdoms after kingdoms rose and fell. They were but little affected by the accident and exigencies of politics.

Again, the spirit of Dharma (which should not be translated as religion) has definitely and systematically favoured all human or even all living values and tendencies and cosmopolitan outlook, and has opposed militant, aggressive, "predatory" nationalism. The old Upanishads are clear and courageous in their conception of those higher values; and the Dharmashastras (Codes laying down social and individual conduct) were bold and consistent in their execution of those ideas. Later, Budhism and Jainism and other "reforming" movements have tended only to stress such values as non-violence and fellowship with all men and all living beings. These forces operating through the ages tended to produce in the Indian classes and masses a common disposition not quite favourable to the formation and consideration of an unitary military state for purposes of offence and defence.

Of the immense back-ground of Indian History which is represented by the Vedas (Samhitas, Brahmans, Aranyakas and Upanishdas), the various Sutras (or Digests) Philosophies, Epics (the Ramayana and Mahavarata), Puranas and Tantras (our statement here is not anything like full), we possess (unless one is prepared to grant the claim of the Puranas recently put forth in their behalf that they do contain materials for reconstructing a fairly connected chronological history beginning with the very earliest times) very little precise and connected information for the purpose of writing a political history both copious and correct as to facts and their chronolgical order. But of the ideals and ideas, practices and institutions of the times we do possess a very full, informing and instructive presentation. And after all, what is real history but this? Scholars have been busy with their sketches and drawings of the ancient orders and specimens of ideas, beliefs, and practices that existed in India. But oftener than not their reviews and retrospects have been made from modern standpoints, with modern notions, criteria and standards of testing facts and appraising values. This has not enabled us in any just measure, to understand, much less appreciate, a civilisation (not confined to India but, possibly, reaching some of its greatest heights in this country) which was essentially of a different kind, and cannot therefore, be represented as only the first uncertain and timid step taken on the

road which has through a long long march, at last brought us to our present advanced stage. The ideology, plan and methods of that ancient civilisation we have yet not seriously studied and rightly understood. Much of that civilisation we still regard, without understanding, as consisting of "savage" magic, meaningless ritualism, 'theological twaddle" and crude superstition. Side by side with all this we find, however, the highest philosophy, deepest mysticism and pure ethics. There is also much that is of original and genuine value from the point of view of human material and mundane progress. This seems to us a curious medley of what is nearly the highest and what is about the lowest. But let us pass on.

Coming to "historical" times we find that the invasion by Alexander the Great of India proved in the result to be little more than a brilliant raid. His victorious armies could only cut off a small slice of North-Western India and this little slice the Macedonian would ingest, but could not digest. His steam roller of conquest speedily developed "war-weariness" on the plains of the Punjab, and he had to go back only adding a bit of India to his vast Empire. He had won some of his battles in India, but it had not been an "easy walk-over" with him.

Chandragupta and Asoka

After his death shortly afterwards, the vast Macedonian Empire practically went to pieces. Chandragupta, who became the king of Magadha, proved himself too powerful for the Greek invaders who had violated the sanctity and integrity of the sacred Land of the Five Rivers. As the result of the formidable opposition by the armies of Chandragupta, a treaty was concluded between him and the Greek which made him the supreme, undisputed lord and sovereign of the Indian Empire. Megasthenes, who was sent by Seleucus as an ambassador to the court of Chandragupta, left a very valuable record of the times of the customs and morals of the people, and of the administration, which though unfortunately fragmentary, bears an eloquent, and admiring testimony to the high order of material and moral civilization attained by the Hindus centuries before Christian era. And this high civilisation was evolved in India not in isolation but in commerce with other civilisations that flourished in ancient times such as the Babylonian, Greek, Persian and Chinese. Chandragupta's son was Bindusara who was succeeded by Asoka (269-231 B. C.), who was undoubtedly, one of the greatest rulers of men holding their sway for the material and spiritual good of mankind. Numerous edicts and inscriptions record the noble and glorious achievements of his reign which, in its later stages, left the bloody path of war and conquest and devoted itself to the much more noble and fruitful task and the moral and spiritual conquest and redemption of ourselves and our fellow beings. With commendable catholicity and tolerance, not seeking to impose it upon others by his great imperial authority and power, he exercised that authority and power for the purpose of transforming Budhism, which had been more or less a local sect in the Ganges Valley, into one of the greatest and most potent living world religions. Asoka's reign is therefore rightly held to be an epoch in the history of the world. His edicts also show the man, his ideals and his methods. But all this had not allowed or favoured the cement of the great Maurya Empire setting into the requisite hardness. Independent kingdoms like Bacteria and Parthia took their rise in the border land, and the Greeks renewed their incursions. New races (the Yuen-chi) came in a surge of migration which swept all before them, and in the first century A. D. a considerable portion of the North-west India came under their influence.

Gupta Dynasty

Kaniska, who made Peshawar his capital, proved great as a ruler and as a patron and missionary of the Budhistic religion. Under him the Kushan Branch of the Yuen-chi reached the zenith of his power. But this power fell as another power in middle India rose—the Andhra dynasty. A peak like Amaravati or Ujjain would, some time, rise and shine in the midst of moving vastness of Indian waters. In the beginning of the fourth century the centre of political influence in India was again shifted to Pataliputra in Magadha as the Gupta dynasty emerged into power. Samudragupta, who ruled for fifty years, and his son Chandragupta, greatly distinguished themselves not only in war but in the sphere of peaceful and fruitful administration, promoting general prosperity and giving liberal encouragement to art and literature, a glorious tribute to which was paid by the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien. According to his testimony, their Empires were vast and their administration just, enlightened. Towards the end of the Fifth Century—when the White Huns from Central Asia began to pour themselves into India—the sun of the Gupta dynasty set (during whose regime, it should be noted, there had been a revival and

reconstruction of ancient Brahmanism and Brahmancial culture as evidenced especially by the literature of the Purans: but this reviving process was very largely, a process of quiet adaptation and peaceful assimilation.) More than a century had elapsed after the fall of the Gupta dynasty before there rose another great and enlightened monarch who could emulate with no mean success the greatest of the Indian rulers in historical time—Asoka. Emperor Harsha, who consolidated his authority practically over the whole of Northern India in the beginning of the seventh century, was famous equally for his great prowess, his high intellectual attainments and for the broad catholicity of his religious outlook. An account of his times has been left by a Chinese, Huen Tsiang by name. In that, India is still painted in generally bright and even glowing colours.

Mediaeval India

After the death of Harsha, and gradually with the emergence of India into what may be called the mediaeval period, the conditions which had made the political unification of India sometimes possible in the past, nearly disappeared, and India was thrown into a state of political confusion and chaos in which petty kingdoms rose like mushrooms and constant internecine strife prevailed. Some outstanding figures like Vikramaditya would occasionally appear on the stage; but such events were few and far between. In the south of India was being enacted a very interesting but involved drama in which the Andhras, Ballavas, Chalukyas and Cholas were the principal actors. Kashmere in the North, Kanauj in the Doab and Bengal in the east were also alive with many vivid and vital scenes and events of political, cultural and social interests. But we shall not try to make a review of them here. One outstanding event in the confusion and complexity of the general Indian situation which deserves notice even passing was the rise of the Rajput power upon which the mantle of the old caste Kshatrias (the warrior and ruling caste) fell and which was the chief opposition that the waves of Mahammedan invasion coming one after another ever since the second quarter of the 7th century, had to encounter and ultimately bear down. Guzrat, Malwa, Ajmer, Kanauj and Delhi were the principal scenes of the new drama of Rajput ascendancy—a drama so full of episodes of superhuman bravery, noble heroism and sacrince for sacred cause of religion and liberty that they ever since lived in human memory as models which future generations of patriots in any country might well try to emulate. Though Rajput opposition was borne down in Northern India by the end of the twelfth century, Rajput bravery and the spirit that animated it survived the crash of the Hindu Empire of Delhi and Ajmere over which Prithvi Raj, the hero, the last of the Hindu emperors, though not the last of the Hindu rulers had held sway. Rajput bravery and Rajput love of independence were still factors to reckon with in the days of the great Moghuls—Akbar, Jahangir, Shahjahan and Aurangzab. Col. Todd and some others have narrated the story, and it constitutes one of his proudest annals in the vast archives of the Hindu glory in India. As to the conquest of Northern India by the Mahammedans, it should be noted, the great prize was not very easily or quickly won; that the first Mahammedan impact was in the seventh century shortly after the passing away of the Prophet, and a Mahammedan kingdom in Northern India came into being towards the end of the 12th. century. Even this did not mean either a complete or final subjugation of India, and there is another thing to be noted. Hindu power fell not because its resistance was weak and its bravery and heroism in the field was not backed by adequate tact, strategy and discipline in diplomacy, planning and preparation.

The centuries of the mediaeval age in India were marked by a conspicuous lack of political unity and solidarity. But they were by no means unimportant and barren. It was not a "dark" Age. In the Gupta period and in the centuries before and after, a marvellous process of social, cultural and religious reconstruction was going apace. The old Vedic scheme of social economy (involving as it did the four Varnas of "caste" and the four Ashrams or "stages" of life) was being transformed through a process of adaptation, assimilation and multiplication which made society more comprehensive and at the same time more complex. The influence of Budhism, Hellenism and that of Mongoloid races also led to adaptations and assimilations, in many important directions in the older order of Indian customs and institutions. The gradual assimilation of Budhism itself was a phenomenon of the greatest importance. The Vedic religion survived but it was transformed. The Puranas and Tantras renewed and gave a new expression to the Sanatana Dharma. In the domain of literature, art (both useful and fine), science and mathematics, philosophy and metaphysics these centuries were also productive of fruits that were and still are of

the greatest interest and value. Great poets like Kalidas and Bhavabhuti, and great Philosophers like Shankaracharya and Ramanuja and also other pioneers and masters in other fields formed a galaxy of men of genius and talents which showed that an age of political dis-equilibrium and confusion in India was yet not necessarily an age of cultural depression and darkness and social disruption. The soul of India could, apparently, function to its best advantage inspite of her troubled politics.

But whilst this was true for some time it could not be true for all time. Her politics at last began to tell on her constitution. We do not, however, propose to continue the story through the Mahammedan and British periods. The history of these periods is more settled and definite in features, and these are, generally, well-known. One special feature, which is not always clearly recognised and to which we should like to draw attention is this. From the twelfth century right up to the eighteenth, or even for some time later, the Hindu power of revival and regeneration, of initiation and execution was never like dead or even dying. Independent and often powerful kingdoms like Vijayanagar in the South, those of Pratap, Shivaji and the Peshwas in the west (we do not mention some others e. g. those in Bengal) would now and then proudly lift their heads and challenge the authority of the great Moslem emperors. Under that authority, too, there flourished many great Hindu administrators, ministers, governors, generals and financiers. In short, during the Mahammedan era, the Hindu genius was not at its best but it was not quite decadent.

The Mahammedan Rule

The Mahammedan conquerors, again, from Mohamed Ghori who wrested the sceptre of the kingdom of Delhi from Prithviraj after a first unsuccessful attempt, came to India as foreigners but they did not remain here as foreigners. India was the land of their adoption. Raids like those by Chengis Khan or Nadir Shah were rare and they did not represent the normal course of events. India suffered, and sometimes badly, no doubt, from the effects of the conquering ardour and proselytising zeal of some of the Mahammedan rulers. But the great Moghuls were as much "children of the soil" as the humblest of the Hindu "heathen". And this sharing together by the Hindus and Mussalmans of a common "hearth and home" naturally tended to breed a consciousness of community of interests in both as India's offspring. There was a steady assimilation of the semitic and Indo Aryan cultures also and even a growing understanding and appreciation of one religion by the other. The religions touched and even blended with each other at their highest points—e. g., in Sufism and Vedantic mysticism. They also met and evolved a broad common "shrine" to which folk beliefs, practices and institutions would bring their united homage. Even a common dialect (Urdu or Hindusthani) was evolved between the two in Northern India which gradually blossomed into a fine literature. The patronage extended by the Mohammedan emperors to Music, Architecture etc. was also fruitful of very fine result. India's wealth attracted the trade and commerce of the whole civilised world. In fact, America or the West Indies was discovered in an attempt to discover an western route to the Indian market. British, French, Dutch and Portuguese traders all came and scrambled for market, and eventually, for political power in India. It is also worthy of note that even under the sway of such masterful monarchs as Sher Shah, Akbar or Aurangzeb, the government of the country was in the main decentralised, allowing provincial and local autonomy —down to the autonomy of the village units—to adequately function. Even petty local chiefs—like the feudal lords of the mediaeval West—never unlearnt the art of fighting and governing. So it was always possible for a man of ambition and ability, like Shivaji for example, to evolve sanctions whereby he could implement his high political aspirations. It was the very large measure of local autonomy and local initiative that existed that rendered possible the rise of the Mahratta and Sikh Powers and also of the kingdoms of Hyder Ali and the Nizam in the south. And British Power in India in its rise to paramountcy found its most formidable rivals or powerful allies in them.

The British Rule

In 1599, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, some merchants of London formed an association for the purpose of trade with India, and this association was granted a royal charter of incorporation. At first this Company was purely a trading concern establishing factories in the east and west coasts of India and in Bengal and administering its affairs in the three "presidencies" which were at first independent of one another but subordinate to the Board of Directors at home. In course of time

however, chiefly with a view to preserving and consolidating its growing and extensive trade in India. in the face of the French rivalry and intrigue and the prevailing political anarchy and unrest in the land. it established military garrisons of defence which soon became involved in hostilities that saddled it with territorial responsibilities. It fought some decisive battles in Madras and in Bengal, which raised a trading company to the status of a political Power in India. French intrigue failed and French rivalry practically died down in India. One of the most decisive battles fought was the battle of Plassey in 1757. The battle was won with the aid of faithful native battalions and with the active or passive support of the generals and noblemen of the unfortunate young Nawab of Bengal It is worthy of note that the path of British supremacy in India, and often, its influence and prestige abroad has been paved, amongst other things, with the consent, allianee and willing co-operation of the Natives of India. It was so even during the critical period of the Sepoy Mutiny one hundred years after the battle of Plassey. It was again so during the "ordeal" of the last great war. The machinery of administration by the East India Company was from time to time modified by Acts of Parliament (1773, 1784, and the Charter Acts of 1793 and 1833). By these a Governor-General-in-Council was made the supreme administrative authority in India subject to a Board of Control at home. By the last Act, the Company ceased to be a commercial concern and became a political and administrative body only. After the Sepoy Mutiny another Act was passed by which the Government of India was transferred from the Company to the Crown, and thenceforth the Governor-General was also the Viceroy of India The functions of the Government of India are wide and its responsibilities heavy. But its responsibilities are to the Crown and the Parliament. It has not rested on an elective popular basis. There have been legislative bodies, but its motions, resolutions and votes have not, except as regards certain matters of secondary importance under the Act of 1919, a binding effect on the Government.

India's contributions and sacrifices in the great War were great, but the "reward" that came in the shape of the Parliamentary Declaration promising her a "progressive realisation of responsible government," the stages and times of which were to be determined by the Parliament alone was not comforting to her nationalist aspirations. And the Government of India Act of 1919, which is still in actual function though it has been, apparently, broadened and amplified in some directions by a recent Parliamentary Statute, did not meet the wishes or expectations of India. By that Act dyarchy or a kind of dual responsibility was established in the provinces, where the "nation-building" subjects were 'transferred" to Ministers (not responsible however to the legislature), whilst the more important subjects were "reserved." In practice the transference of certain subjects to Ministers (who were appointed by, held office under the pleasure of, and were responsible to the Governor) meant little more than a complication of the administrative machinery which became in consequence more cumbrous and expensive. The Central Government continued to remain unitary under the scheme. The legislative bodies, both provincial and central, were expanded with non-official majorities, but this placed little power for construction or even for obstruction, in the hands of the popular parties. Whilst the liberals proceeded to work the scheme, the main body of nationalist forces, as represented by the Indian National Congress, would not first even look at it. But some time later under the guidance of Mr. C. R. Das and Pandit Matilal Nehru, a Swaraj Party, analogous to the present Congress Parliamentary Party, was formed which entered the legislatures, both provincial and central, in telling numbers and by its obstructionist tactics caused not a little embarrassment to those entrusted with the work of day to day administration. In some provinces it was even able to 'wreck" dyarchy for a time. Generally, however, the system has worked, though not satisfactorily even according to official appreciation. We need not in particular refer to the unwelcome labours of the All-White Statutory Simon Commission, to which even the habitually co-operating liberals refused to lend their co-operation. Meanwhile the Congress ideology was becoming bolder day by day, and the Lahore session adopted a resolution setting as the goal of India complete Independence or *Purna Swaraj*. A campaign of civil disobedience followed to create "sanctions" under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi who has been really at the helm of Congress affairs since the early twenties. The Round Table idea was broached rather too late: but Mahatma Gandhi after concluding, what is known as the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, joined the Conference subsequently. The result of the deliberations of that body fell short of the Congress demand. And the Congress again withdrew its offer of co-operation. This was forced on the Congress by the way in which the British ruling classes used, during the Round Table Conference discussions, India's internal

differences as an excuse for the frustration of her political ambitions. The "Communal Award" of the British Premier Ramsay MacDonald that imparted a "vote value" to religious differences and social inferiorities revealed the tactics of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy. It was modified by the epic fast of Mahatma Gandhi so far as the Hindus were concerned. But in its wider ramifications, it has stimulated separatist conceits and ambitions that in course of the last ten years have created a "civil war" mentality in the country where almost every creed and class has been organizing themselves to capture political power in the name of their particularistic interests. It is well-known that Mahatma Gandhi wanted to avoid a fight so soon after the Gandhi-Irwin Pact. This attitude was evidenced by the wording of his telegram to Lord Willingdon sent on the 29th December, 1931—"whether you expect me to see you and receive guidance from you as to the course I am to pursue in advising the Congress." Lord Willingdon rejected this opportunity of cementing co-operation between Indian Nationalism and the enlightened self-interest of British Imperialism. The second Civil Disobedience Movement was the natural result which continuing for about two years—1932-'34—prepared by repression the mind of India to receive the constitutional changes made by the Act of 1935. The genesis and the long drawn processes of shaping this machinery were informed by a spirit of arrogant imperialism, ignoring at every step Indian self-respect. The imperial Government could not accept any of the suggestions made in the Joint Memorandum of the Indian delegates nominated by itself. The arrival of "provincial autonomy" changed in no way "a relationship that rests on conquest," whose "sanction" was the physical might of Britain, to quote the words of the well-known British publicist, Mr. Brailsford.

With the passage of this Act the ruling authorities hoped that they had been able to so provide things that the men and women of India would remain satisfied with their enlarged electorates, from 70 lakhs to about 4 crores, and with the Ministries charged with the solution of "things that matter"—the problems of health, education and economic well-being with which are intimately bound up the life of the majority of the people. These problems of dirt disease and ignorance could not be neglected any more without doing permanent injury to the body politic. The increasing recognition of this sorry state of affairs joined to the increasing resentment with the pretensions of "external authority", felt by increasing numbers of Indians, created a conflict in the mind of India that was reflected in the discussion of public affairs—a contradiction between the spoken word and the practice that sought to give it shape and form. The organization of the election campaign on behalf of the Congress was characterized by this contradiction. The purpose of sending Congress representatives to the Legislatures was declared to be to "combat" and to "end" the Act of which these were the products, the incorporation of the "Fundamental Rights" resolution (passed at the Karachi Congress, 1931) and of the "Agraian Programme" (accepted at the Lucknow Congress 1936) in the Congress Election Manifesto (22 August, 1936) held the promise of relief through these Legislatures of the many ills—political and economic and social—from which the people suffered. Facing the Congress Party in this battle for votes, stood the up-holders of varied interests, communal and class, that under various disguises and with radical programmes on their lips tried to canalize the rising temper and the organized feeling of the country. In the election contest the Congress secured absolute majorities in the provinces—Madras, the United Provinces, the Central Provinces and Berar, Behar, and Orissa; it was the single largest party in four—Bombay, Bengal, Assam and the North West Frontier Province; in the Punjab and Sind Congress members were in a minority—a negligible minority.

When their leaders were called upon by the Governors in the provinces to help him in forming the Ministries, they demanded of the Governors' assurance that use would not be made of their veto and emergency powers, and that the advice of the Ministries would not be "set side in regard to their constitutional activities." The Governors expressed inability to divest themselves of "certain obligations" which the Parliament had imposed on them. Ensued a constitutional deadlock; the Assemblies were not called in seven provinces; "interim ministries" were appointed to 'conceal" this "breakdown" of the constitutional device, said Prof Berriedale Keith. For four months the controversy waxed and waned. As the statutory period for the convening of the Assemblies drew nearer, the Government, "ultra-sensitive over questions of prestige", yielded, Congress Ministries were formed in seven provinces; in Bengal and Assam, in the Punjab and Sind coalition ministries were functioning from April, 1937; the Congress Ministries from the last week of July, 1937. The refusal of the Congress

to entertain the idea of allowing its members to enter into coalition even as the predominant partner, as it was possible in Bengal and Assam, enabled Muslim communalist Ministries to be set up in these two provinces whose activities helped to work havoc with the decencies of civilised life, to inflame the bitterness of communal feeling and waft its position all over the country. The lowest depth of this degradation was reached when outbursts of arson and loot in the city of Dacca and the country side within the district occurred during 1941. The device of the "Communal Award" has been working towards its logical end.

The India Act of 1935 had a federal scheme to introduce. A sort of Diarchy was contemplated, and vast areas of power in the administration were withheld from the people's representatives; the nominees of the rulers of the Indian States were given a disproportionately big representation in both the upper and lower houses of the Central Legislature. The Reserve Bank and the Federal Railway Authority were instances of the former; and the so-called States' representatives were so many "pocket-boroughs" under the command of the external authority represented by the Governor-General. These and the industrial and commercial and political "safeguards" with which the Federal Scheme bristled repelled public opinion in India. The majority of Muslim politicians were afraid of a central Government where their communalist politics will keep them in a perpetual minority and where they were not prepared to play their part in politics free from narrow appeals to credal and class conceits and ambitions. The rulers of the Indian States were reported to be trying to press hard bargains in their negotiations over the "Instrument of Accession" both in their relation with the "Paramount Power" and in their apprehensions of the rising tide of democracy in their own States. For two years Lord Linlithgow was kept busy smoothing all this opposition with his utmost diplomacy when in September, 1939, the World War II of the 20 century burst upon the world.

India was declared a belligerent by the Governor-General without even the pretence of consultation with the Central Legislature. This was regarded as an insult to Indian self-respect; it exposed before all the world the unnatural relation that subsisted between India with her 40 crores of people and Britain with her 5; it exposed the hollowness of the slogan raised by Britain that she was being forced into the present war for the defence of democracy. The declaration was no panic measure; the ground had been prepared for it six months earlier by a new Section—Section 126A—in the Act of 1935 securing to the Central Government of India "essential powers of direction and control" over the Provincial Governments when an emergency due to war was proclaimed by the Governor-General under Section 102 of the Act. The emergency power granted by this latter Section had been given to the Central Legislature elected on a wide popular franchise, whereas the new Section empowered an irresponsible Executive with power to "give direction to a Province as to the manner in which the executive thereof is to be exercised." The majority of the Provincial Ministries raised objections to this "invasion by the Centre on the sphere of authority conferred by the Act on the Provinces." Technically the British Government might have been right. But in relations like those that subsist between India and Britain legal and constitutional correctitude does not play a helpful hand.

The actual outbreak of the war did not ease the tension between Indian Nationalism and British Imperialism. The Indian National Congress voiced almost universal Indian feeling when in a statement issued on the 14 September, 1939 it called upon the British Government to declare their "war aims in regard to Democracy and Imperialism and the New Order that it envisaged; in particular, how these aims are going to apply to India and to be given effect to in the present." Such a declaration, said Pandit Jawharlal Nehru in a message to the London *Daily Chronicle*, will be able to "make the people of India enthusiastic for a war which was not theirs." The Congress invitation to the British Government was international in its import. Dissatisfaction with the vague generalities of British politicians that found expression even in the statements of British leaders of thought was a proof that these "war aims" needed clear statement. Other organisations of vocal Indian opinion—the Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha, the *Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind*—the organisation of Muslim divines of India for instance—were in their statements as insistent on the clarification of Britain's war aims and their application to the peculiar conditions of India. Up to 1942 the British Government has not been able to satisfy any party in India to set up a Central Government at Delhi-Simla that would enlist the self-respect and self-interest of the country on the side of this

war of continent and oceans. This failure had led to the resignation of eight of the eleven Provincial Ministers of the country—Bombay, Madras, Central Provinces & Berar, Orissa, Bihar, Assam, the United Provinces, and the North-West Frontier Province. Two of these have since been revived—Orissa and Assam—carrying on a pale imitation of "Provincial autonomy"—under the rule of the military bureaucracy in India whom this "world war" has placed in this dominant position.

Apart from this argument between Indian Nationalism and British Imperialism, the various elements in Indian composite life have not shown that unity for ends and means that would have wrested political power from unwilling hands. The "Pakistan" claim of the Muslim League demands that areas where the Muslims happen to be in a majority should be constituted into sovereign "Independent States." This claim has been recognised by opinion in India and in the wide world outside as a threat to the unity and integrity of India. Confronted by such a situation the British Government stands in anxious helplessness. Priding itself on its concern for minorities it finds itself coercing the majority at every step. Since the 8th August (1940) proposals of Lord Linlithgow for the enlargement of the Executive Council, there have been two enlargements thereof till to-day it consists of eleven Indians and four Europeans inclusive of His Excellency. This increasing "Indianization" and the "Draft Declaration" brought by Sir Stafford Cripps on behalf of the British Cabinet in March, 1942, have not for divergent reasons appealed to any responsible party in India. Japan's startling success in Burma, in Malaya, in the Philippines, in the Dutch East Indies, the failure of Britain, the U. S. A. and Holland to stand up to the far-flung Japanese aggression have brought down their prestige in the market place of world affairs. And the people of these along with those of India have reasons to be apprehensive of their future. A sense of frustration appears to be oppressing the minds of the men and women of India. It is not fear of Japanese invasion alone that is responsible for this state of things. The evacuation orders on people living in the coastal areas of the country has disturbed and disrupted their habits of life; practically no arrangements have been made on behalf of the State for life in newer places and surroundings for hundreds of thousands of men, women and children; the orgy of profiteering in the necessaries of life; the incompetence of officialdom in face of these anti-social activities—all these, the later two specially, have spread a feeling of helplessness in the country. This mentality has been affecting, however indirectly, the "war work" that was to repel the enemy and wrest victory from his grasp. Since the "Mutiny" days eighty-five years back the certainties of existence for the people of this continental country have not been so rudely shaken as during the first six months of 1942. The break-down of the machinery of civil administration in Malaya and Burma have sent more than five lakhs of refugees to India—men and women of India who had made their living in those countries. This has also added to the confusion of the times. These betokened changes for which the minds of the people had not been prepared. This unpreparedness has created difficulties both for the rulers and the ruled. The Japanese occupation of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands in the heart of the Bay of Bengal, the advance of Japan's hosts towards India's north-eastern borders, the hurried defence arrangements set up in the eastern districts of India—all these signs and portents confront us.

Japanese Invasion & its Effects

The undeclared war of Japan on British possessions in east Asia on December 7, 1941, caught the British rulers unready. The same happened to be the case with the United States. The air attack on Pearl Harbour high-lighted this unpreparedness and absence of vigilance. Thereafter India became an unwilling belligerent against Japan as she had remained since Lord Linlithgow had declared her at war with Germany in September, 1939. These two acts had demonstrated India's equivocal position in the comity of modern nations. The sacrifices and sufferings, incidental to all wars, she underwent; but she lacked the exaltation of feelings that enables free peoples to welcome these with gladness as part of their duty as citizens. She lacked this consolation, and when Japan brought the horrors of war to her very doors, she bore these with a spirit of fatalism and undisguised resentment that not all her proverbial philosophy could assuage. The leadership of the Indian National Congress tried to guide these into channels of constructive thought and activity, to "non-violent" ways. For about three years it tried to control the rising temper of dissatisfaction with conditions of scarcity in the material necessaries of every-day life, with the rising prices of all consumer goods. Mahatma

Gandhi specially would not hear of creating difficulties for the British bureaucracy in India fighting for survival of their system of rule over the country; his chivalry would not allow him to hit them when they were fighting with their backs to the wall. As the Japanese armies hacked their way through Burma and as her navy ploughed triumphantly over the Indian Ocean and the Bay of Bengal, there appeared to be panic and consternation even in the counsels of the British rulers in India. And it was regarded as a possibility that they might fall back from Assam, Bengal, Orissa and the other eastern Provinces of the Country and take their stand in the hills and dales at their back. This danger upset the whole administrative machinery, acting against the incipient dissatisfaction of the people, and demoralized both the ruling authorities and the subject population. The former resorted to panic measures in pursuit of a "denial policy" that will deny the advancing Japanese any help and facilities that might be forthcoming from a dissatisfied people, a section of the latter found an opportunity to exploit the anarchy of the occasion to profiteer at the expense of the State and of their own people, thus creating conditions of scarcity that made for a famine in Bengal, in parts of Orissa, in parts of the States of Travancore and Cochin and British Malabar on the west coast of India.

"Quit India" Movement (1942)

From September, 1939 to April, 1942, Gandhiji had helped to keep the peace in India by impressing upon our people that it was not manly to create difficulties for Britain when she had been fighting, as has been said, with her back to the wall. But Britain would not understand this generosity, and in her efforts to solve the political problem in India she made announcements of policy that complicated matters the more. In August, 1940, at the instance of the Imperial Government, the then Governor-General of India, Lord Linlithgow, made public a statement of policy that put a veto in the hands of the minorities of the country, specially the Muslims, on all political progress. It talked of a constitutional arrangement that may be repudiated by elements in the Indian population and the British Government's inability to suggest or construct such a machinery. Then came the Cripps Mission (March 1942) when the Japanese were almost at the eastern gate of India, having rolled over British forces all through Burma. The plan that Sir Stafford Cripps brought with him visualized an Indian Union with rights secured to units to accede or not to it; at the same time it was declared that the Indian Union might or might not adhere to the Common-wealth of British Nations. None of the Indian parties, contacted by Sir Stafford Cripps, were satisfied by the various interpretations put forward by him. As the Plan was subjected to analysis by keen students of affairs and Constitutional *pundits* it developed characteristics that did not appeal to any body; perhaps, these were inherent in the Cripps plan. Even Gandhiji with his anxiety to understand the other man's point of view was constrained to give his first impression of the "Draft Declaration" brought by Cripps, as "a post-dated cheque". A member of the Princely Order in India, rulers of the Indian States, embellished this phrase by adding the words "on a crashing bank." The details of the negotiations with the representatives of Indian parties are not available. But it is not wrong to say that the Cripps Plan did not contemplate the transfer of any real power, the control of and by Indians of the defence policy of the country even in face of the crisis which was sought to be tided over with the help of sincere Indian Nationalists. And we are convinced that it was on this rock that the Cripps Plan floundered. Even before the negotiations started Sir Stafford Cripps had made this point clear on March 29, 1942, when he said: "The defence of India will not be in Indian hands, even if the parties want it. It would be the worst thing for the defence of India." The insult and the distrust implicit in this announcement dealt the hardest blow to any chances of acceptance of the Cripps Plan by and on behalf of India. And from this time on, the moral repulsion of India from the British Government was complete. And Gandhiji voiced it forth through the columns of *Harijan*, the weekly organ of his views and thought. All through April to the first week of August, 1942, he synthesized it in cry of "Quit India" by Britain of her authority in the country. Sir Stafford Cripps had propagated the thesis that it was Hindu-Muslim disagreement that had really wrecked his Plan. Gandhiji countered that as long as the "Third Party", that is, "the British Government" remained, this disagreement would remain and persist. Since then he and every Indian Nationalist has never abated in their faith in this demand. The All-India Congress Committee, the policy-maker of the Indian National Congress, the body that can put the ultimate seal of approval or disapproval on the suggestions of the Working Committee of the Congress, the supreme executive of

the Indian National Congress, accepted and passed the "Quit India" resolution on August 8, 1942. Before the sun rose over the next day, all the leaders of the Congress were arrested and spirited away to unknown destinations which later turned out to be the Aga Khan's palace in Poona and the Moghul Fort of Ahmednagar. This arrest and detention was the signal for the outburst of a mass revolt and mass frenzy that had few parallels in India's recent history since the Revolt of 1857. Gandhiji had planned a non-violent fight after failure of negotiations with the Governor-General which he was authorized to carry on by the same resolution. But the arrest and detention of Congress leaders scotched this plan, and the mass mind of India reacted to it with unplanned sabotage of railway communications and disorganized attacks on Police stations, post offices and Law courts in certain areas. Their fury was at its height in the western districts of Bihar, in the eastern districts of the United Provinces, in the Midnapore district of Bengal, in particular areas in the Andhra Desa and Assam, and in the district of Satara in Bombay. It took the British military authorities to stamp the violent expressions of these no more than three months. But where the people had set up National Governments, *Jatiya Sarkars*, the fight could be carried on with more or less vigour for more than a year; in certain areas, in Midnapore and Satara for instance, it was more than two years before the people slackened in their efforts, and could be beaten down into inactivity. Scarcity rather than repression had weakened resistance.

Bengal Famine (1943-'44)

This scarcity had been created by the co-operation of the British bureaucracy with the Indian trading classes. It released over the whole country forces of such a moral obliquity that it will take years to eliminate these from our body politic. Administrative inefficiency could be got rid of, but the greediness of manufacturing and trading interests, generated by war conditions and encouraged and tolerated by the British bureaucracy in India, will require more years to treat. For, it has become a moral epidemic that can be controlled only by honest administrators and an awakened public opinion, vowed to fight out all anti-social habits. Two reports, one that which enquired into the genesis of famine in Bengal, and the other that was prepared to suggest measures for the re-organization of Bengal's administrative machinery, have exposed all the dishonesties that have crept into Bengal. The Famine Commission was presided over by Sir John Woodhead, for a little while Governor of Bengal during the early thirties. The Bengal Administrative Reorganization Committee was presided over by Sir Archibald Rowlands, later Finance Member in Lord Wavell's Executive Council. Both the reports indicated the process of dishonesty and incompetence that have afflicted Bengal since communalism began to play its part in guiding the destinies of the Province. The former said that the Bengal famine caused the death of 15 to 20 lakh persons; that the profiteers had made a profit of Rs. 150 crores, one life at the cost of Rs. 1,000. The latter said that dishonesty appeared to have been accepted as the rule against which there appear to be no remedy. Since 1937, with the inauguration of "autonomy" Ministries, Muslim communalism had dominated the Bengal administration, and during the war years, war contracts under its disposal and the Civil Supply Department have opened the door to jobbery and corruption. These played their part in twisting the natural course of events both during the famine year and since then. It may also be said that this jobbery and corruption have become all-India phenomena, and scarcities of food have become as extensive. In 1946 it became the turn of south India, the State of Mysore, parts of Madras and the Bombay Presidencies to become scenes of dire distress. It was help from the outside world made possible by the cessation of war and the easier shipping conditions as also rigid rationing inside India, that have halted famine. But malnutrition stalks over the land and will continue as long as India does not become self-sufficient with regard to food. As we write (in March, 1947), we see no prospect of this sufficiency, and the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization cannot hold out better prospects of world production and sufficiency.

1943, 1944, 1945

These years, except the last six months of the last year, were times of frustration to the Indian people. They were economically hit by the scarcities created by war and by the profiteering and black-marketing that had been thriving under the direct patronage of the Government. Food and cloth had been rationed, and even with controls, the Government could not secure to the people even the minimum of their requirements. The needs of the war had driven all other considerations out of their view, and the people continued to stint and suffer because they saw no other alternative. The leaders of the Congress were behind prison bars, and even

Gandhiji's release sometime in the middle of 1944 did not help break the deadlock. The leaders of the Muslim League were officially non-co-operating with the war activities but practically trying to extract all advantages that war contracts and Civil Supplies Departments had to dispose of. Thus was built up a wealthy class amongst the Muslim of India that became identified with and felt itself bound with the fortune and power of the Muslim League. It is this class that made the Muslim League, encouraged by the British bureaucracy, the instrument of their continued existence. This interpretation partly explains the growth of the tension between the communities in India which was not unwelcome to British Imperialists as a road-block to India's advance to the status of a free nation with a new dignity as a free state. But behind these frustrations had been gathering forces that after the dragooning of 1942 had not lost their impulse to revolt; these were found as ready to renew the fight as in 1942. In June, 1945, when the Congress leaders were released, the flood-tide burst and seemed able to carry every thing before it. Economic scarcities, the scars of war exactions, everything was forgotten, and in one bound the people threw away the memory of suppression, and rebound to a new attack on the ramparts of imperialism. These showed cracks and signs of yielding. The people were upheld in their new courage by the story of the *Azad Hind Fouz*, the Army of Indian Liberation, organized under the dynamic leadership of Subhas Chandra Bose, who had fled the country in the middle of January, 1941. The trial of some of his commanders, held at Red Fort, Delhi, which had witnessed the trial of Bahadur Shah, the last of the Moghul Emperors of Delhi, in 1857-'58 after the suppression of the Revolt of that year, told the story how a Provisional Government of Free India had been formed, recognized by the States ranged against the Anglo-Saxon Powers, Britain and the United States, thus giving an international status to it. Under it an Army had been formed which had marched towards India penetrating its frontiers in Manipur, Naga Hill and Arakan The invasion had failed. But the story of that failure had a miraculously opposite effect. It found the people a new centre of hope, a new assurance of their powers, as moulders of a State, as creators of an army, as fighters for a Free India reared on the sufferings and sacrifices of millions, all, more or less unconsciously responding to the call of destiny in the belief that the end of the journey is *Swaraj*. The last six months of 1945 and the first three months of 1946 marked the high east water-mark of this mass awakening.

1946 (JANUARY TO JUNE)

A Parliamentary delegation, representative of all political parties in Britain and members of the House of Commons and Lords, visited India and toured through the country, studying the Indian situation, gathering from friendly and non-partisan approach to every school of politics in Indian experience, good, bad or indifferent. When they returned they must have spoken of these, of the revolutionary and violent possibilities in what they saw and heard in India. The Labour Government seemed to have been impressed, and announced the proposal for the Cabinet Delegation to India with a view to help Indian politicians make up their differences and agree amongst themselves to work an "instrument of decision" that will enable them to receive political power that would not be "incompatible in any way to the sovereign dignity of India", to quote the words of Sir Stafford Cripps, a member of the Delegation, in a statement made at Karachi on March 23, 1946, the day he landed on Indian soil from the air. Hopes were raised that minority veto as exercised by the Muslim League all these years would not be allowed to hold back the purpose for which the Cabinet Delegation was being sent to prepare the ground. The people and their leaders pitched upon the words of the Prime Minister, Mr. Clememt Attlee, uttered in course of the debate in the House of Commons on March 15, 1946. While "mindful of the rights of minorities" who should be "able to live free from fear", Mr. Attlee declared: "on the other hand we cannot allow a minority to place a veto on the advance of the majority". As the negotiation proceeded, these hopes were all but vanished. And by the time, May 16, 1946, when the Delegation's Plan was published, there were very few to entertain these. Even Gandhiji said that he could not see "light". The plan dismissed "Pakistan" as impracticable, and provided "Sections" and "Groups" that for practical purposes differed little from the Muslim League demand. This is the story of India brought to date June, 1946.

But what followed has been tragic, more tragic than 1857-'58. For Indians have been murdering one another, burning one another's houses.

India in Home Polity

After the end of the war against Germany, twelve months have passed. Freedom from worry has not ensued; freedom from want for the widest commonalty of the world has not yet arrived. The reasons are various. The contrivances of science, mental and material, that could have helped the restoration, have too long been devoted to destructive purposes to be able to be suddenly diverted to purposes of peace. The legacy of war, even of victory, is ever thus. Even modern knowledge has not been able to bring about a change for the better.

The After-math of victory

In addition, the spirit of camaraderie that marked the relation between the victorious Powers under the stress of a common danger, has disappeared, and jealousy, rivalry and suspicion have given place to it, creating a sense of suspense and tension that is not helpful towards the restoration of real peace and amity of which the world stands in so sore a need. Everything being uncertain, in the political, social and economic relations in the world, men and women, dazed under the shock of political and social upheavals, are afraid and know not to which they will turn for safety and whether there is any safety in the present order of things. This is a world phenomenon, and India is a victim of uncertainty with the rest of humanity. The threat of immediate wars and invasion being removed, the old argument between free competition and totalitarian communism has started again and has become the breeding ground of all the controversies and competitions that appear to disrupt human solidarity and threaten to start a third world war before the world has recovered from the losses of the second. Germany and Japan, the two rivals of the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union, are down and out today. We do not know how they will shape themselves under the pressure of their victors and under the stress of the forces seething inside and beneath the bitterness of their defeat and frustration. They have left a vaccum, and it is difficult to predict how it will be filled up, and whether in the attempt to fill it up, the victorious Powers by the inertia of their hopes, ambitions and desires will not clash into another armageddon and push modern civilization into rack and ruin. This is the back-ground of the new world as it has emerged out of the Second World War of the 20th century, and India shares the uncertainties and anxieties of the present and the future along with the rest.

India's neighbours east & west

In her immediate neighbourhood, she finds China disturbed and divided by what has all the elements of a civil war. The Nationalists of China, organized under and in the Kuomintang, the party founded by Dr. Sun-yat-Sen, the father of the Republic of China, and Communists are fighting a war for the soul, mind and body of China, the end of which is not yet, the end of which nobody can predict, the end of which may transform the face not only of the whole of Asia but of the world outside. For, late or soon, the Soviet Union cannot

State direction and a new social habit

fail to intervene on the side of China's Communists, precipitating a situation that will call upon the United States to come upon the scene either in opposition or in collaboration to restore to four hundred millions of people of China peace and order and the other attributes of modern civilized life. Such an intervention is implicit in the idea of the United Nations Organization and of the "One World" ideology of which we hear so much and which modern science is said to have brought near to realization by its contributions towards neighbourly communication between the most distant areas in the earth's surface. Burma, the nearest neighbour to India on the east, has during the time, the first six months of 1946, hardly emerged out of the disorganization of the war, fought on her own soil, that wrecked the norms and forms of her life. The Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League which had co-operated during 1941, 1942 and 1943 with Japan in her conquest of the country and in running the administration of Burma, and had turned against her and co-operated in 1944 and since with the United States, British and Chinese forces in defeating her, emerged into prominence as the rising hope of Burman Nationalism that will be able to extort and negotiate freedom from British hands. Under the leadership of Major-General Aung San, a young man in the early thirties, the Party occupies a dominant position today; other parties and rivals having had no time to compete for public favour and support. In India's west, Afghanistan appears to be serene. In Iran (Persia), the Soviet Union has been interesting herself on the side of her partisans in Azerbaizan, the northern Province of the country. In Arab Lands, the Arab League has been trying to lay the foundation of a Confederacy of Arab States that would be able to protect and defend their special interests from encroachments from the West. Britain which had dominated over their life during the last 150 years appears to be retiring from that position. But that does not bring security to the Muslim States in this region. The Soviet Union is ideologically and materially a challenge to the dynasties, to the social and economic set-up of these States that have been reacting to modern influences with fears and doubts.

This is the general picture that one meets with in 1946, a picture of uncertainty in all fields of human activities. During the war years, peoples all the world over had somehow managed to carry on under the various "controls" imposed by their Governments. They had hoped that with the end of the war, they will not find any difficulty in reverting to the freer habits and decencies of the days of peace. The general body of them managed to forget the lessons of regimentation taught them by and through the first World War of the 20th century (1914-'18). They failed to forget the slump of the early thirties, and the "crisis of capitalism" that it had indicated. They failed to understand that this "crisis" had brought the State into the arena of activities that had been reserved for private initiative. The second World War completed that process when for the survival of their individual existences, the different States of the world, whether belligerent or neutral, had to undertake the job of universal provider of the needs of their peoples. In agriculture, industry, in the distri-

Combined Boards —a hopeful world phenomena

butive trade, the initiative of the Governments became necessary; they had to impose "controls" to regulate the equitable distribution of the goods produced, to arrange the services, that individuals and groups could best render towards the common goal of victory. With the end of the War the powers conceded to the Governments and extorted by them did not, and perhaps could not, return to the individuals and groups that made up the States The complexity of the problems of peace, of restoring to the peoples their unchartered freedom of existence, does not make this change-over an easy job. Without sharing the opinion that the bureaucracies that have been enthroned in the seats of authority in the various States and made into dictators of every phase in their life are unwilling to surrender power, it appears to be a fact that they find it difficult to divest themselves of it by the pressure of circumstances beyond the control of individual States. Apart from all other considerations, the destruction of wealth caused by this world war, appears to demand that the problem of its renovation can be handled only by a world-wide effort. Except the Americas which escaped direct attack from German and Japanese bombers and fleets, every other country in the world has registered a decline in its agricultural and industrial production that cannot be made up by its own individual efforts.

During the war years there had been Combined Boards to handle all problems connected with the distribution of food products and the products of various industries necessary for the organization of war efforts. And there was hardly a commodity that was not of use to war or could not be transformed to serve the uses of war With the end of it and the return of peace, the need of these Combined Boards has not ceased. Under other names, these have been functioning, and are being called upon to meet the insistent demands of a poverty-stricken world crying for the basic necessaries of life, of food and cloth, the most elementary of these. A United Nations Food & Agriculture Organization has, for instance, been set up to arrange for the distribution of agricultural products to the needy countries of the world. And it happens that these needy countries constitute the majority in this war-weary and war-devastated world. Modern human conscience would not let it watch with unconcern the hunger marches in these countries. And the second World War of the 20th century appears to have taught the peoples of the World that even its material interests cannot be long preserved and protected if hunger is allowed to stalk over any large part of it. Modern science, and the quicker inter-communication between distant areas of the earth's surface, made possible by it, have helped to quicken this world conscience and strengthen this sense of responsibility for distant peoples in the leaders of the world. These are not 20th century war-time products. The seeds of their development can be traced to distant periods of human history when men and women had dreamt of human brotherhood, of a federation of the human kind. Material conditions for the fruition of these dreams and aspirations were absent in these times. But the mind of humanity has been moving towards such a nearness in material life as there has been a hunger for kinship in the spiritual life. Modern science has created these conditions, and mankind has responded to these with hope. These have

been at the back of the talk and aspiration for a "One World" morality that will heal the distempers of humanity and remove causes of conflicts and competitions that threaten the prospects of the consummation of the human heart since humanity learnt to think and act.

Inadequacy of leaders of action—Russia

But the leaders of action in the modern world do not appear to be adequate to the new needs. to make the sacrifices that are being demanded of them. Very few of them, none of them, appear to be prepared to make concessions of particular class or national interests when these are required for the righting of wrongs from which the majority has been suffering since society was organized by human beings. Prophets and leaders of thought may indicate the way to peace and prosperity to be spread amongst the widest commonalty of the world. Since the beginning of the 19th century when the effects of modern industrialism became manifest,—effects which made the wealthy more rich and the poor more poor, which in the distribution of the products of science and human labour made these more available to the favoured few and less available to the many—the human conscience has been registering its protest against such a maladjustment. Thoreau, Marx, Engels, Carlyle, Ruskin, Morris, Tolstoy, to choose a few names only in the western world, had challenged the values of life that had been thriving under the industrial civilization ; they repudiated the "cash nexus" that held both the rich and the poor in its grip But there had come no relief. And the relief that came to Russia had to wade through rivers of blood. This cruelty has been sought to be justified by what is called retributive justice on the exploiters, by the immense good that is hoped to issue out of it, by using the plea of the greatest good of the greatest number. This experiment is yet a hope ; it has yet to pass through trial and test The twenty-five years since its initiation have not been sufficient for a fair judgment. The outbreak of the second World War has twisted everything out of recognition both in the Soviet Union and the world beyond the pale of its influence. There is no doubt that the experiment of Russia in Europe and Asia has started a re-valuation of values in all parts of the world. The way in which the Soviet Union stood the hammer blows of the German military machine, the way in which her diverse peoples, held together in a loose Federation, have resisted the centrifugal forces of racial and cultural conceits and ambitions is a question that has drawn the attention and admiration of a world that is today divided and disrupted by these. It is not sufficient to say that the discipline of the Soviet Communist Party and the cruel control exercised by it over the area spread from the Baltic and the Black Seas in the west to the Pacific Ocean in the east, would explain the miracle of cohesion. But party discipline and party dictatorship would prove broken reeds in a crisis such as which threatened the Soviet Union and out of which she has emerged triumphant. The norms and forms of life introduced by Communism must have been satisfying to the diverse peoples and conducive to their material interests. Otherwise, they would have succumbed to appeals to racial conceits and ambitions held forth by the German invaders. Perhaps, the incipient and original conflict between the Slav and the Teuton would explain part of the opposition that the Slav peoples nearest to Germany had put up against the German

blandishments. But the non-Slav peoples east of the Volga differing in race and culture from the majority people, the Turanians, the Turcomans, the Mongolians, for instance, also did not break away from their allegiance to the Soviet ideology and practice. Thus, while the internal economy of the Soviet Union holds promises of lasting good to her people, the external policy of her ruling class has not been able to extend the same elements of stability to the world. In the name of ensuring her own safety, she has been encroaching upon other countries in her neighbourhood in the west and binding these to her in relations that do not appear to appreciate their feelings, sentiments and material interests. In Poland, in Hungary, in Bulgaria, in Rumania, for instance, the norms and forms of her own life were being imposed upon much to the incipient resentment of these peoples. Greece and Turkey were being threatened, bringing into their life intervention by Britain distantly supported by the United States.

British & American role in W. Asia

This is the pattern that 1946 presents to the world. Britain as the possessing Power in Africa and Asia has had to come into collision not directly with the Soviet Union and the United States but with the rising Nationalisms of the countries fringing on the Mediterranean and the Arabian Seas. Her position as the Mandatory Power over Palestine has put her in an unenviable position. The Arabs are resentful that her Balfour Declaration should have introduced the Jews into the country which for about two thousand years has almost known them not. They forget that the Jews had been the historic possessors of Palestine and all through the two thousand years of their "Dispersion" they have never forgotten that they did not really belong to Europe and America but to this strip of land at the head of the Red Sea where their traditions had been built up and which have kept them as a distinct people amongst the modern nations. The persistence of this historic memory is one of the marked phenomenon in the modern world. It has created problems that not all the wisdom of the leading Powers of the times has been able to solve. Britain appears to stand in helpless anxiety trying to do her best She has been found persuading the Jew and the Arab to act reasonably within the terms of the United Nations Organization's Charter of national and human rights. But she has not succeeded. Two rights are hastening towards a collision. And it is only a miracle that appears to stand between these, each asserting its individuality. The United States also appears to be anxious to help. But the declaration of her President that a lakh of Jews,—1,00,000—should be allowed entrance into Palestine in the near future has inflamed Arab feeling in fear that this addition to the Jewish population of about 6,00,00 would be an accretion of strength that is inimical to the abiding interests of the Arab people. At about this time it was given out in the Press of the western world that during the late President Roosevelt's visit to the Red Sea on the occasion of the Teheran Conference, King Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud of Arabia had been able to extract some sort of a promise from him assuring U. S. A. neutrality in the Arab-Jew question. His successor's declaration seemed to go against this promise, and Arabs were found increasingly critical of America's attitude and intentions. It is well-known, however, that

the interest of the United States in the Arab world was conditioned by the fact that her capitalist interests have been exploiting the oil resources of the Arabian Peninsula, and this required that peace and order should evolve in the region without which no stable industries could be built up here. It may be that among these capitalist interests there are many that have Jewish affiliations which are keenly looking forward to the day when the Jews will have a State of their own, and they will cease to be the sport of every shift of international politics. Britain is not immune to the influence exercised by these. Moreover, the Jews all the world over had thrown themselves heart and soul into the fight for Britain's survival as a great Power, the Jews of Palestine included. This was in marked contrast to the attitude of the Arab world which was one of neutrality, not often benevolent. King Abdul Aziz of Arabia and Emir Abdulla of Trans-Jordan were a class by themselves. They appeared to have been sincerely pro-British. Not so the ruling classes of Egypt and Iraq ; the Pashas of the former were more in sympathy with the Germans, and the Iraqis had thrown up in Rashid Ali, the leader of a revolt against the British occupying Power. Anyhow, when Britain came victorious out of the war, she could not forget the services that the Jews had rendered. She could not at the same time wholly antagonize the sentiments of Arab world which any definite step on her part in Palestine would have caused. This was the reason why her policy was irresolute ; she appeared to be balancing herself between two forces and waiting for time to solve this difficult question for her. Her Arab policy was halting on this account. The fact that the Soviet Union appeared to be gravitating towards what had been Britain's preserves for more than a century was another consideration. It was, therefore, that she was found holding up the monarchy in Greece, and strengthening Turkish opposition to the demand of the Soviet Union that she should have a say in the convention that regulated the administration of the Dardanelles. Further east, in Iran, the fight of the Central Government of the country against the separatist conceits and ambitions of the Provinces did not lack Anglo-American support and sympathy, so the Soviet Press asserted. This picture showed that the United States was agreeable to help maintain the *status quo* in this region, that American help was available to hold up the conditions that had emerged out of the first World War. It is true that she had been instrumental in pulling down Reza Shah Pelhavi from the throne of Iran. But that was an episode of the second World War ; except this no other Anglo-American act did disturb the regimes that had been established in Arabia, Egypt, Iraq and Trans-Jordan. Syria and Lebanon had been territories under French mandate. Their development into free States did not in a general way contradict the statement made above. The overall Anglo-American co-operation in Asia, Europe and even in Africa is a fact that should always be kept in mind in interpreting political and economic developments in this age. The material and spiritual ties that bind the two peoples have been a permanent factor even though the United States was born out of a revolt against Britain. And since the twenties of the 19th century, Britain and the United States have had no quarrel that required recourse to arms to settle

it. There might have been conflicts and competitions between the capitalists of the two countries ; New York has often fretted and fumed against the predominance of London as the financial capital of the world. But the two World Wars have brought about a change in their respective positions. London has had to yield place to New York, the sterling to the dollar Bertrand Russel in his *Prospects of Industrial Civilization* has said that "the resources of America are more adequate than those of any previous aspirant to universal hegemony". One of the greatest of British Prime Ministers, William Ewart Gladstone, had prophesied such an evolution of the power of the United States, and he appeared to have reconciled himself to such a dispensation.

"It is she (the United States) alone who, at a coming age, can and probably will wrest from us our commercial supremacy. We have no title, I have no inclination to murmur at this prospect. If she acquires it she will make the requisition by the right of the strong and the best. We have no more title against her than Venice, Genoa and Holland against us."

Influence of personal & impersonal forces on human history

The first World War of the 20th century laid the foundation of this "supremacy" firmly and strongly ; the second has given the finishing touches to its structure. The general public in the world may feel that there had been no conscious effort on the part of the ruling classes of the United States to bring it near ; it just growed and growed, and during less than twenty-five years Britain's supremacy over world affairs just passed into the hands of the United States. In the decline and growth of empires, it is an arguable point whether such unconsciousness characterizes the conduct and policy of the rising Power. We have known that Sir John Seely in his interpretation of the rise of Britain during the latter half of the 18th century had pleaded that his people acquired the empire in a "fit of absent-mindedness." A historian of the people of the United States may be found imitating his example But unattached and disinterested observers are likely to say that States do not act in that unconscious way, that there are leaders among the rising people who with due deliberation follow a path that leads to glory and prestige, though the majority of them may act under the impulse of the actions that mould their policy in a distant way. The point under discussion will ever remain a subject of controversy how far persons influence conduct and what part impersonal forces play in moulding history, in giving a new direction to developments that indicate the decline and rise of kingdoms and empires. Before our eyes we have seen events happen that declared the advent of great changes that would be transforming the face of the earth, though the majority of us would be unconscious of their significance or refuse to recognize these as what they really are. This has happened in the case we have been discussing. A French historian of the British people has said that the British people grew conscious of the imminent danger to their hegemony during the last years of the Victorian Age. They had feared attacks on it from two points in the Western world, from the United States and from Germany whose better organized industrialism threatened their own. Anglo-Russian conflict and competition of which

we heard so much during the last quarter of the 19th century was political, and therefore ephemeral. The real cause of clash is to be traced to competition in the field of industry and trade which supplied wherewithal for the war in power politics. Gladstone indicated the real forces that had enabled Britain to wrest from Venice, Genoa and Holland the sceptre of world empire. During the last quarter of the 19th century the United States and Germany had been coming to the fore as industrial and commercial countries which would be challenging the supremacy of Britain, a challenge that would have its repercussions on the politics of the world.

The significance of Chamberlain's Imperial Preference campaign

The French historian, Eli Halevy, has said that British politicians early noticed and read aright the signs and portents of this development. He named Joseph Chamberlain in this connection, and interpreted his campaign for Imperial Preference as an arrangement that was intended to bind together the colonies and dependencies in a closed economic Bloc that would be able to hold out against the competition of the United States and Germany. This arrangement would enable Britain to have exclusive sources of raw materials and exclusive markets for her manufactured goods. We also know that the capitalist interests of the United States did not take very kindly to the prospects held forth by Joseph Chamberlain's campaign. They had been fretting under the conditions created by the supremacy of Britain in the industrial and commercial world. Germans were also feeling like that. But unlike the Americans who could not think of solving an economic and financial difficulty by political means, the Germans appeared to have determined to cut the Gordian knot of Anglo-German conflict and competition through the use of arms.

Driving force behind Anglo-American alliance

The alarums and excursions that disturbed the tranquillity of the world during the first decade of the 20th century can now be understood for what these really were. Kaiser William's speeches about Germany appearing in shining armour and making an attempt to capture the trident of the seas were not really inspired by martial ambitions but by the feeling of resentment that Britain should be sprawling all over the earth, occupying so much of its surface, and showing no inclination to yield any room to anybody. Kaiser Williams decision to solve an economic and financial difficulty by the use of the sword has failed, so has Adolph Hitler's. The rise of Japan and her cut-throat competition with Anglo-American capitalism can be understood from the same interpretation. And the alliance of the two Anglo-Saxon peoples had become a possibility because for reasons, material and psychological, the leaders of the United States came to realize that co-operation with Britain is not only idealistically satisfying but conducive to the advancement of their material interests. In successive volumes of the *Indian Annual Register* since the outbreak of the second World War we have indicated the various factors, material and ideal, that helped to align the forces of American productivity on the side of the British. The Germans and the British are both European peoples ; in the United States there are millions of men

and women of German birth, specially in the areas that are known as the middle West in the country. Of course, the men and women of British stock were more numerous than those hailing from Central Europe, from Germany and Austria. But the latter could not influence the policy of their new mother country to the degree and extent that the former could. It is not numerical superiority that tipped the balance in favour of Britain. Perhaps, the link of a common language and literature has had a part to play in ranging the United States on the side of Britain during the two crises of the two World Wars. Perhaps, the ruling classes of the Republic realized it that Britain, a going concern as an empire, was a better proposition as an economic and financial deal than Germany which has had to struggle for an empire with all its uncertainties. The idealists amongst them talked of the kinship of democracy. But the hard core of materialism, of concern for material interests to be served by Britain, was to be found expressed in the organs of Big Business in the United States and in books written on their behalf. Any number of quotations in support of this argument can be made from these, and from British writers. Joseph Davis, United States ambassador to Britain during World War I, and to the Soviet Republic twenty years later, writing to President Wilson, said in 1917 :—

"The future of the world belongs to us. The English are spending their capital .....Now, what are we going to do with the leadership of the world presently when it clearly falls into our hands ? And how can we use the British for the highest uses of democracy ?"

Twenty-five years later in an article that appeared in the *Empire Review* of London (August, 1941) appeared the following. The writer was Lord Queensborough.

The needs of the first World War, and the more dire necessities of the second World War, have forced Great Britain into a position of dependency upon American friendship and goodwill ..:..the Lease and Lend Act and the ceding of certain powers to America over our territorial bases in her hemisphere, have made formal this dependency....."

"A programme of leadership, outmoding past imperialism"

This development is almost the fulfilment of the prophecy that William Gladstone uttered and which has been quoted above. The present day protagonists of what they call the "American Century" do not, it is true, swear by Jingoism and the other attributes of imperialism. A Committee headed by Raymond Leslie Buell, chief editor of the weekly *Fortune* (New york) belonging to the same organization that publishes the two other weeklies—*Time* and *Life*—with a circle of readers in the United States running into twenty millions and more—produced a pamphlet entitled—*Relations with Britain.* In it appeared the blue-print of the new world as projected by the ruling classes of the Republic. The writers took care to assert that "the time for an American or a British Empire in the old sense of the word has passed, but the United States can and should work out with Britain and the Dominions a programme of leadership, outmoding past imperialism, while working towards eventual world unity." This blue-print indicated the lines on which the two countries, the United States and Britain, can collaborate. The common grounds are : (i) That the free enterprise system must be made safe against any assault of

collectivism, (ii) That "a free market" area must be established between the United States and the United Kingdom aiming towards universal free trade as the ultimate goal of a peaceful world. This ideal was sought to be made concrete in a book entitled—*A Trade Policy for National Defence*—written by Percy Bidwell, Director of Studies, Council of Foreign Relations, and by Arthur Upgren, Associate Professor of Economics at the School of Business Administration in the University of Minnesota. In the search by the leaders of United States industry, trade and finance-capital for a "free market area" for the maintenance of "the free enterprise system", the authors pointed to the British Empire as the best and largest field for the new experiment in Anglo-American collaboration. The following quotation summarised the argument of the book under notice.

"The British Empire area furnishes the markets and supplies the materials which can keep the Western Hemisphere a going concern. We are interested, therefore, in preserving the British Empire as a political entity so that its markets may remain open to our exporters, and so that its raw materials may remain accessible to our importers."

United States' predominance in East Asia

These words quite frankly indicated the lines of the shape-of-things to-be as these are being drawn up by the brain-trusters of the ruling classes of the United States. There may be an element of inevitability in this development. The world wars have so surely burnt out the "capital" of Britain, accumulated by about two centuries of her capitalist exploitation of the resources of the world, that she may have no other choice than accept the arrangement featured in the above quotation. Whether or not it will reproduce the pattern made familiar to us by Britain is the question that will engage the attention of the world and exercise the thought of people who are required to think on matters of world significance. How in practice the outmoding of capitalist-imperialism will work out, all who desire peace will be watching with anxiety. The twelve months that have passed since the end of the war in Europe have not brought out in clear lines the features of the new dispensation. But there is no doubt anywhere that the United States will be driven to play a dominant part in it. For, as Bertrand Russel said : "No nation with such resources can long resist....." the forces that give birth to imperialism, however modified it may appear to be in many of its features and attributes of domination. The United Nations Organization heralded with so much flourish has not yet developed the powers that will enable it to control and modify the propensities for hegemony that are yet implicit in the competitive economy of the world. Consciously or unconsciously, willingly or unwillingly, the "free enterprise system" must come into clash with "Collectivism." The few months of peace have made this distinct. The anxiety of the Soviet Union is inspired by this apprehension. We have seen how she has been feverishly busy in raising up protective walls round her western borders. In the Far East where her territories run along lands inhabited by Chinese and Koreans, a heavy curtain hides everything from view. The Sino-Soviet treaty of the autumn of 1945 has tried to put a stop to unpleasantnesses that ripen into hostility. But the undeclared war between the Chinese Communists and

the Central Government of China dominated over by the Kuomintang, the party of Chinese Nationalists organized by the late Dr. Sun Yat-Sen, the founder of the Republic of China, projects a big question mark against the hope of stability in this region of the continent of Asia. It may not be as disturbed today by the rivalry of great Powers as Europe and Western Asia. But the deceptive calm should not lead us to believe that all was quiet there. If the Communist interpretation of events is to be taken at its face value, the lineaments of a future war are getting distinct in the area. *People's Age*, the Communist weekly published from Bombay, records that "the storm centre of the East is today China, and in China itself the most bitter military operations are expected in Manchuria, the key strategic area in all China, as it is the natural base for any would-be invader who wants to attack the Soviet or to drive southwards towards enslavement of all south-east Asia." The paper quotes an Associated Press of America message, dated August 26 (1946) that "Manchuria is the prize most worth fighting for in East Asia..... and unless some near miracle halts China's civil strife, it is logical that Manchuria should be the main battle field." We may not accept the validity of the interpretation that the "successor of Japanese Fascism" in the Far East is "American imperialism." But that such an opinion is held, believed in and propagated, is itself a portent of the unsettlement to which China is a victim today. Apart from the internal conflict in China, it is a fact that even after twelve months of the end of the war in East Asia, the United States and the Soviet Union have not been able to implement the pact that had placed the fortunes of Korea into their hands. This small nation of twenty million people was promised its political freedom and National Government by the Powers. But the differences between the two of them have halted all progress for the country. The world has not been told the reasons except what can be gleaned from mutual recrimination. One or two American commentators have said that the Soviet Union has scrupulously respected her assurance that she would not interfere in the affairs internal to China. But now-a-days such a thin partition divides internal and external affairs that one is not sure that Russia's present occupation of Port Arthur and the Darien Peninsula, recognized as Chinese territory but occupied by Soviet troops since July 1945, just on the eve of the collapse of Japan, would not explode a mine in East Asia, drawing the United States into the melee. It is a crowning mercy that the Soviet Union has not intervened yet on the side of Chinese Communists fighting the Chiang Kai-shek Government, the Central Government of China. This unstable balance of political forces in East Asia has not stood in the way of the ruling classes of the United States through the Lease-Lend arrangements throwing millions of dollars into China with a view to help maintain and stabilize China's internal economy. It is also a fact that the United States is the only country that commands the resources that can help re-construct China as a modern people, that can raise the standard of life of her teeming millions, a process which will employ American money and American personnel for the mutual benefit of the two countries. We cannot at present see how this process can be reversed. China cannot go

back, forced back, to the days of joint exploitation of her resources by the concert of European peoples ; she has to seek and find help from a people who have been least associated in her ideas with a regime that took advantage of her weaknesses during the hundred years from 1840—1940. The Americans happen to be that people. For reasons, ideal or material, the United States has been able to put a decent cover over her sense of superiority ; she has never been found to express her contempt of Chinese values of life as it was expressed by the British-dominated Shanghai Municipality that "dogs and Chinese" are not to enter a certain Municipal Park in that international port. That the Chinese had felt themselves more drawn towards America was exemplified in the fact that the present generation of Chinese leaders, almost all of them but the Generalissimo, have been the products of American Universities. And the Americans with all their conceit of colour and assurance of the super-excellence of the American way of doing things have been found going out of their way in cultivating the friendship of the Chinese. It would be doing injustice to the human nature to suggest that America's conciliatory method was inspired by a lively sense of the value of the Chinese market, by the appreciation of the value of more than 400 millions of Chinese as potential purchasers of the products of American industries, of their mills and factories. Human nature is so made that self-interest and benevolence are found to be mixed up in its conduct. American human nature need not be free from this mix-up ; it need not be ashamed of it also. Thus, it has come to pass that the United States has been pushed by destiny to a position of special privilege so far as China is concerned.

Japan—yet a key to East Asia's fight for equality

And this position she has acquired by her fight against Japan when the country, ruled by the Mikado, launched her attack on all European predominance over East Asia. It was the United States that became the arsenal of all the equipments that defeated Japan. Her mills and factories poured into the war fronts of this area all the weapons of war ; over her assembly lines rolled motorized units and air-borne units that won victory over Japan. It was from American ships that the bombers carried the atom bomb that devastated Nagasaki and Hiroshima whose blast finished the Japanese will to fight. This exploit has placed a general of her forces into the supreme command that would liquidate the remnants of the Japanese ambitions to dominate East Asia as a stepping-stone to world hegemony. Britain did but play a subordinate part in organizing victory over Japan ; the Dutch even less. The Soviet Union came in almost at the last moment when Japan had been as good as vanquished. These are inexorable facts. And the United States by her contribution to the victory in Asia over Japan has established her claims to have a big say in how East Asia should be moulded into the pattern of modern life. We do not know anything how Japan's people have been reacting to the defeat of their high hopes and ambitions. All may appear to be quiet on the Eastern Front. A silence of impenetrable depth might have fallen on the Mikado's Kingdom. Defeat may have demoralized the masses. The divinity of the son of the Sun-Goddess might have been reduced to

tatters. White men in India might feel that "if our victory destroys Japan as a Power on the Western model, we at the same time destroy the ground upon which Indian claims rested.....India in part claims equality because Japan has risen to equality." But racial memories and ambitions are not erased by the result of a single war. They continue and persist in the subconscious mind, wait for outlet into the realm of reality and never lack opportunity to erupt into attention and seek shape and form. More often, the conflicts and competitions of victorious Powers afford these the opportunity ardently desired. We have seen this happen in the case of Germany after her defeat in the first World War. We witnessed how Britain and France had begun to wrangle almost immediately after the Peace of Versailles ; we witnessed how Britain in ways, direct and indirect, had helped Germany to reconstruct her economic life, how British and American financiers had toppled over one another to extend help and accomodations to their opposite numbers in Germany to rebuild her economic potential, her mills and factories that were later turned over to forge weapons of war under the dynamic drive of Hitler and his party. There was nothing sinister in this help. For, under modern conditions European economy could not thrive and build up a better life for the continent's people with a shattered and battered economy in Germany. Apart from the fact that the Germans were too virile a people to be kept long under the heels of her conquerors, the truth of this general statement applied to the smallest of the peoples of Europe, nay of the whole world. Peace is indivisible, they say. So in modern economy, the child of modern science, the product of the inter-communications that have become possible by the contribution of modern science towards bringing distant countries and peoples nearer to one another. It is these developments that have laid the foundations of the "One World" morality on which the hope of the modern men and women has been reared as the only way out of the world wars that have become endemic today. The same experience will be repeated in the case of Japan as soon as the process of her re-construction under General MacArthur's dictation is ended. When it will begin and how soon we may not be able to say. But this will happen. The Japanese are as virile a people as the Germans, for instance. They have shown by the facility with which they picked up the good and bad points of modern industrialism that they have a part to play in bringing to the life of East Asia its message of mass organization and its technique of mass production. They are seventy million strong, and the work or idleness of such a mass of humanity cannot but affect the life of that part of Asia over which they had dominated only the other day. They have another advantage. They were the first Asian people who had been able to shake the foundation of the white man's prestige during recent times ; they have made good the cry that "Asia is for the Asian", that Asian peoples and their values of life have as good a right to influence the destiny of the world now that the illusion of the white man's superiority has been shattered for a long while. These are psychological factors. But there are material factors of Asian renaissance which are not far to seek. Japan has demonstrated that even the handicap of poverty in material resources did not stand in the way of her

building up an economy that challenged comparison with that built by the western peoples, the pioneers of modern industrialism. She challenged their monopoly and they had to retreat from many a field of economic exploitation, defeated by Japanese energy, and the low standard of life of the Japanese people, according to their version of the story. It is not generally known that the Japanese have improved upon the technique of the West in many a field of industry. In 1933 for instance, the new Osaka spindles needed one girl to attend to 25 machines while the old Lancashire spindles required one man for six. This inventiveness had marked many of Japan's activities in the arts of modern peace and of modern warfare. Defeat in the second World War of the 20th century cannot rob the Japanese of their capacity to accommodate themselves to new circumstances. For, history has shown that these can be got over. And when such a time comes, Japan will be found taking up her old position as one of the leaders of East Asia.

Question mark opposite East Asia's developments

It is too early to say anything definite in the matter. The Soviet Union, the Union Republics, are a big question mark. From Moscow in European Russia issue all the strands that bind half of Asia stretching to the Pacific, opposite Japan. This physical contiguity may have created more clashes than co-operation. But in matters as impalpable as racial idiosyncracy, in the shift of international relations, friendship and enmity show changes that cannot be explained or justified by *a priori* reasonings. It is hard appreciation of national interests that guides the conduct of States. We have had demonstration of this during the time that preceded the second World War. Germany and the Soviet Union entered into a Pact on August 23, 1939. And eight days later Germany attacked Poland and started this war. It has, therefore, been said that this Pact was the proximate cause of this war, that the Soviet Union by relieving Germany of her fear of a war on two fronts, east and west of her, encouraged and enabled Germany to launch her attack on Poland. In 1905 Japan had defeated Russia of the Tsars. That tradition of hostility has been inherited by Communist Russia. Japan also did not look kindly on the rise of a great Power that appeared to be the home of everything that was inimical to her ideas and ideals of social and economic life. But these two Powers managed to patch up a Neutrality Pact in 1941 two months before Germany attacked the Soviet Union and eight months before Japan attacked the United States and Britain, their possessions in the Pacific. But during all the months since June, 1941 to July, 1945, neither the Soviet Union nor Japan thought it necessary or prudent to break their uneasy relation of neutrality. It was only when it became evident that the latter could not hold up any longer against the hammer blows of the United States that the former declared war against her. It was not for any fresh cause of irritation created by Japan that the Soviet Union launched her attack on her. It was rather the appreciation of the danger that if the Soviet Union did not join the war against Japan, the United States as the victorious Power over Japan would march into Manchuria and Korea from where she would be able to hold a threat to her integrity.

Another consideration must have weighed with the Soviet rulers that if they did not declare war against Japan, they would have no place round the table at the Peace Conference that would decide the fate and fortune of the Land of the Rising Sun. This short history helps us to understand that in the immediate future, the United States and the Soviet Union will be competing with each other for positions that will enable them to put the greater pressure on the countries in the neighbourhood of Japan to influence their conduct. This interpretation underlines all the possible developments that will take place in East Asia. It does not take into account any miraculous change that can end the civil war in China. Even at the time of writing this study during the middle of 1947, China is disrupted by war. We do not know what has been happening in Japan. So, we would be justified in saying that big question marks must be placed against all manner of happenings in this region of the earth.

Incipient antagonism between the United States & the Soviet Union

As far as we know, piecing together items of news from Japan, China, Korea and Manchuria, and interpreting these in the light of events happening in countries where the Soviet Union and the United States confront each other, there is an incipient antagonism that pulls the two most powerful of the members of the United Nations Organization away from each other. The Soviet Press never misses an opportunity to have a dig at "Dollar Imperialism"; we are sure that the Press in the United States returns the compliments and elaborates the theme of the expansionism of Soviet totalitarianism out to establish its rule by methods of "fifth column" activities by the local Communists in every country in the world. This continuous and continuing controversy bodes no good to the prospects of peace so much necessary to recoup the loss incurred in the second World War. It holds up progress in East Asia, in East Europe, in the Middle East, in Western Europe. The various organs of the United Nations Organization where the representatives of these two countries have to sit round for discussion and decision on vital matters of world significance, there is a tense sense of interrogations with regard to the future. Everything appears to be at a stand still; hardly any marks of progress are evident; even the life-saving functions of the United Nations Organization appear to be in abeyance, the non-co-operation of the Soviet Union in many of these acting as a drag. Though the differences erupt into attention more in Europe and in the Middle East these are none the less present in the Far East. These are not featured as prominently in the world Press. But when matters will have been straightened out in East Asia, in Japan, in Manchuria and Korea, the hard core of antagonism will still remain and may make its appearance in a dramatic manner. The United States may pour out money into China and Japan and Korea to recommend her values of life, to demonstrate the superiority of the "free enterprise" system as a money-getter in comparison with Communism. But the Soviet Union has an appeal to the dispossessed and the disinherited of the earth that is hard to resist even by the most crusted individualist. He is being increasingly forced to re-

cognize that there are certain virtues in Planning, and this recognition is a half-way house to the Soviet way of life. For about one hundred and fifty years since the French Revolution, individualism has had its day, and during this period the world has been witnessing the anarchy it has led to. As a reaction to this experience has come Totalitarianism, the total subservience of the individual to the needs and demands of the whole. No choice is being left to the individual; he is being subjected to a discipline in the making of which he has had never a chance, or has had only a minor chance that is further restricted by group or party aggressiveness. This new morality is represented by the Soviet Union to-day, the philosophy of Fascism and Nazism having lost all hope by their defeat in the second World War. The United States represents the other school of thought. This is at the back of the incipient antagonism that bursts into view on every conceivable or inconceivable occasion, whether in the field of politics or of economic activity. The antimony between the two is no longer in doubt. It can be expressed thus. No planning can be consistently carried out amongst free men, amongst men who have their own plans for their own lives; that planning in the full sense of the term is not possible where discussion is free. In a planned society, no liberty is tolerable which is likely to delay or hinder the execution of the plan. A completely planned economy requires for its success an authoritarian State. There may be exaggeration in this presentation of the case. It would not be true to say that Soviet Communism did not have its prophets and preachers, that it did not make any attempt to appeal to the intellect of the men and women of the 19th century. It would be truer to say that since the days of Karl Marx, his theoy of society and State has been discussed and propagated with passion and sincerity that recall the apostolic labours of religious fraternities. It was the method of dictatorship that enabled Russian Communists to impose their rule and values of life on Russia, the method of blood and iron that has been called into question by the supporters of "free enterprise". It may be argued that "free enterprise" has had also its method of blood and iron, that mankind has yet to develop a force that would be a substitute for violence as a weapon in training men and women in new moralities.

Gandhiji's Non-violence—a way of deliverance

In this view of the matter, it is demonstrably true that Gandhiji's Non-violence is the only way out of the blind alley into which the world has got. For its success it may require a long process of preparation, a change in our habits of thought and conduct. But have we the patience to accept this discipline and give it a decent trial? In our passion for quick results, are we capable of looking beyond our times for the success of an experiment that would require the demolition of our system of thought and re-building it on a new basis? The world in its pursuit of material success appears to have got into habit of denying in practice what it professes to believe in thought. Gandhiji's Non-violent philosophy,

because it has grown out of the traditions of India, appears to have no appeal for the aggressive West. But even thought leaders in the West have been coming to realize that even for bare survival, there is no other philosophy of conduct that can help the world out of "the crisis of civilization" which another great Indian, Rabindra Nath Tagore, had indicated in clear lines on the eve of his departure from this vale of sorrow as we have turned it to be from what it was intended to be—an abode of joy. They take care at the same time to emphasize that the "quietism" implicit in Indian thought and indirectly resulting from Gandhiji's precept do not "comport" with the electric atmosphere of the West, specially of the United States, "born of her rich resources and a rich terrain." They appear to be preparing themselves to get reconciled to the idea that the West has had its day, that "the daily struggle against impartial Nature and hostile Time" has been teaching the West to look with more tolerance upon Oriential philosophies of surrender and peace." These words quoted from Will Durant's *The Story of Civilization* sum up the attitude of the West. He appears to think that it is a process of development in human affairs that has become almost inevitable. We will quote Will Durant again to indicate the line of his thought, because it has a representative quality.

"As invention, industry, and trade bind the continents together or as they fling us into conflict with Asia, we shall study its civilizations more closely, and shall absorb, even in enmity, some of its ways and thoughts. Perhaps, in return for conquest, arrogance and spoliation, India will teach us the tolerance and gentleness of the mature mind, the quiet content of the unacquisitive soul, the calm of the understanding spirit, and a unifying, pacifying love for all living things."

Financial & economic strength of the United States a great temptation to her ruling classes

Will Durant speaks above of "conflict with Asia", of absorbing certain of the attributes of her thought "even in enmity." We have had during the last five years—1941-1945—occasion to witness a great war precipitated by Japan by her attack on the possessions of the Anglo-Saxon Powers in the Pacific and on the mainland of Asia. There is no doubt that Japan had started her war for "co-prosperity" for the whole of East Asia in July, 1937. The European Powers and the United States were neutrals in this war till December 7, 1941, leaving China to fight her lone battle against Japanese aggressiveness. They did not feel themselves drawn into intervention on the side of China even when Japan had been liquidating one after another their vested interests built up with so much pain during a hundred years—1840-1940. While the Anglo-Saxon Powers had looked on the unequal fight between Japan and China with detachment, it was a curious fact that Germany was found helping China with military advice and training, helping the Government of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. The Chinese Communists who had been having their separate fight with the Japanese must have received help from the Soviet Union. Even when the United States and Britain got directly involved in the war against Japan, they could not render China any but financial help. The United States was too far to be able to render military help, Britain with her base of opera-

tions in Burma and India was found to be too unready. It was true that it was the United States that delivered the attack that drove Japan to surrender. Now that the latter can be eliminated from all consideration for a number of years as a potential enemy of the United States, and China will remain for years a dependent on the help of the United States for her own material reconstruction and cannot be expected to take an independent line of her own in matters of high policy, the antagonism between the Soviet Union and the great Republic across the Pacific puts a question mark on the prospects of peace in East Asia at least. For, the United States and the Soviet Union are neighbours to each other, the latter's Far Eastern Area is separated from the former's Alaska by the Behring Sea, a stretch of ice-bound waters less than a hundred miles wide, the latter's Kamschatka Peninsula is across the Aleutian Islands of the former where during the second World War, the United States had built up huge naval and air bases. We do not know if the Soviet Union has organised her defences or means of offence in this region of her territories. Even if the relations between the two countries had been more cordial than these appear to be, States and their rulers are not in the habit of trusting one another. And since the emergence of the Soviet Union as the standard-bearer of a new political and economic thought in apparent conflict with that of the United States, students of affairs in the West have been trying to build up a pattern of conduct in international affairs that shows the two countries ranged against each other. Without sharing the truth at the back of the more lurid of their anticipations and apprehensions, it can be said that the financial and economic strength of the United States may prove to be a great temptation to her ruling classes. At this moment of their supremacy over world affairs, it may be very difficult to resist it, to demonstrate its power and assert its superiority. We have already referred to Bertrand Russel's prophecy. Even publicists in the United States who do not want their country to tread the path of imperialism have become aware that so much wealth and capacity to produce more wealth is a driving power to adventures in imperialism. Even the most peaceful of her motives in rendering financial and technical help to countries needing these badly are liable to misinterpretation and may become centres of misunderstanding. Even during the era when isolationism from foreign entanglements had been the ruling policy of the Administrations of the United States, whether guided and controlled by the Democrats or Republicans, the country was driven to realise that her expanding economic life could not function efficiently and progressively if it be not related to and linked up with the expanding life of other countries, less developed and less organized in the ways of modern industrialism. The United States might have declared a Monroe Doctrine to ward off interference from Europe with the internal economy of the two Americas. But in the fields of economic activity, she does not at present appear to recognize the validity of such a doctrine. Persons in possession of her abounding wealth have been ransacking the world in search of fields to utilize this wealth to the benefit of themselves and of the countries receiving this help. In East Asia they appear to have reserved China and Korea specially for this purpose. But Britain's example appears to have created appre-

hensions that the paths of economic help and collaboration even may lead to political exploitation by the United States. This appears to be at the back of all the angry discussion about "dollar imperialism." In externals the technique adopted and followed by the United States may differ from what Britain had adopted and followed. But in its inherent purpose, it may be working towards the socio-economic emasculation of the peoples who agree to or are compelled to accept her help. Whether history will be exactly repeating itself is more than one can say. But there is no doubt that the tension between the Soviet Union and the United States is partly an expression of the fear complex that has caught the world in its vicious grip.

Indonesia's fight for freedom from Dutch imperialism

In other parts of East Asia, feelings are not easier. Dutch imperialism in the islands of the Indian and Pacific oceans has been attempting a come-back with the direct help of Britain and the indirect help of the United States. This imperialism had been so rootless in Sumatra, Java, Madura, Borneo, Bali, Celebes, New Guinea and the other islands stretching almost to the shores of Australia, that it clattered into pieces as Britain's had done in Burma, Malaya and Borneo under the impact of Japanese invasion. And with Japan's defeat it has been trying to slink back into its old haunts at the tail-end of Britain, the senior partner in imperialist adventures in Asia. But the feelings and ideas stirred by the second World War of the 20th century have been standing in the way of such a come-back. As in Burma, so in these islands under Dutch rule, the Japanese had been able to use the discontented elements as weapons for the defeat of Dutch imperialism. They must have held up prospects of freedom and fuller life under their new dispensation of "co-prosperity" for East Asia. In Burma they had found a Ba Maw and an U. Aung San, so in Indonesia they found a Soekarno and a Hatta to co-operate with them in ousting the Dutch and laying the foundations of their own supremacy over the life of these islands, one of the richest areas of the world, rich in oil and all the other requirements of modern industry and the other arts of peace and war. In Burma, Dr. Ba Maw and U. Aung San had co-operated with the Japanese with a view to halt and prevent the misuse of Burma's resources, human and natural, by the Japanese and the more immediate necessity for the training of able-bodied Burmese in the arts of war. In Indonesia we mark the same developments with the same purpose at their back. In Burma, the Japanese had helped to set up a free Government with Dr. Ba Maw at its head. So in Indonesia, Dr. Soekarno and Dr. Hatta agreed to join a Government sponsored by the Japanese military authorities. There were elements in Burma's population which went under-ground to oppose the Japanese invaders. So in Indonesia, there appear to have been persons who had been opposed to the Japanese and had taken all the risks of such an attitude. Representative of them are Dr. Sultan Shahrir, the present Prime Minister of the Indonesian Republic, and Mr. Amir Sjarfuddin, its Defence Minister. They also worked with the "connivance" of Dr. Soekarno and Dr. Hatta. When Japan surrendered, and the Japanese regime faded out of the life of the islands, the

collaborationists turned against it ; the under-ground leaders came out into the open. And on the 17th of August, 1945, ten days after the formal surrender of Japan, two of the former, Dr. Soekarno and Dr. Hatta, declared that they had chosen a Government of their own—*Nagara Republic Indonesia*—the Indonesian Republic Government. According to one of the surrender terms, the Japanese forces were still held as responsible for peace and order in Indonesia, and very often they came into conflict with the new Government. Dr. Soekarno and Dr. Hatta were taken prisoner by them, but were promptly rescued by the Peace Reservation Corps, the innocuous name that had sheltered under the Japanese regime the core of nationalist forces. Then came the Dutch at the tail end of British forces ; an intermittent fight continued for about a year between these two upholders of imperialism and the Nationalists of Indonesia. In course of this fights, place names unfamiliar to us became classic and will remain so in the history of freedom's battle. Tangarang, Bondoeng, Kamal, Surabaya (taken after 33 days fight from house to house), Semarang are some of these. And while these battles were being fought, there were negotiations between representatives of the Dutch Government. Sometime during the winter of 1946, Lieutenant-Governor Van Mook put across proposals that was characterized by Indonesians as an "old gift in a new wrapper." Van Mook's proposals contained one that indicated a way out. "There shall be a Commonwealth of Indonesia, a partner in the Kingdom (of Holland), composed of territories possessing different degrees of autonomy." This was merely a variant of what Queen Wilhelmina had declared on December 6, 1942 :".....they will aim at a Union in which the Netherlands, Indonesia, Surinam and Curacao take part together, while they each other for themselves will look after their affairs in independence relying in their own power, but with will to assist one another." During all this period, the policy of of "divide and rule" was being used with various success. The majority of Indonesia are Muslims. The descendants of the Arabs who had first preached Islam in the islands were sought to be won over as a privileged class in society. The attempt appears to have been not much of a success. The one and half millions of Chinese, their leaders, proved as unresponsive. A Chinese was taken into the Cabinet, but the trick did not work. Then the propaganda about Javanese leaders monopolising the show was started with as little success. It fizzled out when it came to be known that the Cabinet was representative of almost all the major islands. Amir Sjarifuddin (Defence Minister), Dr. Sultan Sjahrir (Prime Minister and Foreign Minister) and Dr. Hatta (Vice-President) came from Sumatra, Mr. Maramis (ex-Minister of Finance), Mr. Loah (Vice-Minister of Public Works), came from the Celebes ; Mr. Putuhena (Minister of Public Works) came from the Great East Ambon. It appears that the British had offered their good offices in bringing the Indonesian leaders and representatives of the Dutch Government nearer to each other, and Lord Killearn was instrumental in framing a truce, the terms of which were signed on October, 1946. In the absence of local knowledge, it is not easy for us to understand and explain the implications of these. But there appears to be peace, an end to fights, in Indonesia. And a proof that some sort of a stability has been reached in this region

of Asia was presented when a deputation of Indonesian leaders were present at New Delhi on the occasion of Asian Relations Conference during the first week of March, 1947. Dr. Sultan Sjahrir, Prime Minister of the Republic, found it possible to be present at this Conference just before its session closed. At the present stage of our knowledge, we in India, cannot appreciate more thoroughly the various forces, personal and impersonal, that in co-operation have succeeded in wrestling from Dutch hands the power, the recognition of power, that will enable the Indonesians to build a better and fuller life for themselves. With our own experience of struggle against Britain, and helped by a little historic imagination, we can reconstruct the process of Indonesia's fight for freedom. Dr. Soekarno, President of the Republic and Dr. Sjahrir, Prime Minister, had predecessors who had started the fight for national self-respect, just as we in India had Gandhiji's predecessors since the days of Raja Ram Mohun Roy. Many streams of thought and activity combined to create the flood that has brought us near the port and harbour of Swaraj. So in Indonesia there must have been men and women who had dreamt dreams and seen visions of the glorry-to-be of their motherland. Publicists of Indonesia have told us of their recent history. And from their brief reports we come to learn that at present five major parties have been functioning—the Islamic Party ; the Socialist Party to which Dr. Sjahrir and Amir Sjarfuddin belong, the Nationalist Party of Dr. Soekarno and Dr. Hatta; the Communist Party; the Labour Party ; All-Indonesian Woman Federation and the Socialist Youth League—and co-operating with one another in building up their united front against Dutch Imperialism. We have not been told anything of their respective strength and how they are represented in the Government or whether all are represented in it. But we have been told that they are "as one body behind the Government under the name of National Concentration." Their army is 1,50,000 strong, and the Laskar Rayat or "the irregulars" and other bodies add strength to the fighting front.

The Indonesians are not the only people in East Asia who have been battling for their national self-respect and their human rights.

French Imperialism's fight against Viet-nam democracy

The people of Tonkin, Annam, Indo-China, Cambodia have after a spell of Japan's "co-prosperity" rule renewed their fight against French Imperialism. In volume II of 1941 of the *Indian Annual Register*, we discussed the consequences of the fall of France in June, 1940, and how under the pressure of Germany, Vichy France had to yield to Japan strategic bases in these territories, thus facilitating the attack by Japan on Britain's possession in the Pacific and in Burma and Malaya. Not only that. The position of Thailand (Siam) became wholly untenable in this disturbance of the balance of power in East Asia. Britain and the United States appreciated this portent for what it really was, and from this time, July, 1941, it became a problem almost of days and not months before Japan would be attacking the Anglo-Saxon Powers in their possessions that were farthest from their home bases. Of course, the attack came six months later. We knew that France was helpless, that her Eastern possessions became the sport of international politics, that the funtionaries of France had to co-operate in advancing Japan's ambitions. We also realized that the people

became instruments of Japanese policy just we had become of the British. It is not clear how they managed to live through this period. The more daring section of them reacted to the Japanese just as in our country there was the "Quit India" Movement of 1942. They rallied round the National Democratic Front, the predecessor of the Viet Minh League to fight the dual exploitation—Japanese and French. After the surrender of Japan, an armed insurrection was followed by the foundation of the Vietnam Democratic Republic in August, 1945. This could not have been possible if during the war years, the Vietnam people had acquiesced in the new regime, if resistance movements have not disrupted, with more or less success, Japanese-sponsored war-efforts. There was a distinguishing characteristic in Vietnam's resistance movements ; it was the presence of women guerrillas in the ranks of their fighters. As in Indonesia, so in Vietnam the colonials had become the spear-head of French Imperialism. The pattern of fight was the same in both the countries, the people fighting with improvised or captured weapons while the imperialists were armed with the most modern of weapons, tanks, aeroplanes etc. But, in this unequal fight, success lay not always with the better organised and better armed French forces. These are said to be 1,50,000 strong ; over and above, there were said to be 25,000 German prisoners of war, members of General Rommel's Afrika Corps. They were having their weapons, as also the lease-lend materials and equipments supplied by the United States and Britain. The French were directly helped by Indian and British forces under the control of the East-Asia Command that had Admiral Louis Mountbatten as its head. Protests raised in India against the use of Indian troops proved at last effective, and India was thus spared the ignominy of witnessing the use of soldiers and airmen of Indian birth for the suppression of an Asian nation. For too long a time Indian contingents had fought for Britain's imperialist wars. In the middle of the 20th Century this has got to cease. In Indonesia and French East Asia, their use would prove to be the last. India refused to help hold up British, French and Dutch colonialism. In Indonesia and in French East Asia, in Japan, in Burma, it has been proved that the days of imperialist exploitation are no more, though such a prospect may be a wrench to long traditions. We cannot say that the French have learnt their lesson. It is true that they have signed an Agreement at Balat on March 6, 1946, recognising the "free status" of the Vietnamese Republic inside a French Union. But this does not appear to have stood in the way of French attempts to break up the solidarity of the Vietnam Republic. It was reported that on the 1st June, 1946, an autonomous Republic of Cochin-China had been formed with a Government nominated by the French. But even at the end of the year the regime of Dr. Ho Chi Minh stands as the symbol of Viet-Nam's power and Viet-Nam's hope. It may have gone underground ; its President may have become a legendary figure. But its writ runs through French East Asia, and that of the French is spurned at. In Annam, in Cambodia, in Cochin China, in Tonkin, in Laos the French have been on the look out for a Quisling, but have failed to fix on any outstanding person. Even the Emperor of Cambodia has refused to play the role He has resigned and abdicated, a demonstration of the unity and strength of the Vietnam Re-

public. A Coalition Government of several parties, such as the Nationalist Party, the Socialist Party, the Democratic Party and the Independents have been building up a democratic structure for their State. On January 6, 1946, a general election for the National Assembly was held based on universal adult suffrage and secret ballot, women and soldiers taking part in it. Nearly ten million persons were organized in one or other democratic organizations. With such a backing, it is no wonder that Viet-Nam should have given such a good account of herself in her fight against French imperialism. President Ho Chi-Minh's Government has been able to secure this backing by their attempts to reconstruct their country's material life. A report that we have seen says that "while under the French our people ate rice only once, now they can eat rice twice a day.....we have triumphed over starvation." There are said to be 80,000 teachers "who work without any salary for the popular educational service." These activities even in the midst of war have been laying the foundations of an instructed and wide-awake democracy, conscious of its rights and conscious at the same time of its responsibilities for the good of East Asia in the context of modern developments when the centre of gravity in world affairs is said to have got transferred from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean.

This summary of events in Asia, the continent most affected by European imperialism, is naturally an incomplete appreciation of what has been moving humanity on the threshold of vast changes and developments in their relation between continents and peoples newly brought near to one another by the inventions and discoveries of modern science. One reason of this incompleteness is due to the fact that the two defeated Powers, Germany and Japan, remain unpredictable factors in the evolving condition of things. As we have already said both these peoples have been lying low, and the world itself being kept in complete ignorance of what they have been feeling and how they have been reacting to the regime of control established over their life by the victorious Powers. Taking human nature as it is, it would be unnatural to assume that they have taken kindly to the ways in which they are being sought to be re-educated by their erstwhile enemies ; it would be unrealistic to believe that they are in a repentent mood, and that the judgment passed on them as exclusively responsible for causing the war is acceptable to their conscience. Guilty or innocent, it will be found that neither Europe nor east Asia can be re-built without taking into account the contribution of 8 crores of Germans and 7 crores of Japanese. Conditions must be created that will enable these two peoples to play their legitimate part in enriching the life of their respective continent. As we write this study in the middle of 1947, we do not find any of the victorious Powers being able to rise to the needs of the new situation created by six years of a World War. The Big Three—the United States, the Soviet Union and Britain—have forgotten their obligations as leaders of the world ; they have failed to co-operate in pulling the war-scarred peoples out of their difficulties, political and economic. There are differences between the Soviet Union on the one side and the United States and Britain on the other in the matter of the terms of peace on which Germany can be allowed to live and work as a nation. Communism

Germany & Japan—unpredictable factors

and democracy appear to be in opposite camps, each claiming to have the last say on the fate of Germany. She is being partitioned into warring spheres of influence as between the Soviet Union and the Anglo-Saxon Powers. It is not easy to predict which way they will be forced or inspired to follow. The choice has put them into a position where they can bargain. The way that will open out to them the door to material betterment and the restoration of their national self-respect has not yet made its appearance. The totalitarianism that is implicit in the National Socialism of the Nazis has a certain kinship of technique with the Communism that is in the ascendant in the Soviet Union. Under their philosophy the individual has lost all value except as a cog in the wheel of the all-pervading State. The Anglo-Saxon practice does not accept this philosophy, and their regime in Germany has been trying to re-educate the Germans into an appreciation of the value of the individual and a repudiation of all regimentation. This is an interpretation of the conflict that separates the two groups amongst the victorious Powers in Europe. And we need not be surprised if Germany tries to balance herself between them and play one against the other. In east Asia, we have not yet reached this stage. The plans for Japan's re-education are yet in a formative stage. We do not know how the Allied Control Commission is facing up to the situation. General MacArthur, the Supreme Commander in Japan, does not appear to be troubled by opposition from the representatives of the other Powers concerned. But this happy state of things cannot last long. The differences that have broken out in Europe and have been holding up the return of peace to that continent have their roots spread out as well in Asia, in East Asia. And as the time for giving a shape, a somewhat permanent shape, to things in this region comes nearer, the time to remove war-time restrictions on Japan comes nearer, these differences will be making their appearance. The people of Japan will have to be persuaded to accept the new regime so different from that which had moved them to suffer and sacrifice for the glory of their Emperor and the prosperity and pride of their island people. The MacArthur recipe for the elimination of their material and spiritual distempers cannot in the nature of things be accepted as a permanent remedy. And the other Powers, specially the Soviet Union and Britain, cannot be expected to long tolerate the monopoly that the ruling classes of the United States want to establish and stabilize in East Asia. This element of friction appears to be inseparable from the present set-up of power-politics as it has been developing even after the bitter experiences of two World Wars. For certain reasons the British Government and the British people may not think it desirable or feasible to stand up against the American hegemony; the Soviet Union also may feel herself unequal to the task of challenging American pretensions and desires. Her last minute intervention in the Japanese war has not raised her reputation in the estimation of disinterested world opinion; this opportunism of her ruling Junta may be in line with precedents set up by her rivals in the modern world. This act of theirs must have had a repellent effect on the Japanese people who had during the height of the German success in ths Russo-German war resisted the temptation of attacking the Soviet territories on the Pacific Ocean

so near to their islands. As it is not possible to satisfactorily explain why Herr Hitler should have turned against the Soviet Union with the Anglo-German war undecided, so it is different to explain why the Tojo Government in Japan should have felt inpelled to observe the Russo-Japanese Neutrality Pact of April, 1941. Whatever be the reasons, Japanese restraint and Russian cupidity stand in unmistakable contrast. And it will take a long time for the former to forget the treachery of the latter. But in the perspective of history it has been the experience of humanity that betrayals like this are not long remembered, and in the mutations of politics the enemy of today becomes the ally of tomorrow and *vice versa*, so it may be that after East Asia has had an experience of American domination, long or short, the memory of Soviet treachery will be forgotten by Japan, and a common front will be created by them against it. This is a prospect which is not far-fetched in view of the developing differences between the United States and the Soviet Union. As the lesser of the two leviathan Powers of today, the latter may find it to its interest to cultivate Japanese sentiments directed against the major occupying Power which General MacArthur represents. The wretchedness of material life in East Asia and Europe has created conditions that open out the people's mind to the message of Communism. And we would not be far wrong in interpreting developments in both these areas as a see-saw of the two philosophies of life and conduct referred to above. Thus may it happen that the two defeated peoples will turn the scale in the balancing of international affairs.

"American Century" & democratic development

The dominance over world affairs by the United States is a fact that has to be accepted in any attempt to evaluate the play of forces that make up the warp and woof of modern history. This pre-eminence of hers has spread its wings over all the continents. We have been told that this is the "American Century", that during this period the highest point of democratic development will be reached. Others have told us that the experiment in better life for the commonalty of the world that is being carried out in the Soviet Union is the most significant event of the 20th century. Thus has been projected into the arena of the world without any individual or group being responsible for it a competition between two ways of life, one incarnated in the United States and the other in the Soviet Union, a competition pregnant with misunderstandings and strifes, falsifying the hopes represented in and through the United Nations Organization. The events in Europe and East Asia that we have summarized above indicate with precision the growing tension in world affairs. To an Indian observer, detached from this controversy, there does not appear to be any reason why there should be this distrust and jealousy between the leaders of the modern world who had promised at San Francisco in April, 1945, to work for peace and goodwill among men. Perhaps, there is something in human nature that stands in their way of learning from experience. The six years of world war should have been enough to teach the world to recall and retrace the steps that lead to enmity among nations. The leadership that won a victory in this war has shown itself to be inadequate to the needs and demands of peace. The "American

Century" that proposes to rebuild the world's life in the pattern of its own "free enterprise" is being met with increasing suspicion. The attempt of the United States to help re-mould the war-shattered economy of the world is being looked upon with fear. The ways recommended by the Soviet Union have been receiving as sceptical a reception. The United States has demonstrated what modern science can produce in the arts of war and in the arts of peace ; she appears to have solved the problem of the production of wealth. The charge against her system is that the wealth is not justly and equitably distributed. And the worth of the "American Century" will be tested on the success or failure that she attains in the latter task. Another blot on her life is the treatment of her Negro citizens who are discriminated against for their dark skin. A Civil War might have been fought on the soil of America for the liberation of the Negro race ; Lincoln might have given his life to secure equality and security and opportunity to the Negro whose labour produced not a little of the wealth of the country. This economic disequilibrium and racial arrogance have exposed to derision all the glory and grandeur that the United States is so proud of. It was hoped that the experience of the second world war will renovate American thought, that the opportunity her people has had of acquiring knowledge of life and conduct in various parts of the earth would bring a mellowness to them. But we see no signs of this spiritual movement which the upsurge of mass feeling all the world over should have created. Instead, we notice a hardening of the fibres of thought and the growth of a feeling of self-satisfaction with the achievements of American technocrary. We are aware at the same time that we are too far off from the American hemisphere to rightly appreciate all the trends and tendencies of their thought-life, and we may not judge in the absence of fuller knowledge. But the discovery of the atom bomb and its use on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japan has created misgivings even in American minds with regard to the wisdom of competition in death-dealing contrivances. And thought-leaders in the United States have been subjecting their own system of thought and the pattern of conduct that follow therefrom to constructive criticism that is not quite complimentary to these. One of these, Mr. Emery Reves, in his book—*The Anatomy of Peace*—has indicated the symptoms of the malady that afflicted the Western World where "voices accuse managers of trusts and cartels as well as leaders of labour parties and trade unions of destroying individual freedom. The cry is that planned economy leads to dictatorships and destruction of democracy. This is unquestionably true." Mr. Reves regards the rise of "nation-States" as the seat of all the evils and abominations that disgrace the 20th century civilization, a development that can be rectified by the establishment of a World Government, not the product of treaties but of a "World Law" that reconciles the diversities of human experiences and practices. As a statement of a desirable policy, there may be point in it. But the hard fact still remains—who is to frame this Law, and impose it on the individualities of nation-States ? The Charter of the United Nations Organization is based on the integrity of nation-States, and the greatest difficulties that this Organization has been meeting come from the irreconcilable stand-points of the "Big Two"—the United States and

the Soviet Union. Even the destructiveness of war symbolized by the atomic bomb has not brought about any real change in the spirit of contention between peoples and States. Dr. Einstein, the "indirect" father of the release of atomic energy, appears to think that mankind will learn some wisdom from the threat of his brain child not from the conviction that strife and war are futile as a solvent of national and international dispute. And there is cynicism in his words that condemns the "concentration of power" in the regimes both under capitalism and socialism. The latter he thinks more prone to wars as it will command the whole might of the State where diversities of opinions and attitudes are not tolerated. This interpretation of his leads him to the opinion that before a "World Government" is developed, the United States Government should hold on to the secrets of the process of the atom bomb manufacture. Meanwhile he appears to leave to the threat held by it to inject a little wisdom into our conduct.

"At present, atomic energy is not a boon to mankind, but a menace. Perhaps, it is well that it should be. It may intimidate the human race to bring order into international affairs, which, without the pressure of fear, it undoubtedly would not do."

Control of atomic energy—differences between U. S. A. and U. S. S. R.

From this analysis of the movement of thought in the United States, amongst her savants and leaders of thought, we do not have an idea that the richest and the most powerful people in the world are any nearer to a solution of the problem of human relations based on justice and equality, on the respect for the human personality. The conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union is found on ultimate analysis to be traceable to the question—whose ways of life and thought are to guide the steps of the United Nations Organisation? The former claims superiority for its "free enterprise" and individualism, the latter for its dictatorship of the proletariat whatever be the meaning of these particular words. This conflict has lengthened over all the world; in things small and in things great, it bursts out. We have indicated certain of its manifestations. The problem of control over the atomic energy danger illustrates the ramifications of U. S A. differences with the U. S. S. R. The United Nations Organization has set up an Atomic Energy Commission with a view to devise measures for the formation of an effective international machinery for the control of atomic energy. Two plans were submitted to it, one by Bernard Baruch on behalf of the U. S. A. Government, the other by Andrei Gromyko on behalf of the U. S. S R. The former contemplated the creation of an International Atomic Development Authority whose first task would be the census of all sources of raw materials essential for the development of atomic energy and to establish control over these. This Authority would ensure the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes only and should have the right to inspect and visit whatever countries it chose to do in the pursuit of its duties. The "veto power" vested in the Big Five—the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain, China and France—under the U. N. O. Constitution cannot be used against the decision of this Authority. The Soviet plan sought to interdict

the use of atomic as well as other types of "weapons of wholesale destruction" ; it suggested the creation of two Committees of the Atomic Energy Commission, one to deal with the exchange of scientific information on the peaceful development of atomic energy and the other to take steps to prevent the use of atomic energy to harm humanity. It also opposed the proposal on "veto power" as "Big power unanimity" had been made the corner-stone of the United Nations Organization. Soviet representatives are of opinion that this proposal would leave the United States as the sole possessor of "veto power" as it would not be difficult for her to enlist the support of other members of the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission. The Soviet plan agrees that strict and effective inspection is necessary to prevent the possibility by any country going out of its commitments with regard to the renunciation of the use of atomic energy for wide destructive purposes, but it contends that this inspection may be made into a pretext for interference with the internal affairs of the member States. So far as we understand the rival arguments in the matter, the U. S. A. plan is not against the declaration against atomic war, but it appears to be against surrendering its monopoly of atomic energy secrets and their application to war purposes till an International Authority has been set up charged with their sole control. The difference between the two plans are not easily understandable except under the search-light of U. S. A. and U.S.S.R. rivalry. The Soviet suspicion of America's "Big Business" appears to be responsible for opposition to the Baruch plan. The Soviet Press, therefore, directs its attack against it, indicating the three capitalist trusts that are real owners of the atomic energy secrets—the International Radium and Uranium Consotium controls the raw materials, the Westing-House Electric Company has the monopoly of processing and extracting pure metallic uranium from the ore, and the Dupont Chemical Trusts have the sole right of the manufacture of atom bombs. It is this ineradicable mutual distrust that is at the root of the controversy between the two countries. Their cross purposes were indicated by the London *New Statesman and Nation*, a Socialist weekly, and there appears to be no possibility of reconciliation.

"The Americans claim the right to retain exclusive possession of the atomic bomb until the U. S. S. R. has been internationally 'inspected and controlled'—a process which would reveal the location of all Russia's carefully-concealed munition plants and defences. The Russian reply is to say : 'If you want to be sure that we are not making atomic bombs, we must be sure that you will not use your bombs against us when you have discovered where they can most effectively be dropped.'

"This is the real crux of the matter ; and, until it is solved, it is academic to argue whether agreement on atomic sanctions against 'atomic violation' would in practice be much more effective than the provisions embodied in the Covenant of the old League for automatic sanction against aggression in general."

This mutual distrust constitutes the core of the tragedy that has been following the nations assembled in the United Nations Organisation and its various subordinate associations and committees. The Soviet Union's stand in this matter asserts the right of sovereign States which have not been surrendered to the United Nationt Organisation as yet ; and without this surrender, it is difficult to envisage in the immediate future any

Britain's dependence on the United States

lessening of the tension that exists to-day in the international world. The sacrifice of national, sovereignty can be worked only when the leading Powers are agreed upon it. This they have not been able to do, and the publicist sees no difference between the times that followed the first World War of the 20th century and those after the second. Again, thoughtful men in Britain have become conscious that world developments have placed their country in a weaker position. Two world wars have burnt out all the wealth that two centuries of world trade enabled their people to accumulate. This loss has made them dependent on the help of the United States. During the period under review the loan of about fifteen hundred crores of rupees made by the United States to Britain symbolized this dependence. This loan would be financing Britain's purchases in the world's markets, specially in the American, of food products and raw materials for her industries which she has to import in order to live and work. Again, spokesmen of the British Government have been telling the industrialists of Britain and her workers that they must "export or die", that it is by renewing their export trade and recovering some part of their shipping trade that they can pay for their imports and the other demands on their country's finances such as the "Sterling Balances" and the monies accumulated in the "Dollar Pool." The Board of Trade has fixed a target for British exports at a figure in the order of 140 per cent over the 1938 export figure. In the absence of German and Japanese exports this figure might have been reached in a world that is hungry for consumer goods. But Britain has to contend with the United States and some of her own Dominions—Canada and Australia, for instance—which have developed industrially during the war. These are certain of the various factors thut have been standing in the way of Britain paying her way through with a load of debts that during the second world war has reached a figure of about five thousand crores of rupees Of this, India and Egypt claim more than two thousand crores. And our country's "home polity" is being affected disastrously by this loan to Britain, accumulated during the war years at the expense of our poverty-stricken economy.

"Sterling Balances" & "Dollar Pool"

Apart from politics, the unnatural political relation that exists between India and Britain, will lead to controversy and recrimination that is inevitable between a creditor and a debtor. The sixteen hundred crores of rupees that is due to India grew out of purchases made in India by British war necessities. Almost no payment was made on account of these purchases either in the form of pound, shilling, pence or in the form of exports from Britain. At the end of the war and even during it, India has to buy food products in the world's markets, and Britain must have financed some of these transactions from the Indian accumulations. In addition, the United States had made purchases in India ; the Government in India had made for her air fields, roads, etc with a view to facilitate her war operations against Japan, waged from the soil of India. Lend-Lease had paid for certain of these operations. The rest had been accumulated in the "Dollar Pool" to finance India's purchases in the United States, the British authorities deciding how much was to be converted into dollars. The Anglo-American Loan

Agreement signed in July, 1946, had certain clauses not all of which have been published which concerned the "Sterling Balances" and the "Dollar Pool." The Americans were naturally interested that the "Dollar Pool" should be dissolved, that it should not be tied to the sterling and that they should be able to trade directly with India. This "Dollar Pool" was a contrivance by which all the dollars secured by all countries of the British Empire except Canada were not made available to them ; on many an occasion these were used by Britain to make her own purchases in the United States and other dollar-dominated countries. So far as we understand, the British Dominions have settled this account either by making gifts of their dollars to Britain or by transactions of reciprocity. India and Egypt appear to have been reserved for separate treatment. It has been asserted that during the Anglo-American Loan negotiations, the latter suggested that India and Egypt should be "forced" to scale down their demands and accept the funding of the remainder at low interest for about 50 years. There has also been talk of repudiation of this debt or part of it on the plea that Britain incurred it in the defence of India from Japan and of Egypt from Germany and Italy. The United States appears to have accepted the validity of this plea. Another plea is being pressed forward by British publicists that their country is too weak economically to be able to repay the debt. As against it the point is made that as Britain had to sell the holdings of her citizens in American concerns before America would agree to advance her money to finance her war purchases, so should she sell the holdings of her citizens, their investments in India. It has been estimated that their value is not less than Rs 500 crores, one-third of Britain's second world war debt to India. This is where the controversy rests at present ; no official negotiations have taken place, so far as it is known, though it is difficult to believe that the subject did not crop up during the period when the members of the Cabinet Delegation were present in India (March to July, 1946). We will leave the subject by indicating how the Sterling Balances grew from year to year from September, 1939 to 1946. It will be noticed that in the latter years these stood at Rs, 1724 crores. And it appears that by November, 1946, it got reduced to Rs. 1,623 crores, evidently by Britain making available to India about Rs. 100 crores in the form of advances, goods and services.

September, 1939 to March, 1940.....	Rs. 140 crores
1940—'41	144 ,,
1941—'42	284 ,,
1942—'43	511 ,,
1943—'44	945 ,,
1944—'45	1,363 ,,
1945—'46	1,724 ,,

This problem and its solution has emphasized again the instinctively sympathetic appreciation of Britain's difficulties by the ruling classes of the United States. At the Bretton Woods Conference that built up the pattern of an world economy, the representatives of the two countries were found to be of one mind in opposing the Indian demand for the release of a greater sum than Rs. 20 crores every year from the "Ster-

Anglo-American plan and India's industrialization based on release of "Sterling Balances"

ling Balances" in order to enable India to hasten and organize her industrial re-construction. The National Planning Committee's and other plans for the reconstruction of India's modern life had thought that the "Sterling Balances" could be depended on to finance certain of these. Their hopes appear destined to disappointment if the Anglo-American plan is allowed to be imposed on us. This plan, so far as it affected this problem of "Sterling Balances" and Anglo-American contribution to its solution, may be found in Clause 10 of the Anglo-American Loan Agreement seeking to lay down the principles that should regulate its solution. The relevant portion is quoted below:

"The settlement with the Sterling Area countries will be on the basis of dividing the accumulated balances into three categories: (i) Balances to be released at once and convertible into any currency for current transaction;
(ii) Balances to be similarly released by instalments over a period of years beginning in 1951;
(iii)—Balances to be adjusted as a contribution to the settlement of war and post-war indebtedness and in recognition of the benefits which the countries concerned might be expected to gain from such a settlement."

Loans and Reparations—not an asset but a liability

It is under the third item of this Clause that the British negotiators will try to press home their argument. And the reason for it was always present in the consciousness of British authorities, as we find Sir John Anderson, the then Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Churchill Ministry, expressing as far back as 1943 their anxiety in this behalf. In course of his budget speech of that year he said: "The greater part of the additional cost of India's outer defences of the frontiers fell upon Great Britain which meant that a financial situation of some difficulty was being created for Great Britain in the future." Pressed by the exigencies of a war for survival, Sir John had no time or inclination to appreciate the "difficulty" that was being created for India by the policy of his own country. And today when the two-centuries old relation between India and his own country has been coming to some sort of an end, we feel no inclination to raise a new controversy with regard to this matter of "Sterling Balances." Recalling the whole story of loans and reparations in connection with the first world war, we have no reasons to think that the leaders of the victorious Powers will be able to make a better success of their repayments than on the last occasion. At the end of the 1914—'18 war the Allies with great beating of drums and blare of trumpets had announced that they would extort from Germany, solely responsible for the war, the utmost of reparations so thoroughly that she would squeal. They laid down elaborate time-tables and scales of payment. Britain had advanced moneys to her allies, and she generously agreed that she would not take any amount more than what she had borrowed from the United States. Germany could not pay without borrowing, and as the capitalist interests of the United States and to a lesser extent of Britain were anxious to lend money, she started borrowing therefrom. The game could not be prolonged for any length of time, and Germany had to default. France and Italy defaulted and failed to pay the debts and their interests; and Britain

followed suit refusing to pay her war-time borrowings from the United States. On the present occasion also the "Big Five" have started the same elaborated game; Germany and Japan being the culprits and victims are expected to foot the bill for as long a time as their victors pleased. But we have no doubt that this cruel process will break down as on the last occasion. And we have often wondered why the wisdom of the "Big Five" could not devise a better plan to take in one swoop whatever they could get and forget everything about reparations, and let Germany and Japan return as quickly as possible to their pre-war tempo of economic activity minus the war industries. As regards inter-Allied debts the same generosity should characterize these transactions, in the matter of Indo-British payments we cannot expect a different line of approach and treatment. This would have been possible if the political subjection of India to Britain, flaunted before the world by the latter's politicians, had not twisted matters. Our political resentment will consciously and unconsciously influence negotiators from India to stand for a "pound of flesh" policy and make an effort to persist in it. But there is neither practicability nor generosity in it. Indian public men and publicists have got into the habit of regarding the "sterling balances" as "assets", and building their plans of economic reconstruction with the help of these. The more wise course would be to forget their existence or better to dismiss these as "liabilities". It was not because Britain was the political mistress of India when she had extracted these money but because in these transactions the capacity to pay was the fact that counted the most. The fact that the United States had to write off items on the Land-Lease transactions with Britain and to grant her a loan of Rs. 1500 crores to help her carry on is a pointer to the real state of things, of the latter's capacity to play. We do not know the details of the Lend-Lease write-off. It may be true that by the loan the United States has simply financed her own trade operations with Britain; it may also be true that by removing the "controls" almost at the same time, leading to a rise in the prices of American goods, the United States has bagged extra profits from Britain. Thus it may be said that the United States has been generous and at the same time smart. But all the same this Anglo-American deal has set a pattern for financial transactions that would be difficult to break. In the case of India, it may happen that considerations other than economic and financial will regulate the negotiations characterized by a lack of dignity on the part of both the parties. For this, politics will be responsible—the politics of bitterness that has been the dominant note in the relationship between India and Britain.

What prepared the ground for demonstration of this "tension"

Writing in the middle of 1947, it is not easy to write with detachment of the many developments that happened between January 1946 and June, 1947. But as we have to write on the "home polity" of India of the first half of 1946, we will try to resist the temptation of anticipating events. The excitement and fervour developed during the trial of the personnel of the Indian Independence Army had demonstrated the miracle of the awakening in India attempted to be suppressed and controlled by the British authorities in India. The

long-suppressed emotion sought vehicles of expression in various departments of Indian life. Industrial labour that had worked under high pressure to meet Britain's war necessities for long six long years broke bounds at last. Students and Youth organizations demonstrated their hatred of imperialist rule, lining up with Labour in their grievances against all forms of exploitation. The revolt in the Indian Navy was a danger signal to the powers-that-be that the defence forces in the country were being affected. The students' demonstration in the Calcutta streets in the third week of February, 1946, in which there was deliberate police shooting on passers-by was another indication of the pace of events. The election campaign for the Central and Provincial Assemblies brought to a head the many issues, that has created the "great tension" in India, to quote from the British Prime Minister's speech made in the House of Commons on March 15, 1946. The war and its disappointments and distresses had prepared the ground. At the end of it there was a great acceleration in the movement of thought and activity in India because, as Mr. Attlee recognized, the "tide" had "to some extent" been "banked up" during the war. The realization of the dangerous possibilities of this situation must have influenced the Labour Government in Britain to decide on sending a Delegation of Cabinet members to India which was announced in the British Parliament on February 19, 1946. And we get from a speech made in the House of Lords by the Secretary of State for India, Lord Pethick Lowrence, a year later, to be exact, on February 25, 1947, a proper appreciation of the situation as it had confronted them when this particular announcement was made. It was "a really dangerous situation"; "there was in the realm of the Congress a violent revolutionary sentiment" which opinion was confirmed by what they came to know during their sojourn in India as members of the Delegation.

"The Cabinet Delegation found that there was a swing to the extreme and a demand for revolutionary methods." In order to enable our readers to understand the reason or reasons for fixing a date-line for quitting India we propose to quote from various parts of this speech. For particulars it was on the occasion of recommending the acceptance of the February 20, 1947, declaration that the Government proposed to hand over to a Central Government or to Provincial Governments in India their powers and responsiblilies by June, 1948, that the Secretary of State made these statements on the 25th February, 1947. Here are the quotations from this speech :

"Either go back or go forward" —that is the question

"The advice we have received from responsible authorities in India has been that, taking all circumstances into account, British rule cannot be maintained on its existing basis with adequate efficiency after 1948."

"The Government were confronted broadly with two alternatives—they could either go back or go forward. If we go forward we must rely rather more on the good sense and co-operation of the different parties in India or we must be prepared, in the event of oppositional disagreement, to start all over again the unhappy procedure of arrest, imprisonment, and imprisonment without trial, and come into direct conflict with what is a rapidly growing and determined body of the people in India."

"A vast majority of people of all parties in this country, with perhaps a few exceptions, concur in the view that the Government should go forward.

If Britain had attempted for a short while to restore the old position of complete control by the British Raj in India, it would be necessary to guarantee that we would stay in India for 10, 15 or more years."

British commitments on minority position in India

Here we have the appreciation of the facts and events that had been influencing the Labour Government in Britain since they assumed power in July, 1945 to make strenuous efforts to solve the Indian problem From certain points of view, the quotations above may be regarded as compliments to the strength of Nationalist forces in India, demonstrations on behalf of which had been the most outstanding facts in India's life during the last six months of 1945 and the first three months of 1946. Mr. Attlee in his speech in the House of Commons made on March 15, 1946, and the spokesman of the Conservative Opposition, Mr. R. A. Butler, sometime Under-Secretary of State for India in the Churchill Administration, both of them spoke of the "great tension" and "the tense atmosphere" that prevailed in India, the former spoke of "the tide of nationalism" that has been running very fast in India and, indeed, all over Asia" and how "India is affected by what happens elsewhere in Asia." The Asian developments that we have tried to sketch above has, thus, helped in quickening national impulses in India, which have been acting as a leaven for the "colonial" peoples in our continent. Mr. Attlee also harked back on their commitments made in 1940 and 1942. In August, 1940, the Churchill Administration had emphasized their contention that they could not give sanction to any constitution to which significant elements of India's population would strongly object. In March 1942, on the occasion of the Cripps Mission sent by the Churchill Government when Japan had made good her conquest of Burma and was poised for an attack on India, they "set no limit to India's freedom to decide for herself her own destiny, whether as a free member and partner in the British Commonwealth or even outside it." On the 14th of June, 1945, on the eve of elections in Britain, Mr. Amery, the then Secretary of State for India, reiterated their 1940 and 1942 stand and spoke of a constitution or constitutions framed by Indians to which the main elements in India's national life were consenting parties." This particular commitment of the British Government with regard to the minorities in India has acted as a "veto power" placed in the hands of the Muslim League and has been used as such on every conceivable occasion. Indian Nationalists since the Curzon regime have been feeling and giving expression to the feeling in no uncertain language that the British concern for the minorities in India, manufactured by them on many an occasion, is the product of a sinister purpose, that of consolidating their irresponsible power and authority over India. The Morley-Minto constitutional changes, based on separate electorates for the Muslims, have twisted national and constitutional developments in our country into monstrous hybrids. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report (1917-'18) which elaborately dealing with the evils of this system advised the continuation of this device because on the occasion of the Lucknow Congress (1916) there had been a Congress-League agreement with regard to this matter. Thus the policy of the British Government has been responsible for sowing this poisonous seed in a receptive field. The ruling classes of

Britain. Conservative, Liberal, and Labour, have each in their own way, contributed their mite of poison. They feel now that they have made commitments to minority interest in India that leave them no choice but to help in breaking up the unity and integrity of India which history and nature appear to have made one and indivisible. The new rulership in Britain, recruited from the Labour Party, however appears to have realized that this policy should be put and end to. Otherwise, there is no sense in Mr. Attlee's statement—....."*We cannot allow a minority to place a veto on the advance of the majority*" on the occasion of the debate on the 15th of March 1946. Of course he referred to our diversities, and elaborated these in the following words : "I am well aware, when I speak of India, that I speak of a country containing a congeries of races, religions and languages, and I know all the difficulties thereby created.....We are very mindful of the rights of minorities and minorities should be able to live free from fear." When the words italicized above were flashed over to India, there was a feeling that at long last, the British Government appear to be in a mood to withdraw patronage of the intransigent elements in India who had been holding up the progress of the democratic freedom in the country, that the policy of divide and rule was being given up. The Muslim League leadership duly took note of the direction of this new policy and re-iterated its thesis that the Muslims in India were not a minority; that they claimed to be a nation and a separate at that. Mr. Attlee had said that the difficulties created by the diversities of Indian life could only be "overcome by Indians", that the British could not "decide how these difficulties may be overcome." It is easy to raise a controversy with regard to the justice of this new attitude, to say that the British could not so easily be allowed to escape responsibility after doing their best or worst to twist inter-communal relations in India. Writing in the middle of 1947, we do not propose to rake up this subject. It is as painful as it is unfruitful. We desire to forget this chapter of our history, though Shakespear's words are as true here that the evil that men do live after them; the good is oft interred with their bones. This will be the verdict of India on her two-centuries relationship with Britain.

Resolutions & speeches at the Convention of Muslim League : Legislators

By the time the Cabinet Delegation arrived in India on March 23, 1946, the results of the elections to the Central and Provincial Assemblies had been known. The Muslim League swept the board, except in the N. W. Frontier Province where the Muslims were 95 per cent of the population. The Congress captured almost all the other seats in all the Provinces, and thus it came to happen that except in Sind and Bengal, the Congress representatives formed Ministries. In the Punjab, the Muslim League representatives formed the largest party, but it could not command a majority owing to the non-co-operation of the Unionist Party of about twelve members who had fought the election under the leadership of Sir Khizr Hyat Khan on an economic programme. The majority of this party were Muslims belonging to the landed aristocracy of the Province. Thus it did the Congress party, about 54 strong, the Akali (Sikh) Party about 22 strong and the Unionist Party with cer-

tain independent members helped to form a Coalition with Sir Khizr Hyat Khan as Chief Minister. This was the formal constitutional position in India when the three members of the British Cabinet, Lord Pethic Lawrence, Secretary of State for India, Sir Stafford Cripps, President of the Board of Trade, and Mr. A. V. Alexander, First Lord of the Admiralty, reached India. Their presence in India demonstrated, from certain points of view, the anxiety of the Labour Government in Britain to settle the constitutional deadlock in our country. But while they were welcomed in India, the feeling was present all the same that the victory of the Muslim League in the elections did not make for its reasoned and rational solution And we were not kept for long in doubt as to the spirit of the activities by which they will be trying to press home their arguments in favour of a partition of the country. This they did in course of their Convention of Muslim League Legislators held at New Delhi on the 7th of April 1945, and succeeding days. The first resolution elaborated the Muslim League thesis on the Muslims of India being a "separate nation." In order to prove it, the resolution un-called for slandered Hindu society and certain of the defects and crudities in its social polity. It was so vulgar that we have often thought that it is a crowning mercy that Hindu Conferences did not demean themselves by descending to such a stupid perversity. The resolution asserted that the "faith" of the Muslims "stands in sharp contrast to the exclusive nature of Hindu Dharma and Philosophy" ; that the Hindu "caste system is a direct negation of nationalism, equality, and democracy and all the noble ideas that Islam stands for." During the elections the Muslim League propagandists had used this abuse of Hindu society as the most potent instrument for inflaming the passions of the ignorant Muslim masses, and securing their votes. From reading the the resolutions and speeches of this Convention, we get the impression that the leadership of the Muslim League would be continuing the same tactics in their campaign for "Pakistan," Herein came out glaringly the evil of separate electorates. Mr. Huseyn Saheed Suhrawardy who became later the Chief Minister in Bengal showed that in the heated atmosphere of the Convention there need be no decency and dignity ; all other speakers followed his cue. He was also indiscreet in that he made no secret of the sinister possibilities of the demand which he was sponsoring in the resolution.

Is Pakistan our last demand? I will not attempt to give an answer. But this is our latest demand. I will like the Congress to recall that we in the past asked for much less, and we were prepared to accept the superior number of Hindus in a democratic constitution.....Now, there is nothing left for us except to demand separation.....Muslims.....would resist all attempts to deny them their rights. Muslims were not a dead nation, and the resistance would not be by mere words."

Chowdhury Khaliq-uz-zaman, leader of the Muslim League Party in the U. P., who seconded this resolution must have felt that the slanderous references to Hindu religion and philosophy required an explanation ; and he attempted to supply it when he said that the references were intended to explain that the Hindus and Muslims were as poles asunder, Mr. Ismail Chundrigar of Bombay said the British had no right to

hand over the Muslims to a subject people over whom they had ruled for 500 years. Mr. Mohammad Ismail of Madras declared that the Muslims of India were in the midst of a *Jihad*, a holy war. Mr. Shaukat Hyat Khan who claimed to represent the martial class in the Punjab asked to be "given a chance" and they will "show a rehearsal now when the British Army is still there." Sir Feroze Khan Noon declared that if they were driven to fight a "Central Government or Hindu Raj", then the "havoc which the Muslims will play will put to shame what Chengiz Khan or Halaku did." The speeches delivered in this Convention held the mirror to a mind that for political purposes had used ignorance as a weapon and was prepared to poison neighbourly relationship. This was a bad preparation for the unity and integrity of even a "Pakistan" State where Hindus and Muslims will have to live and work and act together. It is this Muslim League tactics that has antagonized the majority population in India and not any concrete proposal for the removal of our political deadlock. The arrogance injected into the Muslim community by the Muslim League leadership is the real rock on which, we are afraid, will be shattered the prospect of orderly political development in India. And the greatest evil that Indian statesmanship, Hindu and Muslim, will have to contend with is this debauching the minds of a generation which for good or evil will be called upon to take part in re-building a social and economic life on newer foundations.

British interest in India's unity and integrity

The formal resolution passed in this Convention of the Muslim League Legislators declared that "The Muslim nation will never submit to any constitution for a United India and will never participate in any single constitution-making machinary set up for the purpose" ; it also demanded that the "zones comprising Bengal and Assam in the north-east and the Punjab, the N. W. Frontier Province, Sind and Beluchistan in the north-west of India.....where the Muslims are a dominant majority, be constituted into a sovereign State....." ; that "two separate Constitution-making bodies be set up by the peoples of Pakistan and Hindustan for the purpose of framing their respective constitutions," that the acceptance of this demand and "its implementation without delay are the *sine qua non* for the Muslim League co-operation in the formation of an *interim* Government at the centre." Neither to the members of the Cabinet Delegation nor to the public in India were these demands unknown. The former had come all the same from London to New Delhi to get these modified by the Muslim League and fit these into the scheme of an all—India Centre which was regarded as necessary for the defence of the Indian realm and for the reconstruction of the complex and unintegrated Indian economy. It was on these two points that the British Government, it was thought, was most interested. With regard to the former, the reason or reasons were obvious. In the present uncertain condition of international affairs, British strategists could build their plans on the assumption that India free would not immediately withdraw from their scheme of defence, that India would be available for bases from which British interests could be defended. An India divided on lines demanded by the Muslim League would be weak for the purpose in view. The Cabinet Delegation's Statement of May 16, 1946, indicated the danger of this arrangement in no un-

certain language ; "The two sections of the suggested Pakistan contain the two most vulnerable frontiers in India and for a succcessful defence in depth the area of Pakistan would be insufficient." It may, therefore, be asked—why then should the Muslim League be exposing their people to this risk ? The leadership of the League appeared to be satisfied with the thought that in the post-atomic bomb age "there was no country, be it Britain or the United States, that could defend itself alone." There was also Britain's interest in the economic and financial rehabilitation of India. Beggared by two world wars in course of a generation she stands in need of India as a market for her manufactures and as an area that would require her capital and the specialized knowledge of her scientists and technicians. It is even felt that India with her crying need of rapid industrialization will not spurn British help if this comes accompanied by the settlement of her political status in consonance with democratic freedom and national self-respect which is *Swaraj*. Thus the friendship of India was felt to be worth buying even at sacrifice when world developments would no longer tolerate that four hundred millions of people should be subject to the capitalist imperialism of Britain. These must have been the major considerations that had worked on the Labour Government in Britain to make an attempt to make it up with Indian Nationalism. It must at the same time be recognized that the idealism of the working people of Britain who have never had a direct interest in India's exploitation was a deciding factor in a Government representative of their special interests and custodian of their honour as modern men and women who are anxious to throw off the bad old traditions of imperialist arrogance.

The Cabinet Delegation's interviews and discussions with Indian representatives

It was under the compulsion of these complex factors that the Attlee Government decided to try their hand in solving India's political problem. It must, however, be remembered that they had no clean slate to write on, that they were bound by the commitments of their predecessor Governments which had done not a little to stir up all the separatist conceits and ambitions in our country. The Muslim League represented the largest of these ; the Princely Order came next : the Scheduled Castes led the rear. Intermediate between them were the discontented elements in the country who had been subjected to centuries of discrimination and neglect and who had been roused from their torpor under the combined influence of administration, exploitation, enlightenments under British auspices and by the awakened conscience of the Indian reformers. The Sikhs were a class apart. The members of the Delegation reached the Karachi air port on March 23, 1946 ; they reached New Delhi the next day, and on the 25th held a Press Conference to explain the genesis of their mission and the mood with which they came ; with open minds they came, uncommitted to any particular views ; that did not mean that they came with a "hesitant and indecisive frame of mind;" their aim is to secure "an agreed method of deciding on a new constitutional structure and the setting up of a more representative transitional Government at the Centre." The next six days they devoted to holding conferences with Lord Wavell who became a member of their Delegation, with their own special advisers and with the Governors of Indian Provinces. On and from the 1st of April, there

began interviews with representative Indians; this continued up to the 17th. During this period they had interviews with 472 leaders in 182 sittings. The variety of interests, classes and creeds seeking through their representatives to press home their various demands is manifest from these numbers. We do not know what they said; we do not think that the members of the Delegation individually or collectively had any arrangements made to have transcripts of reports of the various negotiations carried on apart from the formal representations and memoranda that must have been made available to them. In the absence of these, we are left in the dark with regard to the various demands that they heard and how they reacted to the reason or unreason of these. It appears that the Delegation had put certain questions to the Chief Ministers and prospective Chief Ministers of Provinces and leaders of Opposition in the Legislature. These appear to be innocent enough, and do not help us to understand the trend of their mind and to connect these with their ultimate proposals made in the statement of May 16, 1946. For ready reference and as a touch-stone of their proposals, these questions are put down below :

(i) What were their views on the new constitutional machinery in India ?
(ii) Were they in favour of one Constituent Assembly or Union ? If so, on what basis ?
(iii) Was an All-India Centre necessary ? On what basis ? With what powers ? In what manner should it be formed ?
(iv) What should be the relation of the Units to the Centre ?
(v) What were their views of the problem of the States ?
(vi) Is agreement between Congress and League possible ? On what basis ?
(vii) If no agreement is reached between the Congress and the League, what did they want the Delegation to do ?

The Simla Conference was held to arrive at an agreement

For about one month the members of the Delegation held conversation with representatives of every opinion in India. Some of these were informal as with Mr. Jaiprakash Narayan, one of the leaders of the Congress Socialist Party who met Sir Stafford Cripps. The issues raised by the questions above were canvassed and tested and must have been subjected to criticism by the leaders of the various parties and organisations. We do not know how the leaders in India faced up to these, fraught as these were with momentous consequences to the people. Newspapers have speculated on what they said and did during these momentous four weeks. But as we have no authorized reports of these, we may not venture into any criticism of their method of approach to the questions discussed. It appears that the representatives of the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League who were accepted by the Delegation as the two organisations competent to speak for the Indian people for purposes of major decisions in the constitutional and political sphere could not agree with regard to these as these had been framed in the questions above. This fact came out in the letter that Lord Pethick Lawrence wrote on the 27th April, 1946, to Maulana Azad, President of the Congress and to Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, President of the Muslim League in course of which he said that "they should make up one further attempt to obtain agreement between the Muslim League and the Congress." And as "a basis of negotiation" they suggested "a scheme

based upon the following fundamental principles". The future constitutional structure of British India to be as follows :

A Union Government dealing with the following subjects : Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications. There will be two groups of Provinces, the one of the predominantly Hindu Provinces and the other of the predominantly Muslim Provinces, dealing with all other subjects which the Provinces in the respective groups desire to be dealt with in common. The Provincial Governments will deal with all other subjects and will have all the residuary sovereign rights.

It was contemplated that the Indian States will take their appropriate place in this structure on terms to be negotiated with them. A conference was held at Simla to thresh these matters out. It sat for a week—5th to 11th May, 1946 ; its failure was announced on the 12th May. It is not clear from the letters published so far at whose suggestion did this grouping of Provinces find a place in the list of "fundamental principles" indicated above The Congress President had objected to it and dissociated his organisation from it as was evident from his letter dated April 28, in course of which he wrote : "We consider it wrong to form groups of Provinces under the Federal Union, and more so on religious or communal basis." But it appears to have had no influence on the Secretary of State for India ; he persisted in making it as one of the 'terms" proposed by the Cabinet Delegation as a "basis for a settlement," because we find the following "agenda" circulated to the members taking part in this particular conference :

1. Group of Provinces : (A) Composition. (B) Method of Group subjects. (C) Character of Group organisation.
2. Union : (A) Union subjects. (B) Character of Union Constitution. (C) Finance.
3. Constitution-making Machinery : (A) Composition. (B) Functions : (i) In respect of Union ; (ii) In respect of Groups ; (iii) In respect of Provinces.

The Simla Conference showed that the Cabinet Delegation had reverted to the Wavell formula

The Conference met on the 5th May, and on the 6th we find Maulana Abul Kalam Azad writing to Lord Pethic-Lawrence that they "were feeling mystified and disturbed at the vagueness of our talks and some of the assumptions underlying them." It appears that "repeated references" had been made to "Groups of Provinces functioning together" and their having "an executive and legislative machinery." He asserted that this method of "grouping" had not so far been discussed by "us", meaning the representatives of the Congress, but all the "talks seemed to assume all this." It was a strange procedure, and we wonder why the Congress representatives did not dissociate themselves more categorically from these "assumptions". Perhaps, that would have made the Simla Conference as good as still-born as it ultimately proved itself to be. It appears also that even during this day's discussion, somebody had resurrected the idea of "parity between Hindus and Muslims" in regard to the Executive and Legislature. It was a reversion to the Wavell formula that had been canvassed during the abortive Simla Conference of 1945. At that time the

official apologia said that this "parity" suggestion would not be allowed to be a "precedent." The Congress President recorded his objection to it in his letter dated May 6, in course of which he said: "Another point we wish to make clear is that we do not accept the proposal for parity as between groups in regard to the Executive and Legislature." The representatives of the Muslim League appear to have brought forward their scheme for the partition of India; the Congress expressed the opinion that it "was not open to the Conference" and to enter into any such suggestion, and that "if this (suggestion of partition) is to come, it should come through the Constituent Assembly free from any influence of the present governing power."

"Succession Government or Governments of British India"—the use of these words was significant

This appeared to have marked the first two days of this Conference, and the members of the British Cabinet Delegation appear to have been moving toward the idea of "succession Government or Governments of British India" as it appears from their "Memorandum on States' Treaties and Paramountcy" sent to the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes on May 12, 1946. It appeared that they had begun to fondle this idea much earlier. In an explanation they said that the document "was drawn up before the Mission began its discussions with party leaders" and represented what they had "communicated to the representatives of the States at their first interviews with the Mission." In the Delegation's first Press Conference held at New Delhi on the 25th of March, 1946, Lord Pethick Lawrence had said that they came with "open minds and are not committed to any particular views." A time-table of their Indian activities that we have seen tells us that they started with interviewing Indian leaders on and from the 1st of April, 1946 with a "72 minutes" interview between Gandhiji and Lord Pethick Lawrence. His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal, Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, saw them on the 2nd; and it must have been on this day, i, e, within seven days of their Press Conference that the idea of "Succession Government or Governments' had developed in their minds or had been planted therein. Even if they did not come with the idea of dividing India, we have it on their own testimony that it attained maturity to be brought forward on the 2nd April as a fit subject for discussion. We do not know why the representatives of the Princely Order should have been chosen as the fit vehicle to canvass the idea. Whatever be the time-table of the birth and growth of the idea of the division, the Indian publicist knowing his history of British policy in his country, will be more disposed to dismiss the Secretary of State for India's assurance about "open minds" and having had no "particular views" with regard to the solution of the Indian problem as so much diplomatic verbiage. It would be more realistic to think that the three members of the Delegation and their advisers, brought out from London and also found in New. Delhi, would be acting out the logic of British policy. From the 2nd April to May 12, the idea of division must have recurred again and again, to be hotly debated, and ultimately

dismissed in the Statement by the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy published on May 16, 1946.

Grouping of Provinces-Compulsory or optional—the centre of the controversy

The alternative suggested for a "central nexus" was, however, a sickly plant which could acquire strength and vigour only by sincere devotion to its care. The leaders of the Congress appeared to have fought rearguard actions in defence of India's unity and integrity. The supreme leader of the Muslim League found "seeds of Pakistan" in the May 16 plan. The former had repeatedly said in course of statements and resolutions that they could not think in terms of "compulsion" to be used on any "unit" for adhering to the Union or Federation of India. They had left the definition of this "unit"—whether it will be territorial or racial or religious or linguistic—vague, whether the present territorial or provincial division of British India was to be maintained intact or not. The Muslim League negotiators appear to have tried to press home this Congress concession to their own advantage ; and they thought that the proposal for the "Grouping" of Provinces secured them the lever to be used for their "Pakistan". If the Provinces, even as these were constituted today, were given freedom of choice to "group", it would satisfy the conditions laid down by the Congress. The Cabinet Delegation appear to have been careless in the use of words referring to their "Grouping" proposal. In Para 15, Clause (5), they said something different from that said in Para 19, clause (iv) & (v) :

Para 15, Clause (5)—"Provinces should be free to form Groups with executives and legislatures, and each Group could determine the Provincial subjects to be taken together."

Para 19, sub-Clause (iv) & (v)—".....thereafter the Provincial representatives will divide up in three Sections.....

These Sections shall proceed to settle the Provincial Constitutions....., and shall decide whether any Group Constitution shall be set up for those Provinces..... provinces shall have the power to opt out of the Groups (by a decision taken by the Legislature of the Province after the first general election under the new constitution.

Cabinet Delegation's words, & their "intentions"

The Muslim League representatives were not troubled by the apparent conflict between these two Paras and their clauses and sub-clauses. As the division into Sections (B) and (C), shown in the Table of Representation in sub-paragraph (i) of Para 19 in the Statement of May 16, appear to satisfy their demand for "Muslim zones" in the north-west and north-east of India, they appeared to have been satisfied while protesting that their full demand for "sovereign" States should have remained unfulfilled. The Congress, however, pointed out to this contradiction between the two Paras of their Statement. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the President of the Congress, writing to the Secretary of State for India on May 20 called attention to the "discrepancy" between Para 15 clause (5) and those in Para 19 and clauses (iv) and (v). But the latter tried to get out of the difficulty, created by their careless use of words, by saying that the interpretation put on these by the Congress that the "Provinces in the first instance can make the choice whether or not to go to the Section in which they are placed does not accord with the Delegation's intentions." Whether or not in a State paper the "intentions" of the framers thereof

will be acceptable by a court of law, say, by the Privy Council, is more than we can say. But the controversy raised by these two interpretations has lost all interest now, when writing in the middle of 1947 one can view it with detachment. The Cabinet Delegation and the Governor-General persisted in saying that "the Statement of the 16th. May does not make Grouping compulsory;" they said that freedom is left to the Provinces to "opt out" sometime after the elections under the new constitution to be framed by the Sections in their constitution-making capacity. How it does not accord with Provincial autonomy was explained by the President of the Congress in his letter dated May 20; he illustrated it by what may or will happen in the framing of the constitution for Provinces by the Sectional Assembly.

"As Section B. and C. have been formed it is obvious that one Province will play a dominating role in the Sections, the Punjab in Section B and Bengal in Section C. It is conceivable that this dominating Province may form a Provincial constitution entirely against the wishes of Sind or the N. W. Frontier Province or Assam. It may conceivably lay down rules for elections and otherwise, thereby nullifying the provision for a Province to opt out of a Group. ..."

Failure due to Double-dealing-"breach of faith ?"

The Cabinet Delegation contented itself saying that the division into "Sections" and the "Groups" was required by considerations that were "well-known", evidently referring to the Muslim League demands. Ultimately, their Government in London settled the controversy by "an act of State", by saying that they stood by their own interpretation; that the suggestion of the Congress that the two interpretations should be submitted to the Federal Court in India was brushed aside, the British Government saying that they would not do it, and even if they did, they refused to bind themselves by any decision by the Federal Court in this matter. This was done by their Statement of December 6, 1946. And the failure of the Cabinet Delegation's plan was complete by this time. There were many causes for it. The Indian publicist had been feeling all along during the negotiations that there was a lack of frankness, that the British negotiators were being smart, specially Sir Stafford Cripps; Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah charged them with "a fragrant breach of faith. What was the provocation for making this grave charge, we do not know. Gandhiji thought loudly that he "saw darkness all round" that he "could not see light." What created this confusion and myopia, we have not been told. The Muslim League felt itself betrayed, denied the fruits of promises made to it. The leadership of the Congress appeared to have felt exasperated. The public was not taken into confidence. The Delegation of the British Cabinet returned discomfited, though they tried to put the best face on this failure. The Muslim League withrew their acceptance of the May 16, (1946) Plan, and decided on "Direct Action." The shape that they have given to it has taken the Chenghiz Khan or the Halakku pattern, as threatened by Sir Feroze Khan Noon. The people trained under Congress leadership had not been prepared for such a catastrophe; they were caught unready. And they suffered for it. Thus has the hand of the neighbours been turned against one another. The fight against British imperialism got transformed into a civil war in India.—(*Specially contributed by Sri Suresh Chandra Deb*).

Proceedings of

The All India Congress Committee

AND

The Cabinet Mission in India

JANUARY—JUNE 1946

The Indian National Congress

Working Committee—*Bombay,—12th. to 15th. March 1946*

A meeting of the Working Committee was held at Bombay from March 12 to 15, 1946. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad presided. The members present were Shris Sarojini Naidu, Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad, Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Shankar Rao Deo, Govind Ballabh Pant, Profulla Chandra Ghosh, Asaf Ali, Harekrishna Mehtab and J. B. Kripalani. Gandhiji was present at the afternoon sittings of the Committee. The Committee passed the following resolutions:

(1) Food-Crisis

Whereas the war and its after effects have already created a serious food situation which has been materially aggravated by the failure of rains in many parts of India with the result that the country is faced with both food and cloth famine, it is essential that the policy of the Government and the people should be one at this time of crisis. Hunger makes no distinction between high and low Hindu and Muslim, or any other. But the real burden of suffering however, inevitably will fall on the poor. In the circumstances the Working Committee would like to make its policy clear.

1. The first thing in these difficult times is for the people not to lose heart. Everyone should realise his personal duty and perform it to the best of his ability, believing that if everyone acted likewise India will be able to surmount all difficulties with courage and confidence and be able to save thousands of poor lives.

Every villager and townsman should, therefore, do the best he can for his neighbour and for himself.

2. Everyone who possess any land should in the shortest time grow such foodstuffs on it as he can. Cultivable land lying waste should be speedily brought under the plough and every facility should be given for this purpose by the State.

3. After fulfilling his own minimum requirements from his produce he should make the remainder available for others who may be in need.

4. Preference should be given to food crops over money crops wherever practicable.

5. People should sink ordinary wells and dig tanks wherever there is scarcity of water and all facilities for this purpose should be given by the State and local bodies.

6. It is the duty of the rich to-day to live simply and divert their energy and wealth towards productive and constructive activities for the relief of distress.

7. Every effort should be made to secure supplies from abroad, but we should not feel helpless in any case. On the contrary, we must produce all we can in India and be prepared to face all emergencies with the resource available. It must be remembered that even the receipt of additional imports or the raising of additional crops will not serve the purpose in view unless the supplies reach in time the starving places and are equitably distributed there.

8. All food should be economically used and expenditure on occasions of marriages and other ceremonies must be avoided.

9. Processes of canning and preservation of fruits should be encouraged and widely adopted so that full use may be made of all available fruits and no part thereof may be wasted.

10. It is the duty of the State to put all their available resources of man-power, technical skill and mechanical appliances, whether civil or military, for growing, preserving and transporting food to wherever necessary. All exports of cereals, foodstuffs, oilseeds, oilcakes, groundnuts, oil and other edibles should be absolutely prohibited.

11. The State should sink deep wells and adopt other means of water supply wherever necessary. Demobilised and discharged personnel from the defence services including the I. N. A. should be utilised for increasing the production of foodstuffs.

12. The Committee expects the nation to make all necessary sacrifice for relieving distress in the country and for making successful any reasonable schemes of rationing and procurement and any measure for checking hoarding, blackmarketing and corruption that may have to be taken on hand.

13. It is clear that just as it is the duty of the public to co-operate in all helpful ways, so it is the primary duty of the Government to understand and fulfil

the essential needs of the people. Measures for meeting the serious situation cannot be fully successful and effective unless power vests in the people.

14. So far as want of cloth is concerned it is the duty of the State and the people alike to render every assistance to the villagers in order to enable them to produce by their own effort enough Khadi in the villages. The State should provide facilities for cotton growing or cotton itself and instruments of production and instructors where necessary.

15. Congress Committees and Congress men are advised to help in every way to give effect to the recommendations in this resolution.

(2) INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

The Working Committee have noted with grave concern the growing tension in the international situation, resulting in open recrimination between the Great Powers and attempts on their part to secure or hold on to colonial areas and vantage points and create satellite States, which may lead to possible future conflicts. The war that has recently ended has, in spite of the professions made in the course of it, neither ended the imperialist domination of subject countries nor the era of power politics. The old imperialism still continues and in addition new types of imperialism are growing. The recent U. N. O. Conference in London is startling evidence of the fact that instead of a new order of free and united nations evolving, there is disunity among the leading nations and a lack of freedom over vast areas. Oil is still the lure of imperial domination, and security and preservation of the so-called life-lines of empire or strategic outposts are made the excuses for expansion as well as retention of colonial areas. This continuation of the old and discredited policy which has led already to two disastrous World Wars, is likely to result in yet another war, on a more colossal and destructive scale.

It is evident that peace and freedom cannot grow out of these seeds of continuing conflict and war. Imperialist policy has to be discarded not only in the interests of subject nations but also to rid the world of the peril that might overwhelm humanity. It has thus become urgently necessary to end foreign domination over the countries of Asia and Africa, and for foreign armies to be withdrawn from all such countries, and notably from Indonesia, Manchuria, Indo-China, Iran, and Egypt. India still remains the crux of the problem of Asian Freedom and on the independence of India depends the freedom of many countries and the peace of the world.

(3) INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

The Working Committee of the Indian National Congress are of opinion that the disabilities of the Indian settlers in South Africa constitute a blot on humanity and a slur on the civilization of the West. As the submission to his Excellency the Viceroy of the Indian Deputation from South Africa shows, the disabilities are an unbroken tale of progressive prejudice against Asiatics defined as "any Turk and any member of a race or tribe whose national home is in Asia but which does not include any member of the Jewish or Syrian race or a person belonging to the race or class known as the Cape Malay", and of broken promises and declarations. A civilization that requires for its protection a series of legal enactments imposing political and economic restrictions on coloured and Asiatic peoples must contain seeds of future wars and its own destruction.

The Committee are of opinion that the contemplated breach of trade relations between India and the Union of South Africa is the mildest step that the Government of India could have taken. The Committee would ask the Government of India forthwith to withdraw their High Commissioner, if the Union Government would not suspend the proposed legislation, pending the convening of a Round Table Conference between the two governments to consider the whole policy of the Union Government against non-White peoples of the earth.

The Committee are painfully surprised to find Field Marshal Smuts, the Premier of the Union, dismissing, on the untenable plea of regarding the proposed anti-Asiatic bill as a domestic affair, the right of the Indian Government and, by parity of the reasoning, of the other Allied Powers, of friendly intervention. The Committee hold that at this time of the day it is not open to any State, however powerful it may be, to refuse to listen to the public opinion of the world as voiced through its different States with reference to any legislation regarded by them as an inhuman character or as amounting to a slur on the self-respect of the races comprising such a State.

The Committee venture to advise the victorious Allies to take notice of the contemplated action of the Government of South Africa inasmuch as the late war

would have been fought in vain if now the persistence by the Union Government of South Africa in the bar sinister against Asiatic races and coloured people inhabiting that sub-continent is maintained.

To the Indian Deputation from South Africa the Committee would say that whilst they (the Committee) and, indeed, the whole of India, irrespective of parties or communities, are with them in their just struggle and would lend them all the moral weight they can, they should realise that the brunt of the unequal struggle will have to be borne by them, and the Committee feel assured that the Indians in South Africa will worthily carry out the example set by them years ago of vindicating their self-respect and that of the Motherland by the noble rule of self-suffering.

The Committee would, however, fain hope, even at the eleventh hour, that in the place of the indefensible law of the jungle, which the policy as revealed by the contemplated legislation enunciates, the Government of the Union of South Africa and its white settlers would listen to reason and the appeal of the moral law by which mankind lives.

(4) RECENT DISTURBANCES

The Working Committee of the Indian National Congress are of opinion that the recent disurbances created by the people in Bombay, Delhi, Calcutta and other places were in every way harmful and were an obstacle in the way of Congress. These included arson and incendiarism whether of private shops or public places, looting especially destruction of food stuffs, frightening pedestrians, compelling Europeans to remove their hats and otherwise molesting them. All these acts were manifestly against the policy of non-violence adopted by the Congress and were derogatory to national dignity. Whilst there is nothing but unmixed condemnation of popular frenzy, this Committee without prejudging the military action taken in order to deal with the recent outburst of violence, are of opinion that the popular belief, generally and justly, has been that such action has been taken in excess of necessity and in order to strike terror in the hearts of the people and therefore the military have bulleted passers-by or even innocent people, men, women or children standing in their own galleries. Any such action at the present moment, instead of cowing down the populace, has the effect of infuriating it. The Committee, therefore, ask the Government to institute an inquiry into the military action taken in the various places and hope that the inquiry will be open and public and will have on it representatives with judicial qualifications and enjoying public confidence. At the same time the Committee hope that the people will observe restraint befitting the Congress and help the conference between the Cabinet mission and the representatives of the people to carry on their work in a calm atmosphere.

Gandhiji on Food-Crisis

Gandhiji has written a great deal on the present food situation in the country in the 'Harijan' and has also issued statements to the press. He has given several concrete suggestions for meeting the food crisis. The suggestions deserve the closest consideration of the people as also of the government. We give below the full text of some of his statements on the food situation.

"Food situation brought the Private Secretary to H. E. the Viceroy to me. I had many meetings and appointments up to a fairly long time. These I could not disregard and I do not know how to fly and hope I may never have to do so. Therefore, in reply to an imperative invitation from His Excellency, I asked that he should send me someone who could speak for him and so the P. S. V. came yesterday. Food situation alone brought him to me. Could I say something in order to lift the question out of the political arena and out of the general distrust of Government intentions and policy? As the matter brooks no delay I give here the purport of what I said. So far as the Congress policy is concerned His Excellency should invite Maulana Sahib and if he cannot come ask him to name his deputy. I personally feel that the present irresponsible executive should be immediately replaced by a responsible one chosen from the elected members of the Central Legislature. I also personally feel that this responsibility should be shouldered by the elected members of the Central Legislature irrespective of parties, for famine of cloth and food is common to the millions of India. Whether the Government can accept the sugestion and whether the different political parties that compose the Central Legislature consider it practical or not is more than I can say. But this much I can say without fear of contradiction. I have little doubt that if the mercantile community and the official world become honest if only in face of the impending calamity, we are such a vast country that we can just tide over the

difficulty even if no help comes from the outside world, which is itself groaning. Grain and cloth dealers must not hoard, must not speculate. Food should be grown on all cultivable areas wherever water is or is made available. Flower gardens should be used for growing food crops. This has been done during the period of war. The present is, in some respects, worse than the war period. Before we have eaten up the grain we have in stock we must economize like misers. All ceremonial functions should be stopped. Women can play the highest part in the alleviation of the present distress by economizing their households. In nine tenths of our activity we can manage our daily affairs without the aid of the Government, whatever its colour may be, if only it will refrain from interfering with the people. Panic must be avoided at all costs. We must refuse to die before death actually takes toll and think of the skeletons of India and the least little thing we may do to help, and all will be well with India. Let us not hypnotize ourselves into the belief that because we can indulge ourselves our next door neighbour can do likewise. Cloth famine, I know, is a mockery for, if only the Government and mill-owners will act honestly and intelligently, no one need go naked for want of cloth. We have cotton enough and idle hands enough and skill enough to make in our villages all the cloth we need.

II—What Ought to be Done

What ought to be done: Food crisis should be regarded as a certainty, In the circumstances the following things should be attended to at once:

1. Every person should confine his wants regarding food to the minimum, consistent with his or her health requirements; and where, as in cities, milk, vegetables, oil and fruit are available, grains and pulses should be reduced as they easily can be. Starch can be derived from starchy root such as carrots, parnips, potatoes, yam, bananas; the idea being to exclude from present diet and conserve those grains and pulses which can be kept and stored. Vegetables too should not be eaten as an indulgence or for pleasure when millions are denied the use of these things altogether and are threatened with starvation due to storage of cereals and pulses.

2. Everyone who has access to any water should try himself or herself to grow some edible for personal or general use. The easiest way to do so is to collect clean earth, mix it with organic manure where possible—even a little bit dried cowdung is good organic manure—and put it in any earthen or tin pot and throw some seeds of vegetable such as mustard and cress etc., and daily water the pots. They will be surprised how quickly the seeds sprout and give edible leaves which need not even be cooked but can be eaten in the form of salad.

3. All flower gardens should be utilized for growing edibles. And in this connection I would suggest to the Viceroy, Governors and high officials to take the lead. I would ask the heads of agricultural departments at the Centre and Provinces to flood the country with leaflets in the provincial languages telling laymen how and what to grow easily.

4. Reduction should be taken up not merely by the civilian population but equally, if not predominantly, by the military. I say predominantly for the military rank under rigid military discipline can carry our measures of economy.

5. All exports of seeds, such as oil seeds, oil cakes, nuts etc. should be stopped, if they have not been already. Oil cakes, if the seeds are sifted of earth and foreign matter, are good human food with rich protein content.

6. Deep wells should be sunk by the Government wherever possible and required, whether for irrigation or for drinking purposes.

7. Given hearty co-operation by Government servants and the general public, I have not the slighest doubt that the country can tide over the difficulty. Just as panic is the surest way to defeat, so also will be the case when there is widespread distress impending and prompt action is not taken. Let us not think of the causes of the distress. Whatever the cause, the fact is that if the Government and the public do not approach the crisis patiently and courageously, disaster is a certainty. We must fight this foreign Government on all other fronts except this one, and even on this we shall fight them if they betray callousness or contempt for reasoned public opinion. In this connection I invite the public to share my opinion that we should accept Government professions at their face value and believe that Swaraj is within sight inside of a few months.

8. Above all, black-marketing and dishonesty should disappear altogether and willing co-operation between all parties should be the order of the day in so far as this crisis is concerned.

III—Famine of Grain and Cloth

During my wanderings in Bengal, Assam and Madras, I heard tales of distress due to shortage of food and cloth. Reports come to me from other parts of India. They support the same tale. Dr. Rajendraprasad tells me that the Government report expressing fear of shortage of food immediately doubled the market price. This is a bad sign. Such speculation should be a thing of the past. The mercantile community should be competent to curb such greed. Let them not add to the distress caused by the Government mistakes or incompetence. There are mercantile associations and chambers. If they act patriotically, they can help most to prevent panic and speculation.

It is the fashion to blame nature for famine. Scarcity of rain is by no means a monopoly of India. In other countries, though people welcome rains they have made themselves fairly independent of rainfall during a season or two. Here, Government have used themselves and the public to the idea that famines come when there is shortage of water-fall. Had the mind been framed otherwise, they would have made adequate provision for short-falls. They only tinkered with the problem and naturally so. For, the official world was taught to think no better. Originality there could be none in a close monopoly organization like the Government of India. It is the largest autocracy the world has known. Democracy has been reserved only for Great Britain. And when it rules and exploits millions belonging to other races, it becomes an unmitigated evil. It corrupts the whole island with the idea that such exploitation is the best thing for an enlightened democracy to do. It would be well to remember this fundamental fact, if I have correctly estimated it. If we recognize this, while dealing with the immediate problem we shall be patient with the present actors. There is no call here for patience with the evil. The distinction will enable us the better to deal with the evil.

We must then first put our own house in order as far as may be, and at the same time demand from the foreign Government that since they mean what they say, let them at once replace the irresponsible executive with elected and responsible members from the Central Legislature, however archaic and based only on a limited franchise it may be. There is nothing to prevent the Viceroy from doing this today. I do not propose to answer the difficulties in anticipation. "Where there's a will, there's a way." This one act will restore confidence and allay panic.

"Grow more food" was not a bad cry during the war. It is a greater necessity now. This can be best done only by a national executive. Even its mistakes will not loom so large as those of a nominated executive, however able the latter may be. As it is, even their ability and integrity are in question—rightly so or wrongly is beside the point in this connection. Everything possible should be done to draw water from the bowels of the earth. There is talent enough in this country for the purpose. Provincial selfishness should give place to the national want.

In addition to, not in the place of these measures, grain should be imported from wherever it can be had.

Cloth famine can and ought to be averted by telling the millions to spin and weave in their own villages, the State supplying them with cotton where it is not grown or available and with the simple instruments of production on hire or long-term purchase. The A. I. S. A. with its seasoned workers should be summoned to render assistance and guidance. This will take a few months, if the work is taken up in earnest. Indigenous mills will be called upon to assist this national process by a wise distribution of their cloth in cities and villages while the transition process is going on. Argumentation on the capacity of mills to supply all the cloth required should cease in face of the calamity which is existent and daily growing in intensity. Mills cannot find employment for the millions of unemployed villagers. The educative value of the charkha is not to be surpassed. But for the spell of hypnotism which rules our minds today, we shall all realize this obvious truth, set ourselves working out the concrete proposition and thereby restore confidence to the millions and may be even to the world which has neither enough food nor cloth.

Recent Disturbances

Recent disturbances in Bombay brought forth from Gandhiji statements which throw valuable light on the non-violent 'technique' for the freedom struggle. One of these is in reply to the reported statement of Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali.

"I have followed the events now happening in India with painful interests. This mutiny in the Navy and what is following is not, in any sense of the term, non-violent action. Inasmuch as a single person is compelled to shout 'Jai Hind'

or any popular slogan, a nail is driven into the coffin of Swaraj in terms of the dumb millions of India. Destruction of churches and the like is not the way to Swaraj as defined by the Congress. Burning of tramcars and other property, insulting and injuring Europeans, is not non-violence of the Congress type, much less mine, if and in so far as it may be different from the Congress. Let the known and unknown leaders of this thoughtless orgy of violence know what they are doing and then follow their bent. Let it not be said that India of the Congress spoke to the world of winning Swaraj through non-violent action and belied her word in action and that too at the critical period in her life. I have deliberately used the adjective 'thoughtless'. For, there is such a thing as thoughtful violent action. What I see happening now is not thoughtful. If the Indian members of the Navy know and appreciate non-violence, the way of non-violent assistance can be dignified, manly and wholly effective, if it is corporate. For the individual it always is. Why should they continue to serve if service is humiliating for them or India? Action like this I have called non-violent non-co-operation. As it is, they are setting a bad and unbecoming example for India.

A combination between Hindus and Muslims and others for the purpose of violent action is unholy and will lead to and probably is a preparation for mutual violence—bad for India and the world.

The rulers have declared their intention to 'quit' in favour of Indian rule. Let the action be not delayed by a moment because of the exhibition of distressful unrest which has been lying hidden in the breast. Their might is unquestioned. Its use beyond the bare requirement will be unworthy and even wicked if it is made to suppress the people or a portion of them. The people have been far too long under the foreign heel.

II

I congratulate Shrimati Aruna Asaf Ali on her courageous refutation of my statement on the happenings in Bombay. Except for the fact that she represents not only herself but also a fairly large body of underground workers, I would not have noticed her refutation, if only because she is a daughter of mine—not less so because not born to me or because she is a rebel. I had the pleasure of meeting her on several occasions while she was underground. I admired her bravery, resourcefulness and burning love of the country. But my admiration stopped there. I did not like her being underground. I do not appreciate any underground activity. I know that millions cannot go underground. Millions need not. A select few may fancy that they will bring Swaraj to the millions by secretly directing their activity. Will this not be spoon-feeding? Only open challenge and open activity is for all to follow. Real Swaraj must be felt by all—man, woman and child. To labour for that consummation is true revolution. India has become a pattern for all exploited races of the earth, because India's has been an open, unarmed effort which demands sacrifice from all without inflicting injury on the usurper. The millions in India would not have been awakened but for the open, unarmed struggle. Every deviation from the straight path has meant a temporary arrest of the evolutionary revolution.

I do not read the 1942 events as does the brave lady. It was good that the people rose spontaneously. It was bad that some or many resorted to violence. It makes no difference that Shri Kishorlal Mashuruwala, Kakasaheb and other workers, in their impatient zeal for the moment, misinterpreted non-violence. That they did so, only shows how delicate an instrument non-violence is. My analogy is not meant to cast any reflection on any person. Everyone acted as he or she thought best. Supineness in the face of overwhelming organized violence would have meant cowardice. I would be weak and wrong if I failed to give my estimate of the doings of 1942.

Aruna would "rather unite Hindus and Muslims at the barricade than on the constitution front." Even in terms of violence, this is a misleading proposition. If the union at the barricade is honest, there must be union also at the constitutional front. Fighters do not always live at the barricade. They are too wise to commit suicide. The barricade life has always to be followed by the constitutional. That front is not taboo for ever.

Emphatically it betrays want of foresight to disbelieve British declarations and precipitate a quarrel in anticipation. Is the official deputation coming to deceive a great nation? It is neither manly nor womanly to think so. What would be lost by waiting? Let the official deputation prove for the last time that British declarations are unreliable. The nation will gain by trusting. The deceiver loses when there is correct response from the deceived.

Let us face facts. The coming mission is claimed to be a friendly mission, entertaining the hope that they will discover a constitutional method of delivery. The problem is knotty, probably the knottiest that has ever confronted statesmen. It is possible that the mission will put forth an insoluble conundrum. So much the worse for them. If they are intent upon finding an honest way out of the difficulties of their own creation, I have no doubt there is a way. But the nation too has to play the game. It it does, the barricade must be left aside, at least for the time being. I appeal to Aruna and her friends to make wise use of the power their bravery and sacrifice has given them.

It is a matter of great relief that the rating have listened to Sardar Patel's advice to surrender. They have not surrendered their honour. So far as I can see, in resorting to mutiny they were badly advised. If it was for grievance, fancied or real, they should have waited for the guidance and intervention of political leaders of their choice. If they mutinied for the freedom of India they were doubly wrong. They could not do so without a call from a prepared revolutionary party. They were thoughtless and ignorant if they believed that by their might, they would deliver India from foreign domination.

Aruna is right when she says that the fighters this time showed grit as never before. But grit becomes foolhardiness when it is untimely and suicidal as this was.

She is entitled to say that the people "are not interested in the ethics of violence", but the people are very much interested in knowing the way which will bring freedom to the mass—violence or non-violence. The people have, however imperfectly, hitherto gone the way of non-violence. Aruna and her comrades have to ask themselves every time whether the non-violent way has or has not raised India from her slumber of ages and created in them a yearning, very vague perhaps, for Swaraj. There is, in my opinion, only one answer.

There are other passages in Shrimati Aruna's statement which, as it appears to me, betray confusion of thought. But their treatment can wait.

Needless to say that I have dealt with the message believing it to represent her opinion. If it does not, I apologize to her in advance. My argument however, is not affected even if it is found that the reporter has not correctly interpreted her. For my argument is, after all, impersonal and directed only to the portions which are calculated to mislead the public, irrespective of their authorship.

Mrs. Asaf Ali's Press Interview

The following is the press interview referred to above by Gandhiji.

Mrs. Asaf Ali stated at a press conference that she would guarantee, despite the anti-social elements, to bring all disturbances to an end if only the British military forces were with-drawn from the City and the ban on meetings removed.

She regretted very much that Gandhiji should have called this combination of Hindus and Muslims for the purpose of violence unholy. She said that she would rather unite the Hindus and the Muslims at the barricade than on the constitutional front. This unity is more politically sound than the one based on political and other concessions. The anti-British front is the only front on which Hindu-Muslim unity if it is to be genuine and lasting and not patched up can be achieved.

Mrs. Asaf Ali added that she was unable to understand Gandhiji calling upon the R. I. N. ratings to resign if their condition was humiliating. If they did that they would have to give up their only means of livelihood. Moreover they were fighting for principles. If they resigned now there would be hundreds in these days of unemployment to take their places, who would be subjected to the same discrimination and treatment and the R. I. N. ratings would not have achieved anything. It simply does not lie in the mouth of Congressmen who were themselves going to the legislatures to ask the ratings to give up their jobs. It does not help the cause of the country at all.

"Gandhiji further says," said Mrs. Asaf Ali, "that the rulers have declared their intention to 'quit' in favour of Indian rule. This statement is not borne out by facts. If the I. N. A., Netaji Day and the Present R. I. N. disturbances are a prelude to their quitting, then it is really a grim way of giving up their rule. The way of renunciation is the way of the Sanyasi and not of the Bren Gun and the bullet. The people are no more interested in the ethics of violence and non-violence. They just want to resist oppression. They are no more cowards. They face bullets as they never have faced lathi charges before. They have adopted a certain amount of recklessness in their resistance. They are dying but do not complain. 1942 has given the people a new life."

The Cabinet Mission in India

New Delhi—23rd. March to 29th. June 1946

In January 1946, a Parliamentary delegation, representative of all political parties in Britain and members of the House of Commons and Lords, visited India and toured through the country studying the Indian situation, gathering from friendly and non-partisan approach to every school of politics in Indian experience, good, bad or indifferent. When they returned they must have spoken of these, of the revolutionary and violent possibilities in what they saw and heard in India. The Labour Government seemed to have been impressed, and announced the proposal for the Cabinet delegation to India with a view to help Indian politicians make up their differences and agree amongst themselves to work an "instrument of decision" that will enable them to receive political power that would not be "incompatible in any way to the sovereign dignity of India", to quote the words of Sir Stafford Cripps, a member of the Delegation, in a statement made at Karachi on March 23, 1946.

Announcement by the Secretary of State

House of Lords—19th. February 1946

On February 19, 1946 Lord Pethick Lawrence, the Secretary of State for India announced the decision of the British Cabinet in the House of Commons to send to India a Cabinet Mission consisting of the Secretary of State for India Lord Pethick Lawrence, The President of the Board of Trade Sir Stafford Cripps and the First Lord of the Admiralty Mr. A. V. Alexander to discuss with representatives of India the positive steps to be taken for giving effect to the programme outlined in the Viceroy's speech on 17th February 1946 on the eve of the Provincial and Central Assembly elections. The announcement read :

"The House will recall that on 19th September, 1945, on his return to India after discussions with the British Government, the Viceroy made a statement of policy in the course of which he outlined the positive steps to be taken immediately after the Central and Provincial elections to promote, in conjunction with leaders of Indian opinion, early realisation of full Self-Government in India.

"Those steps include : first, preparatory discussions with elected representatives of British India and with Indian States in order to secure the widest measure of agreement as to the method of framing a Constitution.

"Second, the setting up of a Constitution-making body and third, the bringing into being of an Executive Council having the support of the main Indian parties.

"Elections at the Centre were held at the end of last year and in some of the provinces they are also over and responsible Government are in the process of formation. In other provinces, polling dates are spread over the next few weeks. With the approach of the end of the electoral campaign, the British Government have been considering the most fruitful method of giving effect to the programme to which I have referred.

"In view of the paramount importance, not only to India and to the British Commonwealth, but to the peace of the world, of a successful outcome of discussions with leaders of Indian opinion the British Government have decided with the approval of His Majesty the King to send out to India a special mission of Cabinet Ministers consisting of the Secretary of State for India (Lord Pethick Lawrence), the President of the Board of Trade (Sir Stafford Cripps) and the First Lord of the Admiralty (Mr. A. V. Alexander) to act in association with the Viceroy in this matter."

Prime Minister's Statement

House of Commons—15th. March 1946

On March 15, 1946 the Prime Minister Clement Attlee explained the British Government's policy behind their decision to send a Cabinet delegation to India. The following is the text of the speech :—

"I find from our friends in this House who had been out to India and returned, from letters received from Indians and from Englishmen in India of all points of view, complete agreement on the fact that India is today in a state of great tension and that this is indeed a critical moment. At the present moment the idea of nationalism is running very fast in India and indeed all over Asia.

"Mr. Butler did not suggest that the Government should publish any exact terms of reference of the Mission. We have set out the general purposes and it is our intention that they should be given as free a hand as possible.

"I am quite sure that everyone in this House realises the difficulty of the task which the members of the Mission have undertaken in conjunction with the Viceroy and that no one will desire to say anything whatever that will make that task more difficult.

"I entirely agree with Mr. Butler in saying that the Mission should go out in a positive mood. That, indeed, is the mood in which they are undertaking this Mission."

Mr. Attlee said : "I thank Mr. Butler for his very helpful, wise and constructive speech. He has done great service in Indian affairs for many years and he comes of a family that has given many most distinguished public servants

"I think that the tone in which he addressed the House is just what is needed today at this critical stage in the relationship of these two countries at a time of very high tension.

'It is time emphatically for very definite and clear action. I do not intend to make a long speech. I do not think it would be wise to do so and in particular it would be most unhelpful to review the past. It is so easy to go back over the past and in accordance with one's predictions to apportion blame for past failures in long drawn-out discussions on this extraordinarily difficult problem—the problem of development of India to a completely self-governing nation

"In the long period of the past, it is so easy to point out and say that at this stage or that stage opportunities were missed by faults on one side or the other.

"I have had very close connection with this problem for nearly 20 years and I say there have been faults on both sides, but this time, we should look to the future rather than harp back to the past. Thus I would say : It is not good applying the formula of the past to the present position. The temperature of 1946 is not the temperature of 1920, 1930 or even 1942. The slogans of earlier days are discarded. Sometimes, words that seemed at that time to Indians to express the height of their aspirations are now set on one side and other words and ideas thrust forward.

"Nothing increases the pace and movement of public opinion more than a great war. Everyone who had anything to do with this question in the early days between the war knows what effect the war of 1914 18 had on Indian aspirations and ideas. The tide that runs comparatively slowly in peace, in war-time becomes vastly accelerated and especially directly afterwards, because that tide is to some extent banked up during war.

"I am quite certain that at the present time the idea of nationalism is running very fast in India and indeed all over Asia.

"One always has to remember that India is affected by what happens elsewhere in Asia. I remember when I was on the Simon Commission what effect the challenge that had been thrown out by Japan at that time had had on the Asiatic people ; and the tide of nationalism that at one time seemed to be canalised among a comparatively small portion of the people of India mainly a few of the educated classes, has tended to spread wider and wider.

"I remember that in the Simon Commission report that although there were great differences in expression of the nationalistic sentiment between what were called extremist and moderates and although in many instances there might be such stress of communal claims as may seem almost to exclude the conception of nationalism yet we found that Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Maratthas, politicians or civil servants—among all of them conception of nationalism had

been growing stronger and stronger and today I think that the national idea has spread right through, not the least perhaps among some of those soldiers who had done such wonderful service in the war.

"I would like today, therefore, not to stress so much the differences between the Indians, but let us all realise that whatever the difficulties and divisions may be there is this underlying demand among all the Indian people.

"There will be matters undoubtedly on which it is necessary to refer back but the position at the present time is that when we desire to get the utmost co operation and goodwill between all leaders of Indian opinion it would be unwise to try and tie down those who are going out too rigidly.

"The obvious reason for sending out the Cabinet Ministers is that you send out persons of responsibility who are able to take decisions. Of course, there must be an area in which there may have to be a reference back."

Mr. Butler had stressed the great part India had played in the war. "It is worth remembering" said Mr. Attlee, "that twice in 25 years India has played a great part in the defeat of tyranny. Therefore, is it any wonder that today she claims—a nation of 400,000,000 people that twice sent her sons to die for freedom—that she should herself have freedom to decide her own destiny. (cheers).

"My colleagues are going to India with the intention of using their utmost endeavours to help her to attain that freedom as speedily and fully as possible. What form of government is to replace the present regime is for India to decide, but our desire is to help her to set up forthwith a machinery for making that decision.

"There you have met with the initial difficulty of getting that machinery set up but we are resolved that a machinery shall be set up and we seek the utmost co-operation of all Indian leaders to do so.

"India herself must choose as to what will be her future situation and her position in the world. Unity may come through the United Nations or through the Commonwealth but no great nation can stand alone by hereself without sharing what is happening in the world. I hope that India may elect to remain within the British Commonwealth. I am certain that she will find great advantage in doing so, but if she does, she must do it of her own free will, for the British Commonwealth and Empire is not bound together by chains of external compulsion. It is a free association of free people.

"If on the other hand she elects for independence—and in our view she has a right to do so—it will be for us to help to make the transition as smooth and easy as posible."

Mr. Attlee continued: "We have united India and given her that sense of nationality which she largely lacked in the previous centuries and she has learnt from us principles of democracy and justice.

"When the Indians attack our rule they base their attack not on Indian principles, but on the basis of standards derived from Britain."

Mr. Attlee said he was impressed by an incident which occurred when he recently visited the United States. He was having dinner with a number of distinguished Indians and the talk turned on the way in which principles worked out in Britain were applied on the continent of America. It was pointed out that America had a great heritage from Britain, the Premier added.

"But my Indian friend said that Americans sometimes forgot that there was another great nation that had inherited those principles and that was India. We feel we have a duty, right and privilege, because we also bring to the world and work those principles that were evolved in Britain.

"I am well aware that when I speak of India I speak of a country containing congeries of races, religions and languages and I know well the difficulties thereby created but these difficulties can only be overcome by Indians, the Prime Minister went on.

"We cannot dictate how these difficulties shall be overcome. Our first duty is to get a machinery of decision set up and that is the main purpose of the Ministerial Mission and the Viceroy.

"We want to see set up an interim government—one of the purposes of the Bill which has been discussed today—to give the Viceroy greater freedom in order that in the period which is to elapse while a constitution is being worked out, you may have a government enjoying the greatest possible support in India. I would not like to fetter the Viceroy's decision in any way in regard to the choice of portfolios.

"In many Indian States, great advance has been made and there is a most interes-

ting experiment in Travancore. Of course, feelings in India with regard to nationalism cannot be confined by boundaries that separate the States from the provinces.

"I am hoping that statesmen of Britain and of princely India will be able to work out a solution of the problem of bringing together the various constituent parts and there again we must see that Indian States find their due place. I do not believe for a moment that the Indian princes would lag behind in the forward march of India.

"This is a matter which Indians will settle themselves. I am very well aware of the minority problem in India. I think all Indian leaders are realising more and more the need for getting a settlement of these minority problems if India is to have a smooth passages in future years and I believe that due provision will be made for them in the Constitution.

The Mission will certainly not neglect this point. But you cannot make Indians responsible for governing themselves and at the same time retain over here the responsibility for treatment of minorities and powers of intervention on their behalf.

"We are mindful too of the position of the services and of the men who have done great service to India. India should be sensible of the responsibility she has to those who have served her,

"The Government which takes over the assets of the Government will also take over the liabilities. That again is a point to be dealt with later on. It does not concern the immediate setting up of the instrument of decision.

"With regard to the treaty, we are not going to hang out for anything for our own advantage which would be to the disadvantage of India.

"Let me stress again the crucial nature of the task before us. This problem is of vital importance not only to India and the British Commonwealth and Empire but to the world. In the mass of Asia, an Asia ravaged by war, we have here the one country that has been seeking to apply the principles of democracy, I have always felt myself that political India might be the light of Asia. It is most unfortunate cirmumstances that just at the time when we have to deal with these great political issues there should be grave economic difficulties. In particular we have very grave anxiety over India's food supply.

"The House knows that the British Government are deeply concerned in this problem and the Minister of Food is now over in the United States with the Indian Delegation. We shall do our utmost to help India.

"I do not think I should refer to the social and economic difficulties except to say that I believe that these difficulties can only be solved by Indians themselves because they are so closely bound up with the whole Indian way of life and outlook. Whatever we can do to assist we shall do. My colleagues are going out to India resolved to succeed and I am sure everyone will wish them god speed."

Tripartite Correspondence

New Delhi—27th. April to 12th. May 1946

The members of the Cabinet Mission arrived in India on March 23 and began their work with a series of interviews with the leaders of communal and political parties. The Mission as it said had no concrete proposals to place before the leaders. The talks were therefore as they said of a general and exploratory nature. On April 27, after the talks were over the following letter was received by the Congress President and the Muslim League President from the Cabinet Delegation :—

From Lord Pethick Lawrence to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Mr. Jinnah dated 2.th. April 1946 :—

The Cabinet Mission and His Excellency the Viceroy have carefully reviewed the opinions expressed to them by the various representatives they have interviewed and have come to the conclusion that they should make one further attempt to obtain agreement between the Muslim League and the Congress.

They realise that it would be useless to ask the two Parties to meet unless they were able to place before them a basis of negotiation which could lead to such an agreement.

I am therefore asked to invite the Muslim League to send four negotiators to meet the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy together with a similar number from

the Congress Working Committee with a view to discussing the possibility of agreement upon a scheme based upon the following fundamental principles.

The future constitutional structure of British India to be as follows :—

A Union Government dealing with the following subjects :

Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications. There will be two groups of Provinces, the one of the predominantly Hindu Provinces and the other of the predominantly Muslim Provinces, dealing with all other subjects which the provinces in the respective groups desire to be dealt with in common. The Provincial Governments will deal with all other subjects and will have all the residuary Sovereign rights.

It is contemplated that the Indian States will take their appropriate place in this structure on terms to be negotiated with them.

I would point out that we do not think it either necessary or desirable further to elaborate these principles as all other matters could be dealt with in the course of the negotiations.

If the Muslim League and Congress are prepared to enter into negotiations on this basis, you will perhaps be so good as to let me know the names of the four people appointed to negotiate on their behalf. As soon as I receive these I will let you know the locus of the negotiations which will in all probability be in Simla, where the climate will be more temperate.

Maulana Azad's Reply to Lord Pethick Lawrence, 28th. April 1946

The Working Committee of the Congress considered the proposals embodied in the foregoing letter. The following reply was sent to Lord Pethick Lawrence on the 28th. April 1946 :—

I thank you for your letter of April 27th. I have consulted my colleagues of the Congress Working Committee in regard to the suggestion made by you, and they desire me to inform you that they have always been willing to discuss fully any matters concerning the future of India with representatives of the Muslim League or any other organisation. I must point out, however, that the "fundamental principles" which you mention require amplification and elucidation in order to avoid any misunderstanding.

As you are aware, we have envisaged a Federal Union of autonomous units. Such a Federal Union must of necessity deal with certain essential subjects of which defence and its allied subjects are the most important. It must be organic and must have both an executive and legislative machinery as well as the finance relating to these subjects and the power to raise revenues for these purposes in its own right. Without these functions and powers it would be weak and disjointed and defence and progress in general would suffer. Thus among the common subjects in addition to Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications, there should be Currency, Customs, Tariffs and such other subjects as may be found on close scrutiny to be intimately allied to them.

Your reference to two groups of Provinces, the one of the predominantly Hindu Provinces and the other of the predominantly Muslim Provinces, is not clear. The only predominantly Muslim Provinces are the North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan. Bengal and Punjab have a bare Muslim majority. We consider it wrong to form groups of Provinces under the Federal Union and more so on religious or communal basis. It also appears that you leave no choice to a Province in the matter of joining or not joining a group. It is by no means certain that a Province as constituted would like to join any particular group. In any event it would be wholly wrong to compel a Province to function against its own wish. While we agree to the Provinces having full powers in regard to all remaining subjects as well as the residuary powers, we have also stated that it should be open to any Province to exercise its option to have more common subjects with the Federal Union. Any sub-federation within the Federal Union would weaken the Federal Centre and would be otherwise wrong. We do not, therefore, favour any such development.

Regarding the Indian States we should like to make it clear that we consider it essential that they should be parts of the Federal Union in regard to the Common subjects mentioned above. The manner of their coming into the Union can be considered fully later.

You have referred to certain "fundamental principles" but there is no mention of the basic issue before us, that is, Indian independence and the consequent with-

drawal of the British army from India. It is only on this basis that we can discuss the future of India, or any interim arrangement.

While we are ready to carry on negotiations with any party as to the future of India, we must state our conviction that reality will be absent from any negotiations whilst an outside ruling power still exists in India,

I have asked three of my colleagues of the Congress Working Committee, namely, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan to accompany me in any negotiations that may take place as a result of your suggestion.

Mr. Jinnah's Reply to Lord Pethick-Lawrence, 29th. April 1946.

I thank you for your letter of the 27th April, which I placed before my Working Committee yesterday morning.

My colleagues and I fully appreciate the further attempt that the Cabinet Mission and His Excellency the Viceroy are making to bring about an agreement between the Muslim League and the Congress by proposing a meeting of the representatives of the two organisations for the purpose of negotiating an agreement. They, however, desire me to invite your attention to the position taken up by the Muslim League since the passing of the Lahore Resolution in 1940 and, thereafter, successively endorsed by the All-India Muslim League sessions and again by the convention of the Muslim League legislators, as recently as the 9th of April, 1946, as per copy enclosed. The Working Committee desire to point out that many important matters, both of principle and detail, in your brief letter, require elucidation and clarification, which in their opinion, can be achieved at the meeting proposed by you.

Therefore, without prejudice or commitment, the Working Committee, in their anxiety to assist in finding an agreed solution of the Indian constitutional problem, have authorised me to nominate three representatives on behalf of the Muslim League to participate in the negotiations. The following are the four names : 1. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, 2. Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan, 3. Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, and 4. Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar."

From Lord Pethick-Lawrence to Maulana Azad, 29th. April, 1946.

Lord Pethick Lawrence in his reply clarified the scope and intention of the proposed conference :

Thank you for your letter of 28th April, The Cabinet Delegation are very glad to know that the Congress agree to enter the joint discussion with representatives of the Muslim League and ourselves.

We have taken note of the views you have expressed on behalf of the Working Committee of Congress. These appear to deal with matters which can be discussed at the Conference, for we have never contemplated that acceptance by Congress and the Muslim League of our invitation would imply as a preliminary condition full approval by them of the terms set out in my letter. These terms are our proposed basis for a settlement, and what we have asked the Congress Working Committee to do is to send its representatives to meet ourselves and representatives of the Muslim League in order to discuss it.

Assuming that the Muslim League, whose reply we expect to receive in the course of the afternoon, also accept our invitation, we propose that these discussions should be held at Simla, and intend to move there ourselves on Wednesday next. We hope that you will be able to arrange for the Congress representatives to be in Simla in time to open the discussions on the morning of Thursday, May 2nd."

Lord Pethick-Lawrence to Mr. Jinnah, 29th. April, 1946.

Thank you for your letter of the 29th April. The Cabinet Delegation are very glad to know that the Muslim League agree to enter the joint discussion with the representatives of the Congress and ourselves. I am glad to say I have received a letter from the President of the Congress to say that they are also willing to participate in the proposed discussions and have nominated Maulana Azad, Pandit Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan as their representatives,

We have taken note of the resolution of the Muslim League to which you draw our attention. We have never contemplated that acceptance by the Muslim League and the Congress of our invitation would imply. as a preliminary condition, full approval by them of the terms set out in my letter. These terms are our proposed basis for a settlement and what we have asked the Muslim League Working Com-

mittee to do is to agree to send its representatives to meet ourselves and representatives of the Congress in order to discuss it.

We propose that these discussions should be held at Simla and intend to move there ourselves on Wednesday next. We hope that you will be able to arrange for the Muslim League representatives to be in Simla in time to open the discussions on the morning of Thursday, May 2nd.

The Tripartite Conference

Simla—5th. May to 12th. May 1946

The four Congress representatives, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan moved up to Simla to participate in the proposed Conference. At the request of the Working Committee and the Cabinet Mission Gandhiji too proceeded to Simla. The Muslim League representatives headed by Mr. Jinnah also attended.

The Conference between the representatives of the Congress, the Cabinet delegation and the Viceroy and the representatives of the Muslim League commenced on May 5 and ended on May 12.

CORRESPONDENCE AND DOCUMENTS CONNECTED WITH THE CONFERENCE

AGENDA ISSUED BY THE MISSION

1. Groups of Provinces—
   (a) Composition.
   (b) Method of deciding Group subjects.
   (c) Character of Group organisation.
2. Union—
   (a) Union subjects.
   (b) Character of Union Constitution.
   (c) Finance.
3. Constitution-making Machinery.
   (a) Composition
   (b) Functions
      (i) in respect of Union
      (ii) in respect of Groups
      (iii) in respect of Provinces.

Letter from the President of Congress to Lord Pethick-Lawrence, dated 6th May 1946.

My colleagues and I followed with care the proceedings of the conference yesterday and I tried to understand what our conversations were leading up to. I confess to feeling somewhat mystified and disturbed at the vagueness of our talks and some of the assumptions underlying them. While we would like to associate ourselves with every effort to explore ways and means of finding a basis for agreement, we must not deceive ourselves, the Cabinet Mission or the representatives of the Muslim League into the belief that the way the conference has so far proceeded furnishes hope of success. Our general approach to the questions before us was stated briefly in my letter to you of April 28th. We find that this approach has been largely ignored and a contrary method has been followed. We realise that some assumptions have to be made in the early stages as otherwise there can be no progress. But assumptions which ignore or run contrary to fundamental issues are likely to lead to understanding during the later stages.

In my letter of April 28th, I stated that the basic issue before us was that of Indian Independence and the consequent withdrawal of the British army from India, for there can be no independence so long as there is a foreign army on Indian soil. We stand for the independence of the whole of India now and not in the distant or near future. Other matters are subsidiary to this and can be fitly discussed and decided by the Constituent Assembly.

At the conference yesterday I referred to this again and we were glad to find that you and your colleagues, as well as the other members of the conference, accepted Indian Independence as the basis of our talks. It was stated by you that the Constituent Assembly would finally decide about the nexus or other relationship that might be established between a free India and England. While it is perfectly true, it does not affect the position now, and that is the acceptance of Indian Independence now.

If that is so then certain consequences inevitably follow. We felt yesterday that there is no appreciation of these consequences. A Constituent Assembly is not going to decide the question of independence ; that question must be and, we take it, has been decided now. That Assembly will represent the will of the free Indian nation and give effect to it. It is not going to be bound by any previous arrangements. It has to be preceded by a Provisional Government which must function, as far as possible, as a government of free India, and should undertake to make all arrangements for the transitional period.

In our discussion yesterday repeated references were made to "groups" of Provinces functioning together, and it was even suggested that such group would have an executive and legislative machinery. This method of grouping has not so far been discussed by us but still our talks seemed to presume all this. I should like to make it very clear that we are entirely opposed to any executive or legislative machinery for a group of Provinces or units of the Federation. That will mean a sub-federation, if not something more, and we have already told you that we do not accept this. It would result in creating three layers of executive and legislative bodies, an arrangement which will be cumbrous, static and disjointed, leading to continuous friction. We are not aware of any such arrangements in any country.

We are emphatically of opinion that it is not open to the conference to entertain any suggestions for a division of India. If this is to come, it should come through the Constituent Assembly free from any influence of the present governing power.

Another point we wish to make clear is that we do not accept the proposal for parity as between groups in regard to the executive or legislature. We realise that everything possible should be done to remove fears and suspicions from the mind of every group and community. But the way to do this is not by unreal methods which go against the basic principles of democracy on which we hope to build up our constitution.

Letter from Lord Pethick-Lawrence to the President of the Muslim League and the Congress, dated 8th May 1946.

My colleagues and I have been thinking over the best method of laying before the Conference what in our judgment seems the most likely basis of agreement as shown by the deliberations so far.

We have come to the conclusion that it will be for the convenience of the parties if we commit this to writing and send them confidential copies before the Conference meets again.

We hope to be in a position to let you have this in the course of the morning. But as this will give you too short a time to study it adequately before the proposed resumption of the Conference at 3 o'clock this afternoon, I feel sure that you will agree that the meeting be postponed until the same hour (3 o'clock) tomorrow afternoon, Thursday, 9th May, and I hope that you will concur in this change of time which we are convinced is in the interests of all parties.

Letter from the Private Secretary to Lord Pethick Lawrence to the President of the Congress and the Muslim League dated 8th. May 1946 :

With reference to the Secretary of State's letter to you this morning the Cabinet Delegation wish me to send to you the enclosed document which is the paper to which the Secretary of State referred. The Delegation propose that this paper should be discussed at the next meeting to be held on Thursday afternoon at 3 p m. if that is agreeable to the Congress/Muslim League delegates.

SUGGESTED POINTS FOR AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE REPRESENTATIVES OF CONGRESS AND THE MUSLIM LEAGUE

1. There shall be an All-India Union Government and Legislature dealing with Foreign Affairs, Defence, Communications, Fundamental Rights and having the necessary powers to obtain for itself the finances it requires for these subjects.

2. All the remaining powers shall vest in the Provinces.

3. Groups of Provinces may be formed and such groups may determine the Provincial subjects which they desire to take in common.

4. The groups may set up their own Executives and Legislatures.

5. The Legislature of the Union shall be composed of equal proportions from the Muslim-majority Provinces and from the Hindu-majority Provinces whether or not these or any of them have formed themselves into groups together with representatives of the States.

6. The Government of the Union shall be constituted in the same proportion as the Legislature.

7. The constitutions of the Union and the groups (if any) shall contain a provision whereby any Province can by a majority vote of its legislative assembly call for a reconsideration of the terms of the constitution after an initial period of 10 years and at 10 yearly intervals thereafter.

For the purpose of such reconsidertion a body shall be constituted on the same basis as the original Constituent Assembly and with the same provisions as to voting, and shall have power to amend the constitution in any way decided upon.

8. The constitution-making machinery to arrive at a constitution on the above basis shall be as follows :—

A. Representatives shall be elected from each Provincial Assembly in proportion to the strengths of the various parties in that assembly on the basis of 1/10th of their numbers.

B. Representatives shall be invited from the States on the basis of their population in proportion to the representation from British India.

C. The Constituent Assembly so formed shall meet at the earliest date possible in New Delhi.

D. After its preliminary meeting at which the general order of business will be settled it will divide into three sections, one section representing the Hindu-majority Provinces. one section representing the Muslim-majority Provinces and one representing the States.

E. The first two sections will then meet separately to decide the Provincial constitutions for their group and, if they wish, a group constitution.

F. When these have been settled it will be open to any Province to decide to opt out of its original group and into the other group or to remain outside any group.

G. Thereafter the three bodies will meet together to settle the constitution for the Union on the lines agreed in paragraphs 1—7 above.

H. No major point in the Union constitution which affects the communal issue shall be deemed to be passed by the Assembly unless a majority of both the two major communities vote in its favour.

9. The Viceroy shall forthwith call together the above constitution-making machinery which shall be governed by the provisions stated in paragraph 8 above.

From Mr. Jinnah to Lord Pethick-Lawrence, 8th. May, 1946 :—

"I have now received the letter of your Private Secretary, dated 8th May, 1946, and the enclosed document to which you had referred in your earlier letter of 8th May, 1946. It is proposed by you that this "paper" be discussed at the next meeting of the Conference to be held on Thursday afternoon at 3 P.M. if this is agreeable to the Muslim League Delegation.

Your proposal embodied in your letter of 27th April, 1946, runs as follows :—

'"A Union Government dealing with the following subjects :—Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications. There will be two Groups of provinces, the one of the predominantly Hindu provinces and the other of the predominantly Muslim provinces, dealing with all other subjects which the provinces in the respective Groups desire to be dealt with in common. The Provincial Governments will deal with all other subjects and will have all residuary sovereign rights."

This matter was to be discussed at Simla and we agreed to attend the Conference on Sunday, 5th May 1946, on the terms of my letter, dated 28th April 1946.

You were good enough to explain your formula and then after hours of discussion on the 5th and 6th of May, the Congress finally and definitely turned down the proposed Union confined only to three subjects even with power to levy contribution for financing the Union.

Next, your formula clearly envisaged an agreement precedent between the Congress and the Muslim League with regard to the grouping of Muslim and Hindu provinces and the formation of two federations of the grouped provinces and it followed that there must be two constitution-making machineries. It was on that basis that some kind of Union was suggested in your formula confined only to three subjects and our approval was sought in order to put into this skeleton blood and flesh. This proposal was also categorically turned down by the Congress and the meeting had to be adjourned for the Mission to consider the matter further as to what steps they may take in the matter.

And now the new enclosed document has been sent to us with a view that

"this paper should be discussed at the next meeting to be held on Thursday afternoon at 3 P.M." The heading of the paper is "suggested points for agreement between the representatives of Congress and the Muslim League." By whom are they suggested, it is not made clear.

We are of the opinion that the new suggested points for agreement are a fundamental departure from the original formula embodied in your letter of 27th April, which was rejected by the Congress.

To mention some of the important points we are now asked to agree that there should be one all-India Union Government in terms of paragraphs 1-7 of this paper, which adds one more subject to be vested in the Union Government, i.e., "fundamental rights" and it is not made clear whether the Union Government and Legislature will have power or not to obtain for itself the finances by means of taxation.

In the new "suggestions" the question of grouping of provinces is left exactly as the Congress spokesmen desired in the course of discussions that have taken place hitherto, and is totally different from your original formula.

That there should be a single-constitution-making body, we can never agree to : nor can we agree to the method of formation of constitution-making machineries suggested in the paper.

There are many other objectionable features contained in the suggestions which we have not dealt with as we are only dealing with the main points arising out of this paper. In these circumstances, we think, no useful purpose will be served to discuss this paper, as it is a complete departure from your original formula, unless after what we have said above you still desire us to discuss it in the Conference itself to-morrow."

From Lord Pethick-Lawrence to Mr. Jinnah, 9th. May, 1946 :—

"I have to acknowledge your letter of yesterday which I have shown to my colleagues. In it you raise a number of issues to which I propose to reply in order.

You claim that Congress "finally and definitely turned down the proposed Union confined only to three subjects even with power to levy contribution for financing the Union." This statement is not in accord with my recollection of what took place in the Conference room. It is true that the Congress representatives expressed their view that the limitation was too narrow and argued further that even so limited it necessarily included certain ancillary matters Up to a point you recognised that there was some force in the argument because you agreed, as I understood, that some power to obtain the necessary finance must be given. There was no final decision on this matter (or of course on any other).

Next you claim, If I understand you aright, that our reference to the formation of Groups is at variance with the formula in our invitation. I am afraid I cannot accept this view. It is of course a slightly amplified form because it specifies the manner in which the provinces can decide as to joining any particular Group. This amplified form is put forward by us as a reasonable compromise between the views of the Muslim League and those originally expressed by Congress against grouping at all.

You further take exception to the machinery that we suggest should be set up for making the constitution. I would point out to you however that you yourself in explaining how your two constitution-making bodies would work agreed on Tuesday last in the Conference that they would have to join together in the end to decide the constitution of the Union and you took no exception to their having a preliminary session in common to decide procedure. What we are proposing is in fact precisely the same thing expressed in different words. I am therefore quite at a loss to understand what you have in mind when you use the words :

"This proposal was also categorically turned down by the Congress."

In your succeeding paragraph you ask who it is that makes the suggestions that are contained in the document I sent you. The answer is the Cabinet Mission and His Excellency the Viceroy who make them in our endeavour to bridge the gap between the viewpoints of the Congress and the Muslim League.

You next take exception to our departing from the original in my invitation. I would remind you that in accepting my original invitation neither the Muslim League nor the Congress bound itself to accept in full the original formula, and in my reply of April 29th I wrote these words :—

"We have never contemplated that acceptance by the Muslim League and the Congress of our invitation would imply as a preliminary condition for approval by them of the terms set out in my letter. These terms are our proposed basis for a

settlement and what we have asked the Muslim League Working Committee to do is to agree to send its representatives to meet ourselves and representatives of the Congress in order to discuss it." Indeed this is the only sensible attitude because the object of all our discussions is to explore every conceivable possibility of reaching agreement.

"Fundamental Rights" were included by us in our suggestions for addition to the list of Union subjects because it seemed to us that it would be of benefit both to the large communities and to the small minorities for them to be put in and, accordingly, to be worthy of consideration in our Conference. As to finance, it will be of course be quite open to discuss in the Conference the precise significance of the inclusion of this word in its context.

Your two following paragraphs are mainly a recapitulation of your previous agreements and have been already dealt with above. From your last paragraph I understand that though you do not consider in the circumstances that any good purpose would be served by the attendance of the Muslim League delegation at the Conference fixed for this afternoon, you are willing to come if we express a desire that you should do so. My colleagues and I wish to obtain the views of both parties on the document submitted and, therefore, would be glad to see you at the Conference."

Letter from the President of the Congress to Lord Pethick-Lawrence, dated 9th May 1946 :—

My colleagues and I have given the most careful consideration to the memorandum sent by you yesterday suggesting various points of agreement. On the 28th April I sent you a letter in which I expressed briefly the Congress view-point in regard to certain "fundamental principles" mentioned in your letter of 27th April. After the first day of conference, on May 6th, I wrote to you again to avoid any possible misunderstanding regarding the issues being discussed in the conference.

I now find from your memorandum that some of your suggestions are entirely opposed to our views and to the views repeatedly declared by the Congress. We are thus placed in a difficult position. It has been and is our desire to explore every avenue for a settlement and a change-over in India by consent, and for this purpose we are prepared to go far. But there are obvious limits beyond which we cannot go if we are convinced that this would be injurious to the people of India and to India's progress as a free nation.

In my previous letters I have laid stress on the necessity of having a strong organic Federal Union. I have also stated that we do not approve of sub-federation or grouping of provinces in the manner suggested, and are wholly opposed to parity in executives or legislatures as between wholly unequal groups. We do not wish to come in the way of Provinces or other units co-operating together, if they choose, but this must be entirely optional.

The proposals you have put forward are meant, we presume, to limit the free discretion of the Constituent Assembly. We do not see how this can be done. We are at present concerned with one important aspect of a larger problem. A decision on this aspect taken now might well conflict with the decisions we, or the Constituent Assembly, might want to take on other aspects. The only reasonable course appears to us is to have a Constituent Assembly with perfect freedom to draw up its constitution, with certain reservations to protect the rights of the minorities. Thus we may agree that any major communal issue must be settled by consent of the parties concerned, or, where such consent is not obtained, by arbitration.

From the proposals you have sent us (8 D.E.F.G.) it would appear that two or three separate constitutions might emerge for separate groups, joined together by a flimsy common super-structure left to the mercy of the three disjointed groups.

There is also compulsion in the early stages for a Province to join a particular group whether it wants to or not. Thus why should the Frontier Province, which is clearly a Congress Province, be compelled to join any group hostile to the Congress ?

We realise that in dealing with human beings, as individuals or groups many considerations have to be borne in mind besides logic and reason. But logic and reason cannot be ignored altogether, and unreason and injustice are dangerous companions at any time and, more especially, when we are building for the future of hundreds of millions of human beings.

I shall now deal with some of the points in your memorandum and make some suggestions in regard to them.

No. 1—We note that you have provided for the Union to have necessary

powers to obtain for itself the finance it requires for the subjects it deals with. We think it should be clearly stated that the Federal Union must have power to raise revenues in its own right. Further that currency and customs must in any event be included in the Union subjects, as well as such other subjects as on closer scrutiny may be found to be intimately allied to them. One other subject is an essential and inevitable Union subject and that is Planning. Planning can only be done effectively at the Centre, though the Provinces or units will give effect to it in their respective areas.

The Union must also have power to take remedial action in cases of breakdown of the constitution and in grave public emergencies.

Nos. 5 *and* 6—We are entirely opposed to the proposed parity, both in the Executive and Legislature, as between wholly unequal groups. This is unfair and will lead to trouble. Such a provision contains in itself the seed of conflict and the destruction of free growth. If there is no agreement on this or any similar matter, we are prepared to leave it to arbitration.

No. 7.—We are prepared to accept the suggestion that provision be made for a reconsideration of the constitution after ten years. Indeed the constitution will necessarily provide the machinery for its revision at any time.

The second clause lays down that reconsideration should be done by a body constituted on the same basis as the Constituent Assembly. This present provision is intended to meet an emergency. We expect that the constitution for India will be based on adult suffrage. Ten years hence India is not likely to be satisfied with anything less than adult suffrage to express its mind on all grave issues.

No. 8-*A.*—We would suggest that the just and proper method of elections, fair to all parties, is the method of proportional representation by single transferable vote. It might be remembered that the present basis of election for the Provincial Assemblies is strongly weighted in favour of the minorities.

The proportion of 1/10th appears to be too small and will limit the numbers of the Constituent Assembly too much. Probably the number would not exceed 200. In the vitally important tasks the Assembly will have to face, it should have larger numbers. We suggest that at least one fifth of the total membership of the Provincial Assemblies should be elected for the Constituent Assembly.

No. 8-*B*—This clause is vague and requires elucidation. But for the present we are not going into further details.

No. 8-*DE.F.G.*—I have already referred to these clauses. We think that both the formation of these groups and the procedure suggested are wrong and undesirable. We do not wish to rule out the formation of the groups if the Provinces so desire. But this subject must be left open for decision by the Constituent Assembly. The drafting and setting of the constitution should begin with the Federal Union. This should contain common and uniform provisions for the Provinces and other units. The Provinces may then add to these.

No. 8-*H.*—In the circumstances existing today we are prepared to accept some such clause. In case of disagreement the matter should be referred to arbitration.

I have pointed out above some of the obvious defects, as we see them, in the proposal contained in your memorandum. If these are remedied, as suggested by us, we might be in a position to recommend their acceptance by the Congress. But as drafted in the memorandum sent to us, I regret that we are unable to accept them.

On the whole, therefore, if the suggestions are intended to have a binding effect, with all the will in the world to have an agreement with the League, we must repudiate most of them. Let us not run into any evil greater than the one all of us three parties should seek to avoid.

If an agreement honorable to both the parties and favourable to the growth of free and united India cannot be achieved, we would suggest that an interim Provisional Government responsible to the elected members of the Central Assembly be formed at once and the matters in dispute concerning the Constituent Assembly between the Congress and the League be referred to an independent tribunal.

Congress Suggestion of Umpire

After a proposal by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru that an Umpire should be appointed to settle matters of difference between the parties the Conference, understanding that there was a likelihood of agreement on an Umpire

between the parties, was adjourned and the following correspondence passed between the parties.

Letter from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to the President of the Muslim League, dated 10th May 1946 :—

In accordance with our decision yesterday at the Conference, my colleagues have given a good deal of thought to the choice of a suitable umpire. We have felt that it would probably be desirable to exclude Englishmen, Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs. The field is thus limited. Nevertheless we have drawn up a considerable list from which a choice can be made. I presume that you have also, in consultation with your executive, prepared a list of possible umpires. Would you like these two lists to be considered by us, that is, by you and me ? If so, we can fix up a meeting for the purpose. After we have met, our recommendation can be considered by the eight of us. that is, the four representatives of the Congress and the four representatives of the Muslim League, and a final choice can be made, which we can place before the Conference when it meets to-morrow.

Letter from the President of the Muslim League to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru) dated 10th May, 1946 :—

I received your letter of 10th May at 6 p. m.

At yesterday's meeting between you and me at the Viceregal Lodge, we discussed several points besides the fixing of an umpire. After a short discussion, we came to the conclusion that we will further examine your proposal made by you at the Conference yesterday, with all its implications after your and my consulting our respective colleagues.

I shall be glad to meet you to consider the various aspects of your proposal any time that may suit you tomorrow morning after 10 o'clock.

Letter from Pandit Jawharlal Nehru to the President of Muslim League, dated 11th May, 1946 :—

Your letter of May 10th reached me at ten last night.

During the talk we had at Viceregal Lodge, you referred to various matters besides the choice of an umpire and I gave you my reactions in regard to them. But I was under the impression that the proposal to have an umpire had been agreed to and your next business was to suggest names. Indeed it was when some such agreement was reached in the Conference that we had our talk. My colleagues have proceeded on this basis and prepared a list of suitable names. The Conference will expect us to tell them this afternoon the name of the umpire we fix upon, or at any rate to place before them suggestions in this behalf.

The chief implication in having an umpire is to agree to accept his final decision. We agree to this. We suggest that we might start with this and report accordingly to the Conference.

As suggested by you, I shall come over to your place of residence at about 10-30 this morning.

Letter from the President of the Muslim League to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, dated 11th May 1946 :—

I am in receipt of your letter of the 11th May.

During the talk we had at the Viceregal Lodge which lasted for about fifteen or twenty minutes, I pointed out various aspects and implications of your proposal and we had a discussion for a little while, but no agreement was arrived at between you and me on any point except that at your suggestion that you consult your colleagues and I should do likewise we adjourned to meet again the next day to further discuss the matter.

I shall be glad to meet you at 10-30 this morning for a further talk.

League Memorandum—12th. May 1946.

Memorandum by the President of the Muslim League embodying minimum demands by way of an offer, in accordance with the Conference decision, dated 12th May 1946. (Copies sent to the Cabinet Delegation and the Congress).

PRINCIPLES TO BE AGREED TO AS OUR OFFER

1. The six Muslim Provinces (Punjab, N. W. F. P., Baluchistan, Sind, Bengal and Assam) shall be grouped together as one group and will deal with all other

subjects and matters except Foreign Affairs, Defence, and communications necessary for defence, which may be dealt with by the Constitution-making bodies of the two groups of Provinces—Muslim Provinces (hereinafter named Pakistan Group) and Hindu Provinces—sitting together.

2. There shall be a separate Constitution-making body for the six Muslim Provinces named above, which will frame Constitutions for the Group and the Provinces in the Group and will determine the list of subjects that shall be Provincial and Central (of the Pakistan Federation) with residuary sovereign powers vesting in the Provinces.

3. The method of election of the representatives to the Constitution-making body will be such as would secure proper representation to the various communities in proportion to their population in each Province of the Pakistan Group.

4. After the Constitutions of the Pakistan Federal Government and the Provinces are finally framed by the Constitution-making body, it will be open to any Province of the Group to decide to opt out of its Group, provided the wishes of the people of that Province are ascertained by a referendum to opt out or not.

5. It must be open to discussion in the joint Constitution-making body as to whether the Union will have a Legislature or not. The method of providing the Union with finance should also be left for decision of the joint meeting of the two Constitution-making bodies, but in no event shall it be by means of taxation.

6. There should be parity of representation between the two Groups of Provinces in the Union Executive and the Legislature, if any.

7. No major point in the Union Constitution which affects the communal issue shall be deemed to be passed in the joint Constitution-making body, unless the majority of the members of the Constitution-making body of the Hindu Provinces and the majority of the members of the Constitution-making body of the Pakistan Group, present and voting, are separately in its favour.

8. No decision, legislative, executive or administrative, shall be taken by the Union in regard to any matter of controversial nature, except by a majority of three-fourths.

9. In Group and Provincial Constitutions fundamental rights and safeguards concerning religion, culture and other matters affecting the different communities will be provided for.

10. The constitution of the Union shall contain a provision whereby any Province can, by a majority vote of its Legislative Assembly, call for consideration of the terms of the Constitution, and will have the liberty to secede from the Union at any time after an initial period of ten years.

These are the principles of our offer for a peaceful and amicable settlement and this offer stands in its entirety and all matters mentioned herein are interdependent.

Congress Suggestion—12th May 1946

Points suggested on behalf of the Congress as a basis of agreement, 12th May, 1946

1. Constituent Assembly to be formed as follows:—

(i) Representatives shall be elected by each Provincial Assembly by proportional representation (single transferable vote). The number so elected should be one-fifth of the number of members of the Assembly and they may be members of the Assembly or others.

(ii) Representatives from the States on the basis of their population in proportion to the representation from British India. How these representatives are to be chosen is to be considered later.

2. The Constituent Assembly shall draw up a constitution for the Federal Union. This shall consist of an All-India Federal Government and Legislature dealing with Foreign Affairs, Defence, Communication, Fundamental Rights, Currency, Customs and Planning as well as such other subjects as, on closer scrutiny, may be found to be intimately allied to them. The Federal Union will have necessary powers to obtain for itself the finances it requires for these subjects and the power to raise revenues in its own right. The Union must also have power to take remedial action in cases of breakdown of the constitution and in grave public emergencies.

3. All the remaining powers shall vest in the Provinces or Units.

4. Groups of Provinces may be formed and such groups may determine the Provincial subjects which they desire to take in common.

5. After the Constituent Assembly has decided the constitution for the All-India Federal Union as laid down in paragraph 2 above, the representatives of the Provinces may form groups to decide constitutions for their group and, if they wish, a group constitution.

6. No major point in the All-India Federal Constitution which affects the communal issue shall be deemed to be passed by the Constituent Assembly unless a majority of the members of the community or communities concerned present in Assembly and voting are separately in its favour. Provided that in case there is no agreement on any such issue, it will be referred to arbitration. In case of doubt as to whether any point is a major communal issue, the Speaker will decide, or, if so desired, it may be referred to the Federal Court.

7. In the event of dispute arising in the process of constitution-making the specific issue shall be referred to arbitration.

8. The constitution provide machinery for its revision at any time subject to such checks as may be devised. If so desired it may be specifically stated that this whole constitution may be reconsidered after ten years.

Note by the Congress on the principles to be agreed upon as suggested on behalf of the Muslim League, dated 12th May 1946.

The approach of the Muslim League is so different from that of the Congress in regard to these matters that it is a little difficult to deal with each point separately with reference to the rest. The picture as envisaged by the Congress is briefly given in a separate note. From consideration of this note and the Muslim League's proposals the difficulties and the possible agreement will become obvious.

The Muslim League's proposals are dealt with below briefly :

(1) We suggest that the proper procedure is for one Constitution-making body or Constituent Assembly to meet for the whole of India and later for groups to be formed if so desired by the Provinces concerned. The matter should be left to the Provinces and if they wish to function as a group they are at liberty to do so and to frame their own constitution for the purpose.

In any event Assam has obviously no place in the group mentioned, and the North-West Frontier Province, as the elections show, is not in favour of this proposal.

(2) We have agreed to residuary powers, apart from the central subjects, vesting in the Provinces. They can make such use of them as they like and, as has been stated above, function as a group. What the ultimate nature of such a group may be cannot be determined at this stage and should be left to the representatives of the Provinces concerned.

(3) We have suggested that the most suitable method of election would be by single transferable vote. This would give proper representation to the various communities in proportion to their present representation in the legislatures. If the population proportion is taken, we have no particular objection, but this would lead to difficulties in all the Provinces where there is weightage in favour of certain communities. The principle approved of would necessarily apply to all the Provinces.

(4) There is no necessity for opting out of a Province from its group as the previous consent of the Provinces is necessary for joining the group.

(5) We consider it essential that the Federal Union should have a Legislature. We also consider it essential that the Union should have power to raise its own revenue.

(6 and 7). We are entirely opposed to parity of representation as between groups of Provinces in the Union executive or legislature. We think that the provision to the effect that no major communal issue in the Union constitution shall be deemed to be passed by the constituent Assembly unless a majority of the members of the community or communities concerned present and voting in the Constituent Assembly are separately in its favour, is a sufficient and ample safeguard of all minorities. We have suggested something wider and including all communities than has been proposed elsewhere. This may give rise to some difficulties, but all such difficulties can be got over by reference to arbitration. We are prepared to consider the method of giving effect to this principle so as to make it more feasible.

(8) This proposal is so sweeping in its nature that no government or Legislature can function at all. Once we have safeguarded major communal issues, other matters, whether controversial or not, require no safeguard. This will simply

mean safeguarding vested interests of all kinds and preventing progress, or indeed any movement in any direction. We therefore, entirely disapprove of it.

(9) We are entirely agreeable to the inclusion of Fundamental Rights and safeguards concerning religion, culture and like matters in the constitution. We suggest that the proper place for this is the All-India Federal Union constitution. There should be uniformity in regard to these Fundamental Rights all over India.

(10) The constitution of the Union will inevitably contain provisions for its revision. It may also contain a provision for its full reconsideration at the end of ten years. The matter will be open then for a complete reconsideration. Though it is implied, we would avoid reference to secession as we do not wish to encourage this idea.

Failure of the Conference

The Conference failed to achieve its object. It broke up on May 12. The Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy moved down to Delhi and on May 16 issued a statement in which they set forth their proposal for the setting up of a Constitution-making body. The following is the text :—

Statement by the Cabinet Delegation and His Excellency the Viceroy—16th. May 1946

I. On March 15th last just before the despatch of the Cabinet Delegation to India Mr. Attlee, the British Prime Minister, used these words :—

"My colleagues are going to India with the intention of using their utmost endeavours to help her to attain her freedom as speedily and fully as possible. What form of Government is to replace the present regime is for India to decide; but our desire is to help her to set forthwith the machinery for making that decision."

* * * *

"I hope that India and her people may elect to remain within the British Commonwealth. I am certain that they will find great advantages in doing so."

* * * *

"But if she does so elect, it must be by her own free will. The British Commonwealth and Empire is not bound together by chains of extertal compulsion. It is a free association of free peoples. If, on the other hand, she elects for independence, in our view she has a right to do so. It will be for us to help to make the transition as smooth and easy as possible."

2. Charged in these historic words we—the Cabinet Ministers and the Viceroy —have done our utmost to assist the two main political parties to reach agreement upon the fundamental issue of the unity or division of India. After prolonged discussions in Delhi we succeeded in bringing the Congress and the Muslim League together in Conference at Simla. There was a full exchange of views and both parties were prepared to make considerable concessions in order to try and reach a settlement but it ultimately proved impossible to close the remainder of the gap between the parties and so no agreement could be concluded. Since no agreement has been reached we feel that it is our duty to put forward what we consider are the best arrangements possible to ensure a speedy setting up of the new constitution. This statement is made with the full approval of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom.

3. We have accordingly decided that immediate arrangements should be made whereby Indians may decide the future constitution of India and an Interim Government may be set up at once to carry on the administration of British India until such time as a new Constitution can be brought into being. We have endeavoured to be just to the smaller as well as to the larger sections of the people, and to recommend a solution which will lead to a practicable way of governing the India of the future, and will give a sound basis for defence and a good opportunity for progress in the social, political and economic field.

4. It is not intended in this statement to review the voluminous evidence that has been submitted to the Mission; but it is right that we should state that it has shown an almost universal desire, outside the supporters of the Muslim League, for the unity of India.

5. This consideration did not, however, deter us from examining closely and impartially the possibility of a partition of India; since we were greatly impressed

by the very genuine and acute anxiety of the Muslims lest they should find themselves subjected to a perpetual Hindu-majority rule.

This feeling has become so strong and widespread amongst the Muslims that it cannot be allayed by mere paper safeguards. If there is to be internal peace in India it must be secured by measures which will assure to the Muslims a control in all matters vital to their culture, religion, and economic or other interests.

6. We therefore examined in the first instance the question of a separate and and fully independent sovereign State of Pakistan as claimed by the Muslim League. Such a Pakistan would comprise two areas; one in the north-west consisting of the Provinces of the Punjab, Sind, North-West Frontier, and British Baluchistan; the other in the north-east consisting of the Provinces of Bengal and Assam. The League were prepared to consider adjustment of boundaries at later stage, but insisted that the principle of Pakistan should first be acknowledged. The argument for a separate State of Pakistan was based, first, upon the right of the Muslim majority to decide their method of Government according to their wishes, and secondly, upon the necessity to include substantial areas in which Muslims are in a minority, in order the make Pakistan administratively and economically workable.

The size of the non-Muslim minorities in a Pakistan comprising the whole of the six Provinces enumerated above would be very considerable as the following figures * show:—

	Muslim	Non-Muslim
North-Weastern Area		
Punjab	16,217,242	12,201,577
North-West Frontier Province	2,788,797	249,270
Sind	3,208 325	1,326,683
Br. Baluchistan	438,930	62,701
	22,653,294	13,840,231
	62·07%	37·93%
North-Eastern Area—		
Bengal	33,005,434	27,301,091
Assam	3,442,479	6,762,254
	36,447,913	34,063,345
	51·69%	48·31%

The Muslim minorities in the remainder of British India number some 20 million dispersed amongst a total population of 188 million.

These figures show that the setting up of a separate sovereign State of Pakistan on the lines claimed by the Muslim League, would not solve the communal minority problem; nor can we see any justification for including within a sovereign Pakistan those districts of the Punjab and of Bengal and Assam in which the population is predominantly non-Muslim. Every argument that can be used in favour of Pakistan, can equally in our view be used in favour of the exclusion of the non-Muslim areas from Pakistan. This point would particularly affect the position of the Sikhs.

7. We therefore considered whether a smaller sovereign Pakistan confined to the Muslim majority areas alone might be a possible basis of compromise. Such a Pakistan is regarded by the Muslim League as quite impracticable because it would entail the exclusion from Pakistan of (a) the whole of the Ambala and Jullundur Division in the Punjab; (b) the whole of Assam except the District of Sylhet; and (c) a large part of Western Bengal, including Calcutta, in which city the Muslims form 23·6 per cent of the population. We ourselves are also convinced that any solution which involves a radical partition of the Punjab and Bengal, as this would do, would be contrary to the wishes and interests of a very large proportion of the inhabitants of these Provinces. Bengal and the Punjab each has its own common language and a long history and tradition. Moreover, any division of the Punjab would of necessity divide the Sikhs leaving substantial bodies of Sikhs on both sides of the boundary. We have therefore been forced to the conclusion that neither a larger nor a smaller sovereign State of Pakistan would provide an acceptable solution for the communal problem.

* All Population figures in this statement are from the most recent census taken in 1941.

8. Apart from the great force of the foregoing arguments there are weighty administrative, economic and military considerations. The whole of the transportation and postal and telegraph systems of India have been established on the basis of a united India. To disintegrate them would gravely injure both parts of India. The case for a united defence is even stronger. The Indian armed forces have been built up as a whole for the defence of India as a whole, and to break them in two would inflict a deadly blow on the long traditions and high degree of efficiency of the Indian Army and would entail the gravest dangers. The Indian Navy and Indian Air Force would become much less effective. The two sections of the suggested Pakistan contain the two most vulnerable frontiers in India and for a successful defence in depth the area of Pakistan would be insufficient.

9. A further consideration of importance is the greater difficulty which the Indian States would find in associating themselves with a divided British India.

10. Finally there is the geographical fact that the two halves of the proposed Pakistan State are separated by some seven hundred miles and the communications between them both in war and peace would be dependent on the goodwill of Hindustan.

11. We are therefore unable to advise the British Government that the power which at present resides in British hands should be handed over to two entirely separate sovereign States.

12. This decision does not however blind us to the very real Muslim apprehensions that their culture and political and social life might become submerged in a purely unitary India, in which the Hindus with their greatly superior numbers must be a dominating element To meet this the Congress have put forward a scheme under which Provinces would have full autonomy subject only to a minimum of Central subjects, such as Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications.

Under this scheme Provinces, if they wished to take part in economic and administrative planning on a large scale, could cede to the Centre optional subjects in addition to the compulsory ones mentioned above.

13. Such a scheme would, in our view, present considerable constitutional advantages and anomalies. It would be very difficult to work a Central Executive and legislature in which some Ministers, who dealt with Compulsory subjects, were responsible to the whole of India while other Ministers, who dealt with Optional subjects, would be responsible to those Provinces which had elected to act together in respect of such subjects. This difficulty would be accentuated in the Central Legislature, where it would be necessary to exclude certain members from speaking and voting when subjects with which their Provinces were not concerned were under discussion.

Apart from the difficulty of working such a scheme, we do not consider that it would be fair to deny to other Provinces, which did not desire to take the optional subjects at the Centre, the right to form themselves into a group for a similar purpose. This would indeed be no more than the exercise of their autonomous powers in a particular way.

14. Before putting forward our recommendations we turn to deal with the relationship of the Indian States to British India. It is quite clear that with the attainment of Independence by British India, whether inside or outside the British Commonwealth, the relationship which has hitherto existed between the Rulers of the States and the British Crown will no longer be possible. Paramountcy can neither be retained by the British Crown nor transferred to the new Government. This fact has been fully recognised by those whom we interviewed from the States. They have at the same time assured us that the States are ready and willing to co-operate in the new development of India. The precise form which their co operation will take must be a matter for negotiation during the building up of the new constitutional structure. and it by no means follows that it will be identical for all the States, We have not therefore dealt with the States in the same detail as the Provinces of the British India in paragraphs which follow.

15. We now indicate the nature of a solution which in our view would be just to the essential claims of all parties, and would at the same time be most likely to bring about a stable and practicable form of constitution for All-India.

We recommend that the constitution should take the following basic form : -

(1) There should be a Union of India, embracing both British India and the States, which deal with the following subjects: Foreign Affairs,

Defence, and Communications; and should have the powers necessary to raise the finances required for the above subjects.

(2) The Union should have an Executive and Legislature constituted from British India and States representatives. Any question raising a major communal issue in the Legislature should require for its decision a majority of the representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities as well as a majority of all the members present and voting.

(3) All subjects other than the Union subjects and all residuary powers should vest in the Provinces.

(4) The States will retain all subjects and powers other than those ceded to the Union.

(5) Provinces should be free to form Groups with executives and legislatures, and each Group could determine the Provincial subjects to be taken in common.

(6) The constitution of the Union and of the Groups should contain a provision whereby any Province could, by a majority vote of its Legislative Assembly, call for a reconsideration of the terms of the constitution after an initial period of 10 years and at 10 yearly intervals thereafter.

16. It is not our object to lay out the details of the constitution on the above lines, but to set in motion the machinery whereby constitution can be settled by Indians for Indians.

It has been necessary however for us to make this recommendation as to the broad basis of the future constitution because it becomes clear to us in the course of our negotiations that not until that has been done was there any hope of getting the two major communities to join the setting up of the constitution-making machinery.

17. We now indicate the constitution-making machinery which we propose should be brought into being forthwith in order to enable a new constitution to be worked out.

18. In forming any Assembly to decide a new constitutional structure the first problem is to obtain as broad-based and accurate a representation of the whole population as is possible. The most satisfactory method obviously would be by election based on adult franchise; but any attempt to introduce such a step now would lead to a wholly unacceptable delay in the formulation of the new Constitution. The only practicable alternative is to utilize the recently elected Provincial Legislative Assemblies as the electing bodies. There are, however, two factors in their composition which make this difficult. First, the numerical strengths of the Provincial Legislative Assemblies do not bear the same proportion to the total population in each Province. Thus, Assam with a population of 10 millions has a Legislative Assembly of 108 members, while Bengal, with a population six times as large, has an Assembly of only 250. Secondly owing to the weightage given to minorities by the Communal Award, the strengths of the several communities in each Provincial Legislative Assembly are not in proportion to their numbers in the Province. Thus the number of the seats reserved for Muslims in the Bengal Legislative Assembly is only 48 per cent of the total, although they form 55 per cent of the Provincial population. After a most careful consideration of the various methods by which these inequalities might be corrected, we have come to the conclusion that the fairest and the most practicable plan would be—

(a) to allot to each Province a total number of seats proportional to its population, roughly in the ratio of one to a million, as the nearest substitute for representation by adult suffrage.

(b) To divide this provincial allocation of seats between the main communities in each Province in proportion to their population.

(c) To provide that the representatives allotted to each community in a Province shall be elected by the members of the community in its Legislative Assembly.

We think that for these purposes it is sufficient to recognise only three main communities in India: General, Muslim, and Sikh, the "General" community including all persons who are not Muslims or Sikhs. As the smaller minorities would, upon the population basis, have little or no representation since they would lose the weightage which assures them seats in the Provincial Legislatures, we have made the arrangements set out in paragraph 20 below to give them a full representation upon all matters of special interest to the minorities.

19 (i) We therefore propose that there shall be elected by each Provincial Legislative Assembly the following numbers of representatives, each part of the

Legislature (General, Muslim or Sikh) electing its own representatives by the method of proportional representation with the single transferable vote :—

TABLE OF REPRESENATION

Section A.

Province	General	Muslim	Total
Madras	45	4	49
Bombay	19	2	21
United Provinces	47	8	55
Bihar	31	5	36
Central Provinces	16	1	17
Orissa	9	0	9
Total	167	20	187

Section B.

Province	General	Muslim	Sikh	Total
Punjab	8	16	4	28
North-West Frontier Province	0	3	0	3
Sind	1	3	0	4
Total	9	22	4	35

Section C.

Province	General	Muslim	Total
Bengal	27	33	60
Assam	7	3	10
Total	34	36	70
Total for British India			292
Maximum for Indian States			93
Total			385

Note :—In order to represent the Chief Commissioners' Provinces there will be added to Section A the Member representing Delhi in the Central Legislative Assembly, the Member representing Ajmer-Merwara in the Central Legislative Assembly, and a representative to be elected by the Coorg Legislative Council.

To Section B will be added a representative of British Baluchistan.

(ii) It is the intention that the States should be given in the final Constituent Assembly appropriate representation which would not, on the basis of the calculations adopted for British India, exceed 93, but the method of selection will have to be determined by consultation. The States would in the preliminary stage be represented by a Negotiating Committee.

(iii) The representatives thus chosen shall meet at New Delhi as soon as possible.

(iv) A preliminary meeting will be held at which the general order of business will be decided, a Chairman and other officers elected, and an Advisory Committee (see paragraph 20 below) on the rights of citizens, minorities, and tribal and excluded areas set up. Thereafter the provincial representatives will divide up into the three sections shown under A, B, and C, in the Table of Representation in the sub-paragraph (i) of this paragraph.

(v) These sections shall proceed to settle the Provincial Constitutions for the Provinces included in each section, and shall also decide whether any Group Constitution shall be set up for those Provinces and, if so, with what provincial subjects the Group should deal. Provinces shall have the power to opt out of the Groups in accordance with the provisions of sub-clause (viii) below.

(vi) The representatives of the Sections and the Indian States shall reassemble for the purpose of settling the Union Constitution.

(vii) In the Union Constituent Assembly resolutions varying the provisions of paragraph 15 above or raising any major communal issue shall require a majority of the representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities.

The Chairman of the Assembly shall decide which (if any) of the resolutions

raise major communal issues and shall, if so requested by a majority of the representatives of either of the major communities, consult the Federal Court before giving his decision.

(viii) As soon as the new constitutional arrangements have come into operation, it shall be open to any Province to elect to come out of any Group in which it has been placed. Such a decision shall be taken by the new legislature of the Province after the first general election under the new constitution.

20. The Advisory Committee on the rights of citizens, minorities, and tribal and excluded areas should contain full representation of the interests affected, and their function will be to report to the Union Constituent Assembly upon the list of Fundamental Rights, the clauses for the protection of minorities, and a scheme for the administration of the tribal and excluded areas, and to advise whether these rights should be incorporated in the Provincial Group, or Union constitution.

21. His Excellency the Viceroy will forthwith request the Provincial Legislatures to proceed with the election of their representatives and the States to set up a Negotiating Committee. It is hoped that the process of constitution-making can proceed as rapidly as the complexities of the task permit so that the interim period may be as short as possible.

22. It will be necessary to negotiate a Treaty between the Union Constituent Assembly and the United Kingdom to provide for certain matters arising out of the transfer of power.

23. While the constitution-making proceeds, the administration of India has to be carried on. We attach the greatest importance therefore to the setting up at once of an interim Government having the support of the major political parties. It is essential during the interim period that there should be the maximum of co-operation in carrying through the difficult tasks that face the Government of India. Besides the heavy task of day-to-day administration, there is the grave danger of famine to be countered; there are decisions to be taken in many matters of post-war development which will have a far-reaching effect on India's future: and there are important international conferences in which India has to be represented. For all these purposes a Government having popular support is necessary. The Viceroy has already started discussions to this end, and hopes soon to form an Interim Government in which all the portfolios, including that of War Member, will be held by Indian leaders having the full confidence of the people. The British Government, recognising the significance of the changes in the Government of India, will give the fullest measure of co-operation to the Government so formed in the accomplishment of its tasks of administration and in bringing about as rapid and smooth a transition as possible.

24. To the leaders and people of India who now have the opportunity of complete independence we would finally say this. We and our Government and countrymen hoped that it would be possible for the Indian people themselves to agree upon the method of framing the new constitution under which they will live. Despite the labours which we have shared with the Indian Parties, and the exercise of much patience and goodwill by all, this has not been possible. We therefore now lay before you proposals which, after listening to all sides and after much earnest thought, we trust will enable you to attain independence in the shortest time and with the least danger of internal disturbance and conflict. These proposals may not, of course, completely satisfy all parties, but you will recognise with us that at this supreme moment in Indian history statesmanship demands mutual accommodation.

We ask you to consider the alternative to acceptance of these proposals. After all the efforts which we and the Indian Parties have made together for agreement, we must state that in our view there is small hope of peaceful settlement by agreement of the Indian Parties alone. The alternative would therefore be a grave danger of violence, chaos, and even civil war. The result and duration of such a disturbance cannot be foreseen; but it is certain that it would be a terrible disaster for many millions of men, women and children. This is a possibility which must be regarded with equal abhorrence by the Indian people, our own countrymen, and the world as a whole.

We therefore lay these proposals before you in the profound hope that they will be accepted and operated by you in the spirit of accommodation and goodwill in which they are offered. We appeal to all who have the future good of India at heart to extend their vision beyond their own community or interest to the interests of the whole four hundred millions of the Indian people.

We hope that the new independent India may choose to be a member of the

British Commonwealth. We hope in any event that you will remain in close and friendly association with our people But these are matters for your own free choice. Whatever that choice may be we look forward with you to your ever increasing prosperity among the great nations of the world, and to a future even more glorious than your past.

Debate in the Parliament

House of Commons—16th, May 1946.

The British Prime Minister Mr. Clement Attlee read the Cabinet Mission's statement in the House of Commons and a debate followed. Mr. Winston Curchill, Leader of the Opposition, delivered the following speech :—

I think the Prime Minister was right to read to the House the able but melancholy document to which we have listened, and that it was appropriate that he should read it instead of merely circulating it. Certainly I have heard nothing for a long time which so deeply deserves the attention of Parliament and the British nation. The respectful attention which the House gave to every word uttered by the Prime Minister is proof that this opinion is well founded. It would, of course, be most unwise this afternoon for any of us to attemp detailed comment on the long complicated proposals which have now been laid before us.

The Prime Minister did me the courtesy of sending me a copy last night, but although I read it carefully in the small hours of the morning, and I have now had the advantage of hearing it again, I should certainly not commit myself at this juncture to anything but observations of a most general character. Moreover, these observations, such as they are, arise from the situation in respect of India which we have known for a long time rather than from the new proposals to which however I make a brief reference.

I am bound to make it clear, however, without delay what is the position of the official Opposition. I, as head of the Coalition Government, and my colleagues of those days are committed to the offer made to the people of India at the time of the Cripps Mission of 1942, by which we offered Dominion Status as expressed by the Statute of Westminster, including right of succession.

We offered this to the many peoples of India, subject to certain provisions. The first was that there should be a broad, real and sincere agreement between the main Indian parties, and the second was that in the constitution we should have provision for honourable discharge of the obligations we have contracted in India towards the minorities, who added together, are themselves a majority, and also for the discharge of those obligations, embodied in treaties with the Indian States.

These proposals were made at a moment when the danger of Japanese invasion threatened India in a terrible manner. I personally was induced to agree to them by the all compelling war interest of trying to rally all forces in India to the defence of their soil against Japanese aggression, and all horrors which whould have followed therefrom.

The Cripps Mission failed. The answer which Mr. Gandhi gave to the British Government at that time was 'Quit India'. He and the Congress proceeded to raise or encourage a revolt or a widespread disturbance affecting principally communications on which the British and Indian forces relied for holding the threatened fronts. These disorders, although seriously fomented, were suppressed with surprising ease and very little loss of life, and the inducement to revolt found no response outside political classes from the great mass of the Indian people. We persevered and presently the tide turned. India was successfully defended and emerged from the second world convulsion in our lifetime, protected against external violence by the armies, sea power and diplomacy at the disposal of the British Empire, including the valiant contribution of the Indian forces themselves and the Gukhas.

Nevertheless we still persisted in our effort which had been rejected in 1942 and the former Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery on June 14 last, when Government had ceased to be Coalition and was a Conservative Government, used the following words which were quoted by Mr. Eden when the proposal was made to send a Cabinet Mission to India in February. These are the words of Mr. Amery : 'The statement makes clear that the offer of March, 1942 stands in its entirety. That offer was based in two main principles. The first is that no limit is set to India's freedom to decide for herself her own destiny, whether as a free member and patner in the British Commonwealth of Nations, or even without it. The second principle is that this can only be achieved under a constitution or

constitutions framed by India to which the main elements of India's national life are the consenting parties.'

By that statement we were and are bound. Now, however, a new situation has arisen. We are confronted with the fact reiterated in the Prime Minister's statement, that there is no agreement. The main elements of Indian national life are not at present time consenting parties, to quote the words of Mr. Amery.

No one will doubt the sincerity and earnestness with which the Cabinet Ministers and the Viceroy have laboured to bring about a solution of the Indian difficulty and worked for solution with zeal which could be natural, were it to gain an empire and not to cast it away. But the fact is that they have failed, through no fault of their own, despite all their efforts and devotion and ingenuity, which is a fact which should be education in Indian matters, not only in this country but throughout the world.

During these generations it has been increasingly clear that the object sought for was not Dominion Status and the subsequent consequence of the right of secession but direct and immediate independence. I am not sure that result had been realised by the House—it certainly came as a surprise to me.

The new proposal that we have had seem at sight to shift the onus of deciding the future constitution of India from Indian parties to the British Government, who have themselves come forward with an elaborate and detailed scheme. In so far as this shifting of onus may prove to be the case it certainly seems to have been an unfortunate step which goes beyond what we understood was the purpose of the Ministers' Mission, the mandate they received, which was defined by the Prime Minister as to set up machinery for Indians to decide their form of Government.

It will, I hope, however, be common ground that we cannot enforce by British arms a British-made constitution upon Indians against the wishes of any of the main elements in Indian life.

There remains the discharge of our obligations to Indian minorities and the States. We must study the documents with long and searching attention in order to see that these duties have been faithfully safeguarded. It would seem at first sight that attention should be particularly directed to the position of the Muslim community of nearly 80,000,000, already most formidable of all races and creeds in the Indian sub-continent, and whose interest and culture are a matter of great consequence to the community as a whole and vital to the peace of India. Secondly, we must examine the position made for the Depressed Classes, or untouchables as they are called, who number nearly 60 000,000, and for whose status and future repeated assurances have been given and pledges made by many British Government in ancient and more recent times.

Finally there are relations which the Indian States, which comprise a quarter of the population and one-third of the territory of the Indian sub-continent are to have to the Crown and to the Government. At present these relations are defined by the solemn treaty, dependent upon the paramountcy of the Crown. Apparently this is to be abolished. In a sentence which was obscure and could be either one thing or the other, they would be relegated to a kind of non-man's land —this question of paramountcy—and if that is so, it would seem that all foundation for those treaties would be swept away.

All these matters and many others which will occur to members as they study the White Paper will require several weeks of profound and earnest consideration, and it would certainly not in my view be desirable to bring this whole matter to debate in the House with all that a debate in these circumstances may entail—it would not be right to bring it in any precipitate manner.

We don't even know at the present time what are the legislative steps which would be required either for the setting up of an interim Government or in the event of an agreement being reached, what legislation would be necessary for the creation of a new constitution or abrogation of the King's title of Emperor of India. We know nothing of that. Therefore, I say in the name of the opposition, that a new situation has been created, that we are bound to review it in the light of the existing facts and that we reserve our entire freedom of action as to the future course we should take."

Lord Pethick-Lawrence's Broadcast

New Delhi—16th. May 1946

In a broadcast from New Delhi on the 16th. May, Lord Pethick Lawrence, Secretary of State for India said :—

'The words which I shall speak to you are concerned with the future of a great people—the people of India. There is a passionate desire in the hearts of Indians expressed by the leaders of their political parties for Independence. His Majesty's Government and the British people as a whole are fully ready to accord this Independence whether within or without the British Commonwealth and hope that out of it will spring a lasting and friendly association between our two peoples on a footing of complete equality."

"Nearly two months ago I, as Secretary of State for India, and my two Cabinet colleagues, Sir Stafford Cripps and Mr. Alexander, were sent out by His Majesty's Government to India to assist the Viceroy in setting up in India the machinery by which Indians can devise their own constitution. We were at once confronted with a major obstacle The two principal parties—the Muslim League who won the great majority of the Muslim seats in the recent elections and the Congress who,were the majority of all the others—were opposed to one another as to the kind of machinery to be set up. The Muslim League claimed that British India should be divided into two completely separate sovereign States, and refused to take part in constitution-making unless this claim was conceded in advance. Congress insisted on one single united India.

During our stay in India we have tried by every means to secure such an accommodation between the parties as would enable constitution-making to proceed. Recently we were able to bring them together at Simla in a conference with ourselves, but though both sides were prepared to make substantial concessions, it was not found possible to reach complete agreement. We have, therefore, been compelled ourselves to seek for a solution which by securing the main objects of both parties will enable a constitution-making machinery to be brought into immediate operation.

While we recognise the reality of the fear for the Muslim League that in a purely Unitary India their community with its own culture and way of life might become submerged in a majority Hindu rule, we do not accept the setting up of a separate Muslim sovereign State as a solution of the communal problem. "Pakistan", as the Muslim League would call their State, would not consist solely of Muslims, it would contain a substantial minority of other communities which would average over 40 per cent and in certain wide areas would even constitute a majority, as for instance in the City of Calcutta where the Muslims form less than one-third of the population. Moreover, the complete separation of Pakistan from the rest of India would, in our view, gravely endanger the defence of the whole country by splitting the army into two and by preventing that defence in depth which is essential in modern war. We, therefore, do not suggest the adoption of this proposal.

Our own recommendations contemplate a constitution of three tiers at the top of which would be the Union of India with an Executive and Legislature empowered to deal with the essential subjects of External Affairs, Defence and Communications and the finance necessary for these services. At the bottom would be the Provinces which would have, apart from the subjects I have just named, complete autonomy. But we contemplate further that Provinces will wish to unite together in Groups to carry out in common services covering a wider area than that of a single province, and these Groups may have, if they wish, legislatures and executives which in that event will be intermediate between those of the provinces and those of the Union.

On this basis, which makes it possible for the Muslims to secure the advantages of a Pakistan without incurring the dangers inherent in the division of India, we invite Indians of all parties to take part in framing a constitution. The Viceroy will, accordingly, summon to New Delhi representatives of British India who will be elected by the members of the provincial legislatures in such a way that as nearly as possible for each one million of the population there will be one representative, and that the proportion between the representatives of the main communities will be on the same basis.

After a preliminary meeting in common, these representatives of the provinces will divide themselves up into three sections the compulsion of which is laid down and which, if the provinces ultimately agree, will become the three Groups. These sections will decide upon provincial and Group matters. Subsequently they will re-unite to decide upon the constitution for the Union. After the first elections under the new constitution provinces will be free to opt out of the Group into which they have been provisionally placed.

We appreciate that this machinery does not of itself give any effective representation to other than the principal minorities and we are, therefore, pro-

viding for a special committee to be set up, in which the minorities will play a full part. The business of this committee will be to formulate fundamental and minority rights and to recommend their inclusion in the constitution at the appropriate level.

So far I have said nothing about the Indian States which comprise a third of the area of India and contain about one quarter of the whole population. These States at present are each separately governed and have individual relationships with the British Crown. There is general recognition that when British India attains Independence the position of these States cannot remain unaffected, and it is anticipated that they will wish to take part in the constitution making process and be represented in the all India Union. It does not, however, lie within our province to decide these matters in advance as they will have to be the subject of negotiation with the States before action can be taken.

During the making of the constitution, the administration must be carried on and we attach, therefore, the greatest importance to the setting up at once of an Interim Government having the support of the major political parties. The Viceroy has already started discussions to this end and he hopes to bring them shortly to a successful issue.

During the interim period the British Government. recognising the significance of the changes in the Government of India, will give the fullest measure of co-operation to the Government so formed in the accomplishment of its tasks of administration and in bringing about as rapid and smooth a transition as possible.

The essence of statecraft is to evisage the probable course of future events but no statesmen can be wise enough to frame a constitution which will adequately meet all the requirements of an unknown future. We may be confident, therefore, that the Indians on whom falls the responsibility of creating the initial constitution will give it a reasonable flexibility and will make provision for it to be revised and amended as required from time to time.

In this short talk you will not expect me to go into further details regarding our proposals which you can read in the statement which has been released for publication this evening But in conclusion I will repeat and emphasise what to me is the fundamental issue. The future of India and how that future is inaugurated are matters of vital importance not only to India herself but to the whole world. If a great new sovereign State can come into being in a spirit of mutual goodwill both within and without India, that of itself will be an outstanding contribution to world stability.

The Government and people of Britain are not only willing, they are anxious to play their full part in achieving this result. But the constitution for India has to be framed by Indians and worked by Indians when they have brought it into being. We appreciate to the full the difficulties which confront them in embarking on this task. We have done and we will continue to do all that lies in our power to help them to overcome these difficulties. But the responsibility and the opportunity is theirs and in their fulfilment on it we wish them godspeed."

Sir Stafford Cripps at Press Conference

New Delhi—16th May, 1946

Explaining the Cabinet Mission's statment at a Press conference in New Delhi, which was also attended by Lord Pethick-Lawrence and Mr. A. V. Alexander, Sir Stafford Cripps said :

"You have heard two broadcasts on the statement and you have the document before you. This evening the members of the Mission wanted an opportunity to meet you to give you a few wordstof explanation and to-morrow we shall be meeting you again to answer questions which you may have to put. I will make a few remarks about the statement while we are waiting for the Secretary of State to come from the broadcasting studio.

The first I want to point out is what the statement does not purport to do. Let me remind you that this is not merely the Mission's statement, that is the statement of the four signatories, but is the statement of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom. Now the statement does not purport to set out a new constitution for India It is of no use asking us, "How do you propose to do this or that?" The anwer will be we don't propose to do any thing as regards decision upon a constitution, that is not for us to decide.

What we have had to do is to lay down one or two broad principles of how the constitution might be constructed and recommend those as foundations to the Indian people. You will notice we use the word "recommend" with regard to the ultimate constitutional forms with which we deal. You may quite fairly ask: "But why do you recommend anything? Why not leave it to the Indians?" The answer is that we are most anxious to get all Indians into some constitution-making machinery as quickly as possible and the block at present is in this matter. We are, therefore, by this means trying to remove the block so that the constitution-making may start and progress freely and rapidly. We hope very earnestly that that will be the effect. Now that it has been finally and absolutely decided that India is to have the complete Independence she desires, whether within or without the British Commonwealth as she chooses, we are anxious that she shall have it as soon as possible and the soonest is when there is a new constitutional structure decided upon by the Indian people.

But of course we cannot just stand by and wait till that time comes. It is bound to take some time to reach that point of completion of the new constitutional structure.

So, as you know, the Viceroy in whose province Government-making primarily lies, has already started his talks with a view to the immediate setting up of a representative Indian Government. We hope that with the other issues out of the way on the basis of our statement he will be able very rapidly to get that new Government representative of the main parties set up and in operation.

This matter of the Interim Government is of supreme importance because of the enormous task facing India at the moment. It is these great tasks, and perhaps the greatest of them is to deal with the food situation, that make it absolutely essential that we should between us arrange a smooth and efficient transition.

Nothing could be more fatal to the Indian people to-day in the face of dangers of famine than a breakdown of administration and communications anywhere in India, and that is why we stress as we do the vital need for co-operation between all parties and communities including the British in the time of transition.

So much then for the vitally important point of the Interim Government. Some of you may wonder how soon this means that the British will severe their Governmental connection with India—I hope that, in any event we shall remain the closest friends, when Indian freedom comes. Well, we certainly can't say that. Who can foretell how quickly constitutions can be hammered out? One thing is however, absolutely certain and this is the quicker you start the quicker you will end and the sooner we shall be able to withdraw, handing over the power to the new Governments of the Union, provinces and, if it is so decided, of the Groups.

This brings me to what has been decided rather than recommended. It has been decided to make a start with the constitution-making right away. This does not mean a decision as to what the constitution shall finally be, that for decision by the representatives of the Indian people. What it does not mean is that the deadlock which has prevented a start on the process of constitution-making is to be removed once and for all.

The form in which we propose that the constitution-making bodies should be assembled is important for this reason. It permits of arriving at constitutions in the recommended form. It goes a little further than that in one respect. As we believe and and hope that the two parties will come into the constitution-making on the basis of our recommendation, it would not be fair to either of them if the fundamental basis which we recommend could be easily departed from. So we stipulate that a departure from that basis which is laid down in paragraph 15 of the statement should only be made if majority of both communities agree to it. That I think is eminently fair to both parties. I does not mean that no departure can be made from the recommendations, but it does mean that the special provisions I have mentioned will apply to such resolutions in the Constituent Assembly of the Union. This is one special provision as to particular majorities, the only other is in relation to matters raising any major communal issue when a similar rule will apply. All the rest is left to the free play of discussion and vote.

The question, I am sure, will occur to all of you and that is why have we named the three sections of provinces into which the Assembly will break up to formulate the provincial and Group constitutions.

There was a very good reason for this. First of all, of course, somehow or other those Groups had to be formed before they could proceed to their business. There were two ways of dealing with that matter. Either let the present Provincial Governments opt themselves into Group or—after seeing the constitutions produced—

let the new Governments after the whole constitution-making is complete opt themselves out if they wish.

We have chosen the second alternative for two reasons. First, because it follows the suggestion Congress put forward as regards the provinces and a single Federation. They suggested that all the provinces should come in at the beginning but could opt out if they did not like the constitution when they had seen it. We think that this principle should apply to the Groups. Secondly, the present legislatures are not truly representative of the whole population because of the effect of the Communal Award with its weightages.

We have tried to get a scheme as near as possible to the full adult suffrage which would be fairest but which would take probably two years to work out— and no one believes that we could wait that length of time before starting on constitution-making. So we discard the present legislatures as decisive for the option and say : let it be exercised when the first new elections have taken place, when no doubt there will be a much fuller franchise and when, if necessary, the precise issue can be raised at the election. So the three sections will formulate the provincial and Group constitutions and when that is done they work together with the State representatives to make the Union constitution. This is the final phase.

Now a word about the States. The statement in paragraph 14 makes the position quite clear that Paramountcy cannot be continued after the new constitution comes into operation, nor can it be handed over to anyone else. It is not necessary for me to state—I am sure—that a contract or agreement of this kind cannot be handed over to a third party without the consent of the States. They will, therefore, become wholly independent but they have expressed their wish to negotiate their way into the Union and that is a matter we leave to negotiate between the States and the British Indian Parties.

There is one other important provision which I would like to stress as it is somewhat novel in constitution-making. We were met by the difficulty of how we could deal fairly with the smaller minorities, the tribal and the excluded areas. In any constitution-making body it would be quite impossible to give them weightage which would secure for them any effective influence without gravely upsetting the balance between the major parties. To give them a tiny representation would be useless to them. So we decided that minorities would be dealt with really in a double way. The major minorities, such as the Hindus in Muslim provinces, and the Muslims in Hindu provinces, the Sikhs in the Punjab and the Depressed Classes who had considerable representation in a number of provinces, would be dealt with by proportional representation in the main construction of the constitution-making bodies.

But in order to give these minorities and particularly the smaller minorities like the Indian Christians and the Anglo-Indians and also the tribal representatives a better opportunity of influencing minority provisions, we have made provision for the setting up by the constitution-making body of an influential Advisory Commission which will take the initiative in the preparation of the list of fundamental rights, the minority protection clauses and the proposals for the administration of tribal and excluded areas. The Commission will make its recommendations to the constitution-making body and will also suggest at which stage or stages in the constitution these provisions should be inserted, that is whether in the Union, Group or provincial constitutions or in any two or more of them.

Now that I think gives you some picture of the main points with which we have dealt in our statement. There is only one other point that I want to stress before leaving the matter with you untill to-morrow morning. You will realise, I am sure, how terribly important is this moment of decision for the Indian people.

We are all agreed that we want a speedy conclusion of these matters ; so far we have not been able all to agree upon how it should be brought about. We have done in this statement what we believed to be best after two months of discussion and very hard work and in the light of all we have heard and studied. This is our firm opinion and we do not, of course, intend to start all the negotiations over again. We intend to get on with the job on the lines we have laid down. We ask the Indian people to give this statement calm and careful consideration. I believe that the happiness for their future depends upon what they now do.

If, failing in their own agreement, they will accept this method that we put put forward of getting on while the making of a new constitution for India, we can between us make it a smooth transition and a rapid one, but if the plan is not accepted no one can say how great will be the disturbance, of how acute and long the suffering that will be self-inflicted on the Indian people. We are convinced that this statement offers an honourable and peaceful method to all parties and if they will

accept it we will do all that lies in our power to help forward the constitution-making so as to arrive at the speediest possible settlement.

Let no one doubt for one moment our intentions. We have not come to India and stayed here so long and worked so hard except to carry out what has long been the policy of the British Labour Party and that is to transfer power to the Indian people as quickly, as smoothly and as co-operatively as the difficulties of the process permit. We hope from the bottom of our hearts that the Indian people will accept the statement in the spirit of co-operation in which it has been drawn up, and that within a week or two the process of constitution-making may begin and the Interim Government may be formed."

Lord Pethick Lawrence at Press Conference

New Delhi—17th. May 1946

Speaking easily and with even temper and occasionally helped by Sir Stafford Cripps who sat to his left, Lord Pethick-Lawrence, Secretary of State for India, answered scores of questions at a two-hour Press Conference attended by over a hundred Indian and foreign Pressmen who sought clarification of yesterday's announcement.

Lord Pethick-Lawrence made it clear that what the Mission and the Viceroy had announced was not an award. "It is a recommendation," he said.

The Secretary of State said the Constitution recommended by the Mission could not be modified in favour of one party to the disadvantage of another.

Lord Pethick-Lawrence then proceeded to answer a volley of questions regarding the position of States *vis-a-vis* the Indian Union.

Q: Can the Provincial Assemblies elect people from outside their membership to the constitution-making body?

A: Yes. That is not excluded under the terms of the statement.

Q: Does the ten-year period set for revision of the constitution mean that the Union constitution is inviolable for ten years?

A: What it does mean is that the Constituent Assembly will lay down provisions for the revision of the constitution. This is in accordance with what is taking place in a great many other cases in the world. Precisely what the conditions of revision are is a matter for the Constituent Assembly to decide. I do not think I can go further into that.

Q: Will it be open to the Constituent Assembly to endow the Union with powers of taxation, customs, income-tax and other taxes?

Lord Pethick-Lawrence replied that the statement left it open to the Constituent Assembly to interpret the words relating to finance, subject to the condition that any resolution raising a major communal issue should require a majority of of the representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities. Subject to that, and subject to alterations in the basic formula, a bare majority in the Constituent Assembly could carry a proposal.

Lord Pethick-Lawrence said that the question of including currency in the Central list could be discussed if necessary in the Constitution-making Body.

Replying to a number of questions on Indian States, the Secretary of State reiterated that Paramountcy would continue in the interim period. He stated that the Mission had already received indications from most of the principal States and representatives of large bodies of other States that they had no desire to impede the progress of India towards Self-Government and Independence and that they wanted to co-operate in it.

As regards the position of the India Office during the interim period, Lord Pethick-Lawrence said that for months now, the India Office had been proceeding on the assumption that the time would come when great changes would be made in India and the whole position of the India Office would be altered. Its vast administrative machine would, however, be at the disposal of the new Constitution in India.

Question: If the Constitution-making Body decides that as a preliminary to proceeding with its work, British troops should be withdrawn, will they be withdrawn?

A: I think that is a misunderstanding of the situation. Some one must be responsible for law and order in the country. In the Provinces, the Indian Governments are really responsible for law and order, but the ultimate responsibility rests with the Government of India. We are anxious to transfer that at the earliest possible moment, but we must transfer it to a properly constituted Government. When that time comes, we will make the transfer.

Q: What will be the next stage of activity of the Cabinet Delegation?

A: The first thing is to get this plan accepted by the two main communities and I hope that will be carried through as soon as possible.

Q: What will be the percentage of Muslims in the Interim Government?

A: The question of the Interim Government is not for us to decide. It is primarily a question for the Viceroy.

Q: During the interim period, will the Viceroy's veto be exercised as it is at present?

A: That is a question for the Viceroy and he is now negotiating with the parties.

Lord Pethick-Lawrence said that the division into three main communities—General Muslim and Sikh—had not been made in consulation with any party. "This statement is our own and does not represent necessarily the opinion of anybody in India. But it is put out after we have discussed all these matters with different Indians and it is our attempt to reach the most likely method which will be accepted by the different parties.

Q: Has the Congress agreed to this?

A: We have not put this out on the basis that any body has agreed to anything. It is our statement and stands on its own footing.

There were a number of questions based on Mr. Churchill's speech in the House of Commons.

Q: Is Mr. Churchill correct in suggesting that the 'shifting of the onus of deciding the future Constitution from Indians to H. M. G. is an unfortunate step going beyond the understood purpose and mandate of the Mission'?

A: There has been no shifting of the onus of deciding the Constitution. If we could have arranged by agreement between the parties in India the basis of a Constitution on which they could come together in a Constitution-making Body, nothing would have pleased us better. In default of that, we thought it desirable to make certain recommendations as to the basis on which they could come together and the Viceroy is prepared to summon a Constitution-making Body on that basis. We believe that is in accord with the wish not only of Indians but the majority of our own people at home.

Q: What legislative steps will be required for setting up the Interim Government, the creation of the new Constitution and abrogation of the King's title of Emperor of India?

A: So far as the first is concerned, no legislative steps are necessary at all. So far as the ultimate step is concerned, this is a matter of constitutional law and I cannot answer off hand. So far as I know, speaking without consideration, I am not at all sure that a precise Statute will be required for it. But I should not like that to be taken as final. There will naturally have to be a debate in Parliament and some legislative step will have to be taken with the consent of His Majesty the King. But I do not contemplate any difficulty about all that. The present Labour Government is in a considerable working majority in the House of Commons and I do not imagine any serious difficulty in carrying it through.

Q: Do you agree with Mr. Churchill when he implies that you have laboured not to gain an Empire, but to cast it away?

A: I can only say that what we are doing to-day is in accord with the views that have been expressed all through by the really great statesmen in our country and nothing can redound more to the highest traditions of liberty which prevail in my country than if, as a result of our labours, we have in the years to come a sovereign country here in India whose relationship with ours is one of friendliness and equality.

Lord Wavell's Broadcast

New Delhi—17th. May 1946

I speak to the people of India at the most critical hour of India's history. The statement of the Cabinet Delegation containing their recommendations has now been before you for twenty-four hours. It is a blue-print for freedom, an outline of which your representatives have to fill in the details and construct the building.

You will have studied the statement, most of you, and may perhaps already have formed your opinion on it. If you think that it shows a path to reach the summit at which you have been aiming for so long, the independence of India, I am sure you will be eager to take it. If you should have formed the view—I hope you have not—that there is no passage that way, I hope that you will study again the route indicated to you, and see whether the difficulties in the path—and

we know they are formidable—cannot be surmounted by skill and patience and boldness.

I can assure you of this, that very much hard work, very much earnest study, very much anxious thought, and all the goodwill and sincerity at our command have gone to the making of these recommendations. We would much have preferred that the Indian leaders should have themselves reached an agreement on the course to be followed and we have done our best to persuade them: but it has not been found possible, in spite of concessions on both sides which at one time promised results.

The proposals put before you are obviously not those that any one of the parties would have chosen if left to itself. But I do believe that they offer a reasonable and workable basis on which to found India's future constitution. They preserve the essential unity of India which is threatened by the dispute between the two major communities: and in especial they remove the danger of the disruption of that great fellowship, the Indian army, to which India already owes so much and on whose strength, unity and efficiency her future security will depend.

They offer to the Muslim community the right to direct their own essential interests, their religion, their education, their culture, their economic and other concerns in their own way and to their own best advantage. To another great community, the Sikhs they preserve the unity of their home-land, the Punjab, in which they have played and can still play so important and influential a part. They provide in the special committee which forms a feature of the constitution-making machinery, the best chance to the smaller minorities to make their needs known and secure protection for their interests. They seek to arrange the means for the Indian States, great and small, to enter by negotiation into the polity of a united India. They offer to India the prospect of peace—a peace from party strife, the peace so needed for all constructive work there is to do, and they give you the opportunity of complete independence so soon as the Constituent Assembly has completed its labours.

I would like to emphasize the constructive work to be done. If you can agree to accept the proposals in the statement as a reasonable basis on which to work out your constitution then we are able at once to concentrate all the best efforts and abilities in India on the short-term problems that are so urgent—you know them well—the immediate danger of famine to be countered and measures taken to provide more food for everyone in future years; the health of India to be remedied; great schemes of wider education to be initiated; roads to be built and improved; and much else to be done to raise the standard of living of the common man.

There are also great schemes in hand to control India's water supplies, to extend irrigation, to provide power, to prevent floods; there are factories to be built and new industries to be started, while in the outside world India has to take her place in international bodies in which her representatives have already established a considerable reputation.

It is therefore my earnest desire that in these critical times ahead, in the interim period while the new constitution is being built, the government of India should be in the hands of the ablest of India's leaders, men recognised as such by the Indian people, whom they will trust to further their interests and bring them to their goal.

As said in the statement, I am charged with the responsibility to form such a Government as soon as possible to direct the affairs of British India in the interim period. There will be no doubt in the minds of anyone, I hope, how great a step forward this will be on India's road to Self-Government. It will be a purely Indian Government except for its head, the Governor-General, and will include, if I can get the men I want, recognised leaders of the main Indian parties, whose influence, ability and desire to serve India are unquestioned.

Such a Government must have a profound influence and power not only in India but also in the outside world. Some of the best ability in India which has hitherto been spent in opposition, can be harnessed to constructive work. These men can be the architects of the new India.

No constitution and no form of Government can work satisfactorily without goodwill; with goodwill and determination even an apparently illogical arrangement can be made to work. In the complex situation that faces us there are four main parties: the British, the two main parties in British India, Hindus and Muslims; and the Indian States. From all of them very considerable change of their present outlook will be required as a contribution to the general good, if

this great experiment is to succeed. To make concession in ideas and principle is a hard thing and not easily palatable. It requires some greatness of mind to recognise the necessity, much greatness of spirit to make the concession. I am sure that this will not be found wanting in India as I think you will admit that it has not been found wanting in the British people in this offer.

I wonder whether you realise that this is the greatest and most momentous experiment in Government in the whole history of the world—a new constitution to control the destiny of 400,000,000 people. A grave responsibility indeed on all of us who are privileged to assist in making it.

Lastly, I must emphasise the seriousness of the choice before you. It is the choice between peaceful construction or the disorder of civil strife, between co-operation or confusion. I am sure you will not hesitate in your choice for co-operation.

May I end with some words which were quoted by one great man to another at a crisis of the late war, and may well be applied to India at this crisis:

"Thou too, sail on, o ship of state,
Sail on, o union, strong and great:
Humanity with all its fears
With all the hopes of future years,
Is hanging breathless on thy fate."

General Auchinleck on the Position of Armed Forces

New Delhi—17th. May 1946

Explaining the Cabinet Mission's proposals to the armed forces of India, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief General Auchinleck in a broadcast in Hindustani said that in the Interim Government the post of War Member would be held by an Indian civilian and that the Commander-in-Chief would continue to be responsible for the command and welfare of the Army, Navy and Air Force. "All political matters," the Commander-in-Chief said, "will be in the hands of the War Member under whom I shall serve, just as the Commanders in Britain serve under civilian Ministers."

Stressing the importance of discipline General Auchinleck said: "There is no doubt that to-day there is danger of strife and disorder in the country. Whether you are in the Army, the Navy or the Air Force, you will know the good that comes from discipline and toleration. You have also learned to live together, Hindu, Muslim, Sikh and Christian, in the service of your country without quarrelling or jealousy.

You have learned each to respect the other and to work side by side for one subject—the good of your country. In this you have set an example to all India. I trust you, as I have always trusted you, to go on setting this example and to do your duty, as you have always done it in war and peace. I for my part shall do the same. So long as I am here you may rely on me to safeguard your interest in the future as in the past.

As you have heard from H. E. the Viceroy the British Government have put forward a scheme to enable Indians to make their own constitution and set up an independent Indian Government. As you all know too, Members of the British Government and the Viceroy have for some time past been discussing the leaders of the Muslim League and of the Congress. They have been trying to decide what kind of Government shall be set up in India. Their object is to make good the promise of the British Government that in future India shall be governed entirely by her own people, free from all control by Britain, and free to remain within the British Commonwealth or to go outside as she likes.

In spite of every attempt to find a form of Government which would be acceptable to the Congress and the Muslim League, no agreement has been reached. The Muslim League considers that there must be two independent and separate Governments in India, Pakistan for Muslims and Hindustan for the Hindus. The Congress thinks that India must not be divided and that there should be one Central Government with the provinces controlling their own affairs to the greatest possible extent. This very briefly is the position taken up by the two main political parties. It was hoped that between the two points of views some compromise acceptable to both parties might be found. This has, however, not been found possible, although both parties, have, for the sake of goodwill, modified their views to a considerable extent.

The British Government therefore, having failed to get the two principal political parties to agree, has decided that it is their duty to the people of India to lay down that everything shall be done in order to give India her independence as soon as

possible in an orderly and peaceful manner so that the mass of the people may be put to the least inconvenience and disturbance.

In making these arrangements, the British Government has tried to ensure justice and freedom for the smaller as well as for the larger sections of the people of India. The British Government realises that the Muslims have a real fear that they may be forced to live for always under a Hindu Government and any new form of government must be such as to make this fear groundless for all time. With this in view, the possibility of setting up a completely separate and independent Muslim state of Pakistan has been most carefully considered from every point of view and without any partiality at all. As a result of this examination the British Government has been forced to conclude that the setting up of completely independent states not linked together in any way would not result in a settlement of differences between Hindu and Muslim.

The setting up of two or more independent Governments would, in their opinion, result in great loss and danger to India in future. They, therefore, cannot agree to divide India into separate states, though they do not think that some way must be found for the predominantly Muslim areas to govern themselves if they wish to do so and to live their own lives. This is also recognised by the Hindus and the Congress Party.

The British Government, therefore, have approved neither the setting up of completely separate states nor the retention of all power at the Centre. They consider that although the different areas should have a large measure of independence if the people desire it, responsibility for the army, navy and the air force and for the defence of the whole of India in war, must rest with one authority for the whole of India. Apart from this, they have accepted the principle that each province or group of provinces may have power to manage its own affairs as desired by its own people without interference from the Centre.

These proposals are meant to ensure that all creeds and classes shall have their say in how they are to be governed and also to prevent any one section of the people being forced to live under the rule of any other section, without being sure that they will have the right to live their lives in their own way without fear or persecution. The details of this new system of government for India must be worked out by the people of India themselves. It is not the task of the British Government to do this.

To carry on the administration of the country while a new system of government is worked out the Viceroy proposes to form an Indian Government composed of himself and of leaders of political opinion who have the confidence of the people. In this temporary Government the post of War Member, which is at present held by the Commander-in-Chief (that is myself) will be held by a civilian who will be an Indian. I shall continue to be responsible for the command and welfare of the army, navy and air force but all political matters will be in the hands of the new War Member under whom I shall serve, just as the Commanders in Britain serve under the civilian Ministers.

While this temporary Government carries on the daily business of governing the country, it is proposed that there should be set up three Assemblies composed of representatives of all parties and creeds and classes, and by the provincial legislature. It will be the task of these three Assemblies together with representatives from the Indian States to decide how India will be governed in the future. The British Government hopes that in this way peace and security will come to India under the rule of her own leaders and that she will become great and prosperous as she deserves. While these discussions and meetings are going on it is the duty of the navy, army and air force to continue to serve the Government and to carry out its orders. As I have said, this temporary Government will be an Indian Government composed of members chosen from the leaders of the main political parties in the country who have full confidence of the people.

Congress Negotiation with the Cabinet Mission

Azad—Pethic Lawrence Correspondence

The Congress President summoned a meeting of the Working Committee which was held at Delhi on May 17. The Working Committee considered the statement issued by the Cabinet delegation and the Viceroy. The correspondence exchanged in connection with the statement and the resolution of the Working Committee dated May 24 are given below :—

Letter from the Congress President to Lord Pethic-Lawrence, dated 20th. May 1946 :—

My Committee have carefully considered the statement issued by the Cabinet Delegation on May 16th, and they have seen Gandhiji after the interviews he has had with you and Sir Stafford Cripps. There are certain matters about which I have been asked to write to you.

As we understand the statement, it contains certain recommendations and procedure for the election and functioning of the Constituent Assembly. The Assembly itself, when formed, will in my Committee's opinion, be a sovereign body for the purpose of drafting the constitution unhindered by any external authority, as well as for entering into a treaty. Further that it will be open to the Assembly to vary in any way it likes the recommendations and the procedure suggested by the Cabinet Delegation. The Constituent Assembly being a sovereign body for the purpose of the constitution, its final decisions will automatically take effect.

As you were aware some recommendations have been made in your statement which are contrary to the Congress stand as it was taken at the Simla Conference and elsewhere. Naturally we shall try to get the Assembly to remove what we consider defects in the recommendations. For this purpose we shall endeavour to educate the country and the Constituent Assembly.

There is one matter in which my Committee were pleased to hear Gandhiji say that you were trying to see that the European members in the various provincial assemblies, particularly Bengal and Assam, would neither offer themselves as candidates nor vote for the election of delegates to the Constituent Assembly.

No provision has been made for the election of a representative from British Baluchistan. So far as we know, there is no elected Assembly or any other kind of chamber which might select such a representative. One individual may not make much of a difference in the Constituent Assembly But it would make a difference if such an individual speaks for a whole province which he really does not represent in any way. It is far better not to have representation at all than to have this kind of representation which will mislead and which may decide the fate of Baluchistan contrary to the wishes of its inhabitants. If any kind of popular representation can be arranged, we would welcome it. My Committee were pleased, therefore, to hear Gandhiji say that you are likely to include Baluchistan within the scope of the Advisory Committee's work.

In your recommendations for the basic form of the constitution (page 3 of the printed draft, No. 5) you state that provinces should be free to form groups with executive and legislatures and each group could determine the provincial subjects to be taken in common. Just previous to this you state that all subjects other than the union subjects and all residuary powers should vest in the provinces. Later on in the statment, however, on page 5 you state that the provincial representatives to the Constituent Assembly will divide up into three sections and "these sections shall proceed to settle the provincial constitutions for the provinces in each section and shall also decide whether any group constitution shall be set up for these provinces." There appears to us to be a marked discrepancy in these two separate provisions. The basic provision gives full autonomy to a province to do what it likes and subsequently there appears to be a certain compulsion in the matter which clearly infringes that autonomy. It is true that at a later stage the provinces can opt out of any group In any event it is not clear how a province or its representatives can be compelled to do something which they do not want to do. A provincial Assembly may give a mandate to its representatives not to enter any group or a particular group or section. As sections B and C have been formed it is obvious that one Province will play a dominating role in the Section, the Punjab in Section B and Bengal in Section C., It is conceivable that this dominating province may frame a provincial constitution entirely against the wishes of Sind or the North-West Frontier Province or Assam. It may even conceivably lay down rules, for elections and otherwise thereby nullifying provision for a province to opt out of a group. Such could never be the intention as it would be repugnant to the basic principles and policy of the Scheme itself.

The question of Indian States has been left vague and, therefore, I need not say about it at this stage. But it is clear that State representatives who come into the Constituent Assembly must do so more or less in the same way as the representatives of the Provinces. The Constituent Assembly cannot be formed of entirely disparate elements.

I have dealt above with some points arising out of our statement. Possibly some of them can be cleared up by you and the [illegible]ts removed. The principal point

however, is, as stated above, that we look upon this Constituent Assembly as a sovereign body which can decide as it chooses in regard to any matter before it can give effect to this decision. The only limitation we recognise is that in regard to certain major communal issues the decision should be by a majority of each of the two major communities. We shall try to approach the public and the members of the Constituent Assembly with our own proposals for removing any defects in the recommendations made by you.

Gandhiji has informed my Committee that you contemplate that British troops will remain in India till after the establishment of the Government in accordance with the instrument produced by the Constituent Assembly. My Committee feel that the presence for foreign troops in India will be a negation of India's independence. India should be considered to be independent in fact from the moment that the National Provisional Government is established.

I shall be grateful to have an early reply so that my committee may come to a decision in regard to your statement.

Letter from Lord Pethick-Lawrence to the Congress President, dated 22nd May, 1946:—

The delegation have considered your letter of 20th May and feel that the best way to answer it is that they should make their general position quite clear to you. Since the Indian leaders after prolonged discussion failed to arrive at an agreement, the Delegation have put forward their recommendations as the nearest approach to reconciling the views of the two main parties. The scheme therefore stands as a whole and can only succeed if it is accepted and worked in a spirit of compromise and co-operation.

You are aware of the reasons for the grouping of the Provinces, and this is an essential feature of the scheme, which can only be modified by agreement between the two parties.

There are two further points which we think we should mention. First, in your letter you describe the Constituent Assembly as a sovereign body, the final decisions of which will automatically take effect. We think the authority and the functions of the Constituent Assembly and the procedure which it is intended to follow are clear from the statement. Once the Constituent Assembly is formed and working on this basis, there is naturally no intention to interefere with its discretion or to question its decisions. When the Constituent Assembly has completed its labours, His Majesty's Government will recommend to Parliament such action as may be necessary for the cession of sovereignty to the Indian people, subject only to two provisions which are mentioned in the Statement and which are not, we believe controversial, namely, adequate provision for the protection of minorities and willingness to conclude a treaty to cover matters arising out of the transfer of power.

Secondly, while His Majesty's Government are most anxious to secure that the interim period should be as short as possible, you will, we are sure, appreciate that for the reasons stated above independence cannot precede the bringing into operation of a new constitution.

Resolutions passed by the Working Committee—24th. May, 1946

The Working Committee have given careful consideration to the statement dated May 16, 1946 issued by the Delegation of the British Cabinet and the Viceroy on behalf of the British Government as well as the correspondence relating to it that has passed between the Congress President and the members of the Delegation. They have examined it with every desire to find a way for peaceful and co-operative transfer of power and the establishment of a free and independent India. Such an India must necessarily have a strong central authority capable of representing the nation with power and dignity in the counsels of the world. In considering the Statement, the Working Committee have kept in view the picture of the future, in so far as this was available to them from the proposals made for the formation of a Provisional Government and the clarification given by the members of the Delegation. This picture is still incomplete and vague. It is only the basis of the full picture that they can judge and come to a decision as to how far this is in conformity with objectives they aim at. These objectives are: independence for India, a strong, though limited, central authority, full autonomy for the provinces, the establishment of a democratic structure in the centre and in the units, the guarantee of the fundamental rights of each individual so that he may have full and equal opportunities of growth, and further that each community should have opportunity to live the life of its choice within the larger framwork.

The Committee regret to find a divergence between these objectives and the

various proposals that have been made on behalf of the British Government, and, in particular, there is no vital change envisaged during the interim period when the Provisional Government will function, in spite of the assurance given in paragraph 23 of the Statement. If the independence of India is aimed at, then the function of the Provisional Government must approximate closely in fact, even though not in law, to that independence and all obstructions and hindrances to it should be removed. The continued presence of foreign army of occupation is a negation of independence.

The Statement issued by the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy contains certain recommendations and suggests a procedure for the building up of a Constituent Assembly, which is sovereign in so far as the framing of the constitution is concerned. The committee do not agree with some of these recommendations. In their view it will be open to the Constituent Assembly itself at any stage to make changes and variations, with the proviso that in regard to certain major communal matters a majority decision of both the major communities will be necessary.

The procedure for the election of the Constituent Assembly is based on representation in the ratio of one to a million, but the application of this principle appears to have been overlooked in the case of European members of Assemblies, particularly in Assam and Bengal. Therefore, the Committee expect that this oversight will be corrected.

The Constituent Assembly is meant to be a fully elected body, choosen by the elected members of the Provincial Legislatures. In Baluchistan there is no elected assembly or any other kind of chamber which might elect a representative for the Constituent Assembly. It would be improper for any kind of nominated individual to speak for the whole province of Baluchistan, which he really does not represent in any way. In Coorg the Legislative Council contains some nominated members as well as Europeans elected from a special constituency of less than hundred electors. Only the elected members from the general constituencies should participate in the election.

The Statement of the Cabinet Delegation affirms the basic principle of provincial autonomy and residuary powers vesting in the Provinces. It is further said that Provinces should be free to form groups. Subsequently, however, it is recommended that provincial representatives will divide up into sections which 'shall proceed to settle the Provincial Constitutions for the Provinces in each section and shall also decide whether any Group Constitution shall be set up for the Provinces'. There is a marked discrepancy in these two separate provisions, and it would appear that a measure of compulsion is introduced which clearly infringes the basic principle of provincial autonomy. In order to retain the recommendatory character of the Statement, and in order to make the clauses consistent with each other, the Committee read paragraph 15 to mean that, in the first instance, the respective provinces will make their choice whether or not to belong to the section in which they are placed. Thus the Constituent Assembly must be considered as a sovereign body with final authority for the purpose of drawing up a constitution and giving effect to it.

The provisions in the Statement in regard to the Indian States are vague and much has been left for future decision. The Working Committee would, however, like to make it clear that the Constituent Assembly cannot be formed of entirely disparate elements, and the manner of appointing State representatives for the Constituent Assembly must approximate, in so far as is possible, to the method adopted in the provinces. The Committee are gravely concerned to learn that even at this present moment some State governments are attempting to crush the spirit of their people with the help of armed forces. These recent developments in the States are of great significance in the present and for the future of India, as they indicate that there is no real change of policy on the part of some of the State governments and of those who exercise paramountcy.

A Provisional National Government must have a new basis and must be a precursor of the full independence that will emerge from the Constituent Assembly. It must function in recognition of that fact, though changes in law need not be made at this stage The Governor/General may continue as the head of that Government during the interim period, but the Government should function as a cabinet responsible to the Central Legislature. The status, powers and composition of the Provisional Government should be fully defined in order to enable the Committee to come to a decision. Major communal issues shall be decided in the manner referred to above in order to remove any possible fear or suspicion from the minds of a minority.

The Working Committee consider that the connected problems involved in the establishment of a Provisional Government and a Constituent Assembly should be viewed together so that they may appear as parts of the same picture, and there may be co-ordination between the two, as well as an acceptance of the independence that is now recognised as India's right and due. It is only with the conviction that they are engaged in building up a free, great and independent India, that the Working Committee can approach this task and invite the co-operation of all the people of India. In the absence of a full picture, the Committee are unable to give a final opinion at this stage.

The Cabinet Delegation's Statement— 25th. May 1946

The following is the text of the statement issued on May 25 byt he Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy dealing with the points raised by the Congress Working Committee in their resolution of May 24 and the President of the Muslim League in his statement of May 22 in connection with the Cabinet Delegation's statement of May 16 :—

The Delegation have considered the statement of the President of the Muslim League dated May 22 and the resolution dated May 24 of the Working Committee of the Congress.

The position is that since the Indian leaders, after prolonged discussion, failed to arrive at an agreement, the Delegation put forward their recommendations as the nearest approach to reconciling the views of the two main parties. The scheme stands as a whole and can only succeed if it is accepted and worked in a spirit of co-operation.

The Delegation wish also to refer briefly to a few points that have been raised in the statement and resolution.

The authority and the functions of the Constituent Assembly, and the procedure which it is intended to follow are clear from the Cabinet Delegation's statement. Once the Constituent Assembly is formed and working on this basis, there is no intention of interfering with its discretion or questioning its labours.

His Majesty's Government will recommend to Parliament such action as may be necessary for the cession of sovereignty to the Indian people, subject only to two matters which are mentioned in the statement and which we believe are not controversial, namely, adequate provision for the protection of the minorities (Paragraph 20 of the statement) and willingness to conclude a treaty with His Majesty's Government to cover matters arising out of the transfer of power (Paragraph 22 of the statement).

It is a consequence of the system of election that a few Europeans can be elected to the Constituent Assembly. Whether the right so given will be exercised is a matter for them to decide.

The representative of Baluchistan will be elected in a joint meeting of the Shahi Jirga and the non-official members of the Quetta Municipality.

In Coorg the whole Legislative Council will have the right to vote, but the official members will receive instructions not to take part in the election.

The interpretation put by the Congress resolution on Paragraph 15 of the statement to the effect that the provinces can in the first instance make the choice whether or not to belong to the section in which they are placed does not accord with the Delegation's intentions.

The reasons for the grouping of the provinces are well-known and this is an essential feature of the scheme and can only be modified by agreement between the parties.

The right to opt out of the groups after the constitution-making has been completed will be exercised by the people themselves, since at the first election under the new provincial constitution this question of opting out will obviously be a major issue and all those entitled to vote under the new franchise will be able to take their share in a truly democratic decision.

The question of how the state representatives should be appointed to the constituent assembly is clearly one which must be discussed with the States. It is not a matter for decision by the Delegation.

It is agreed that the Interim Government will have a new basis. That basis is that all portfolios including that of the War member will be held by Indians; and that the members will be selected in consultation with the Indian political parties. These are very significant changes in the Government of India, and a long step towards independence. H.M.G. will recognise the effect of these changes, it will

attach the fullest weight to them, and will give to the Indian Government the greatest possible freedom in the exercise of the day-to-day administration of India.

As the Congress statement recognises, the present constitution must continue during the interim period; and the Interim Government cannot therefore be made legally responsible to the Central Legislature. There is, however, nothing to prevent the members of the Government, individually or by common consent, from resigning, if they fail to pass an important measure through the Legislature, or if a vote of no-confidence is passed against them.

There is of course no intention of retaining British troops in India against the wish of an independent India under the new constitution: but during the interim period, which it is hoped will be short, the British Parliament, has, under the present constitution, the ultimate responsibility for the security of India and it is necessary therefore that British troops should remain.

Establishment of Interim National Government

Nehru—Wavell Correspondence

The Working Committee dispersed on May 24 to meet again on June 9. The Working Committee in its resolution of May 24 had expressed inability to give their final opinion on the statement of the Cabinet Delegation unless they had before them a full picture of the national Provisional Government the Government proposed to establish at the Centre. The following is the text of the correspondence exchanged between the Congress President, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and the Viceroy in connection with the establishment of an Interim National Government :—

Letter from the Congress President to Lord Wavell, dated 25th, May, 1946 :—

Your Excellency will remember that the demand of the Congress from the very beginning of the present discussions regarding the Interim Government has been that there must be a legal and constitutional change in order to give it the status of a truly national government. The Working Committee has felt that this is necessary in the interest of a peaceful settlement of the Indian problem. Without such status, the Interim Government would not be in a position to infuse in the Indian people a consciousness of freedom which is today essential. Both Lord Pethic-Lawrence and you have, however, pointed out the difficulties in the way of effecting such constitutional changes, while at the same time assuring us that the Interim Government would have in fact, if not in law, the status of a truly national government. The Working Committee feel that after the British Government's declaration that the Constituent Assembly will be the final authority for framing the constitution and any constitution framed by it will be binding the recognition of Indian independence is imminent. It is inevitable that the Interim Government which is to function, during the period of the Constituent Assembly must reflect this recognition. In my last conversation with you, you stated that it was your intention to function as a constitutional head of the government and that in practice the Interim Government would have the same powers as that of a cabinet in the Dominions. This is, however, a matter which is so important that it would not be fair either to you or to the Congress Working Committee to let it rest upon what transpired in informal conversations. Even without any change in the law there could be some formal understanding by which the Congress Working Committee may be assured that the Interim Government would in practice function like a Dominion Cabinet.

The question of the responsibility of the Interim Government to the Central Assembly may also be treated in the same way. The existing law permits an executive independent of the Central Legislature but a convention could be created by which its tenure of office would depend on its enjoyment of such confidence.

The other details regarding the composition and magnitude of the Interim Cabinet which came up in my discussions with you would all depend upon the satisfactory solution of the two basic questions enumerated above. If the questions of status and responsibility of the Interim Government are satisfactorily solved I hope we would be able to decide other questions without any delay. As I have already written to you, the Working Committee has been adjourned and will be

summoned again when occasion demands. I would request you to let me have an indication of your decision and programme, so that the Working Committee may be summoned accordingly. I am leaving for Mussooree on Monday and would request you to reply to my letter there.

Letter from Lord Wavell to the Congress President, dated 30th. May 1946 :—

I have received your letter of the 25th May on the Interim Government.

2. We have discussed this matter on several occasions and I recognise the importance that you and your party attach to a satisfactory definition of the powers of the Interim Government and appreciate your reasons for asking for such a definition. My difficulty is that the most liberal intentions may be almost unrecognizable when they have to be expressed in a formal document.

3. I am quite clear that I did not state to you that the Interim Government would have the same powers as a Dominion Cabinet. The whole constitutional position is entirely different. I said that I was sure that His Majesty's Government would treat the new Interim Government with the same close consultation and consideration as a Dominion Government.

4. His Majesty's Government have already said that they will give to the Indian Government the greatest possible freedom in the exercise of the day to day administration of the country ; and I need hardly assure you that it is my intention faithfully to carry out this undertaking.

5. I am quite clear that the spirit in which the Government is worked will be of much greater importance than any formal document and guarantee. I have no doubt that if you are prepared to trust me, we shall be able to co-operate in a manner which will give India a sense of freedom from external control and will prepare for complete freedom as soon as the new constitution is made.

6. I sincerely hope that the Congress will accept these assurances and will have no further hesitation in going to co-operate in the immense problems which confront us.

7. In the matter of time table you will be aware that the All-India Muslim League Council is meeting on June 5th at which we understand decisive conclusions are to be reached. I suggest, therefore, that if you summon your Working Committee to reassemble in Delhi on Friday, the 7th it may be possible for final discussions to be made by all parties on outstanding questions early in the following week.

Letter from Lord Wavell to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, dated 12th June, 1946 :—

I am anxious to have an opportunity of consulting you together with Mr. Jinnah as to how best I can fill the various posts in the Interim Government. Could you come to see me for this purpose at 5 p m, today ?

It is not my intention to discuss any question of principle such as "parity" or otherwise, but to concentrate upon what I know to be one common objective, that is to get the best possible Interim Government drawn from the two major parties and some of the Minorities, and to approach this decision by a consideration of what the portfolios should be and how each one can best be filled.

I am sending a similar letter to Mr. Jinnah.

Letter from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to Lord Wavell, dated 12th June 1946 :—

I am sorry for the slight delay in answering your letter of today's date. Your invitation to me to see you today at 5 p.m. in order to confer with you and Mr. Jinnah about the Interim Government placed me in a somewhat difficult position. I would gladly meet you at any time, but our official spokesman in regard to such matters is naturally our President, Maulana Azad. He can speak and confer authoritatively, which I cann t do. It is, therefore, proper that he should be in charge on our behalf of any authoritative conversations that might take place. But since you have asked me to come I shall do so. I hope, however, that you will appreciate my position and that I can only talk without authority, which vests in our President and the Working Committee.

Letter from the Congress President to Lord Wavell, dated 13th June, 1946 :—

Thank you for your letter of the 12th June, which I have just received, inquiring after my health. I have now more or less recovered.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has reported to my Committee and me the gist of the conversations between Your Excellency and him. My Committee regret that they are unable to accept your suggestions for the formation of the Provisional National Government. These tentative suggestions emphasise the principle of "Parity" to which we have been and are entirely opposed. In the composition of the cabinet

suggested by you there is "parity" between the Hindus including the Scheduled Castes and the Muslim League, that is the number of Caste Hindus in actually less than the nominees of the Muslim League. The position thus is worse than it was in June 1945 at Simla where, according to your declaration then, there was to be "parity" between Caste Hindus and Muslims, leaving additional seats for the Scheduled Caste Hindus. The Muslim seats then were not reserved for the Muslim League only but could include non-League Muslims. The present proposal thus puts the Hindus in a very unfair position and at the same time eliminates the non-League Muslims. My Committee are not prepared to accept any such proposal. Indeed as we have stated repeatedly we are opposed to "parity" in any shape or form.

In addition to this "parity" we are told that there should be a convention requiring that major communal issues should be decided by separate group voting. While we have accepted this principle for long-term arrangements we did so as an effective substitute for other safeguards. In your present proposal, however, both "parity" and this convention are suggested. This would make the working of the Provisional Government almost impossible and deadlock a certainty.

As I have often pointed out to you we are strongly of opinion that the Provisional Government should consist of fifteen members. This is necessary to carry out the administration of the country efficiently as well as to give adequate representation to the smaller minorities. We are anxious that the various minorities should have scope in such a government. The work before the Provisional Government is likely to be much heavier and more exacting. In your proposal Communications include railways, transport, posts, telegraphs and air. It is difficult for us to conceive how all these can be joined together in one portfolio. This would be undesirable at any time. With industrial trouble and the possibility of railway strikes this agreement would be wholly wrong. We think also that Planning is an essential department for the Centre. We think, therefore, that the Provisional Government must consist of fifteen members.

The suggested division of portfolios appears to us to be undesirable and unfair.

My Committee would also like to point out that a Coalition Government in order to be successful must have some common outlook and programme for the time being. The manner of approach in forming such a Government has been such as to leave this out of consideration and my Committee do not feel any confidence that such a coalition can function successfully.

It was our intention to write to you about certain other matters also, but for reasons known to you our letter has been delayed. I shall write to you about these other matters later. My purpose in writing to you now is to convey to you without any delay our reactions on the tentative proposals that you put forward today

Letter from the Congress President to Lord Wavell, dated 14th June, 1946 :—

In the course of our talk today you mentioned that among the Muslim League nominees suggested for the Provisional Government was one from the North-West Frontier Province who had recently been defeated at the Provincial elections. This was said by you confidentially and we shall of course treat it as such. But I feel I must inform you, to avoid any possibility of misunderstanding, that any such name will be considered objectionable by us. The objection is not personal, but we feel that the name is suggested for entirely political reasons and we cannot agree to any such course.

Letter from Lord Wavell to the Congress President, dated 14th June, 1946 :—

This is in answer to your confidential letter of June 14th about one of the Muslim League nominees.

I am afraid that I cannot accept the right of the Congress to object to names put forward by the Muslim League, any more than I would accept similar objections from the other side. The test must be that of ability.

Letter from the Congress President to Lord Wavell, dated 14th June, 1946 :—

In my letter to you sent yesterday I promised to send you another letter. I am now doing so.

On May 24th the Congress Working Committee passed a resolution which I convey to you. In this resolution we gave out reactions to the Statement dated May 16, 1946, which the British Cabinet Delegation and you issued on behalf of the British Government. We pointed out what were in our opinion some of the omissions and defects in that Statement and we also gave our interpretation of some of its

provisions. In a subsequent Statement issued by you and the Cabinet Delegation our viewpoint was not accepted.

You know, and we have repeatedly emphasised this, that our immediate objective has been and is the independence of India. We have to judge everything by this standard. We suggested that even though no legal change might be made at this stage, independence in practice might be recognised. This has not been agreed to.

In your letter dated May 30, 1946, addressed to me, you explained what in your view the status and powers of the Interim Government would be. This too falls short of what we aim at. Yet the friendly tone of your letter and our desire to find some way out led us to accept your assurance in these matters. We came to the conclusion also that, unsatisfactory as were many of the provisions of your Statement of May 16th, we would try to work them accordingly to our own interpretation and with a view to achieve our objective.

You are no doubt aware of the strong feeling of resentment which exists among large sections of the people against some of the proposals in the Statement, notably the idea of grouping. The Frontier Province and Assam have expressed themselves with considerable force against any compulsory grouping. The Sikhs have felt hurt and isolated by these proposals and are considerably agitated. Being a minority in the Punjab, they become still more helpless, as far as numbers go, in Section 'B'. We appreciated all these objections especially as we ourselves shared them. Nevertheless we hoped that according to our interpretation of the clauses relating to grouping, which we still hold is the correct interpretation, for any other interpretation would endanger the basic principle of provincial autonomy, we might be able to get over some of the obvious difficulties.

But two insuperable obstacles remained and we had hoped that you would be able to remove them. One of these related to the part that European members of the Provincial Assemblies might play in the election to the Constituent Assembly. We have no objection to Englishmen or Europeans as such, but we do have a strong objection to persons, who are foreigners and non-nationals and who claim to belong to the ruling race, participating in, and influencing the elections to, the Constituent Assembly. The Cabinet Delegation's Statement lays down clearly that the future constitution of India has to be decided by Indians. The basic principle of the Statement of May 16th was the election of a member of the Constituent Assembly to represent one million inhabitants. On this basis, the representatives of 146,000 Muslims in Orissa and 180,000 Hindus and 58,000 Sikhs in the North West Frontier Province have not been given the right to elect any member to the Constituent Assembly. The European population of Bengal and Assam numbers only 21,000, but their representatives can return to the Constituent Assembly by their own vote 7 out of 34 members, thus appropriating to themselves the right to represent 7 millions. They are returned to the Provincial Assembly by a separate electorate of their own and have been given fantastic weightage. This representation of Europeans in the Constituent Assembly will be at the cost of non-Muslims, that is mainly Hindus, who are already in a majority in Bengal. To make a majority suffer in this way is surely utterly wrong. Apart from the question of principle, it is a matter of the utmost importance in practice and may well affect the future both of Bengal and Assam. The Congress Working Committee attach the greatest importance to this. We would like to add that even if the Europeans themselves do not stand for election, but merely vote, the results will be equally bad. The Cabinet Delegation have informed us that beyond promising to use their persuasive powers they could not hold out any assurance to us that the European members would not exercise the right which, we are advised, they do not possess under the Statement of May 16th. But if the Delegation hold otherwise, as evidently they do, we cannot contemplate a legal fight for their exclusion at the threshold of the Constituent Assembly. Therefore, a clear announcement is necessary that they will not take part as voters or candidates in the election of the Constituent Assembly. We cannot depend on grace or goodwill where rights are concerned.

Equally important, in our view, is the question of "parity" in the Provisional National Government. I have already written to you on the subject. This "parity" or by whatever other name it may be called, has been opposed by us throughout and we consider it a dangerous innovation which, instead of working for harmony, will be a source of continuous conflict and trouble. It may well poison our future as other separatist steps in the past have poisoned our public life. We are told that this is a temporary provision and not be treated as precedent, but no such assurance

can prevent an evil step from having evil consequences. We are convinced that even the results of any such provision will be harmful.

If the position about the European "parity" remains, my Committee are reluctantly compelled to inform you that they will not be able to assist you in the difficult task ahead.

The talk we had with you today has not made any substantial difference to the fundamental position. We have noted that, according to your new suggestions, the proposed woman member might be replaced by a Hindu, thus increasing the Hindu members including Scheduled Caste representatives to six. We would be sorry not to have a woman member, but apart from this, the new proposal maintains the old Simla (1945) formula of parity between Caste Hindus and Muslims, with this important qualification that now Muslims are supposed to mean members of the Muslim League. We are unable to agree to this proposal and we are still convinced that Provisional Government must consist of 15 members and that there should be no kind of parity in their selection.

Letter from Lord Wavell to the Congress President, dated 15th June, 1946 :—

I have received your letter of June 14. I will reply to it in detail in the course of today.

Meanwhile I must assume from the last paragraph of your letter that my attempt to negotiate an agreement between the two major Parties on the composition of the Interim Government has failed. The Cabinet Delegation and I have therefore, decided to issue tomorrow a statement on the action we propose to take; and we will let you have a copy of this before publication.

Letter from Lord Wavell to the Congress President, dated 15th June, 1946 :—

I have received your letter of 14th June. You deal with matters on which we have already had much discussion.

2. We are doing everything possible to further the independence of India. As we have already pointed out, however, there must first be a new constitution drawn up by the people of India.

3. The Delegation and I are aware of your objections to the principle of grouping. I would, however, point out that the Statement of 16th May does not make grouping compulsory. It leaves the decision to the elected representatives of Provinces concerned sitting together in Sections. The only provision which is made is that the representatives of certain Provinces should meet in Sections so that they can decide whether or not they wish to form Groups. Even when this has been done the individual Provinces are still to have the liberty to opt out of the Group if they so decide.

4. I recognise the difficulty about the Europeans who through no fault of their own find themselves in difficult position. I still hope that a satisfactory solution of this problem will be found.

5. Our discussion in regard to the Interim Government have been on the basis of political parties and not communities. I understand that this is regarded as preferable now, as it was at the first Simla Conference. In the proposed Interim Government of myself and 13 others, there will be 6 Congressmen and 5 Muslim Leaguers. I do not see how this can be called parity. Nor is there parity between Hindus and Muslims, there being six Hindus to five Muslims.

6. Even at this last moment I still hope that the Congress will now accept the Statement and consent to join the Interim Government.

Letter from the Congress Presient to Lord Wavell, dated 16th June 1946 :—

I have received your two letters of June 15th.

I note what you say about grouping. We abide by our interpretation of it.

As regards Europeans, we are clear that even on a legal interpretation of the Statement of May 16th, apart from other considerations, they have not the right to participate in the elections to the Constituent Assembly. I am glad you expect a satifactory solution of this problem.

We have endeavoured in our letter and in the course of our talks to state clearly what our position is in regard to any kind of parity. You will remember that parity was mentioned and considered at the first Simla Conference. That parity was exactly the same as is now suggested by you, that is, parity between Caste Hindus and Muslims. Owing to the stress of war and other conditions then existing, we were prepared to accept this only for that occasion. It was not to be used as a precedent. Moreover, this was subject to the inclusion of at least one Nationalist Muslim. Now conditions have entirely changed and we have to consider the ques-

tion in another context, that of approaching independence and Constituent Assembly. As we have written to you, in this context and in present circumstances we consider this kind of parity unfair and likely to lead to difficulties. The whole scheme proposed by you in the Statement of May 16th is based on absence of weightage. And yet, in the proposed provincial Government, there is this weightage, in addition to other far-reaching communal safeguards.

We have tried our utmost to arrive at a satisfactory settlement and we shall not despair of it. But such a settlement, in order to be enduring, must be based on strong foundations. So far as the Statement of May 16th is concerned our main difficulty, as we wrote to you, was the European vote. If this matter is settled, as now appears likely, then this difficulty also goes.

The second and remaining difficulty relates to the proposals for the Provincial Government which have to be considered together with the Statement. The two cannot be separated. These proposals have thus far been unacceptable to us. But if a satisfactory settlement in regard to them is arrived at, we would be in a position to shoulder the burden.

Statement by Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy New Delhi—16th June, 1946

The above correspondence revealed the proposals the Viceroy made from time to time for securing the participation of the Congress in the interim national government. The Congress Working Committee rejected these proposals. They were manifestly unfair and unjust to the Congress as also to smaller minorities.

The effort to bring about an agreed basis for the formation of an interim government having failed, the Viceroy and the Cabinet Delegation issued a statement on June 16 in which they set forth their proposal for the establishment of an interim government. The full text of this statement is as follows:

1. His Excellency the Viceroy, in consultation with the members of the Cabinet Mission, has some time been exploring the possibilities of forming a coalition Government drawn from the two major parties and certain of the minorities. The discussion have revealed the difficulties which exist for the two major parties in arriving at any agreed basis for the formation of such Government.

2. The Viceroy and the Cabinet Mission appreciate these difficulties and the efforts which the two parties have made to meet them. They consider, however, that no useful purpose can be served by further prolonging these discussions. It is indeed urgently necessary that a strong and representative Interim Government should be set up to conduct the very heavy and important business that has to be carried through.

3. The Viceroy is therefore issuing invitations to the following to serve as members of the Interim Government on the basis that the constitution-making will proceed in accordance with the Statement of May 16th :—

Sardar Baldev Singh.	Mr. H. K. Mahtab
Sir N. P. Engineer.	Dr. John Matthai.
Mr. Jagjivan Ram.	Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan.
Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.	Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin.
Mr. M. A. Jinnah.	Sardar Abur Rab Nisthar.
Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan.	Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.
Mr. C. Rajagopalachari.	Dr. Rajendra Prasad

If any of those invited is unable for personal reasons to accept, the Viceroy will, after consultation, invite some other person in his place.

4. The Viceroy will arrange the distribution of portfolios in consultation with the leaders of the two major parties.

5. The above composition of the Interim Government is in no way to be taken as a precedent for the solution of any other communal question. It is an expedient put forward to solve the present difficulty only, and to obtain the best available coalition Government.

6. The Viceroy and the Cabinet Mission believe that Indians of all communities desire to arrive at a speedy settlement of this matter so that the process of consti-

tution-making can go forward and that the Government of India may be carried on as efficiently as possible in the meantime.

7. They therefore hope that all parties especially the two major parties will accept this proposal so as to overcome the present obstacles, and will co-operate for the successful carrying on of the Interim Government. Should this proposal be accepted the Viceroy will aim at inaugurating the new Government about the 26th June.

8. In the event of two major parties or either of them proving unwilling to join in the setting up of a coalition Government on the above lines, it is the intention of the Viceroy to proceed with the formation of the Interim Government which will be as representative as possible of those willing to accept the Statement of May 16th.

9. The Viceroy is also directing the Governors of the Provinces to summon the Provincial Legislative Assemblies forthwith to proceed with the elections necessary for the setting up of the constitution-making machinery as put forward in the Statement of May 16th.

Viceroy's letter to Congress and League Presidents

The Viceroy sent an advance copy of the above statement to the Congress President and the League President with the following covering letter dated New Delhi, 16th June 1946 :—

I send herewith a copy of the Statement which, as indicated in the letter I sent you yesterday, will be released at 4 p.m. this evening.

As the Statement shows, the Cabinet Ministers and I are fully aware of the difficulties that have prevented an agreement on the composition of the Interim Government. We are unwilling to abandon our hope of a working partnership between the two major parties and representatives of the minorities. We have therefore done our best to arrive at a practicable arrangement taking into consideration the various conflicting claims and the need for obtaining a Government of capable and representative administrators. We hope that the parties will now take their share in the administration of the country on the basis set out in our new Statement. We are sure we can rely on your Working Committee to look to the wider issues and to the urgent needs of the country as a whole and to consider this proposal in a spirit of accommodation.

The Azad—Wavell Correspondence

New Delhi—18th. June to 25th. June 1946

The Working Committee carefully considerd this statement of June 16. They appreciated the voluntary character of the statement but the concrete proposal for the formation of the interim government suffered from serious and vital defects. The Committee made an effort to see if those defects could be remedied and a way opened for Congress participation in the interim Government. The Correspondence exchanged between the Congress President and the Viceroy in connection with the Statement of June 16 is given below :—

Letter from the Congress President to Lord Wavell, dated 18th June, 1946 :—

I promised to write to you this evening in case my Committee had come to any decisions. The Committee met this afternoon and sat for many hours. In the absence of our colleague Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, who is due to arrive tomorrow morning, we decided to adjourn till tomorrow. I am therefore not in a position this evening to convey to you any decision. I shall communicate with you as soon as my Committee arrives at any conclusions.

Letter from Lord Wavell to the Congress President, dated 20th June, 1946 :—

You will I am sure appreciate that the members of the Cabinet Mission have a great deal of urgent work awaiting them in England and are not in a position to prolong their stay in this country indefinitely. I would therefore ask your Working Committee to let us have a final answer as soon as possible to the proposals made in our statement of June 16th.

I understand that you have summoned back the members of the Committee

who had left Delhi and in these circumstances we would ask you to let us have your answer not later than Sunday next June 23rd.

Letter from the Congress President to Lord Wavell, dated 21st June, 1946 :—

I have Your Excellency's letter of 20th June, 1946.

I appreciate your anxiety to come to an early decision regarding the formation of an Interim Government and I can assure you that my Working Committee fully share your anxiety. A new difficulty, in addition to the old ones, has however been created by the publication in the press of the alleged contents of Mr. Jinnah's letter to you in which he raises objection to the Congress nominations in the Interim Cabinet. It will be of great assistance to the Working Committee in coming to a decision if they could have copies of these alleged letters and your reply thereto as they deal with vital matters which we have to consider.

Letter from Lord Wavell to the Congress President dated 21st June, 1946 :—

Thank you for your letter of today. Mr. Jinnah in his letter to me of the 19th June, put to me the following questions.

"(1) Whether the proposals contained in the statement for setting up of an Interim Government are now final or whether they are still open to any further change or modification at the instance of any of the parties or persons concerned ;

(2) Whether the total number of 14 members of the Government as proposed in the statement would remain unchanged during the interim period ;

(3) If any person or persons invited as representatives of the four minorities viz. the Scheduled Castes, the Sikhs, the Indian Christians and the Parsis, is or are, unable to accept the invitation to join the Interim Government for personal or other reasons, how will the vacancy or vacancies thus created be filled by the Viceroy ; and whether in filling up the vacancy or vacancies the leader of the Muslim League will be consulted and his consent obtained ;

(4) (a) Whether during the interim period for which the coalition government is being set up the proportion of members of the Government, community-wise, as provided in the proposals, will be maintained ;

(b) Whether the present representation given to four minorities, viz. the Scheduled Castes, the Sikhs, the Indian Christians, and the Parsis, will be adhered to without any change or modification ; and

(5) In view of the substitution of 14 now proposed for the original formula, whether there will be a provision, in order to safeguard Muslim interests, that the Executive Council shall not take any decision on any major communal issue if the majority of the Muslim members are opposed to it."

2. The operative part of my reply dated the 20th June was as follows ;

"The intention in the Statement of June 16 was that the discussion of portfolios with leaders of the two main parties should follow the acceptance by both parties of the scheme. This intention still holds, since until the names as known, it is difficult to decide on the distribution of portfolios.

On the points which you desire to be made clear in connection with the Government to be formed under our Statement of June 16, I give you the following reply after consultations with the Delegation :

(1) Until I have received acceptance from those invited to take office in the Interim Government, the names in the Statement cannot be regarded as final. But no change in principle will be made in the statement without the consent of the two major parties.

(2) No change in the number of 14 members of the Interim Government will be made without the agreement of the two major parties.

(3) If any vacancy occurs among the seats at present allotted to representatives of minorities, I shall naturally consult both the main parties before filling it.

(4) (a) & (b). The proportion of members by communities will not be changed without the agreement of the two major parties.

(5) No decision on a major communal issue could be taken by the Interim Government if the majority of either of the main parties were opposed to it. I pointed this out to the Congress President and he agreed that the Congress appreciated this point."

Letter from Lord Wavell to the Congress President dated 22nd June, 1946 :—

I understand from Press reports that there is a strong feeling in Congress circles that the Party should insist on their right to include a Muslim of their choice among the representatives of the Congress in the Interim Government.

For reasons of which you are already aware it is not possible for the Cabinet Mission or myself to accept this request, but I would draw your attention to paragraph 5 of the Statement of the 16th June, which reads as follows:

"The above composition of the Interim Government is in no way to be taken as a precedent for the solution of any other communal question. It is an expedient put forward to solve the present difficulty only, and to obtain the best available coalition Government."

In the light of this assurance that no precedent is established we appeal to the Congress not to press their demand, but to take part in the strong Interim Government which the country so urgently needs.

Letter from the Congress President to Lord Wavell dated 24th June, 1946 :—

I have just received the telephone message sent on your behalf asking me to communicate immediately the decision of the Congress Working Committee in regard to the proposals for the Provisional Government. The decision was in fact taken yesterday but we felt that it would be better if we wrote to you fully on all aspects of the proposals made by you and the Cabinet Delegation. The Working Committee have been sitting almost continuously and will be meeting at 2 p.m. again today. After full consideration and deliberation they have been reluctantly obliged to decide against the acceptance of the Interim Government proposals as framed by you. A detailed and reasoned reply will follow later.

Letter from the Congress President to Lord Wavell, dated 25th June, 1946 :—

Ever since the receipt of your Statement of June 16th, my Committee have been considering it from day to day and and have given long and anxious thought to your proposals and to the invitations you have issued to individuals to form the provisional National Government. Because of our desire to find some way out of the present most unsatisfactory situation, we have tried our utmost to appreciate your approach and viewpoint. In the course of our conversations we have already pointed out to you our difficulties. Unfortunately these difficulties have been increased by the recent correspondence.

The Congress, as you are aware, is a national organization including in its fold the members of all religions and communities in India. For more than half a century it has laboured for the freedom of India and for equal rights for all Indians. The link that has brought all these various groups and communities together within the fold of the Congress is the passionate desire for national independence, economic advance and social equality. It is from this point of view that we have to judge every proposal. We hoped that a Provisional National Government would be formed which would give effect in practice to this independence. Appreciating some of your difficulties, we did not press for any statutory change introducing independence immediately, but we did expect a *de facto* change in the character of the Government making for independence in action. The status and powers of the Provisional Government were thus important. In our view this was going to be something entirely different from the Viceroy's Executive Council. It was to represent a new outlook, new methods of work and a new psychological approach by India to both domestic and external problems. Your letter dated 30th May, 1946 gave us certain assurances about the status and powers of the Provisional Government. These did not go far enough, according to our thinking, but we appreciated the friendly tone of that letter and decided to accept the assurances and not to press this particular matter any further.

The important question of the composition of the Provisional Government remained. In this connection we emphasised that we could not accept anything in the nature of "parity" even as a temporary expedient and pointed out that the Provisional Government should consist of fifteen members to enable the administration of the country to be carried on efficiently and the smaller minorities to be represented in it. Some mention of names was made and on our part suggestions were put before you informally, including the name of a non-League Muslim.

In your Statement of June 16th some of the names suggested came as a surprise to us. Several changes had been made from the provisional list prepared by the Congress. The manner of preparing your list and presenting it as an accomplished fact seemed to us to indicate a wrong approach to the problem. One of the names included had not been previously mentioned at all and was that of a person holding an official position and not known to be associated with any public activity. We have no personal objection to him, but we think that the inclusion of such a name particularly without any previous reference or consultation, was undesirable and indicated a wrong approach to the problem.

Then again a name from our list was excluded and in his place another of our colleagues was put in, but as you have said that this can be rectified, I need not say more about it.

One outstanding feature of this list was the non-inclusion of any nationalist Muslim. We felt that this was a grave omission. We wanted to suggest the name of a Muslim to take the place of one of the Congress names on the list. We felt that no one could possibly object to our changing the name of one of our own men. Indeed when I had drawn your attention to the fact that among the Muslim League nominees was included the name of a person, who had actually lost in the recent elections in the Frontier Province and whose name we felt had been placed there for political reasons, you wrote to me as follows: "I am afraid that I cannot accept the right of the Congress to object to names put forward by the Muslim League, any more than I would accept similar objections from the other side. The test must be that of ability." But before we could make our suggestion I received your letter of the 22nd June which surprised us greatly. You had written this letter on the basis of some press reports. You told us that the Cabinet Mission and you were not prepared to accept a request for the inclusion of a Muslim chosen by the Congress among the representatives of the Congress in the Interim Government. This seemed to us an extraordinary decision. It was in direct opposition to your own statement quoted above. It meant that the Congress could not freely chose even its own nominees. The fact that this was not to be taken as a precedent made hardly any difference. Even a temporary departure from such a vital principle could not be accepted by us at any time or place and in any circumstances.

In your letter of the 21st June you gave certain questions framed by Mr. Jinnah in his letter dated 19th June and your replies to them. We have not seen Mr. Jinnah's letter. In question 3 reference is made to 'representation of the four minorities viz., the Scheduled Castes, the Sikhs, the Indian Christians and the Parsees", aad it is asked as to "who will fill in vacancies caused in these groups, and whether in filling up the vacancies the leader of the Muslim League will be consulted and his consent obtained."

In your answer you say: "If any vacancy occurs among the seats at present allotted to representatives of the minorities, I shall naturally consult both the main parties before filling it." Mr. Jinnah has thus included the Scheduled Castes among the minorities and presumably you have agreed with this view. So far as we are concerned we repudiate this view and consider the Scheduled Castes as integral parts of Hindu society. You also, in your letter of June 15th, treated the Scheduled Castes as Hindus. You pointed out that in your proposal there was no "parity" either between Hindus and Muslims or between the Congress and Muslim League inasmuch as there were to be six Hindus belonging to the Congress, as against five Muslims belonging to the League—one of the six Hindus belonging to the Scheduled Castes. We are in any case not agreeable to the Leader of a party, which claims to present a community which is a minority, interfering with the selection of names from either the Scheduled Castes, whose representation you counted as falling within the Congress quota, or with the selection of representatives of the minorities mentioned.

In question 4 the Scheduled Castes are again referred to as a minority and it is asked whether the proportion of members of the Government community-wise as provided in the proposals will be maintained. Your answer is that the proportion will not be changed without agreement of the two major parties. Here again one communal group functioning admittedly as such is given a power to veto changes in other groups with which it has no concern. We may desire, if opportunity offers itself, to increase the representation of the Scheduled Castes, or to give representation, when it is possible, to another minority, for example the Anglo-Indians. All this would depend on the consent of the Muslim League. We cannot agree to this. We may add that your answers restrict the Congress representation to Caste Hindus and make it equal to that of the League.

Finally you state in answer to question 5 that "no decision of a major communal issue could be taken by the interim Government if the majority of either of the main parties were opposed to it. You further say that you had pointed this out to the Congress President and he had agreed that the Congress appreciated this point. In this connection I desire to point out that we had accepted this principle for the long-term arrangement in the Union Legislature and it could possibly be applied to the Provisional Government if it was responsible to

the Legislature and was composed of representatives on the population basis of major communities. It could not be applied to the Provisional Government formed on a different basis altogether. It was pointed out by us in my letter of the 13th June 1946 that it would make administration impossible and deadlocks a certainty. Even in the question as framed by Mr. Jinnah it is stated that "in view of the substitution of 14 now proposed for the original 12" no major communal issues should be decided if the majority of the Muslim members are opposed to it. Thus this question arose after the substitution of 14 for 12, i. e., after your Statement of June 16th. In this Statement no mention is made of this rule. This very important change has been introduced, almost casually and certainly without our consent. This again gives the power of veto or obstruction to the Muslim League in the Provisional Government.

We have stated above our objections to your proposals of June 16th as well as to your answers to the questions framed by Mr. Jinnah. These defects are grave and would render the working of the Provisional Government difficult and deadlocks a certainty. In the circumstances your proposals cannot fulfil the immediate requirements of the situation or further the cause we hold dear.

My Committee have, therefore, reluctantly come to the conclusion that they are unable to assist you in forming a Provisional Government as proposed in your Statement of June 16th, 1946.

With regard to the proposals made in the Statement of May 16th, 1946, relating to the formation and functioning of the constitution-making body, the Working Committee of the Congress passed a resolution on the 24th May 1946, and conversations and correspondence have taken place between Your Excellency and the Cabinet Mission on the one side and myself and some of my colleagues on the other. In these we have pointed out what in our opinion were the defects in the proposals. We also gave our interpretation of some of the provisions of the Statement. While adhering to our views, we accept your proposals and are prepared to work them with a view to achieve our objective. We would add, however, that the successful working of the Constituent Assembly will largely depend on the formation of a satisfactory Provisional Government.

The Working Committee Resolution—26th June, 1946.

The final resolution passed by the Working Committee at Delhi on the 26th. June 1946 on the Statements of May 16 and June 16 issued by the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy is as follows:—

On May 24th the Working Committee passed a resolution on the Statement dated May 16, issued by the British Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy. In this resolution they pointed out some defects in the Statement and gave their own interpretation of certain parts of it.

Since then the Committee have been continuously engaged in giving earnest consideration to the proposals made on behalf of the British Government in the Statements of May 16 and June 16 and have considered the correspondence in regard to them between the Congress President and the members of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy,

The Committee have examined both these sets of proposals from the point of view of the Congress objective of immediate independence and the opening out of the avenues leading to the rapid advance of the masses, economically and socially, so that their material standards may be raised and poverty, malnutrition, famine and the lack of the necessaries of life may be ended, and all the people of the country may have the freedom and opportunity to grow and develop according to their genius. These proposals fall short of these objectives. Yet the Committee considered them earnestly in all their aspects because of their desire to find some way for the peaceful settlement of India's problem and the ending of the conflict between India and England.

The kind of independence Congress has aimed at is the establishment of a united, democratic Indian Federation, with a central authority, which would command respect from the nations of the world, maximum provincial autonomy, and equal rights for all men and women in the country. The limitation of the central authority as contained in the proposals, as well as the system of grouping of provinces, weakened the whole structure and was unfair to some provinces such as the N.W.F. Province and Assam, and to some of the minorities, notably the Sikhs. The Committee disapproved of this. They felt, however,

that, taking the proposals as a whole, there was sufficient scope for enlarging and strengthening the central authority and for fully ensuring the right of a province to act according to its choice in regard to grouping, and to give protection to such minorities as might otherwise be placed at a disadvantage. Certain other objections were also raised on their behalf, notably the possibility of non-nationals taking any part in the constitution-making. It is clear that it would be a breach of both the letter and spirit of the Statement of May 16 if any non-Indian participated in voting or standing for election of the Constituent Assembly.

In the proposals for an Interim Government contained in the Statement of June 16 the defects related to matters of vital concern to the Congress. Some of these have been pointed out in the letter dated June 25 of the Congress President to the Viceroy. The Provisional Government must have power and authority and responsibility and should function in fact, if not in law, as a de facto independent government leading to the full independence to come. The members of such a government can only hold themselves responsible to the people and not to any external authority. In the formation of a Provisional or other government Congressmen can never give up the national character of the Congress, or accept an artificial and unjust parity, or agree to the veto of a communal group. The Committee are unable to accept the proposals for the formation of an Interim Government as contained in the Statement of June 16.

The Committee have, however, decided that the Congress should join the proposed Constituent Assembly, with a view to framing the constitution of a free, united and democratic India.

While the Committee have agreed to Congress participation in the Constituent Assembly, it is in their opinion essential that a representative and responsible Provisional National Government be formed at the earliest possible date. A continuation of authoritarian and unrepresentative government can only add to the suffering of famishing masses and increase discontent. It will also put in jeopardy the work of the Constituent Assembly, which can only function in a free environment.

The Working Committee recommend accordingly to the All India Congress Committee, and for the purpose of considering and ratifying this recommendation they convene an emergent meeting of the A. I. C. C. in Bombay on July 6 and 7, 1946.

Viceroy's Letter to the Congress President—27th. June 1946

The Viceroy's reply to the Congress President of June 25 was received after the publication of the Congress Working Committee's Resolution. The text of the letter is therefore given here :—

I write to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 25th June.

The Cabinet Delegation and I very much regret that the Congress Working Committee have not been able to accept the proposals in the Statement of 16th June, since if they had done so it would have been possible to complete the work to which we and the Indian political leaders have devoted ourselves during the last three months. We are sorry if there was a misunderstanding about the treatment of major communal issues in the Interim Government. We certainly thought that you had accepted it as a self-evident proposition—as indeed it is—that in a coalition Government it would not be possible to force through issues of this kind in the face of the opposition of either of the main parties.

The Delegation and I are, however, glad to learn from the last paragraph of your letter that the Congress Working Committee accept and are prepared to work the proposals for forming a constitution for India which were put forward in the Delegation's Statement of the 16th May. You say that you adhere to the views and the interpretation of that Statement which were set out in the Congress Working Committee's resolution of the 24th May and in correspondence and interviews with ourselves. At our interview yesterday we drew your attention to paragraph 8 of our Statement of 25th May. We emphasised that the procedure for dividing up into sections can only be altered by a resolution of the Constituent Assembly passed by a Majority of both communities under paragraph 19(vii) of the Statement of May 16th.

We were glad to hear at this interview that it is the intention of the Congress to enter the Constituent Assembly in a constructive spirit.

We also informed that in view of the inability of the Congress to co-operate

in the Interim Government proposed in our Statement of 16th June a situation had arisen in which paragraph 8 of that statement took effect. Accordingly I shall shortly make a further attempt to form an Interim Government as representative as possible of the two main parties. I have, however, decided that as the negotiations have already been protracted and as we have only recently failed to reach agreement, it would be desirable to have a short interval before the matter is taken up again ; and have therefore decided to form a caretaker Government of officials to carry on the administration temporarily.

Muslim League Negotiation with the Cabinet Mission

Jinnah's Reaction to Cabinet Plan

Simla—22nd. May 1946

In a two-thousand word statement critically examining the Cabinet Mission's proposals, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, the president of the Muslim League said :—

I have now before me the statement of the British Cabinet Delegation and His Excellency the Viceroy dated 16th of May issued at Delhi. Before I deal with it I should like to give a background of the discussions that took place at Simla from the 5th of May onwards till the Conference was declared concluded and its breakdown announced in the official communique dated May 12.

We met in the Conference on May 5 to consider the formula embodied in the letter of the Secretary of State for India dated April 27 inviting the League representatives. The formula was as follows :—

"A Union Government will deal with the following subjects: Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communication. There will be two Groups of provinces, the one of the predominantly Hindu provinces and the other of the predominantly Muslim provinces, dealing with all other subjects which the provinces in the respective Groups desire to be dealt with in common. The Provincial Governments will deal with all other subjects and will have all the residuary sovereign rights."

The Muslim League position was that, first, the zones comprising Bengal and Assam in the North-East and the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan in the North-West of India constituted Pakistan zones and should be constituted as a sovereign independent State and that an unequivocal under-taking be given to implement the establishment of Pakistan without delay ; secondly, that separate constitution-making bodies be set up by the peoples of Pakistan and Hindustan for the purpose of framing their respective constitutions ; thirdly, that minorities in Pakistan and Hindustan be provided with safeguards on the lines of the Lahore resolution ; fourthly, that the acceptance of the League demand and its implementation without delay were a "sine qua non" for the League co-operation and participation in the formation of an interim Government at the Centre ; fifthly, it gave a warning to the British Government against any attempt to impose a Federal constitution on a United India basis or forcing any interim arrangement at the Centre contrary to the League demand and that Muslim India would resist if any attempt to impose it were made. Besides, such an attempt would be the grossest breach of the faith, of the declaration of His Majesty's Government made in August 1940 with the approval of the British Parliament and subsequent pronouncements by the Secretary of State for India and other responsible British statesmen from time to time, reaffirming the August declaration.

We accepted the invitation to attend the Conference without prejudice and without any commitment and without accepting the fundamental principles underlying this short formula of the Mission on the assurance given by the Secretary of State for India in his letter dated April 29 wherein he said : "We have never contemplated that acceptance by the Muslim League and the Congress of our invitation would imply as a preliminary condition for approval by them of the terms set out in my letter. These terms are our proposed basis for a settlement and all that we have asked the Muslim League Working Committee to do is to agree to send its representatives to meet ourselves and representatives of the Congress in order to discuss it."

The Congress position in reply to the invitation was stated in their letter of April 28, that a strong Federal Government at the Centre with present provinces as federating units be established and they laid down that foreign Affairs, Defence, Currency, Customs, Tarriffs "and such other subjects, as may be found on closer

scrutiny to be intimately allied to them," should vest in the Central Federal Government. They negatived the idea of grouping of provinces. However they also agreed to participate in the Conference to discuss the formula of the Cabinet Delegation.

After days of discussion no appreciable progress was made and finally I was asked to give our minimum terms in writing. Consequently we embodied certain fundamental principles of our terms in writing as an offer to the Congress in the earnest desire for a peaceful and amicable settlement and for the speedy attainment of freedom and independence of the peoples of India. It was communicated to the Congress on the 12th of May and a copy of it was sent to the Cabinet Delegation at the same time.

The following were the terms of the offer made by the Muslim League Delegation.

(1) The six Muslim Provinces (Punjab, N.-W. F. P., Baluchistan, Sind, Bengal and Assam) shall be grouped together as one Group and will deal with all other subjects and matters except Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications necessary for defence which may be dealt with by the constitution-making bodies of the two Groups of provinces, Muslim provinces (hereinafter named Pakistan Group) and Hindu Provinces sitting together.

(2) There shall be a separate constitution-making body for the six Muslim provinces named above which will frame constitutions for the Group and the Provinces in the Group and will determine the list of subjects that shall be Provincial and Central (of the Pakistan Federation) with residuary sovereign powers resting in the provinces.

(3) The method of election of the representatives to the constitution-making body will be such as would secure proper representation to the various communities in proportion to their population in each province of the Pakistan Group.

(4) After the constitutions of the Pakistan Federal Government and the provinces are finally framed by the constitution-making body, it will be open to any province of the Group to decide to opt out of its Group provided the wishes of the people of that province are ascertained by a referendum to opt out or not.

(5) It must be open to discuss on in the joint constitution-making body as to whether the Union will have a Legislature or not. The method of providing the Union with finance should also be left for decision of the joint meeting of the two constitution-making bodies but in no event shall it be by means of taxation.

(6) There should be parity of representation between the two Groups of provinces in the Union Executive and the Legislature, if any.

(7) A major point in the Union constitution which affects the communal issue shall not be deemed to be passed in the joint constitution-making body of the Hindu provinces and the majority of the constitution-making body of the Pakistan Group present and voting are separately in its favour.

(8) No decision, legislative, executive or administrative, shall be taken by the Union in regard to any matter of controversial nature except by a majority of three-fourths.

(9) In Group and Provincial constitutions fundamental rights and safeguards concerning religion, culture and other matters affecting the different communities will be provided for.

(10) The constitution of the Union shall contain a provision whereby any province can, by a majority vote of its legislative assembly, call for reconsideration of the terms of the constitution and will have the liberty to secede from the Union at any time after an initial period of ten years.

The crux of our offer, as it will appear from its text, was inter alia that the six Muslim provinces should be grouped together as Pakistan Group and the remaining as Hindusthan Group and on the basis of two federations we were willing to consider the Union or Confederation strictly confined to three subjects only, *i.e.*, Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communations necessary for defence, which the two sovereign federations would voluntarily delegate to the Confederation. All the remaining subjects and the residue were to remain vested in the two federations and the provinces respectively. This was intended to provide for a transitional period as after an initial period of ten years we were free to secede from the Union.

But unfortunately this most conciliatory and reasonable offer was in all its fundamentals not accepted by the Congress as will appear from their reply to our offer. On the contrary their final suggestions were the same as regards the subjects to be vested with the Centre as they had been before the Congress entered

the Conference and they made one more drastic suggestion for our acceptance, that the Centre must also have power to make remedial action in cases of breakdown of the constitution and in grave emergencies. This was stated in their reply dated May 12 which was communicated to us.

At this stage the Conference broke down and we were informed that the British Cabinet Delegation would issue their statement which is now before the public.

To begin with, the statement is cryptic with several lacunas and the operative part of it is comprised of a few short paragraphs to which I shall refer later.

I regret that the Mission should have negatived the Muslim demand for the establishment of a complete sovereign State of Pakistan which we still hold is the only solution of the constitutional problem of India and which alone can secure stable government and lead to the happiness and welfare not only of the two major communities but of all the peoples of this sub-continent. It is all the more regrettable that the Mission should have thought fit to advance common-place and exploded agruments against Pakistan and resorted to special pleading couched in a deplorable language which is calculated to hurt the feelings of Muslim India. It seems that this was done by the Mission simply to appease and placate the Congress because when they came to face the realities, they themselves have made the following pronouncement embodied in Paragraph 5 of the statement which says: "This consideration did not however deter us from examining closely and impartially the possibility of a partition of India since we were greatly impressed by the very genuine and acute anxiety of the Muslims lest they should find themselves subjected to a perpetual Hindu majority rule.

This feeling has become so strong and widespread amongst the Muslims that it cannot be allayed by mere paper safeguards. If there is to be internal peace in India, it must be secured by measures which will assure to the Muslims a control in all matters vital to their culture, religion and economic or other interests,"

And again in Paragraph 12—"This decision does not however blind us to the very real Muslim apprehensions that their culture and political and social life might become submerged in a purely unitary India in which the Hindus with their greatly superior numbers must be a dominating element."

And now what recommendations have they made to effectively secure the object in view and in the light of the very clear and emphatic conclusion they arrived at in Paragraph 12 of the statement?

I shall now deal with some of the important points in the operative part of the statement:

(1) They have divided Pakistan into two: what they call Section B (for the North-Western Zone) and Section C (for the North-Eastern Zone)

(2) Instead of two constitution-making bodies only one constitution-making body is devised with three sections A. B. and C.

(3) They lay down that "there should be a Union of India embracting both British India and the States which should deal with the following subjects: Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications and should have the powers necessary to raise the finances required for the above subjects."

There is no indication at all that the communications would be restricted to what is necessary for defence nor is there any indication as to how this Union will be empowered to raise finances required for these three subjects, while our view was that finances should be raised only by contribution and not by taxation.

(4) It is laid down that "the Union should have an Executive and a Legislature constituted from British Indian and States representatives.

Any question raising a major communal issue in the legislature should require for its decision a majority of the representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities as well as a majority of all the members present and voting."

While our view was:

(A) That there should be no legislature for the Union but the question should be left to the Constituent Assembly.

(B) That there should be parity of representation between Pakistan Group and the Hindustan Group in the Union Executive and Legislature, if any, and

(C) That no decision, legislative, executive or administrative, should be taken by the Union in regard to any matter of a controversial nature except by a majority of three-fourth. All these three terms of our offer have been omitted from the statement.

No doubt there is one safeguard for the conduct of business in the Union

Legislature, that "any question raising a major communal issue in the legislature should require for its decision a majority of the representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities as well as a majority of all the members present and voting."

Even this is vague and ineffective. To begin with, who will decide and how as to what is a major communal issue and what is a purely non-communal issue?

(5) Our proposal that the Pakistan Group should have a right to secede from the union after an initial period of ten years, although the Congress had no serious objection to it, has been omitted and now we are only limited to a reconsideration of terms of the Union constitution after an initial period of ten years.

(6) Coming to the constitution-making machinery, here again a representative of British Baluchistan is included in Section B but how he will be elected is not indicated.

(7) With regard to the constitution-making body for the purpose of framing the proposed Union constitution, it will have an overwhelming Hindu majority as in a House of 292 for British India the Muslim strength will be 79 and if the number allotted to Indian States (93) is taken into account, it is quite obvious that the Muslim proportion will be futher reduced as the bulk of the State representatives would be Hindus. This Assembly so constituted will elect the Chairman and other officers and it seems also the members of the Advisory Committee referred to in paragraph 20 of the statement by a majority and the same rule will apply to other normal business. But I note that there is only one saving clause which runs as follows :—

"In the Union Constituent Assembly resolutions varying the provisions of paragraph 15 above or raising any major communal issue shall require a majority of representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities. The Chairman of the Assembly shall decide which (if any) of the resolutions raise major communal issues and shall, if so requested by a majority of the representatives of either of the major communities, consult the Federal Court before giving his decisions."

It follows, therefore, that it will be the Chairman alone who will decide. He will not be bound by the opinion of the Federal Court nor need anybody know what that opinion was as the Chairman is merely directed to consult the Federal Court.

With regard to the provinces opting out of their Group it is left to the new Legislature of the province after the first general election under the new constitution to decide instead of a referendum of the people as was suggested by us.

(9) As for paragraph 20 which runs as follows : The Advisory Committee on the rights of citizens, minorities and tribal and excluded areas should contain full representation of the interests affected and their function will be to report to the Union Constituent Assembly upon the list of fundamental rights, the clauses for the protection of minorities and a scheme for the administration of the tribal and excluded areas and to advise whether these rights should be incorporated in the provincial, Group or Union constitution."

This raises a very serious question indeed for if it is left to the Union Constituent Assembly to decide these matters by a majority vote whether any of the recommendations of the Advisory Committee should be incorporated in the Union constitution then it will open a door to more subjects being vested in the Union Government. This will destroy the very basic principle that the Union is to be strictly confined to three subjects,

There are some of the main points which I have tried to put before the public after studying this important document. I do not wish to anticipate the decision of the Working Committee and the Council of the All-India Muslim League which are going to meet shortly at Delhi. They will finally take such decisions as they may think proper after a careful consideration of the 'pros and cons' and a thorough and dispassionate examination of statement of the British Cabinet Delegation and His Excellency the Viceroy.

Clarification by the Viceroy

New Delhi—4th June, 1946

Mr. M. A. Jinnah had two interviews with the Viceroy at New Delhi on the 3rd June when the function of an Interim Government was discussed. His Excellency replied on the 4th June as follows :

You asked me yesterday to give you an assurance about the action that would be

taken if one party accepted the scheme in the Cabinet Delegation's statement of May 16 and the other refused.

I can give you on behalf of the Cabinet Delegation my personal assurance that we do not propose to make any discrimination in the treatment of either party; and that we shall go ahead with the plan laid down in the statement so far as circumstances permit if either party accepts it; but we hope that both will accept.

I should be grateful if you would see that the existence of this assurance does not become public. If it is necessary for you to tell your Working Committee that you have an assurance I should be grateful if you would explain to them this condition.

League accepts Cabinet Plan

Council Meeting—New Delhi—5th June, 1946

The Muslim League Council opened at New Delhi on the 5th June 1946. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, the President, in a speech, explained that the Working Committee had discussed the pros and cons of the Cabinet Mission's proposals but thought that it should not anticipate the verdict of the Council which, he said, was the Parliament of the Muslim Nation. The Working Committee had, therefore, decided that the Council having regard to the gravity of the situation should take the responsibility for whatever decision it might reach. Mr. Jinnah wanted every member of the Council to feel that he was free from embarassment and was not tied down or fettered in any way which would prevent him from expressing his opinion or from taking that final decision that the situation called for:

"The decision you have to take to-day or to-morrow is going to be of far-reaching importance and consequence". No doubt, he went on, the Working Committee could have followed the normal procedure on the analogy of a Cabinet. It could have, if it had chosen to do so, come to a decision and formulated a resolution of its own after the two days' discussions it had had and it could have presented its decision to the Council for confirmation. But the Working Committee thought that it was an exceptional position of grave importance and, therefore, that was not the course for it to adopt. "If we had taken any decision and placed it before you and if you disaproved of it, there would have been no other course open to us except to resign and we thought that we should create such a situation when the Council is meeting and when there is no urgency and no necessity for such a course".

Mr. Jinnah suggested that the whole Council should adjourn and form itself into a committee which would sit in camera and come to its decision.

Mr. Jinnah in his speech condemned the Cabinet Mission's treatment of the Pakistan demand and declared: "That is one of the greatest blunders they have made."....."Let me tell you that Muslim India will not rest content until we have established full, complete and sovereign Pakistan. (Loud cheers). The Cabinet Mission have mutilated facts for no other purpose except to please and appease the Congress. In fact, the foundation and the basis of Pakistan are there in their own statement."

The Congress press and Hindus, he added, felt jubilant at this "sugar-coated pill" but soon found there so little sugar that it was a pill minus sugar. (Laughter).

Referring to the demand for Pakistan, Mr. Jinnah further said: "Let me tell you that Muslim India will not rest content until we have established full, complete and sovereign Pakistan (loud cheers). And I repeat with all the emphasis that I can command that the arguments and the reasons and the way in which the Mission have mutilated the facts are for no other purpose except to please and appease the Congress". (Cries of 'shame, shame').

Mr. Jinnah went on to refer to his recent remarks at a Muslim reception at Simla and the interpretation put on those remarks. These grave issues, he said, were not to be decided by a word here or a phrase there or by mere sentiment or slogans. It had been reported that he said, "We cannot keep quarrelling all the time". The obtuse mentality of a section of the Press at once jumped to the conclusion: "Mr. Jinnah has come to his senses".

"I am glad I have come to my senses," Mr. Jinnah went on, "but I wish they will also come to their senses. (Laughter). Surely, it requires two parties for a quarrel but in this case there are three and even four parties, leaving smaller minorities. When I say we cannot keep quarrelling all the time, am I not addressing everyone of them, including ourselves? I know and repeat this, that the Mussalmans have suffered, and suffered to an extent that I shudder to think of.

"Six years ago the position of the Mussalmans was such that they could have been wiped off. In every department of life the Mussalmans have suffered and are

suffering now. I want to say, put an end to this suffering and for us there is no other goal except the establishment of Pakistan (cheers). May be, obstacles will be put in our way but nothing is going to make us flinch or falter in any way or budge by a hair's breadth from doing everything in our power to reach our goal and establish Pakistan."

"I repeat from this platform that delay is not good either for the British Government or the Hindus. If they love freedom, if they love the independence of India, if they want to be free, then the sooner they realise the better that the quickest way is to agree to Pakistan. Either you agree or we shall have it in spite of you." (Hear, hear).

What methods they would adopt and what instruments they would use would depend upon the time and circumstances.

Mr. Jinnah's Advice to the League Council

"I advised you to reject the Cripps proposal, I advised you to reject the last Simla Conference formula. But I cannot advise you to reject the British Cabinet Mission's proposal. I advise you to accept it." With these words, Mr. M. A. Jinnah wound up the longdrawn debate on the Cabinet Mission's proposal in the secret session of the Council of the All-India Muslim League held at New Delhi on the next day, the 6th. June 1946, Mr. Jinnah added :

"The Lahore resolution did not mean that when Muslims put forward their demand, it must be accepted at once. It is a big struggle and a continued struggle. The first struggle was to get the representative character of the League accepted. That fight they had started and they had won. Acceptance of the Mission's proposal was not the end of their struggle for Pakistan. They should continue their struggle till Pakistan was achieved."

Mr. Jinnah said that they could create a deadlock in the Constituent Assembly if anything was done against their wishes. They would continue to fight in the Constituent Assembly for their objective. They would also fight for the right of the Units or Groups to rejoin the Group from which they seceded.

As regards groupings, Mr. Jinnah is reported to have expressed satisfaction and said : The Groups should have power on all subjects except defence, communications and foreign affairs. But so far as defence was concerned, it would remain in the hands of the British till the new constitution was enforced. So they need not worry about it now. They would fight in the Constituent Assembly to restrict "Communications" to what was absolutely necessary for defence only.

Resolution of the League Council—6th. June 1946

The following is the text of the resolution passed by the All India Muslim League Council on the 6th. June 1946 :—

This meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League, after having carefully considered the statement issued by the Cabinet Mission and H. E. the Viceroy on May 16 and other relevant statements and documents officially issued in connection therewith, and after having examined the proposals set forth in the said statement in all their bearings and implications, places on record the following views for the guidance of the nation and direction to the Working Committee :

That the references made and the conclusions recorded in paragraphs 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11 of the statement concerning the Muslim demand for the establishment of full sovereign Pakistan as the only solution of the Indian constitutional problem are unwarranted, unjustified and unconvincing and should not, therefore, have found place in a State document issued on behalf and with the authority of the British Government.

These paragraphs are couched in such language and contain such mutilation of established facts that the Cabinet Mission have clearly been prompted to include them in their statement solely with the object of appeasing the Hindus in utter disregard of Muslim sentiments. Furthermore, the contents of the aforesaid paragraphs are in conflict and inconsistent with the admissions made by the Mission themselves in paragraphs 5 and 12 of their statement which are to the following effect :—

First, the Mission "were greatly impressed by the very genuine and acute anxiety of the Muslims lest they should find themselves subject to perpetual Hindu majority rule."

Second, "this feeling has become so strong and widespread amongst the Muslims that it cannot be allayed by mere paper safeguards."

Third, "if there is to be internal peace in India, it must be secured by mea-

sures which will assure to the Muslims a control in all matters vital to their culture, religion, economic or other interests."

Fourth, very real Muslim apprehensions exist that "their culture and political and social life might become submerged in a purely unitary India, in which Hindus with their greatly superior numbers must be a dominating element."

In order that there may be no manner of doubt in any quarter, the Council of the All-India Muslim League reiterates that the attainment of the goal of complete sovereign Pakistan still remains the unalterable objective of the Muslims of India for the achievement of which they will, if necessary, employ every means in their power and consider no sacrifice or suffering too great.

That notwithstanding the affront offered to Muslim sentiments by a choice of injudicious words in the preamble of the statement of the Cabinet Mission, the Muslim League, having regard to the grave issues involved, and prompted by its earnest desire for a peaceful solution, if possible, of the Indian constitutional problem, and inasmuch as the basis and the foundation of Pakistan are inherent in the Mission's plan, by virtue of the compulsory grouping of the six Muslim provinces, in sections B and C, is willing to co-operate with the constitution-making machinery proposed in the scheme outlined by the Mission, in the hope that it would ultimately result in the establishment of complete sovereign Pakistan and in the consummation of the goal of independence for the major nations, and all the other people inhabiting this vast sub-continent.

It is for these reasons that the Muslim League is accepting the scheme and will join the constitution-making body and will keep in view the opportunity and the right of secession of provinces or Groups from the Union which have been provided in the Mission's plan by implication.

The ultimate attitude of the Muslim League will depend on the final outcome of the labours of the constitution-making body and on the final shape of the constitutions which may emerge from the deliberations of that body jointly and separately in its three sections.

The Muslim League also reserves the right to modify and revise the policy and attitude set forth in this resolution at any time during the progress of deliberations of the constitution-making body or the Constituent Assembly or thereafter if the course of events so require, bearing in mind the fundamental principles and details hereinbefore adumbrated to which the Muslim League is irrevocably committed.

That with regard to the arrangements for the proposed Interim Government at the Centre, this Council authorises its President to negotiate with H. E. the Viceroy and to take such decisions and actions as he deems fit and proper.

Parity in the Interim Government

Jinnah—Wavell Correspondence

Mr. Jinnah's Letter to the Viceroy dated New Delhi, 12th. June 1946 :—

In reply to the Viceroy's letter of the 12th June on the question of parity in the Interim Government to be formed at the Centre, Mr. M. A. Jinnah wrote the following :—

I have already informed you by my letter dated June 8 that our decision in accepting the scheme embodied in the statement of the Cabinet Delegation was based on your formula of parity, as one of the most important considerations which weighed with the Working Committee and the Council of the Muslim League in finally arriving at their decision.

I understand that the Congress have not yet given their decision, and it seems to me that until they decide it is not advisable to discuss how best either the personnel or the portfolios should be adjusted. I agree with you that the important portfolios should be equally distributed between the two major parties and we should get the best possible men suited for these portfolios. But I am of the opinion that no use or purpose would be served until the Congress have given their decision with regard to the scheme embodied in the statement of the Mission of May 16.

If you wish to discuss anything further I shall be glad to see you alone.

Mr. Jinnah's 2nd Letter to the Viceroy dated New Delhi, 18th June, 1946 :—

In the course of my interview with you this evening, you informed me that

the Congress proposed to substitute Dr. Zakir Hussain for one of the Caste Hindus invited by you to join the Interim Government although you expressed the hope that they would not do so. I told you that the reaction of Muslim India would be deadly against such a substitution and the Muslim League would never accept the nomination of any Muslim by you other than a Muslim Leaguer. I placed the matter before my Working Committee and it has unanimously endorsed this view and considers it vital and fundamental.

Mr. Jinnah's letter to Lord Wavell, dated New Delhi 19th June 1946 :—

I am in receipt of your letter of the 16th June, 1946, together with an advance copy of the statement by the Cabinet Delegation and yourself of the same date.

In my interview with you at Simla prior to the announcement of the Cabinet Delegation's proposals, you had informed me that you were going to form the Interim Government consisting of twelve members on the basis of five Muslim League, five Congress, one Sikh and one Indian Christian or Anglo-Indian. As regards the portfolios, you had indicated that the important ones would be equally divided between the Muslim League and the Congress but details of actual allotment were to be left open for discussion. After the statement of the Cabinet Delegation and yourself, dated the 16th of May, 1946, you again on the 3rd of June at New Delhi gave me to understand that the formula for the formation of the Interim Government disclosed to me at Simla would be followed. On both the occasions I sought your permission to communicate this information to my Working Committee which you kindly gave. Accordingly, I gave a full account of the talks I had with you and the decision of the Working Committee in regard to the acceptance of the long-term proposals was largely influenced by the faith which they reposed in the scheme for the formation of the Interim Government disclosed by you to me on the two occasions. Further, as I have already pointed out in my letter to you of 8th June, 1946, I made the statement before the Council of the All-India Muslim League that that was the formula, which, I was assured by you, would be the basis on which you would proceed to form your Interim Government, and, therefore, this formed an integral part of the plan embodied in the most important considerations which weighed with the Council of the All-India Muslim League also in arriving at their decision, although even then there was a section that was opposed to the plan being accepted.

When the Congress press started a sinister agitation against Congress-League parity, with a view to inform you of the Muslim League stand, I wrote to you on the 8th June that "any departure from this formula, directly or indirectly, will lead to serious consequences and will not secure the co operation of the Muslim League.

Subsequently, in my interview with you on the 13th June you informed me that you wanted to alter the basis and proceed on the formula of five Congress, five Muslim League and three others, namely, one Sikh, one Scheduled Caste, and one Indian Christian. I told you then that if any change was proposed to be made I would have to place the matter before the Working Committee and may have to call another meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League. I also informed you that when the Congress finally agreed to a new formula I would then place it before my Working Committee for them to take such action as they deem necessary.

After discussion with Congress representatives you wrote to me on the 15th June informing that you had failed to negotiate an agreement on the composition of the Interim Government on the basis of 5 : 5 : 3 and that the Cabinet Delegation and yourself would issue a statement on the 16th of June on the action that you proposed to take and that you would let me have a copy of it before publication.

Accordingly you sent me a copy of the statement by the Cabinet Delegation and yourself issued on the 16th June, with a covering letter of the same date, which I placed before my Working Committee and who after careful consideration of the matter have authorised me to state as follows :

(A) That the Working Committee are surprised that invitations have been issued to 5 Muslim Leaguers to join the "Interim" Government without calling for list from the leader of the Muslim League.

(B) That your latest proposal on the basis of which you now desire to form your 'Interim' Government shows that you have abandoned parity between the Congress and the Muslim League, the two major parties, and have substituted parity between the Muslim League and Caste Hindus, and have added a fourth representative of the minorities, namely, a Parsi. One of the minority representatives nomi-

nated by you, *i.e.*, Jagjivan Ram, is a Congressman and has been selected, it appears, not to give real representation to the Scheduled Caste, but to give an additional seat to the Congress in the Interim Government.

(C) That the modifications which have been made in the original formula for the 'Interim' Government have adversely affected the proportion of the Muslims in the 'Interim' Government as a whole and against the Congress as a single Group.

(D) That in view of the serious changes which have, from time to time, been made to satisfy Congress. it is not possible for the Working Committee to arrive at any decision in the matter of the formation of the Interim Government so long as the Congress does not finally convey its decision on the proposals to you, and

(E) That the question of distribution of portfolios should also be finally decided so that there may be no further hitch created by the Congress in this regard and the Working Committee may have a complete picture before them when they meet to consider the proposal.

Further, I shall be grateful if you will please make the following points clear with reference to your letter and statement of the 16th June :—

1. Whether the proposals contained in the statement for the setting up of an 'Interim' Government are now final or whether they are still open to any further change or modification at the instance of the parties or persons concerned ;

2. Whether the total number of 14 members of the Government as proposed in the statement would remain unchanged during the interim period ;

3. If any person or persons invited as representatives of the four minorities, *viz.*, the Scheduled Castes the Sikhs, the Indian Christians and the Parsis, is, or are, unable to accept the invitation to join the 'Interim' Government for personal or other reasons. how will the vacancy or vacancies thus created, be filled by the Viceroy ; and whether in filling up the vacancy or vacancies the leader of the Muslim League will be consulted and his consent obtained :

4. (a) Whether during the interim period for which the Coalition Government is being set up the proportion of members of the Government, community-wise, as provided in the proposals, will be maintained ;

(b) Whether the present representation given to four minorities *viz.*, the Scheduled Castes, the Sikhs, the Indian Christians and the Parsis will be adhered to without any change or modification and

5. In view of the substitution of 14 proposed for the original 12 and the change made in the original formula, whether there will be a provision in order to safeguard Muslim interests, the Executive Council shall not take any decision on any major communal issue if the majority of the Muslim members are opposed to it

I trust that you will kindly favour me with your reply as early as possible.

Lord Wavell's Letter to Mr. Jinnah, dated New Delhi, 20th. June 1946 :—

I thank you for your letter of the 19th June which I have shown to the Cabinet Mission.

I do not think it is necessary for me to comment on the first part of the letter. I am sure you will appreciate that the negotiations designed to secure acceptance by two parties with conflicting interests may not always end on the same basis as that on which they began ; and, as you know, I never gave you any guarantee that they would necessarily be concluded on any particular basis.

I note the views of the Muslim League set out in paragraphs (A) to (E) of your letter.

The intention of the statement of June 16 was that the discussion of portfolios with leaders of main parties should follow the acceptance by both parties of the scheme. The intention still holds, since until the names are known, it is difficult to decide on the distribution of portfolios.

On the points which you desire to be made clear in connection with the Government to be formed under our statement June 16, I give you the following reply after consultation with the Delegation :—

(1) Until I have received acceptance from those invited to take office in the 'interim' Government, the names in the statement cannot be regarded as final. But no principle will be made in the statement without the consent of the two major parties.

(2) No change in the number of 14 members of the "Interim" Government will be made without the agreement of the two major parties.

(3) If any vacancy occurs among the seats at present allotted to representatives of minorities, I shall naturally consult both the main parties before filling it.

(4) (A) and (B). The proportion of members by communities will not be changed without the agreement of the two major parties.

(5) No decision on a major communal issue could be taken by the "Interim" Government if the majority of either of the main parties were opposed to it. I pointed this out to the Congress President and he agreed that the Congress appreciated this point.

(6) If you agree, I will send copies of the questions in your letter and of paragraphs 4 and 5 of this letter to the President of the Congress.

Lord Wavell's Letter to Mr. Jinnah, Dated 28th. June, 1946 :—

The Cabinet Mission and I feel that there are certain points in your statement released yesterday which it would be wrong to leave unanswered.

You will r member that at an interview which the Cabinet Mission and I had with you on the evening of the 25th June, before the meeting of your Working Committee at which you accepted the proposals in the statement of the 16th June, we explained to you that as Congress had accepted the statement of 16th May while refusing to take part in the 'Interim' Government proposed in the statement of 16th June, this had produced a situation in which paragraph 8 of the statement of the 16th June took effect. This paragraph stated that if either of the two major parties was unwilling to join in the setting up of a Coalition Government on the lines laid down in that statement, the Viceroy would proceed with the formation of an 'Interim' Government which would be as representative as possible of those willing to accept the statement of the 16th May.

We said that since the Congress and the Muslim League had now both accepted the statement of 16th May, it was the intention to form a Coalition Government including both those parties as soon as possible. In view, however, of the long negotiations which had already taken place, and since we all had other work to do, we felt that it would be better to have a short interval before proceeding with further negotiations for the formation of an Interim Government. Thus whatever interpretation you may put on paragraph 8, your Working Committee can have been in no doubt as to the course we proposed to adopt.

I confirmed in writing the same evening what we had told you.

Secondly, the assurances which you quote in your statement related specifically to the particular 'Interim' Government that would have been set up if both major parties had accepted the statement of the 16th June.

To prevent misunderstanding I propose to publish this letter together with your letter of the 19th June the substance of which has already appeared in the Press and my reply of the 20th June.

Mr. Jinnah's Letter to Lord Wavell, Dated 28th, June 1946 :—

The main points of Mr. Jinnah's letter of 28th June in reply to Lord Wavell's letter of the 28th June are, according to an O. P. message, as follows :—

Mr. Jinnah in course of his letter reiterated that the Mission were in honour bound to go ahead with the formation of the Government as "all contingencies including the rejection by the Congress were contemplated and provided for in the statement of June 16 and clause 8 of the statement taken along with the context is quite clear."

The letter further expresses that in view of the new stand taken by the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy as per their statement of June 26 "which is neither fair nor just", elections to the Constituent Assembly should be postponed as according to all documents and the two statements issued by the Cabinet Mission on May 25 and June 16, the long term arrangement and the Interim Government proposals were nothing but inseparable and integral parts of one and the same plan.

Mr. Jinnah holds the view that "it is neither desirable nor in conformity with the previous statements that one part, viz., the formation of the Interim Government should be left behind and the other part be proceeded with."

Lord Wavell's letter to Mr. Jinnah, Dated 28th, June 1946 :—

I have received your letter of the 28th June and have shown it to the Cabinet Ministers.

We are quite unable to accept your suggestion that we have gone back on our word. As I have said in a letter to you earlier to-day our course of action was determined by what had been laid down in paragraph 8 of the statement of the 16th June; and we had made it plain to you before your Working Committee meeting on the 25th June, that we proposed to follow this course.

The arrangements for the elections to the Constituent Assembly have already been put into operation and we do not propose to postpone them.

As the substance of your letter was included in the All-India Radio news to-day I am publishing this reply.

Mr. Jinnah's First Statement, 27th. June 1946

I have considered the letter of the Congress President addressed to Lord Wavell dated June 26, the resolution of the Working Committee of the Congress released to the press yesterday, and the statement of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy issued in New Delhi on Wednesday, June 26, but a copy of which has not yet been furnished to me.

I think it is necessary for me to state shortly as to what occurred during the progress of the negotiations.

Prior to the Cabinet Delegation's statement of May 16 and further statement of May 25, the Viceroy at Simla represented to me that he would proceed with the formation of an Interim Government on the basis of the formula, five, five, two, *i.e.*, five on behalf of the Muslim League, five on behalf of the Congress, one Sikh and one Indian Christian or Anglo-Indian and that, as regards the portfolios, the most important of them would be equally divided between the Congress and the Muslim League, further details being left open for discussion. With the permission of the Viceroy I was authorised to state this formula to the Working Committee at Simla, on the assumption that the long-term proposals would be such as would be acceptable to us. Thereafter again, on the eve of the meeting of the Working Committee of the Muslim League, in my interview on June 3 the Viceroy repeated the same formula and authorised me to communicate it to my Working Committee. This was one of the most important considerations which weighed with them together with the two statements of the Cabinet Delegation dated May 16 and May 25. The long-term plan and the Interim Government formula together formed one whole and this formula regarding the Interim Government was an integral part of the whole scheme and as such the Council of the All-India Muslim League gave its final decision on that basis on June 6.

Thereafter, the Viceroy sent for me on June 13 and he suggested a formula of five, five, three. Owing to the agitation set on foot by the Congress press and the opposition of the Congress to the original formula, I had already given a warning to the Viceroy in a letter on June 8 that any departure from this formula, directly or indirectly, would lead to serious consequences and would not secure the co-operation of the Muslim League, and that I might have to call a meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League again. At my interview with the Viceroy on the 13th, I was told by him that he wanted to change the basis of the original formula and proceed on the basis of five Congress, five Muslim League and three others, *i.e.*, one Sikh, one Scheduled Caste and one Indian Christian or Anglo-Indian. In spite of the difficulties that I had pointed out would arise, I informed the Viceroy that if the Congress were finally to agree to this new formula I would place it before my Working Committee for their consideration. But even this second proposal of the Viceroy was turned down by the Congress and His Excellency the Viceroy informed me by his letter dated June 15 that he had failed to negotiate an agreement on the basis which he had suggested and that the Cabinet Delegation and he had decided to issue their statement on June 16 on the action they proposed to take. Accordingly, the statement of June 16 was issued to the Press and an advance copy was sent to me. These were, we were categorically informed, final and not open to any modification, except that the names in the statement could not be regarded as final, until the Viceroy had received acceptances from those invited to take office in the Interim Government.

On the 19th June I wrote to the Viceroy asking for certain clarifications regarding the statement of June 16 to which a reply was received from him on the 20th of June after he had consulted the Cabinet Delegation. The following extracts are from that letter of the Viceroy in reply to questions put to him.

(1) "Until I have received the acceptance of those invited to take office in the Interim Government, the names in the statement cannot be regarded as final. No change is proposed to be made in the statement without the consent of the two major parties."

(2) "No change in the number of fourteen members of the Interim Government will be made without agreement of the two major parties."

(3) "If any vacancy occurs among the seats at present allotted to the repre-

sentatives of the minorities, I shall naturally consult both the main parties before filling it."

(4) (A and B) "The proportion of the members by communities (word communities underlined) will not be changed without agreement of the two major parties."

(5) "No decision on a major communal issue could be taken by the Interim Government if the majority of any of the main parties were opposed to it. I pointed this out to the Congress President and he agreed that the Congress appreciated this point."

I had by my letter of June 19 informed the Viceroy that in view of the serious changes which had from time to time been made to satisfy the Congress, it was not possible for the Working Committee to arrive at any decision in the matter of formation of the Interim Government, so long as the Congress did not convey their final decision on proposals of June 16 to the Viceroy and until it was communicated to me.

Mr. Jinnah's 2nd Statement, 29th. June, 1946

The Cabinet Delegation and His Excellency the Viceroy have thought fit to release only a few letters torn from the rest of the correspondence that passed between me and the Delegation and the Viceroy, which have a very important bearing on the present controversy.

The Viceroy did make a clear representation to me that he would proceed to form his Interim Government on the basis of the formula 5 : 5 : 2 : *i. e.*, 5 representatives of the Muslim League, 5 of the Congress, 1 Sikh and 1 Indian Christian or Anglo-Indian, and that, as regards the portfolios, the most important portfolios will be equally divided between the League and the Congress in distribution thereof, further details being left open for discussion.

The Viceroy further authorised me to make that representation to my Working Committee and the Council of the All-India Muslim League, which I did and it was on that basis that, both the Working Committee and the Council were induced to accept the long-term plan and the proposal for the Interim Government together as a whole.

This formula had a vital bearing and did greatly weigh with the Council of the All-India Muslim League in coming to their final decision, which was communicated to the Viceroy on the 7th June. Immediately thereafter a sinister agitation was set on foot by the Congress Press against this formula and I informed the Viceroy by my letter of 8th June, by way of caution, that there should be no departure from this formula. Below is the full text of this letter which speaks for itself :—

Letter from Mr. Jinnah to His Excellency the Viceroy, dated 8th June 1946 :—

Dear Lord Wavell—During the course of our discussions regarding the Interim Government at Simla and thereafter at Delhi on the 3rd of June after my arrival and before the meeting of the Muslim League Working Committee took place, you were good enough to give me the assurance that there will be only 12 portfolios, 5 on behalf of the League, 5 Congress, 1 Sikh and 1 Christian or Anglo-Indian ; and that, as regards the portfolios, the most important portfolios will be equally divided between the League and the Congress in the distribution thereof, further details being left open for discussion.

With your previous permission I informed the Working Committee of this assurance and this was one of the most important considerations which weighed with them together with the statement of the Cabinet Mission. These two together formed one whole and, as such, the Council of the All-India Muslim League has given its final decision on the 6th of June. I may further inform you that similarly I had to repeat the assurance to the Council before they finally gave their approval. As you know, the meeting of the All-India Muslim League Council was held in camera and, there again, the House showed great opposition to the scheme in the beginning. During the course of discussions at a very early stage a large body of opposition was satisfied when I made the statement in answer to the very pressing question as to what our position will be with regard to the Interim Government.

But for this assurance we could not have got the approval of the Council to the scheme. As requested by you I took as much care as possible to see that it did not become public.

I am writing this letter to you as I find that a very sinister agitation has been

set on foot by the Congress press against your formula stated above, which was the turning point in our having secured the decision of the Council.

Any departure from this formula, directly or indirectly, will lead to very serious consequences and will not secure the co-operation of the Muslim League.

You know further that the Congress may adopt an offensive attitude by including a Muslim in their quota, which will be strongly resented by the Muslim League and which will be another very great hurdle before us.

Your sincerely, M. A. Jinnah.

The Viceroy replied by his letter of 9th June and in his letter he did not make exception to the facts stated by me in my letter quoted above. Only, according to him "there was no assurance on this point." The following is the full text of the Viceroy's letter:

Letter from His Excellency the Viceroy to Mr. M. A. Jinnah, dated the 9th June 1946 :—

Dear Mr. Jinnah—Thank you for your letter of yesterday. You speak of an assurance about 5 : 5 : 2 : ratio. There was no assurance on this point. But I told you, as I told the Congress, that this was what I had in mind. It would be wrong for me to leave you under the impression that there was any assurance, although I hope that we may reach agreement on that basis.

Your sincerely, Wavell.

The fact however remains that he did make this representation to me and authorised me to do likewise to the Working Committee and the Council of the All-India Muslim League, both of which were induced to come to their decisions upon the faith of this representation.

The next important date is the 13th June, when I was called by the Viceroy, and suddenly he presented a new formula for the composition of the Interim Government *i.e.* 5 : 5 : 3. I have already explained as to what transpired between him and me with regard to this revised formula. But the Viceroy failed to negotiate an agreement with the Congress on this basis also and I was informed by his letter of the 15th June that the Cabinet Delegation and he would issue a statement on the 16th of June on the action they proposed to take. I reproduce below in full the Viceroy's letter of the 15th June:

Letter from His Excellency the Viceroy to Mr. Jinnah, dated 15th. June 1946:—

Dear Mr. Jinnah—I am writing to inform you that after discussions with the Congress representatives I have failed to negotiate an agreement on the composition of an Interim Government on the basis which I suggested to you. The Cabinet Delegation and myself have therefore decided to issue to-morrow a statement on the action we propose to take; and we will let you have a copy of this before publication.

Yours sincerely, Wavell.

Their final proposals were embodied in their statement of 10th June and now they have gone back on these proposals also by postponing of the Interim Government indefinitely.

As regards my interview on the evening of the 25th of June at 5-30 p.m., when I was suddenly called by the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy, fantastic interpretations were suggested on the statement of the 16th June in the course of our talk and I was asked to give my opinion : and I emphatically differed from them. It was agreed that they will communicate in writing to me finally their views and the action they proposed to take. The Viceroy then sent me his letter dated the 25th of June, which reached me, as I have already stated, at mid-night after the resolution of the Working Committee was passed and released to the press. If, as it is now sought to make out, they had already come to their final decision as to the course they were going to adopt, why was that decision not communicated to me by the Viceroy earlier in the day as they had received the Congress reply before mid-day on the 25th of June instead of calling me for discussion as to the correct interpretation or true construction of paragraph 8 in the statement of June 16, and then informing me that the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy will communicate with me as to what they proposed to do?

I give below the full text of the Viceroy's letter of 15th June referred to above, my reply to this letter dated the 26th and the Viceroy's reply to it dated the 27th June covering to me his intention to form a temporary Care-taker Government till the reopening of negotiations after the elections to the Constituent Assembly have been completed.

Letter from the Viceroy to Mr. Jinnah dated the 25th June, 1946 :—

Dear Mr. Jinnah —You asked for a letter in confirmation of what the Delegation said to you this evening.

We informed you that the Congress had accepted the statement of May 16 while refusing to take part in the Interim Government proposed in the statement of June 16.

This had produced a situation in which paragraph 8 of the statement of June 16 takes effect. This paragraph said that if either of the two major parties was unwilling to join in the setting up of a Coalition Government on the lines laid down in the statement, the Viceroy would proceed with the formation of an Interim Government which will be as representative as possible of those willing to accept the statement of May 16.

Since the Congress and the Muslim League have not both accepted the statement of May 16, it is the intention to form a Coalition Government including both those parties as soon as possible. In view, however, of the long negotiations which have already taken place, and since we all have other work to do, we feel that it will be better to have a short interval before proceeding with further negotiations for the formation of the Interim Government.

This, therefore, is the course of action we propose to adopt, unless the two main parties can within the next few days agree upon a basis on which they can cooperate in a Coalition Government.

Meanwhile the election and summoning of a Constituent Assembly as laid down in the statement of May 16 are going forward.

Yours sincerely, Wavell.

Letter from Mr. M. A. Jinnah to the Viceroy, dated 26th June, 1946 :—

Dear Lord Wavell :—I received your letter dated 25th June, 1946, at midnight last night after I have sent you the resolution of my Working Committee passed at its meeting yesterday with a covering letter of the same date, agreeing to join the Interim Government on the basis of the statement of the Cabinet Delegation and yourself dated 16th June and the clarifications and assurances given by you after consultation with the Cabinet Delegation in your letter dated the 20th of June addressed to me.

I regret that the Congress, while accepting the statement of the 16th of May, should have rejected the proposals regarding the setting up of the Interim Government on the basis of the statement of 16th June, which was the final decision of the Cabinet Delegation and yourself in this regard. May I draw your attention to Paragraph 8 of the Statement of 16th June, which clearly lays down that the acceptance of the Statement of 16th May, and rejection of the final proposals embodied in the Statement of the 16th June, cannot change the basis and principles laid down therein ?

In Paragraph 3 of your letter, when you say that the Viceroy should proceed with the formation of an Interim Government which will be as representative as possible of those willing to accept the statement of May 16th, the quotation qualifies them to be included in the Interim Government, but only on the basis and the principles laid down in your proposals of the 16th of June. In these circumstances, as indicated in the statement of 16th June, Paragraph 7, that you aimed at inaugurating the Interim Government about the 26th of June, I hope you will not now delay the matter but go ahead with the formation of the Interim Government on the basis of your statement of 16th June, 1946.

Yours sincerly, M. A. Jinnah.

Letter from the Viceroy to Mr. Jinnah dated the 27th, June 1946 :—

Dear Mr. Jinnah :—Thank you for your letter of yesterday. I am sorry that my letter did not reach you till after the meeting of your Working Committee had ended.

As we explained to you during our interview on Tuesday, the Cabinet Mission and I consider that in the light of Paragraph 8 of the statement of 16th June I am clearly bound to make an attempt to form a Government representative of both the major parties, since both have accepted the statement of 16th May.

I think you will agree that it is essential to have a short interval before resuming negotiations, and as we informed you, it is proposed to set up a temporary Care-taker Government of officials. I intend reopening negotiations after the elections to the Constituent Assembly have been completed. Meanwhile the Cabinet Mission will return home to report.

Yours sincerely, Wavell.

As regards my request for the postponement of the elections to the Constituent Assembly, my reply to the two letters of the Viceroy of the 28th June has not been included in the published letters. I, therefore, think that I must, in fairness, release my letter of the 28th of June in reply to the Viceroy's letter of the 27th June reproduced above, and also my reply dated 28th June to the two letters of the Viceroy of same date released to the Press yesterday. The following is the text of the two letters:

Letter from Mr. Jinnah, dated 28th June to the Viceroy in reply to the latter's dated 27th June, 1946 :—

Dear Lord Wavell—I am in receipt of your letter of June 27th, 1946.

I had already pointed out by my letter of the 26th of June in reply to yours of the 25th and also at the interview on Tuesday, the 25th June, with you and the Cabinet Delegation that you were in honour bound to proceed forthwith with the formation of your Interim Government in accordance with the statement of the 16th of June, which was final, and the assurance given to us.

The Cabinet Delegation and yourself issued an official statement late in the evening of 26th June, and as I have already pointed out in the statement issued to the press yesterday, by that pronouncement you have chosen to go back upon your pledged word by postponing the formation of the Interim Government.

Now I have received your letter of 27th June and hereby inform you that I cannot agree with you when you say in your letter that "it is essential to have a short interval before resuming negotiations." I repeat that you should have proceeded in terms of paragraph 8 of the statement of June 16th without delay. But since you have adopted this course of action in the official statement of the Cabinet Delegation and yourself, which is neither fair nor just, I strongly urge upon you without prejudice, that the elections to the Constituent Assembly should also be postponed as you know that according to all the relevent documents and particularly the two statements of the Cabinet Delegation and yourself dated 16th and 25th of May, the long-term plan and the formation of the Interim Government formed one whole, each constituting an integral part of the whole scheme. It is, therefore, undesirable to proceed with one part, *i.e.*, elections to the Constituent Assembly and to postpone the other.

Yours sincerely, M. A. Jinnah.

Letter from Mr. Jinnah to the Viceroy in reply to his two letters of the 28th June released to the press yesterday :—

Dear Lord Wavell—I am in receipt of your letter of 28th June. The facts are correctly stated in my statement that was released to the press yesterday, the 27th of June.

The explanation that you now give in your letter under reply of what took place between me and the Cabinet Delegation and yourself, does not change in any way the position. The fact is that you did not communicate to me your views officially before the meeting of the Working Committee. I requested you to send your views officially to me and you did so by your letter of the 25th of June, which reached me at midnight after the Working Committee had passed their resolution which was released to the press according to the solemn agreement that we were to give our reply immediately after the decision of the Congress. If you wish to take the credit that some idea was given to me of the change on your part in the course of the interview where we discussed so many things, you may do so.

As regards paragraph 2 of your letter I am surprised when you say that the assurances quoted by me from your letter in my statement were given "if both the major parties had accepted the statement of the 16th of June." No such indication of any condition is given in your letter of the 20th of June, which I understand from your Private Secretary has already been released to the press together with some other correspondence. May I request you to release this letter also?

I have received a second letter from you dated the 28th of June. May I also request you to publish the full text of my letter of the 28th of June asking you to postpone the Constituent Assembly elections and not only a subtance of it which might have appeared in the All-India Radio broadcast—as you propose to release your reply to the press.

Yours sincerely, M. A. Jinnah.

I maintain that the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy have gone back on their word within ten days of the publication of their final proposals in not implementing the Statement of the 16th of June and I fully endorse what has been put so well—"Statesmen should not eat their words."

The Muslim League Legistators' Convention

Jinnah's Address—Pakistan Demand Reiterated

New Delhi—7th April to 9th April 1946

Determination of Muslim India "to carve out" a sovereign State for the Muslims of India was expressed by the Muslim League President, Mr. *M. A. Jinnah*, addressing the Muslim League Legislators' Convention held at New Delhi on the 7th. to 9th. April 1946. In the context of the League negotiations with the Cabinet Mission, the proceedings of the Convention bear some importance.

The Anglo-Arabic College Quadrangle, where it met, resounded with cries of "Pakistan Zindabad". "Qaid-e-Azam Zindabad" and other slogans for three hours, during which some 450 Muslim League members of the Central and Provincial Legislatures, including women members and a large number of visitors, vociferously greeted the arrival of leaders and later repeatedly applauded and cheered Mr. Jinnah's Address.

Mr. Jinnah, in the course of his speech. declared that Muslim India would never agree to a single Constitution-making Body nor accept the constitution of an interim Government before the principle of Pakistan was accepted. He also made it clear that "so far as Muslim India is concerned, the conception of a United India is impossible. If any attempt is made to force a decision against the wishes of Muslims, Muslim India will resist it by all means and at all costs." "We are prepared", he said, "to sacrifice anything and everything, but we shall not submit to any scheme of Government prepared without our consent."

Referring to his talks with the British Cabinet Mission, Mr. Jinnah said: "I had long talks with the Secretary of State for India unofficially and thereafter officially with the Cabinet Mission as a whole. I am not in a position to tell you anything except that it was a free, frank and most cordial exchange of views on various matters relating to the solution of India's constitutional problem that is facing us. So far as we are concerned, there can be no compromise on the fundamentals of Pakistan and its full sovereignty (Cheers). We cannot agree to a single Constitution-making Body, because it will mean our signing our death warrant, and we cannot agree to consider any interim arrangement unless Pakistan is accepted as a *sine qua non*. If any interim arrrangement and constitution are forced upon us, we will have no other course open to us than to resist it in every way possible". (Hear, Hear).

Mr. Jinnah said: "You know that in the battle of elections that was raging for months all over India, by the grace of God and with your unceasing labours we have achieved a victory for which there is no parallel in this world. We had to fight against all odds, against powerful organisations and all their manoeuvres and machinations throughout India. But I am glad to say that we have routed our opponents in every battle-field (Cheers). And to-day a historic record stands that we have captured something like 90 per cent of Muslim seats (Applause), and we have gathered here to-day as the chosen and accredited representatives of various constituents all over India.

"This Convention—the like of which has never taken place in the history of India, Hindu or Muslim—has to consider, what next? With all the responsibility that is there and that you bear as elected representatives of the people, this Convention is going to lay down once and for all in unequivocal terms as to what we stand for (Cheers). I have no doubt that your verdict is for Pakistan. We shall never falter or flinch by a hair's breadth to fight for it if necessary, but achieve it we must or else we perish.

"We have tried to lay down some practical programme. You form yourself into a Subjects Committee, to which each province will elect its representatives. Any resolutions which the Subjects Committee might formulate will be placed before the full Convention. It is not possible to formulate a resolution before a large body of hundreds of people. The practical way to deal with the matter is to form a Subjects Committee, to which each province will elect its quota of ten per cent. To that will be added the members of the Central Legislature.

"In the Subjects Committee we shall carefully examine and review the entire situation that is facing us, especially with reference to the solution of the Constitutional problem of this sub-continent, and in view of the fact that the Cabinet Mission is new here and they have come to discuss the matter with us."

Referring to the present political situation with particular reference to the recent satements of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Mr. Jinnah

said, "In answer to the Muslim demand for Pakistan Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel says: 'The Congress can accommodate the Muslim League to the extent of reorganising the Provinces and giving the fullest autonomy possible to those areas in which the Muslims are predominately in a majority. This would be subject to there being a strong Centre which would be necessary for the defence of India as a whole. 'The Congress', he further adds, 'would never agree to the idea of there being two nations, nor will it recognise nationality based upon religion'.

"Pandit Nehru says, as reported in the Press on April 4, 'that the way of dealing with the present situation was to see Indian Independence clearly recognised and leave the Indians to compose their differences and find a way out without interference. It is always difficult to consider these differences in relation to the presence of a third party which controls the situation... ..When once it is clearly and definitely realised that India is going to function as an independent entity and that the people of India of various groups and communities must come to terms or unfortunately fight before they come to terms, then reality comes into the picture'. He (Nehru) further goes on to say that he envisaged as the first stage after the recognition of the Independence the creation of a Constitution making Body with sovereign authority. In another recent speech he was good enough to offer diluted Pakistan under the suzerainty of a strong Central Congress Government."

Mr. Jinnah proceeded: "If you reduce the Congress formula it comes to this: that the British Government must grant Independence and hand over the machinery of Government—both civil and military—to the Congress by way of setting up a national Government of their conception and then stand aside. When they are fully saddled in that power and authority they will proceed to form a Constitution-making Body with sovereign authority, which will finally decide the fate of 400 of millions of people inhabiting this vast sub-continent. Then, according to Pandit Nehru, the various communities and groups must submit to the decision or fight and then the reality comes into picture But we have the reality already in front of us, and it is foolish to shut our eyes and imagine that the Congress interim National Government, or a decree, the writ and the fiat of the so-called Constitution-making Body of his (Pandit Nehru's) conception will command allegiance, respect and obedience. If such a proposal is given effect to and a Government of his dream is set up, it will not hold for 48 hours. It is inconceivable that this Fascist Grand Council should be vested with full powers immediately to decide and decree the fate and destinies of 100 millions of people, the existing machinery in their hands to be used against us and other minorities and other interests involved.

"It seems the Congress do not realise how fantastic this proposal and scheme, whatever you may call it is", Mr. Jinnah said.

"On the other hand," Mr. Jinnah continued, "the Muslim League proceeds on the basis of reality. I have explained in great detail the fundamental and vital differences between the Hindus and the Muslims. There never has been for all these centuries either social or political unity between these two major nations. The Indian unity that we talk of to-day is only physical. India is held by the British Government, and they have, by their ultimate sanction behind them of the police and the army, maintained peace and law and order in this country.

'The Congress claim is founded on nationality, which does not exist, except in the eyes of those who merely dream. Our formula is based on the territory of this sub-continent being carved into two sovereign States of Hindustan and Pakistan.

"Next, the acceptance of the fundamental principles of Pakistan is a *sine qua non* of the consideration of the question of the Muslim League co-operation in any interim Central Government and further a clear and unequivocal undertaking must be given to implement it without delay. Then alone can we get to the next step.

"It follows that the idea of a single constitution-making Body has then no place and we shall not accept it, for it means our consent to proceed on the basis of a United India, which is impossible. Apart from many other objections, one is quite clear—that a single Constitution making Body will only register the decree of the Congress and it is a foregone conclusion that Muslims will be in a hopeless minority there

"On the other hand, according to our formula, there would be two sovereign Constitution-making Bodies, one for Hindustan and the other for Pakistan, and it is the Pakistan Constitution-making Body, which will be in a position to deal with defence or such other matters which will naturally arise. But all this can only be done by means of treaties and agreements between Pakistan and Hindustan. We cannot accept any proposal which would be in any way derogatory to the full sovereignty of Pakistan.

"Our formula gives the Hindus three-fourths of this sub-continent with a population of nearly 250 million. Hindustan will be a State bigger than any other State in the world. both in area and population except China, and we shall have only one-fourth. In this way, we can both live according to our ideals, culture and social construction of the two major nations. Whereas the Congress demand is accepted, it is clear as daylight that we shall be thrown under the yoke not only of Hindu Raj but this present Congress junta, who have the temerity still to say that they alone represent India and that they are the sole successors to step in and establish the Congress Raj in the place of the British Raj, a position which is impossible and intolerable. Muslim India will never agree to its realisation and will be bound and will have no other course open, to resist it by every means possible. (Cheers).

"The British are threatened that if they do not surrender to the Congress demand, there will be bloodshed for which preparation is going on, that they will paralyse the British trade and they have further threatened that the same will be the result if they favour Pakistan.

"If, unfortunately, the British are stampeded by the threat of bloodshed—which is more a bluff than a reality—this time Muslim India is not going to remain passive or neutral (Cheers). It is going to play its part and face all dangers. Mr. Nehru is greatly mistaken. There might be trouble. he says, but not very much (Laughter). He is still in the atmosphere of Anand Bhavan (Laughter).

"Equally, if the British fall a prey and are prepared to sell the Muslims for trade facilities. which are so profusely offered by the Congress leaders to them—and Mr. Gandhi has gone better as he has strongly expressed that he will be ready and willing to give preference to British goods (cries of "Shame Shame"), but they forget that the consumer has a say in the matter too (Laugher) and merely the Hindu-capitalists, the patrons of the Congress, and that the largest consumers of British goods are Muslims.

"I hope that the commercial tendencies of Britain will not stampede them into such alluring promises and attractive preferential trade offers. In fact, the Congress is always in the habit of giving terms, but they do not mean to keep them and they overrule any commitments that may be made according to the cirmumstances that may suit the Congress from time to time.

"But apart from that, if the British are going to sell 100 million Musalmans and millions of other minorities for the sake of illusory hopes and promises of their having a flourishing trade, commerce and markets in India—are they going to do that?—it will be the greatest tragedy, indeed, in the history of Great Britain to go to that length. And what is more, it will never be realised.

After expressing the League's opposition to a single Constituent Assembly, Mr. Jinnah said: "If any interim arrangement and constitution is forced upon us, we have no other course open to us, but to resist it in every way possible (Hear, Hear). We are prepared to sacrifice anything and everything, but we shall not submit to any scheme of Government without our consent. If the British Government go to that length, they will be guilty of the grossest breach of faith and of the solemn assurances that they gave us when they wanted our blood and money in the midst of the war by their declaration of August, 1940. It will be the last straw on the camel's back, and we shall face it with courage and determination and resist it by all means if they betray us." (Hear, Hear).

Concluding Mr. Jinnah said: "God is with us (cheers), because our cause is righteous and our demand is just both to Hindus and Muslims inhabiting this vast sub-continent. And so we have nothing to fear and let us march forward with complete unity as disciplined soldiers of Pakistan (Cheers).

Resolution—Third Day—New Delhi—9th. April 1946

The Subjects Committee of the Convention met on the next day, the 8th April, for drafting the resolution and the open session of the Convention on the third day, the 9th April, discussed the main political resolution reiterating the demand for Pakistan and for the setting up of two constitution-making bodies. Mr. *H. S. Suhrawardy*, Leader of the Muslim League Party in Bengal moved the resolution, which was supported by Chaudhuri Khaliquzzaman, Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatulla, Sir Mohd. Saadullah and Syed Rauf Shah. The following is the full text of the resolution:—

"Whereas in this vast sub-continent of India, 100 million Muslims are the adherents of a faith which regulates every department of their life (educational, social economic and political), whose code is not confined merely to spiritual doctrines

and tenets or rituals and ceremonies and which stands in sharp contrast to the exclusive nature of Hindu Dharma and Philosophy which has fostered and maintained for thousands of years a rigid caste system resulting in the degradation of 60 million human beings to the position of untouchables, creation of unnatural barriers between man and man and superimposition of social and economic inequalities on a large body of the people of this country, and which threatens to reduce Muslims, Christians and other minorities to the status of irredeemable helots, socially and economically,

"Whereas, the Hindu caste system is a direct negation of nationalism, equality, democracy and all the noble ideas that Islam stands for;

"Whereas, different historical back-grounds, traditions, cultures, social and economic orders of the Hindus and the Muslims made impossible the evolution of a single Indian nation inspired by common aspirations and ideals and whereas after centuries they still remain two distinct major nations;

"Whereas, soon after the introduction by the British of the policy of setting up political institutions in India on the lines of Western democracies based on majority rule, which means that the majority of the nation or society could impose its will on the majority of other nation or society in spite of their opposition as was amply demonstrated during the two and a half years' regime of Congress Governments in the Hindu Majority Provinces under the Government of India Act, 1935, when the Muslims were subjected to untold harassment and oppression as a result of which they were convinced of the futility and ineffectiveness of the so-called safeguards provided in the Constitution and in the instrument of Instructions to the Governors and were driven to the irresistible conclusion that in a United India Federation, if established, the Muslims, even in majority Provinces, would meet with no better fate and their rights and interests could never be adequately protected against the perpetual Hindu majority at the Centre;

"Whereas the Muslims are convinced that with a view to saving Muslim India from the domination of the Hindus and in order to afford them full scope to develop themselves according to their genius, it is necessary to constitute a sovereign independent State, comprising Bengal and Assam in the north-east zone and the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan in the north-west zone;

"This Convention of the Muslim League Legislators of India, Central and Provincial, after careful consideration hereby declare that the Muslim nation will never submit to any Constitution for a United India and will never participate in any single Constitution making machinery set up for the purpose, and that any formula devised by the British Government for transferring power from British to the peoples of India, which does not conform to the following just, equitable principles, calculated to maintain internal peace and tranquillity in the country, will not contribute to the solution of the Indian problem.

"That the zones comprising Bengal and Assam in the north-east and the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan in the north-west of India, namely, Pakistan zones, where the Muslims are a dominant majority, be constituted into a sovereign independent State and that an unequivocal undertaking be given to implement the establishment of Pakistan without delay.

"That two separate Constitution-making Bodies be set up by the peoples of Pakistan and Hindustan for the purpose of framing their respective constitutions.

"That the minorities in Pakistan and Hindustan be provided with safeguards on the lines of the All-India Muslim League resolution passed on the 23rd March 1940, at Lahore.

"That the acceptance of Muslim League demand for Pakistan and its implementation without delay are the *sine qua non* for the Muslim League co-operation and participation in the formation of an interim Government at the Centre.

"This Convention further emphatically delares that any attempt to impose a Constitution on a United India basis or to force any interim arrangement at the Centre, contrary to the Muslim demand, will leave the Muslim no alternative but to resist such imposition by all possible means for their survival and national existence."

League Legislators' Pledge

Before the Convention was dissolved the Muslim League Party members in the Central and Provincial Legislatures present took an oath pledging "to undergo any danger, trial or sacrifice which may be demanded" for the attainment of Pakistan. The oath was read by Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan. The following is the text of the pledge:

"I do hereby solemnly declare my firm conviction that the safety and security and the salvation and destiny of the subcontinent of India lie only in the achievement of Pakistan which is the one equitable, honourable and just solution of the constitutional problem and which will bring peace, freedom and prosperity to the various nationalities and communities of this great sub-continent. I most solemnly affirm that I shall willingly and unflinchingly carry out all the directions and instructions which may be issued by the All India Muslim League in pursuance of any movement launched by it for the attainment of the cherished national goal of Pakistan, and, believing as I do in the rightness and the justice of my cause, I pledge myself to undergo any danger, trial or sacrifice which may be demanded of me."

Sir Firoz Khan Noon, addressing the Convention late at night, made an impassioned plea for Pakistan. Sir Firoz declared. "If the Hindus give Pakistan, they will be our best friends. If the British give us Pakistan, then they will be our friends. But if neither give us Pakistan, then Russia will give it to us. We want our freedom and we shall have it. Freedom is a thing which is more valuable than anything else in the world We wish to see that our children will never be slaves of Akhand Hindustan." Sir Firoz foresaw dire consequences if there was any agreement between the Cabinet Mission and the "Indian Banyas", leaving out the Muslim League and said: "I tell you this much. If we find that we have to fight Great Britain for placing us under one Central Government or Hindu Raj, then the havoc which the Muslims will play will put to shame what Chengiz Khan and Halak did." Sir Firoz said that the only course left open to Muslims was to look to Russia. There was already a great movement in the Punjab, including landlords, in favour of communism.

Mr. *H. S. Suhrawardy*, in his address moving the principal resolution for the Convention, maintained that there was no Muslim to-day whether he was "a renegade from Sind or the Punjab, who was against Pakistan. Even the Congress Muslims from the N. W. F. P., were not against Pakistan and probably they had already realised Pakistan there. "There is no room to-day," Mr. Suhrawardy continued, "for anyone in this country who does not believe in Pakistan." "Is Pakistan our last demand" he asked and replied: "I will not attempt to give an answer. But that is our latest demand. I would like the Congress to recall that we in the past asked for much less and we were prepared to accept the superior number of Hindus in a democratic constitution. But they turned down everyone of our modest demands. Now there is nothing left for us except to demand separation. This is a fair and legitimate demand of ours." Commending the resolution, Mr. Suhrawardy said it was both momentous and historic Any attempt to establish old connections on the old basis, he said, would lead to a situation fraught with the gravest consequences to the peace and happiness of India. Britain was ready to part with power and was seeking to whom she might hand over power and the presence of the Cabinet Mission was proof of her earnestness and sincerity. "The Congress", Mr. Suhrawardy said, "was stating: 'hand over power to us. We shall sweep all opposition. We shall suppress the Muslims. We shall bring the Scheduled Class to heel and we shall annihilate the Adibasis. Give us the police, your army and arms and we shall reproduce an armageddon in the name of a United India.' This I call insanity induced by the lust for power. The Cabinet Mission is not so bland as to trust the destinies of India to this gang."

Mr. Suhrawardy went on to say that sometimes the League was confronted with the question "What about defence?" He said there was no country, be it Britain or the United States, that could defend itself alone. He was again recently asked what would happen if Hindustan started aggression against Pakistan. His reply to the British was: "Leave us alone and we shall look after ourselves."

He said that there were many Hindus who looked to the League for emancipation. What the Muslims wanted was only two corners in India at the present moment. "If you wage war against us", he said, "I am not prepared to forecast the future". Millions of Muslims, Mr. Suhrawardy said, were to-day united behind the League and they would resist all attempts to deny them their rights. Muslims were not a dead nation and the resistance would not be by mere words. If the Hindus wished to live in honour and peace, the Congress should concede Pakistan. The Muslims did not desire to start a civil war but they must have their rights so that they may be able to hold up their head and say: "We are a nation and we believe we have something to contribute to the civilisation of the world." Mr. Suhrawardy paid a tribute to the Muslims from the Hindu majority

provinces. who, he said, had welded the Muslims into one nation. Mr. Suhrawardy asserted that the Hindu masses had not been touched by the Congress ideology. The Congress represented the Hindu intelligentsia, who were vocal and voluble. On the one hand they held out threats, and on the other, they were cooing like a dove. Concluding, Mr. Suhrawardy appealed to the Muslims to be ready to undertake any sacrifice that they might be called upon to make.

Chaudhri Khaliquzzaman, Leader of the U. P. Muslim League Assembly Party, seconding the resolution, said that the reference to Hindu religion in the resolution was only intended to explain that Hindus and Muslims were poles asunder and that there was no room in Hindu society for a Muslim.

Analysing the Muslim demand for Pakistan in its historical retrospective, Chaudhri Khaliquzzaman said that the demand for separation had always existed and that separate electorates were conceded after a strenuous struggle. Then came the separation of Sind, which was in effect to maintain the balance, Pakistan, therefore, was the logical culmination of the Muslim demand.

He characterised the Congress demand for the establishment of an interim National Government as a "political fraud" and feared that if an Interim Government was established, it might be used to crush the Muslims. If, however, an Interim Government was set up in the teeth of Muslim opposition, the Muslim League would never allow a single Constituent Assembly to come into existence Referring to the Congress President's allegation of official interference in the recent elections, the speaker said that Maulana Azad's statement "constituted an explanation to the black-marketeers who financed the elections against the League candidates."

He condemned Pandit Nehru's utterances in regard to Pakistan and said that the Muslims would not be intimidated by such threats.

On the meeting of non-League Muslims with the Cabinet Mission, Chaudhuri Khaliquzzaman said that both Malik Khizar Hayat Khan and Mr. G. M. Syed had endorsed Pakistan, while Dr. Khan Sahib was reported to have said that if the choice was between an independent Hindustan and an independent Pakistan, the Frontier would remain with the Muslims.

Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Premier of Sind, supporting the resolution said that the Hindus were educated and had the money and were to-day asking for a democratic Government because they were in good numbers. But in spite of their opposition Muslims would set up Pakistan.

Sir Mohamed Sadullah, Leader of the Assam Muslim League Assembly Party, said that he had been deputed by nearly nine million people of Assam, including tribal people to submit before the Cabinet Mission their ardent desire to include Assam in Pakistan,

Syed Rauf Shah (C. P.) said that Pakistan was the real solution of the Hindu-Muslim problem and that a constitution based on United India would sound the death-knell of the Muslims. He assured that every single Muslim in the Central Province was ready to undergo utmost sacrifice for the achievement of Pakistan and was awaiting the call.

"Muslims Will Take Out The Sword"

Khan Abdul Qayum Khan (N. W. F. P.) said that if 'Quit India' meant that the British should quit here and now and leave the Hindus and Muslims to decide the question among themselves, then on behalf of the ten crores of Muslims he would ask the British to quit. But what puzzled him was that the Congress wanted the British to stay for a sufficiently long period so that they could consolidate their position with British bayonets. "Thank God, we have one flag, one leader, one platform and one ideal—Pakistan—to fight for." He condemned Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan's opposition to the League and said: "His name would go down in history as one of the Muslims who, at this hour of trial of the Muslim nation, tried to stab us in the back." The people in the tribal areas who were all armed, he said, were for Pakistan. Muslims, he said, were enthusiastic and during his journey to Delhi he was asked by many Muslim students and men in uniform as to when "the marching orders would be given by the Quai-de-Azam." Concluding he said: "We are not indulging in any threats against the Congress or the Hindus. But if the British force the Muslims by setting up a Government of the Akhand Hindustan type and if they decide there should be one Constituent Assembly, then the Muslims will have no other alternative but to take out the sword and rebel against it."

The *Nawab* of *Mamdot* said that the recent elections were fought on the issue of Pakistan and 86 per cent of the Muslim electorate in the Punjab had voted for the League,

He gave an account of the Ministry formation in the province and condemned the Congress President and the Governor of the Punjab "for doing everything in their power to find and encourage Muslim Quislings to defeat the League."

Mr. *I. M. Chundrigar*, (Bombay) said that Muslims under no circumstances were prepared to submit to Hindu Raj. The British, he said, had no right to hand over the Muslims to a subject people over whom the Muslims ruled for over 800 years. The Muslims wanted independence and not a change of master.

Mr. *Mohd Ismail* (Madras) declared that Muslims in India were now in the midst of a 'Jihad'. Only Pakistan could save their civilisation and culture and enable them to live in peace and honour.

Begum Shah Nawaz (Punjab) said that Muslim women would call upon their husbands and sons to take up arms for Pakistan, if the British tried to establish Akhand Hindustan against the will of Muslims. Muslim women, she said, would play their full part side by side with them in the struggle for Pakistan.

Mr. *Abdul Hashim*, General Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League said that where justice and equity failed, shining steel would decide the issue. The Muslims in India, he said, were not fighting for their own emancipation, but to establish permanent peace and tranquillity in the world. The struggle for 'Akhand Bharat' was a struggle for exploitation, domination and injustice. He said that Bengal was ready for any action that might be taken for the achievement of Pakistan.

Mr. *Latifur Rehman*, (Bihar) and Mr. *Mohd. Yusuf*, in supporting the resolution, said that Muslims in Bihar and Orissa were wholly behind the demand for Pakistan.

Raja Ghaznafar Ali Khan, (Punjab) said that the Simla Conference failed, because there was more than one claimant for Muslim leadership. The recent elections had proved that it was only the League that represented Muslims and that Muslims were for Pakistan. He criticised the Cabinet Mission for inviting for interview Muslims who did not represent the Muslim League.

Mr. *Shaukat Hyat Khan*, (Punjab) claimed that he represented the martial class in the Punjab and that they were eager to join the struggle for Pakistan. "You only give us a chance," he said, "we shall show a rehearsal now when the British Army is still there. You will see the reactionary Government which is there in the Punjab with the help of the Hindus and the Muslim Quislings thrown overboard."

Sir Firoz Khan Noon said: "The gravity of the situation is misjudged and to-day we in this country are at the threshold of a great tragedy, because neither the Hindus nor the Englishmen realise the depth of our feeling for winning Pakistan at all cost."

To-day, he said, the problem of defence was set forth to obstruct Pakistan. Sir Firoz thought that "Akhand Hindustan" was afraid of Pakistan and that was why the Hindus were obstructing. He asked if New Zealand, with a population of less than two millions and Australia with a population of less than seven millions, should be free and defend themselves, why should not Pakistan with a population of over 70 million with material resources be able to defend itself. The majority of the combatant personnel in the Indian armed forces came from the Punjab and the problem of defence and protection rose only in the case of Hindustan, he said.

As it was nearing 2 a. m., Mr. Jinnah said that there had been sufficient discussion on the resolution, and he placed it before the Convention for its acceptance. The resolution was passed unanimously, amidst loud cheers.

Winding up the session, Mr. *M. A. Jinnah* said that the august and historic convention of the Muslim nation had declared itself for Pakistan. "While we hope for the best," he said, "we are prepared for the worst." They were prepared to make any and every sacrifice for the attainment of Pakistan.

Pakistan, Mr. Jinnah observed, was not going to be a theocratic State. Religion of course played an important part in a nation's life. But there were other aspects, which were vital for a nation's existence. Social, economic and political life were the main pillars, which would enable them to live according to their faith. With their social life demoralised and economically ruined, and with no political power, they could not defend their faith.

The issue of Pakistan to-day, Mr. Jinnah said, was not a question of minority or majority view, but it was one of unanimity. It was the Muslim minority in the Hindu majority provinces which took up the issue, and after all it was the minority that was the pioneer in any renaissance. There were a few who unfortun-

ately played to the tune of their master's voice: but the few did not count. People not only here, but in England and America as well, were realising that those were nothing but show-boys of the Congress. Muslim India was to-day one.

The Muslims in the Hindu majority provinces wanted their seventy million brethren to be free and have their own independent States. Pakistan, Mr. Jinnah declared, would be the best safeguard for the Muslim minority, better than any safeguards provided in the constitution. For, he asked, who was there to prevent the majority after five or ten years from destroying the safeguards provided in the constitution. If the majority, after five or ten years changed the constitution and removed separate electorates, who conld prevent them? All along, it should be remembered, the majority would be growing in strength while the minority would be emasculated. Safeguards would be blotted out one by one.

Mr. Jinnah went on to say that if the minorities in Hindustan were maltreated, the Government in Pakistan could not remain passive. If Britain could go to the rescue of the Armenians during the time of Gladstone, surely Pakistan would not stand aside when the minorities were ill-treated in Hindustan.

Referring to the formation of Provincial Ministries, Mr. Jinnah said that the constitution was such that it was not possible for the League to form Ministries in the Muslim majority provinces without the help of other parties. It was for this very reason that the Muslims wanted to put an end to the 1935 Act and establish Pakistan. He was glad to hear the remark of the Nawab of Mamdot that he would sacrifice a hundred Ministries rather than the principles for which he stood.

Mr. Jinnah emphasised the need to build up character. Muslims had faith in their religion: they had capacity, courage and all virtues that the people of any nation possessed. But they suffered from foreign domination and also from the domination of the Hindus for over a century-and-a-half. Due to the combination of the Hindus and the British, which might not be a conspiracy but a force of circumstances, the Muslims in India had all their virtues blunted and had become demoralised. They should now develop character and build up the highest sense of honour and integrity, have convictions and be ready at any time to efface themselves for the collective good of the nation. He was glad during the last five or six years a marvellous change had come among the Muslims. It was indeed a miracle and he wondered if it was a dream.

He was glad that a change had come over Muslim women as well. They must now concentrate on the uplift of Muslim women.

Concluding, Mr. Jinnah reaffirmed his faith in Pakistan and said: "They may check us. They may obstruct but nobody can prevent us from reaching our goal. They can only delay us for a little time. With hope, courage and faith we shall win."

Sikh Negotiation with the Cabinet Mission

Master Tara Singh's Interview—New Delhi—5th April 1946

Master Tara Singh, the Sikh (Akali) Leader had an interview with the British Delegation at Viceroy's House, New Delhi on the 5th April 1946 where he went along with Gyani Kartar Singh M. L. A., Sardar Harnam Singh, Advocate and all the three came out after one our. They were followed by Sardar Baldev Singh, Minister representing Akalis in the Punjab Coalition Goverument.

Sikh representatives stated to have expressed their determined and unequivocal opposition to Pakistan in the course of their talks with the British Cabinet Mission. They however, stated that they told the Mission that in no case Sikhs would agree to the establishment of Pakistan and they would be unwilling to accept it under any circumstances, but if the situation would arise wherein they find themselves helpless and their opposition and resistance to be of no avail then they would press their demand for the establishment of an independent Sikh State. When they talked about their resistance being of no avail they meant an eventuality arising out of the Congress and League agreeing between themselves or British deciding upon imposing Pakistan on India. They hoped that the British won't commit the folly of imposing Pakistan, but regarding the Congress agreeing with the League the Sikh leaders told pressmen that while they did not fear that but that they were not prepared to rule out the possibility of such situation arising in which the Congress might agree. Their apprehension of such possibility, they said, was born out of their past experience.

The Sikh Delegation, has it is reported, told the Mission positively that they

stand for united India. But even in the united India, the Sikh Delegation is stated to have told the Mission, Sikhs were finding it impossibe to live under the present arangements in the Punjab. Sikhs' view seemed to be, which they were stated to have placed before the Mission, that even in the united India the present statutory Muslim majority must go. Their own position must be improved by giving them more representation. Their view is that no sanctity is attached to the so-called rule that no majority must be turned into minority. But they want this to happen so far as the Punjab is concerned more particularly because, they say, in no other province there are three communities occupying the same position as they do in the Punjab. They are stated to have told the Mission that the Sikhs occupy a distinguished position in the Punjab in may respects and they must not be kept in a position of everlasting subjugation. If, however, statutory majority could not be done away with, the Sikhs want a separate unit for themselves—a unit which they can call their own—in the Punjab. The Sikh position regarding the ending of Muslim statutory majority was explained by the Sikh leaders to the pressmen whom they told that if in Bengal Muslim majority could be reduced to minority for providing for European interests why could not the same thing be done in the Punjab for providing protection to the Sikhs. Their demand pertained, they said, only to the Punjab where they were an important minority, besides another minority, which position did not exist in any other province.

Sikh Memorandum to the Cabinet Mission

The following is the text of the Memorandum submitted by Master Tara Singh to the Cabinet Mission :—

The position of the minorities has changed since the Cripps Mission. As conceded by Major Attlee, Indians cannot be made responsible for governing themselves and at the same time power retained in the hands of an authority outside India for intervention on behalf of such minorities for ensuring their proper treatment by the majority. This makes it all the more necessary for the Sikhs to safeguard in the Constitution itself their political status in the future policy of the country.

The draft declaration provides for the right of non-accession of provinces. The Sikhs make it plain that they are opposed to any possible partition of India as envisaged in the draft declaration. As stated above, the Sikhs form a compact cultural nationality of about six millions. They further maintain that, judged by any definition or test, the Punjab in not only their homeland, but their holy land. They were the last rulers of the Punjab and before the advent of the British they enjoyed in the Punjab independent economic and political status which has gradually deteriorated under British rule.

They wish, however, to point out that, with the inauguration of Provincial Autonomy on the basis of the Communal Award, they have been reduced to a state of complete helplessness. If the existing provincial political set-up is continued, the transference of power to the people would perpetuate the coercion of the Sikhs under what in practice has come to the Muslim rule. That set-up is unjust to the Sikhs, Its working has meant Muslim communal rule in the Punjab which has almost exasperated the Sikhs to the point of revolutionary protest. The intervention of war conditions alone has been responsible for the Sikhs acquiescing temporarily in this communal tyranny. They cannot be expected to continue to submit to it as a permanent arrangement in any new scheme of Indian polity.

Akali Demands : The statutory Muslim majority in the Legislature of the Province must go and the position of the Sikhs must be strengthened by increased representation therein so as to ensure to the Sikhs an effective voice in the administration of the country.

In the alternative, out of the existing province of the Punjab a new province may be carved out as an additional provincial unit in the United India of the future in such a way that all the important Sikh *Gurdwaras* and shrines may be included in it as also a substantial majority of the Sikh population in the existing province of the Punjab.

The Sikhs cannot, however, blind themselves to the fact that the Muslims have declared that they are a separate nation as distinct from the Sikhs, the Hindus and others, and that on that basis they are entitled to Pakistan. We have already expressed unequivocally our opposition to the establishment of such a State. In view of the rumours that are current we are obliged to take note of the possibility of the Cabinet Mission giving serious consideration to the Muslim League claim,

Before the Mission arrives at a decision on this question, we would emphasise that the Sikhs have as good a claim for the establishment of a separate sovereign Sikh State as the Muslims for Pakistan and that the Mission should not concede the claim for Pakistan without conceding at the same time the claim for a separate State made on behalf of the Sikhs. The Sikhs are in favour of a single constitution-making body in which they should be represented as already indicated above.

In case the Mission should think of taking into serious consideration the proposal that has been made for two constitution-making bodies, one for Pakistan and the other for the rest of India, we wish, in the light of what has been said by us above, to make our position clear that there should be a separate constitution-making body also for the Sikh State.

Tara Singh—Pethic-Lawrence Correspondence

New Delhi—25th May to 1st June, 1946

From Master Tara Singh to Lord Pethick-Lawrence, dated 25th. May, 1946 :—

Since the British Cabinet Mission's recommendations for the future constitution of India have been published, a wave of dejection, resentment and indignation has run throughout the Sikh community. The reasons are quite obvious.

The Sikhs have been entirely thrown at the mercy of the Muslims. Group 'B' comprises the Punjab, the N.W.F. Province, Sind and Baluchistan, and the representatives given to each community will be Muslims 23, Hindus 9 and Sikhs 4. Can anybody expect from this Assembly, constituted as it is, any consideration of justice for the Sikhs ? The Cabinet Mission recognises "the very genuine and acute anxiety of the Muslims lest they should find themselves subjected to a perpetual Hindu majority rule."

But is there no "genuine and acute anxiety" among the Sikhs lest they should find themselves subjected to a perpetual Muslim majority rule ? If the British Government is not aware of the Sikh feelings, the Sikhs will have to resort to some measures in order to convince everybody concerned of the Sikh anxiety, in case they are subjected to a perpetual Muslim domination. The Cabinet Mission has not only put under Muslim domination the non-Muslim areas of the Punjab and Bengal, but the whole province of Assam where the non-Muslims are in overwhelming majority. This is evidently done to placate the Muslims. If the first consideration of the Cabinet Mission's recommendations is to give protection to the Muslims, why should the same consideration be not shown for Sikhs ? But it appears that the Sikhs have been studiously debarred from having any effective influence in the province, Group or Central Union. I refer to Section 15(2) and Section 19(7) in which it has been definitely provided that the majority of both the Hindus and Muslims is necessary for certain purposes. The Sikhs are entirely ignored, though they are as much concerned as the other communities.

This is how I read the recommendations of the Cabinet Mission. But as the issues are very grave and momentous, the Sikh representatives assembled here to-day to consider the situation created, has advised me to seek clarification from you and find out if there is any hope of such amendments as may save the Sikhs from perpetual domination.

So, I put three questions :—

(1) What is the significance of recognising the Sikhs as one of "the main communities" ?

(2) Suppose the majority of Section 'B' frames a constitution under Section 19(5) but the Sikh members do not agree. Does it mean deadlock or does the opposition of the Sikh members mean simply disassociation ?

(3) Is there any hope of obtaining for the Sikhs the same right as is given to the Muslims and the Hindus under Section 15(2) and 19(7) ?

From Lord Pethick-Lawrence to Master Tara Singh, dated 1st. June, 1946 :—

Thank you for your letter of 25th May.

The anxieties of the Sikhs were kept prominently in mind when we were drafting the Cabinet Mission's statement and I can certainly claim that of the various alternatives open to us the best one from the Sikh point of view was chosen. You will, I am sure, admit that if India had been divided into two sovereign States, or if the Punjab had been partitioned, either of these decisions would have been far less acceptable to the Sikhs than the one which is actually reached.

I have considered carefully the detailed points you raise at the end of your letter. I fear the Mission cannot issue any addition to, or interpretation of, the statement. There is, however, no intention whatever to prejudice the position of

the Sikhs in the Punjab or in the North-West Group, nor do I think their position has been prejudiced, for it is inconceivable that either the Constituent Assembly or any future Government of the Punjab will overlook the special place in the province of the Sikhs. The estimate of the importance of your community would never depend on the number of seats that you held in the Constituent Assembly.

Sikh League's Demands

All India Sikh League—Lahore—4th June 1946

The withdrawal of the British Viceroy and British troops and officials from India before the end of 1946 and the substitution of these by nominees of a National Government and an immediate declaration of Indian independence by the British Government "to convince Indians of British sincerity of purpose" were demanded by the All-India Sikh League at Lahore on the 4th. June 1946 under the presidency of *Baba Kharak Singh.*

In a 300-word resolution, the Sikh League asked the British Government: "to fix a date for the immediate withdrawal of British forces of occupation: to wipe out the undemocratic feudal and semi-feudal system of Indian States and the privileged position of the Princes: to limit the overriding powers of the Viceroy only to foreign policy during the period of the Interim National Government: to purge the Cabinet Mission's proposals of the communal virus being injected through the system of the provincial grouping and representation on communal basis: and to take immediate steps for the Indian debt through the transfer of British vested interests in finance and industry and others."

The resolution said the Interim National Government should be composed of elected members of the Central Legislature for maintaining the democratic composition of the Government.

The Sikh League viewed with "grave apprehension some of the glaring defects in the *ad interim* proposals of the Cabinet Mission" and asked for as assurance from the British Government "to grant complete sovereignty to the Constituent Assembly without reservations and limitations."

By another resolution, the League condemned the provincial grouping which, it said, would undermine the very existence of the Punjab as a distinct unit in the Indian Union, and seriously cripple the position of minorities, particularly that of the Sikhs."

The Sikh League said that only joint electorates with reservation of seats for the minorities, both at the Centre and the Provinces could "eliminate communalism."

Sikhs Denounce British Plan

Panthic Conference—Amritsar—9th June 1946

Some 800 Sikh representatives drawn from all over the Punjab, N. W. F. P., Delhi and the United Provinces met on the 9th June 1946 in the lap of their holy shrines—the Golden Temple and the Bawa Atal Tower—in the heart of the city of Amritsar, in a belligerent mood against the British Cabinet Plan, to take decision of resisting it.

The Teja Singh hall where the Panthic Sikh Conference opened resounded time and again with the popular Sikh war cry "Bole So Nihal—Sat Shree Akal" as speaker after speaker denounced the British proposals and exhorted his compatriots "to stake all" in the struggle "that is to come soon to protect the glory of the Panth."

While the Akali leader, *Master Tara Singh*, in a brief speech appealed to the Sikhs "to stand united in this grave hour for the Sikh Panth," he invited the Akalis particularly "to prepare to die in the struggle ahead." He declared: "The Sikh history is rich with the blood of our martyrs who laid down their lives for the honour of the Panth. Let us emulate their example and be ready to die." The Akali leader said: "Every Sikh child must be made conscious of his or her duty. Go to every home and hamlet to give the message of the Panth." "The British Cabinet Mission had told him," said Master Tara Singh, "that the Sikh interests will be protected. Well, they have not done so and there is no guarantee for the future." Representatives of the Akalis, Ramgarhia Sikhs, Namdharis, Nirmal Mahamandal, Nihang Sikhs, Chief Khalsa Diwan, All-India Sikh Youth League, the Sikh Students' Federation and nominees of various Singh Sabhas in northern India attended the conference.

While the conference was on, *Sardar Baldev Singh*, the Akali Minister told a group of news men that "most of the representatives are in favour of direct action to resist the British Cabinet plan while there is a small but influential minority

that is opposed to this move". He said: "The Sikhs are in a desperate mood, but I cannot yet say now what steps they would take to combat the plan".

Baba Labh Singh, President of the Shromani Akali Dal, told the Panthic Congress: "We are very indignant over the British proposals. Efforts are being made to enslave us for ever on our very holy land. We will not tolerate this. We would rather die fighting than agree to live as slaves". He appealed to the Sikhs "to stand united in this critical hour when the Sikhs are face to face with grave dangers".

Sardar Sarmukh Singh Chamak, President of the Ramgarhia Sikh Federation, said: "The British have tried to atom-bomb the Sikhs". "No matter what the cost," he said, 'the Sikhs will hold aloft the banner of the Panth. They will not lower it."

Sardar Isher Singh Majhail (Akali) said: "The British are mistaken if they think the Sikhs will submit to their plan silently. The Sikhs are determined to shatter to pieces the edifice they want to build. They will rise to a man to fight against this tyranny and injustice." He warned the Panthic Congress that "it will be a long, arduous and bloody battle that we shall have to embark upon to resist this tyranny." "There are no two opinions among the Sikhs on the British plan which completely ignores them," he said.

Colonel Niranjan Singh of the Indian National Army, speaking on behalf of himself and the I. N. A. General, Sardar Mohan Singh, said: "We are always for the struggle for freedom and we pledge our support and service in the fight the Panth may begin." "We are ready to ride the storm," he added. "The followers of Guru Gobind Singh shall never be slaves. Not only shall we free the Panth but the whole country and the world will be proud of our deeds".

Sardar Nidhan Singh Alam, President of the Namdhari Darbar of Bhaini Sahib urged "a united front of the Sikhs" against the British plan. He added: "We are thankful to the British Mission that but for their actions the Sikhs would not have been so united as at this hour".

Mahant Dyal Singh, President of the Nirmal Sikh Mahamandal, said: "We refuse to be cowed down by anyone. No power will be able to resist our struggle against tyranny".

Jathedar Mohan Singh, who presided, said the British Plan "is a direct onslaught on the religious and political rights of the Sikhs."

Sikhs Form Council of Action—10th. June 1946

The Conference, at its resumed sitting on the next day, the 10th. June, appointed a Council of Action "to give a tough fight to the British Government in case the proposals of the British Cabinet Mission are not modified according to their wishes, and will continue the struggle until their demands are conceded."

The proceedings were conducted by *Sardar Mohan Singh* of the Akal Takhat, who acted as the Stage Secretary. An enthusiastic crowd listened to the proceedings with the aid of loudspeakers from outside the Teja Singh Hall.

An important feature of the conference was that several Congress Sikhs who had absented themselves the previous day attended the session to-day, headed by the President of the District Congress Committee (rural), Sardar Darshan Singh Pheruman and Giani Gurmukh Singh Musafir.

The Council of Action, acccording to the resolution, will be presided over by Col. Niranjan Singh Gill of the I. N. A. as dictator. He has been given powers to nominate up to seven members.

Text of Resolution

The following resolution moved by *Sardar Ujjal Singh* was adopted by the Conference:—

"This representative gathering of the Sikhs assembled at Amritsar, has given its anxious and earnest consideration to the recommendations of the Cabinet Mission, read with subsequent elucidations, and is of the view that these recommendations will perpetuate the slavery of the country, rather than promote the independence of India.

"(a) That the Cabinet Mission while recognising that the establishment of Pakistan would, in particular, affect adversely the position of the Sikhs, yet have by the compulsory grouping of provinces, made recommendations which, in the words of Lord Pethic-Lawrence, Secretary of State for India, "make it possible for the Muslims to secure all the advantages of Pakistan without incurring the dangers inherent in it."

(b) That the Cabinet Mission while admitting that "the culture and political and social life of the Muslims, might become submerged in a purely unitary India, in which the Hindus with their greatly superior numbers must be a dominant element"—and this in spite of the fact that Muslims are 9 crores in the population and constitute a majority in several provinces of India, have deliberately blinded themselves to the same danger in a greater degree to the Sikhs under Muslim domination which is sought to be aggravated by the proposed constitution. Needless to add that even under the existing constitution, the Sikhs have been reduced to a position of complete helplessness which has already exasperated them to the verge of revolt.

(c) That while admitting the Punjab to be the "Homeland" of the Sikhs, the Cabinet Mission have by their recommendations liquidated the position of the Sikhs in their Homeland.

(d) That an Advisory Committee is proposed in paragraph 20 for the protection of the rights and interests of Hindus and Muslims on major communal issues but they have made no such provision for the protection of the rights and interests of the Sikhs in the Union or in the provincial sphere.

Therefore, this Panthic gathering express its strong condemnation of the recommendations of the Cabinet Mission and declares that they are wholly unacceptable to the Sikhs. This gathering further affirms that no constitution will be acceptable to the Sikhs which does not meet their just demands and is settled without their consent."

Mission's Trap for People

S. Ujjal Singh, moving the resolution, made a fiery speech and said that the Sikhs would fight the Cabinet Mission's proposals with the last drop of their blood. He felt sure that the Cabinet Mission in order to appease Mr. Jinnah had given Pakistan to the Muslim League. The grouping of provinces would lead to nothing else. But the Mission had gone still further. The Mission, said S. Ujjal Singh, instead of appointing a boundary commission for demarcating the Muslim majority areas, handed over the Hindu-Sikh majority areas of the Punjab to Mr. Jinnah. Thus the areas which were full of the hallowed association of martyrdom of Sikh Gurus and where their holy Gurdwaras were situated had been included in Pakistan. "We are not going to tolerate this scheme which will impose on us virtual Muslim rule," he said. "The British seem to have forgotten the real strength of the Khalsa. We are not going to undergo this humiliation. We shall fight the scheme to the last. We shall not betray the Panth." S. Ujjal Singh characterised the Mission's proposals as a "snare to perpetuate our internal differences." The Constituent Assembly they have proposed, he said, could never be worked out. But the Sikhs had found out the British. "We are grateful to the Mission," he added, "for their scheme has united the Panth more than ever before." He concluded: "Victory is ours. Let every Sikh come to his own and with the name of Guru Nanak on his lips march forward. Khalsa can never be defeated."

Another resolution passed by the conference stated: "This Panthic gathering appoints a Pratinidhi (representative) Panthic Board of the following persons:— Master Tara Singh, S. Baldev Singh (Development Minister). Col. Narinjan Singh Gill of the I. N. A., S. B. Principal Jodh Singh of the Khalsa College, Jathedar Udham Singo Nagoke, M. L. A., Sardar Sarmukh Singh Chamak, President of the Ramgarhia Federation, Sant Nidhan Singh Alam of the Namdhari Darbar, Giani Kartar Singh, M. L. A., Bawa Harkishen Singh, Principal Khalsa College, Gujranwala, Babu Labh Singh, President of the S. A. Dal, Giani Gurmukh Singh Musafar, Member Working Committee of the P. P. Congress Committee, Sardar Basant Singh Mogha, Colonel Raghbir Singh, a former Minister or Patiala, one representative of the Chief Khalsa Diwan, one representative of the Nirmala Sikhs, one representative of the Nihang Sikhs, with powers to co-opt upto the total strength of 25 members.

"This Committee will work for Panthic solidarity and will explore all avenues for the realisation of the Sikh objective."

The fourth and last resolution passed to-day laid down the procedure for the collection of funds and lodging a vigorous protest against the proposals of the British Cabinet Mission.

Col. Niranjan Singh to Lead Struggle

Proposing the name of *Col. Niranjan Singh Gill* for the chairmanship of the Committee of Action, *Master Tara Singh* said that there was no better man than Col. Gill at this hour to lead the struggle of the Sikhs. He was a tried soldier

who fought in the battlefield both against the Japs and the British. "We want him to fight and lead the Panth to victory against the British Cabinet Mission's proposals".

Sardar Gurmukh Singh Musafir (Congress) seconding the resolution praised the bravery of Col. Gill, who he said, had raised the status of the Sikhs in the eyes of the world. "Col. Gill risked his life". he added, "for the freedom of the country. He will do it again even at the cost of his life and it will be a pleasure for us to work under his leadership and obey his orders".

After the resolution was unanimously adopted, Col. Gill took the chair of the conference. In a short speech, he appealed for unity and solidarity and thanked the audience for giving him the honour of leading the struggle against the British Cabinet Mission's proposals. Every soldier, he said, needed two things, which were essential if the battle was to be fought and won. They were unity and discipline. He concluded : "Let us all imbibe these two qualities of unity and discipline. Let us have one platform and one voice. That alone will lead to the victory of the Panth and the victory of India".

S. BALDEV SINGH'S SPEECH

Speaking on the resolution forming the Pritinidhi Board, *Sardar Baldev Singh* said : "If the Congress and the Muslim League accept the British Cabinet Mission's proposals and the British say : We are going to quit India and so you should negotiate with the Congress and the Muslim League, we shall do so. If the political parties accept our demands, nothing like it. We shall be happy and there will be mutual co-operation. But if these negotiations fail and the Pritinidhi Board and the Committee of Action feel it proper and ask me to resign from the Punjab Cabinet, I shall do so within 24 hours". He felt happy at the unity achieved and said that if the Sikhs stood united, none on earth could impose any proposal on them against their will. Every section of Sikhs, he said, stood firmly against the proposals and their firm stand itself would lead them to victory.

The resolution was passed unanimously.

Though speaker after speaker strongly advocated the launching of a morcha and immediate direct action against the Cabinet Mission's proposals from talks with important Sikh leaders who attended the Panthic Conference, the "United Press" learnt that direct action could still be averted if the main political parties in the country are ready to assure that the Sikh rights would be safeguarded in the future constitution of the country.

The leader of the Committee of Action, Col. Niranjan Singh Gill told the "United Press" representative: "We shall explore all avenues before starting any direct action. This obviously means negotiations with the Congress and I have every hope that the Congress will stand by the Sikhs."

Master Tara Singh said : "The Panthic Board will, before launching any struggle, negotiate with political parties. The Congress and the Muslim League are the two parties concerned.

Sardar Baldev Singh, Development Minister, referring to the decision of the Panthic Conference said : "Rejection of the British proposals does not necessarily mean boycott of the proposals at this stage." He had in mind the negotiations that might still take place for the redress of Sikh grievances.

Sikhs Not to join the Interim Government

Directive of the Panthic Board—22nd. June 1946

Sardar Baldev Singh, the Sikh invitee, should not join the Interim Government—this decision was unanimously reached by the United Sikhs (Panthic) Board held at Amritsar on the 22nd. June 1946.

The decision was taken after six hours' deliberations in which about 50 prominent Sikhs, representing all sections of Sikh opinion participated. Colonel Niranjan Singh Gill, dictator of the Council of Action, presided.

It was understood that the Panthic Board instructed Sardar Baldev Singh to write to the Viceroy, declining his invitation to join the Interim Government.

The following is the text of the resolution passed by the Panthic Board in calling upon Sardar Baldev Singh not to join the Interim Government :—

"This meeting of the Pratinidhi Panthic Board, after giving careful and anxious consideration to the invitation extended to the Hon'ble Sardar Baldev Singh by His Excellency the Viceroy to join the interim Government as a representative of the Sikh community, unanimously resolves as under :—

(a) That in view of the decision of the Panthic gathering of June 9 and 10,

held at Amritsar, totally rejecting the Cabinet Mission's proposals as being unjust and gravely detrimental to the interests of the Sikhs and in view of the fact that participation in the interim Government involves the acceptance of these very proposals, the Panthic Board cannot advice any Sikhs to serve on the Interim Government on the present basis ;

(b) That the Panthic Board has been constrained to arrive at this decision on account of the callous and indifferent attitude shown by the powers that be to the deep and universal feelings of resentment and pain prevalent throughout the Sikh community at the complete lack of response to the Sikh cry for justice. Even the minimum provision of safeguards for the protection of legitimate rights, which can induce an honourable community to participate in consultations and discussions, has not been so far made available to the Sikhs, while it has been granted in a rich measure to the other two main communities in spite of their numbers and advantageous position."

The Hindu Mahasabha and the Cabinet Mission

Memorandum Submitted—New Delhi—14th April, 1946.

The Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha met at New Delhi on the 14th April 1946, under the presidentship of Dr. *Shyama Prasad Mookherjee.* Dr. *N. B. Khare,* Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, was present by special invitation. The Committee approved the memorandum which was submitted to the Cabinet Mission.

The memorandum contained the following points : Immediate declaration of India's independence, formation of interim Government to which complete power and authority must be transferred : and complete autonomy for the provinces with the residuary powers lying with Centre. The following is the text :—

Declaration of Independence :

As all sovereignty in respect of India vests in the Indian people, it is the right of the Indians to be fully and completely free like all the free people in the world.

It is only absolutely unfettered freedom that will enable India to be a front-line nation in the world, and to play her rightful role in the maintenance of world-peace and world-order. It is independence, coupled with India's natural resources, man-power and strategic position in the geography of the world, that will enable her to hold the scales even between the West and the East. There are also several other considerations which require that India should be free from any external obligations and control.

The Hindu Mahasabha, therefore, urges that India should be fully free and independent, and that a declaration to that effect should be immediately made by the British Cabinet through proper channel.

The Mahasabha is of the opinion that it is alliance on equal terms with, rather than membership of, the British Commonwealth of Nations, that will be in tune with the time-spirit, and will also prove beneficial to both in the long run.

India's Integrity and Indivisibility :

Be the modes of living and worship of the Indian people what they may, there can be no doubt that geographically, historically, ethnologically, politically, and even culturally India is one, whole and indivisible, and it must remain so in future. This integrity and indivisibility must be maintained, whatever the cost and sacrifice be.

No community in India can rightfully claim to constitute a nation, much less a sovereign nation, with a separate homeland of its own. Partition of India into two or more sovereign nations under any guise or disguise will be economically unsound and disastrous ; and politically unwise and suicidal.

Territorial self-determination :

The Hindu Mahasabha is opposed to the new-fangled principle of territorial self-determination, as in theory it is vicious and in practice will prove more dangerouse than Pakistan itself.

Indian Union :

India's Constitution should be of a Federal type with the Indian Union at the Centre and the Provinces and the Indian Union as its federating Units.

The Constitution should leave no room for any Province or an Indian State not to accede to the said Union or to secede therefrom.

Provincial Autonomy and Residuary powers:

The Constitution should provide for the grant of the utmost possible measure of autonomy to the Federating Units, but with the residue of powers vested in the Centre.

The Union Government should have the power of superintendence and control in cases where the federating Units go wrong in respect of national policy or interest and should be strong to exercise this power effectively.

Rule of majority:

The Constitution should contain no provision which will tend directly or indirectly, to reduce a majority into minority by the grant of special concessions to minorities such as weightage, excessive representation, parity and so forth. The governing principle of the Constitution should be democracy, which means the rule of majority. The so-called "parity of representation" should not be recognised even with joint electorates, as it would amount to penalizing the Hindus for no fault of theirs but for the mere reason that they constitute a majority.

The Constitution shall guarantee adequate safeguards for the protection of religion, culture and language for all, including minorities.

Joint electorate and Adult Franchise:

The representation both in the Federal and Provincial Legislatures should be on the principle of adult franchise and one man one vote.

The elec orate should be joint with reservation of seats for minorities according to the population basis, wherever necessary.

The Hindu Mahasabha is of the opinion that it will be highly imprudent to frame India's Constitution on principles other than those as envisaged above, as such a Constitution will not fail to be a perennial source of the political irritation and strife.

Interim Government:

An Interim Central Government should be formed immediately composed of representatives of the political parties willing to shoulder responsibility. The formation of such a Government should not be delayed on the plea of non-co-operation on the part of any particular party. During the period of transition, the Viceroy will act as the Constitutional Head and will not exercise his power of veto.

There should take place complete transfer of power and authority of the Government of India to the Interim Government.

It should be one of the primary functions of this Government to provide adequate facilities to the Constituent Assembly to carry on its work without let or hindrance.

Constituent Assembly:

The Constituent Assembly will consist of representatives of all political parties in proportion to their voting strength as shown in the last elections.

The Constituent Assembly will be the sovereign body which will decide the terms of treaty with Great Britain.

The Constituent Assembly will decide all matters by majority vote, and the decisions so taken should be binding on all.

The Constitution framed by the Constituent Assembly will be the Constitution of India.

These are broadly the main principles which the Hindu Mahasabha stands for, in so far as India's Constitution is concerned.

Mahasabha Condemns Mission's Proposals

Working Committee & A. I. Committee—New Delhi—14th. to 16th. June 1946

DR. S. P. MUKHERJEE'S STATEMENT

Dr. *Shyamaprasad Mookerjee*, President, All-India Hindu Mahasabha, strongly criticised the Cabinet Mission's proposals, particularly parity of representation, Pakistan and European participation in the Bengal—Assam Constituent Assembly. "Pakistan means the vertical division of India on communal lines," he declared in a statement made at the meeting of the Hindu Mahasabha Working Committee at New Delhi on the 14th June 1946. "Parity means the spreading of that communal poison horizontally throughout the Indian body politic."

He said : "The Hindu case as usual is likely to go by default. It is a tragedy of Indian history that in every crisis that faces the nation, the Hindus are really not represented as such. Even in the constitution-making body which the Cabinet Mission proposes to set up, the 'Hindu' as such does not exist. There are Muslims, there are Sikhs, and then there are "general," which means all excepting Muslims and Sikhs. In practical politics Hindus as such will not exist and do not exist.

"We were somewhat taken aback when we found precipitate declarations and statements made by distinguished leaders who were impressed with the sincerity of the Cabinet Ministers. The time is gone when we shall be satisfied with nominal denunciations on paper of the mischievous principle of Pakistan. We cannot subscribe to any plan or scheme of grouping which is really meant to concede the substances of Pakistan to placate Mr. Jinnah. What does really matter is the concrete proposal and the way to translate into practice the principle of Indian unity and freedom.

"As the result of his mature deliberations Mahatma Gandhi has now discovered two or three vital defects in the Cabinet scheme. But there are more defects than those referred to by him. We are opposed to the communal system of state organisation. We are opposed to the granting of residuary powers to provinces. We are opposed to a weak centre which the history of India teaches us would mean anarchy and disintegration. This would make difficult, if not impossible, All-India planning for economic and social reconstruction. We are opposed to the communal award and we want the obliteration of communal electorates. We do not want that the Constituent Assembly would be based on the pernicious principle of communal representation and by means of communal electorate based on the communal award. We recognise that the Cabinet scheme is grossly unfair to the Sikhs as well as to the Hindus of Bengal, Assam and the Punjab. But I am not going to influence the Working Committee or the All-India Committee on the vital issues and the members should decide for themselves what should be their verdict on the Cabinet scheme. However, two or three important points have cropped up which are of immediate urgency and we should speak out our mind in unfaltering terms. We have all along opposed the pernicious principle of parity. We were the first to reject the Wavell scheme because it contained the principle of parity between caste-Hindus and Muslims. We do maintain that parity is more insidious than Pakistan. The parity which the Viceroy is now reported to be offering is certainly much worse than the parity which was offered by him at the Simla Conference.

Prof. Coupland in his latest book has observed that the Viceroy wanted to invite the Hindu Mahasabha at the Simla Conference but he changed his mind because we adopted an attitude of uncompromising opposition both to parity and to Pakistan. We stand unrepentant. In the context of what has happened I think we adopted the right attitude. Pakistan means the vertical division of India on communal lines. Parity means the spreading of that communal position horizontally throughout the Indian body politic. We regret that the Bhulabhai-Liaqat Ali pact was based on the principle of Congress-League parity and that it was blessed by Mahatma Gandhi. We must take our stand on principle. I appeal to British statesmen to pause and consider. Would the Labour Government, which has behind it the majority of British votes, accept parity with the conservatives in the formation of their national Government? Now that the war is over and it is the question of the formation of a peacetime Government, why should there be any question of parity raised? The British said they fought the war for the vindication of democracy and when it is the question of setting up India's Government they can not sacrifice the same principle.

"The Hindu Mahasabha has made its point perfectly clear. Veer Savarkar's stand has been 'one man one vote and equal citizenship for all.' That is the principle on which we framed the constitution of Free Hindusthan at the Bilaspur session. But if for any reason this principle is not accepted, then the Hindus would legitimately demand that they must have representation in the Government on population basis. They can never accept the principle that one Muslim is equal to three Hindus. In framing the Constituent Assembly the Cabinet Mission has accepted and acted on the principle that one member should represent one million. If that is the correct principle for the Constituent Assembly, they should be logical and consistent and they should ask the Viceroy to form the interim Government also on the same principle.

There must be no parity through the back door. Once you accept the

principle of parity in the Central Government, communalists would demand parity in the army, the navy and in other spheres of administration. If parity is imposed in any shape or form the Constituent Assembly as well as the future plan of constitution-making process will be dominated by the Muslim League and that would sound the death knell of Indian freedom.

On behalf of the Hindus of Bengal and Assam I call upon the Cabinet Ministers to declare forthwith that the Europeans shall have no say or voice in the Constituent Assembly. You give one million Hindus and Muslims the right of electing one member to the Constituent Assembly and is it right and fair that you should allow ten thousand Europeans to elect half a dozen members to the same body?

"To give the Europeans the right to vote is to reduce the Hindus to a hopeless minority and to perpetuate the deliberate wrong done to the Hindus under the Communal Award. That will mean for the Hindus of Bengal and Assam exchange of one slavery for another slavery, more insidious and more disastrous."

Mahasabha Condemns the Mission's Proposal

The following resolution was adopted by the All-India Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha on the 16th June 1946 :—

The All-India Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha notes that the fundamental principle of the Hindu Mahasabha, viz., the unity and integrity of India, has been accepted only in theory by the Cabinet Mission by their proposal for the formation of Indian Union and by their rejection of Pakistan. But the committee regrets that in practice it is whittled down and the apprehension of the communal domination of the Muslims has been exaggerated and the apprehension of the minority in the Muslim majority has been totally ignored.

The Mahasabha has opposed Pakistan or the partition of India into two entire sovereign States not on sectional or communal grounds but in the interests of India as a whole. The Central Government as envisaged in the Cabinet Mission's proposal will be too weak to put its full weight in the international world.

The Committee reiterates the demand for the formation of a strong Central Government to check and control the disruptive forces in the Indian body politic and to pool all national resources for effective planning in order to prevent the economic exploitation of the poor masses. World security is linked up with the building up and maintenance of a really free and prosperous India. The object can never be achieved with truncated centre and a hybrid constitution based on artificial grouping of provinces with residuary powers vested in them. These Provinces will then be in a position to put up tariff walls and to clog the progress of India in the social and economic fields. In order to make effective any large scale economic and administrative planning and prevent the disintegration of India (after the withdrawal of British power from India) it is essential that the Centre should be strong enough and should be clothed with constitutional authority to deal effectively with customs, tariff currency, banking and other subjects and should have authority to intervene in cases of minority oppression or inter-provincial deadlock and to coordinate All-India resources to fight famine and pestilence emergency.

The Mahasabha cannot accept any constitution which negatives in actual practice, the salutary principle of India's integrity. It stands for an indissoluble Union of provinces which may be reconstituted on cultural and linguistic basis. The dominant idea behind the Cabinet Mission's scheme is to appease the Muslim League to the detriment of all other minorities.

The Mahasabha is opposed to a complicated machinery which seeks to set up a three-decker constitution and which will place the Hindus of the Punjab, Bengal, Assam, Sind, the N. W. F. Province as well as the entire Sikh community at the mercy of the Pakistanists and which will not provide any acceptable solution of the communal problem.

We oppose the proposal because the Hindu community as such has no existence in the political picture presented by the Mission and has been lumped together with others under the misleading category of "General".

The Working Committee demands that the artificial system of grouping and sub-federation should be withdrawn. The constitution should be framed on the recognition of the principle of the sovereignty of the people. There should be one Constituent Assembly which will frame the constitution for the Indian Union and also for the constituent provinces. We are opposed to introduction of the principle

of regionalism based on communalism and to the grant of residuary powers to the provinces. The Mahasabha is also opposed to the pernicious principle of parity in any shape or form.

The Committee appreciates that one of the principle for which the Hindu Mahasabha stood, viz., representation on the basis of population strength, has been recognised by the Cabinet Mission in the constitution of the Constituent Assembly which is based on the principle of one representative for one million people. But by allowing the European members of the Bengal and Assam Legislative Assembly to vote for the Constituent Assembly the quota of Hindu members to the Constituent Assembly from these Legislatures will be deprived of their legitimate right of representation according to their population.

The Hindu Mahasabha demands that the sovereign status of the constituent Assembly should be recognised so that India may frame a constitution for themselves. The minority must not be allowed to veto the progress of the majority or to retard the building up of a healthy, self-sufficient and prosperous India.

The Mahasabha demands that consistent with the principle of representation on the basis of population strength which has been recognised by the Cabinet Mission in the constitution of the Constituent Assembly the interim Government must be based on the ratio of population.

The Committee calls upon the danger inherent in these proposals and urges upon them to mobilise effectively public opinion so that the proposals are suitably modified in order to meet the aspirations of a free and united Hindustan.

The resolution was moved by Mr. *N. C. Chatterji* and seconded by Mr. *L. B. Bhopatkar*, Working President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha.

The Indian States and the Cabinet Mission

Memorandum on States' Treaties and Paramountcy

New Delhi—22nd May 1946.

The following statement was issued from the Office of the Principal Information Officer, British Cabinet Delegation, on the 22nd May, 1946. :—

"The Cabinet Delegation desire to make it clear that the document issued to day entitled "memorandum on States' Treaties and Paramountcy presented by the Cabinet Delegation to His Highness the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes" was drawn up before the Mission began its discussions with party leaders and represented the substance of what they communicated to the representatives of the States at their first interviews with the Mission. This is the explanation of the use of the words "succession Government or Governments of British India," an expression which would not of course have been used after the issue of the Delegation's recent statement.'

The following is the full text of the memorandum on States' Treaties and Paramountcy presented by the Cabinet Delegation to His Highness the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes. :—

Prior to the recent statement of the British Prime Minister in the House of Commons an assurance was given to the Princes that there was no intention on the part of the Crown to initiate any change in their relationship with the Crown or the rights guaranteed by their treaties and engagements without their consent. It was at the same time stated that the Princes' consent to any changes which might emerge as a result of negotiations would not unreasonably be withheld.

The Chamber of Princes has since confirmed that the Indian States fully share the general desire in the country for the immediate attainment by India of her full stature.

His Majesty's Government have now declared that if the Succession Government or Governments in British India desire independence, no obstacle would be placed in their way. The effect of these announcements is that all those concerned with the future of India wish her to attain a position of independence with or without the British Commonwealth. The delegation have come here to assist in resolving the difficulties which stand in the way of India fulfilling this wish.

During the interim period, which must elapse before the coming into operation of a constitutional structure under which British India will be independent or fully

self-governing, paramountcy will remain in operation. But the British Government could not and will not in any circumstances transfer paramountcy to an Indian Government.

In the meanwhile, the Indians States are in a position to play an important part in the formulation of the new constitutional structure for India and H. M. G. have been informed by the Indian States that they desire in their own interests and in the interests of India as a whole, both to make their contribution to the framing of the structure, and to take their due place in it when it is completed. In order to facilitate this they will doubtless strengthen their position by doing everything possible to ensure that their administrations conform to the highest standard. Where adequate standards can not be achieved within the existing resources of the State they will no doubt arrange in suitable cases to form or join administrative units large enough to enable them to be fitted into the constitutional structure.

It will also strengthen the position of States during this formulative period if the various Governments which have not already done so take active steps to place themselves in close constant touch with public opinion in their State by means of representative institutions.

During the interim period it will be necessary for the States to conduct negotiations with British India in regard to the future regulation of matters of common concern, especially in the economic and financial field. Such negotiations which will be necessary whether the States desire to participate in the new Indian constitutional structure or not, will occupy a considerable period of time, and since some of these negotiations may well be incomplete when the new structure comes into being, it will, in order to avoid administrative difficulties, be necessary to arrive at an understanding between the States and those likely to control the succession Government or Governments that for a period of time the then existing arrangements as to these matters of common concern should continue until the new agreements are completed. In this matter, the British Government and the Crown Representative will lend such assistance as they can should it be so desired.

When a new fully self-governing or independent Government or Governments come into being in British India, H. M. G.'s influence with these Governments will not be such as to enable to carry out the obligations of paramountcy.

Moreover, they cannot contemplate that British troops would be retained in India for this purpose. Thus as a logical sequence and in view of the desires expressed to them on behalf of the Indian States, His Majesty's Government will cease to exercise the powers of the paramountcy. This means that the rights of the States which flow from their relationship to the Crown will no longer exist and that all the rights surrendered by the States to the paramount power will return to the States. Political arrangements between the States on the one side and the British Crown and British India on the other will thus be brought to an end. The void will have to be filled either by the States entering into federal relationship with the successor Governments in British India, or failing this, entering into particular political arrangements with it or them.

Princes Consider Cabinet Plan—7th. June 1946

The general opinion at the meeting of the Rulers and their Ministers, held on the 7th. June 1946, at Taj Mahal Hotel, Bombay under the Chairmanship of *His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal*, Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, seemed to be in favour of accepting the proposals put forward by the Cabinet Delegation. This was indicated in a Press Note issued by the Director of Public Relations, Chamber of Princes. The Press Note issued at the end of to-day's meetings, says :

"A meeting of Rulers and Ministers who met the Cabinet Delegation early in April was held to-day under the Chairmanship of His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal, Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes. The meeting reviewed the statement issued by the Cabinet Mission on May 16, 1946, and also the memorandum on Indian States issued by them on May 22, 1946. The general opinion at the meeting seemed to be in favour of accepting the proposals put forward by the Delegation. The meeting, however, was of the opinion that there were certain points in the statement as well as in the memorandum which required elucidation by the authorities concerned. There will be a detailed discussion on these points at the meeting of the States' Constitutional Advisory Committee which is to be held on Saturday, the 8th June. The decision of the Constitutional Advisory

Committee will be considered by the Committee of Ministers to be held on Sunday, the 9th June, and by the Standing Committee of Princes to be held on Monday, the 10th June. It is understood that His Highness the Chancellor will take up the various points which require elucidation with His Excellency the Viceroy.

"To-day's meeting also considered the question of the personnel and powers of the Negotiations Committee which is to be set up soon. The Committee arrived at certain tentative conclusions on the subject which will be put up before the Committee of Ministers and the Standing Committee of Princes. The ways and means of speeding up constitutional reforms in the States and bringing the administration in the States up to the highest level as quickly as possible were also considered. The views of to-day's meeting on the various subjects will be exhaustively discussed at to-morrow's meeting of the Constitutional Advisory Committee.

"Among those who attended to day's meeting were His Highness the Maharaja Scindia of Gwallor, His Highness the Maharaja Jam Sahib of Nawanagar. His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, His Highness the Maharaja of Dungarpur, Nawab Sahib Chhatari, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar and Sir Mirza Ismail, Dewans of Travancore and Hyderabad respectively.

Bhopal Ruler's Statement—10th. June 1946

The Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, the *Nawab of Bhopal*, issued the following statement on behalf of the Standing Committee on the 10th. June 1946.—

"The Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes have, in consultation with the Committee of Ministers and the Constitutional Advisory Committee, given careful consideration to the statement issued by the Cabinet Delegation and H. E. the Viceroy on May 16, 1946 They have also examined the Delegation's memorandum on State's treaties and Paramountcy, and the further statement of May 26. They are of the view that the plan provides the necessary machinery for the attainment by India of independence as well as a fair basis for further negotiations. They welcome the declaration of the Cabinet Mission in regard to Paramountcy, but certain adjustments for the interim period will be necessary.

"There are, however, a few points in the plan which still require elucidation. There are also several matters of fundamental importance which are left over for negotiation and settlement. The Standing Committee have, therefore, accepted the invitation of H. E. the Viceroy to set up a Negotiating Committee and have authorised the Chancellor to arrange discussions as contemplated in the plan. It is proposed to place the results of these negotiations before a general conference of Rulers and representatives of States.

"As regards the arrangements for the interim period, the Standing Committee confirm the following proposals made by the Chancellor. (a) That a Special Committee may be set up consisting of representatives of the States and of the Central Government to discuss and reach agreement on matters of common concern during the interim period; (b) that disputes on justiciable issues and on fiscal, economic or financial matters should be referable to courts of arbitration as a matter of right: (c) that in personal and dynastic matters, the agreed procedure should be implemented in letter and spirit and the Crown Representative should ordinarily consult the Chancellor and a few other Princes if not objected to by the States concerned; (d) that in agreement with the States, machinery may be provided for the early settlement of the pending cases and for the revision, at the instance of the States concerned, of the existing arrangements in regard to such subjects as railways, ports and customs. The Committee have therefore authorised the Chancellor to conduct further negotiations with a view to reaching early decisions.

"The Standing Committee endorse the suggestion made by the Cabinet Delegation that the States will doubtless strengthen their position by doing everything possible to ensure that their administrations conform to the highest standard. Where adequate standards cannot be achieved within the existing resources of the States, they will no doubt arrange in suitable cases to form or join administrative units large enough to enable them to be fitted into the constitutional structure. It will also strengthen the position of the States during this formulative period if the various Governments which have not already done so take active steps to place themselves in close and constant touch with public opinion in

their States by means of representative institutions. The Standing Committee wish to emphasise the necessity for the States, which have not done so, to declare immediately their decision to follow the lines of internal reforms laid down in the declaration made by the Chancellor at the last session of the Chamber of Princes and to take necessary steps to implement that decision within 12 months."

States' Peoples Consider Cabinet Plan

Pt. Nehru's Call to Rulers

New Delhi—8th June to 10th June 1946

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, addressing the General Council of the All-India States' Peoples' Conference at New Delhi on the 8th. June 1946 referred to the "explosive background in the Indian States" and reaffirmed the objective of the Conference as establishment of Responsible Government in the States under the aegis of the Ruler as constitutional head. He, however, made it clear that "the only ultimate rights we recognise are the rights of the people."

"That objective continues till it is changed," Pandit Nehru said, speaking in Hindusthani. "I wish to make this clear because of recent events in Kashmir. Those events have not changed our objective, though there is a growing feeling for change. Ultimately, of course, it will be for the people of the States to decide about the future of the head of their State. There is much talk about dynastic rights and the like. While we have accepted the continuance of the Ruler as a constitutional head, it must be made perfecly clear that the only ultimate rights we recognise are the rights of the people. Everything else must give way to them. Sovereignty must reside in the people and not in any individual."

"The immediate problems before us are (1) making of an Indian constitution ; (2) arrangements for the interim period ; (3) democratisation of the States to bring them up to a common level with the rest of India", observed Pt. Nehru. "It has been one of the fundamental policies of the States' people that in the Constitution-making body their elected representatives must take part. They will not submit to their fate being decided by their Rulers or by the Rulers' nominees. We hold by that.

"It is clear that when a Federal Union is established each unit will have equal rights. There will be no Paramountcy of one part over another. This presumes of course, equal development and democracy in all the parts. There will be no Paramountcy as it exists to-day, or it may be said that Paramountcy for the whole of India will vest in the Federal Union Government.

"During the interim period, some kind of *ad hoc* arrangement will have to be made. Whatever this arrangement is going to be the States' people should not be left out of it. It is essential that there should be a unified policy even during this interim period between the Provincial Government and the States, and that in the formation of this policy the States' people should have a considerable voice. It is not possible even during this period to continue the present arrangements. Even if to some extent the old form prevails, the content of it must undergo a complete change. There has been nothing so reactionary in India as the Political Department. It must be possible to have a joint committee, representative of the Provisional Government and the States to consider all common problems and develop a unified policy. In this committee, the principle of the representation of the Indian States must be accepted. How this should be done is a matter for consideration. The object should be to avoid two kinds of deadlocks, a deadlock between the Provisional Government and the States and a deadlock between the people of the States and their Rulers."

"The difficulty as it faces us to-day is largely due to the autocratic character of the States' Government. If their had been democracy there, no difficulty would have arisen. Therefore, for this reason as well as others, it is exceedingly important that urgent steps should be taken to introduce democratic and responsible Government in the States. As soon as the Government and the people are one most problems vanish. That should be the immedate objective.

"In regard to many matters which normally come under Paramountcy, such as succession, maladministration, etc., they may well be referred to a tribunal or to the Federal Court for decision."

Proceeding Pandit Nehru said: "I have referred to Kashmir. Many alarming reports have come to us about recent events there Some of them have been contradicted. I have been trying to find out the truth of what happened and if I find

that I have been responsible for any wrong statement, I shall certainly correct it. In such matters, there is both exaggeration on the one side and an attempt to hide and distort what is happening on the other. It is difficult to find the golden mean. Obviously, it is necessary even in the interest of the State administration to have an impartial inquiry into these events. But an inquiry is not enough when from day to day conflict takes place. Our colleague and comrade, the Vice-president of the all India States' Peoples' Conference, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, is in prison with a large number of his co-workers, and it is stated that there are going to be trials. Obviously, there will be no peace in Kashmir if trials and convictions of popular leaders continue. .The British Government has repeatedly played that game and failed. The Kashmir Government is hardly likely to succeed. To Sheikh Abdullah and the people of Kashmir, we send our greetings.

"One aspect of the Kashmir troubles demands our attention. That is the tendency, often encouraged by those in authority in all the States, to support faction or communalism. The policy of 'divide and rule' has always been a favourite one of rulers all over the world. We must beware of that and we of the States' Peoples' Conference should specially avoid anything that savours of communalism. We stand for freedom of the people apart from any religion or creed and equal rights for all. To give as examples two major States in India, we stand for exactly the same thing in Hyderabad and Kashmir, or in any other State, and that is the people's rule and sovereignty.

"Big things are going to happen in India, though what exactly they will be, I do not know. But it is clear that ultimately what will count is the strength of an organisation of the people. Therefore, we must concentrate on spreading and strengthening the All-India States' Peoples' Conference which has already grown so rapidly and so well. Let us make it not only the powerful voice of the people, but also the weapon to reach their objective.

"I have not discussed deliberately what the immediate future may decide—as to the acceptance and working out or the rejection of the proposals for a Constituent Assembly and a Provisional Government. The major decision in regard to that will have to be made soon by the National Congress and that decision is bound to affect us in all the States. Whatever that decision may be its consequences will be far-reaching. It may lead to some kind of equilibrium or instability or conflict. We must be prepared for all these consequences."

Speaking of the work of the British Cabinet Delegation during the last two and a half months, Pandit Nehru said the most astonishing part of "this long-drawn-out performance" had been the absence of the representatives of the States' people from any of these deliberations. "The States' people", he said, "claim to speak for themselves and they will see to it that they are heard. No one else, and certainly not their Rulers, can speak for them."

"It is true", Mr. Nehru went on, "that the elemental forces that are shaping India's destiny are much too powerful to be controlled or diverted by the Rulers or by any one else. Nevertheless, it is odd that it should be argued that the Rulers by themselves should decide the fate of nearly one hundred million people.

Referring to Hyderabad, Pandit Nehru said it was called the premier State of India, but was also in many ways most feudal and backward. "Alone among the big States of India, it has not yet even evolved any kind of elected or semi-elected Assembly. Alone also, it has not yet removed the long existing ban on the State Congress. This backward State claims independence for itself when the British go. How long this fictitious independence can last is another matter. We remember a statement made by the Nizam about two years ago that he depended on the British for protection and therefore, British overlordship should continue. It was a frank admission. Well, it is certain enough now that the British will quit India. What then of this protection and what of the independence in the State ? These were fantastic assertions unrelated to facts or reality. That reality is that none of the States could be independent or could go out of a federal India. If that was so as it was, then everything that we do now must take us to that end of a federal Union of India of autonomous units with a democratic structure of Government, everywhere responsible to the people.

"Many Rulers recognise however, regretfully, that this is inevitable. But they imagine that it will take a considerable time and that there will be many stages. But the march of events in India and the world does not permit of any tarrying during this journey. We have lingered already. It is much too long and those who want to take things leisurely even now will be pushed by events."

SARDAR PATEL'S ADDRESS

Addressing the Conference *Sardar Vallabhhai Patel* advised States' subjects not to get involved in isolated direct actions in States at the present moment, but to be patient and carry on the agitation peacefully for Responsible Government. The time had arrived, Sardar Patel added, when it was necessary for the Indian people to deal with the States' problem on the basis of a collective approach to the Princes as a whole and not to fritter away their energies in isolated battles. Over 120 members of the Council representing States all over India attended the meeting.

Sardar Patel said that his experience for many years had been that the British always prevented Congress intercession in Indian States to bring about any kind of settlement between the Ruler and ruled. The British had always sided the Rulers in the suppression of the people's rights. The Congress realised that the States problem could not be solved unless British Imperialism was eliminated from India and to-day, there were many Rulers who wished every success for the Congress in its struggle for the achievement of complete freedom. In the success of the Congress, they saw freedom for themselves. There were other Rulers who, while trying to be free themselves, kept their people enslaved, but they were also changing.

The problem in the Indian States, Sardar Patel continued, was difficult in that the people there had to fight two forces, one their own autocratic Rulers and the other, the British authority that backed those Rulers. It was thus clear that there could be no deliverance for subjects in the States unless the Paramountcy which protected the Rulers was removed. "We do not want to start any movement in the States", Sardar Patel said. He added: "We are not to make settlement with individual States. but with the entire Princely Order at one time. There are so many of them and they cannot be tackled individually".

Sovereignty, Sardar Patel said, should rest in the people and with individual Rulers. He believed the Princes were realising the change that was sweeping forward and would adapt themselves to the new order that was coming. In spite of repression in many States, he was not aware of any instance in which the subjects rose in revolt to do away with the Ruler. In a free India, Sardar Patel was sure, Princes would be guided by a real spirit of patriotism and love of their subjects. But that change could come only if India was free and the British quit.

Resolution urging Proper Representation

The General Council of the All-India States' Peoples' Conference passed the following resolution on the Cabinet Mission's proposals on the 10th. June 1946:—

"The General Council of the All-India States' Peoples' Conference have considered the various statements made by the British Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy in regard to the drawing up of a Constitution for India. The Council have noted with surprise and regret that the representatives of the States' people have been completely ignored by the Cabinet Delegation in their talks and consultations. No Constitution for India can have any validity or effectiveness unless it applies to the 93 million people of the Indian States and no such Constitution can be satisfactorily made without reference to the representatives of the people. The General Council therefore, record their feeling of resentment at the way the people of the States have been ignored and by-passed at this critical juncture of India's history.

"The Council nevertheless have given full consideration to the issues at stake and are prepared even now to offer their co-operation in the building up of a free and united India of which the States are integral and autonomous parts. The policy of the States' people was laid down at the last session of the Conference at Udaipur and the Council adhere to that policy. That policy was based on full Responsible Government by the people of the States as integral parts of a free and federated India. Further it was laid down that any Constitution-making body should have as its members from the States representatives of the people elected on the widest possible franchise. The Conference has also stated how the smaller States should be fitted in into the future Indian Union.

"The Council welcome the statements made on behalf of the Princes in favour of a united and independent India. A free India must necessarily be a democratic India and therefore, it is a natural corollary that Responsible Government should be established in the States. In any Constitution for India, there cannot be a combination of democracy and autocracy or feudalism. The Council regret that

"In the statement issued by the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy on May 16, references to the States are brief and vague and no clear picture emerges as to how they will function in regard to the constitution-making processes. No reference at all is made to the internal structure of the States. It is not possible to conceive of a combination of the existing internal structure, which is autocratic and feudal, with a democratic Constituent Assembly or a Federal Union.

"The Council welcome, however, the statement that Paramountcy will end when the new All-India Constitution comes into effect. The end of Paramountcy necessarily means the end of the treaties existing between the Rulers of the States and the British Paramount Power. Even during the interim period, the functioning of Paramountcy should undergo a fundamental change so as to prepare for its total termination."

"In the scheme suggested by the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy, a Constituent Assembly is formed from representatives from both the Provinces and the States. But the States' representatives are supposed to come in only at the final sittings of the full Assembly when the Constitution of the Union Centre is being considered. While the representatives of the provinces and groups are charged with the duty of formulating the Constitutions of the Provinces and, if so desired, of the Groups as well, no parallel arrangement is contemplated which provides likewise for the framing of the Constitution of the States.

"The Council are of the opinion that this lacuna should be filled. It is desirable for the Constituent Assembly to represent both the Provinces and the States from the earliest stages so that the latter representatives may separately sit and lay down the basic provisions of the State Constitutions simultaneously with the provincial representatives framing the Constitutions of the Provinces.

"For this purpose, the Council are of opinion that wherever there are well-established Legislatures constituted on the basis of direct elections, the elected members of the legislatures should be accepted as the electorates for the election of representatives of the States to the Constituent Assembly. Such a course should, however, be adopted only after free elections have been held in the States concerned.

"In all other cases the representatives to the Assembly should be elected by the Regional Councils of the All-India States' Peoples' Conference. This will insure, as nearly as possible, the election of true representatives of the people of the smaller States.

"The Council are further of opinion that in the Negotiating Committee suggested by the Cabinet Delegation, there should be representatives of the people of States.

"In any provisional arrangements that might be made pending the functioning of a new constitution for India as well as the States and Provinces, it is necessary that a unified policy should be pursued between the States, the Provinces, and the Provisional Government. For this purpose an Advisory Council should be created consisting of representatives of the Provisional Government, of the Rulers and of the people of the States. This Council should deal with all common matters and should endeavour to co-ordinate different policies in different States so as to insure a certain uniformity. It should be the business of this Advisory Council to expedite internal change in the States with a view to the introduction of Responsible Government. The Advisory Council should also consider the question of grouping of States to enable them to form adequate units of the Federal Union, as well as the absorption of some States into the provinces. Matters relating to succession in the States, maladministration and the like should be referred to a tribunal for decision.

"At the end of the interim period the States either singly or as the case may be in groups, should form equal units of the Federal Union with equal rights with the provinces and with a democratic structure approximating to that prevailing in the provinces.

"The General Council direct and authorise the Standing Congress Committee to take such steps as may be necessary to give effect to the general principles contained in the resolution."

Dr. *Pattabhi Sitaramayya,* a former President of the States' Peoples' Conference. speaking on the resolution appealed to the States' people to organise themselves and be united in order to achieve the goal set forth in the resolution. He reviewed the States' peoples' movement during the last one decade and said that to-day the States' Peoples' Conference was moving in the same direction as the Congress. The Conference had the same "engine" as the Congress in that Pandit

Jawaharlal Nehru was the President of both the organisations. He was sure that the States' people would achieve their goal of securing constitutional government in their States.

BAN ON HYDERABAD CONGRESS CRITICISED

The Council also adopted three other resolutions, one demanding the release of political prisoners and the enjoyment of civil liberties, the second opposing the move for the separation of Kalat State in Baluchistan from the rest of India and the third condemning the Hyderabad State for its continued ban on the State Congress. The resolution on Hyderabad State says :

"Any State which does not even recognise elementary civil liberties is out of court in any discussion about the future. The State of Hyderabad will have to change its ways completely before it can entitle itself to any consideration in assemblies determining the future of India. In the event of the ban on the State Congress continuing and other civil liberties being denied, it will be the right of the State Congress to function in spite of this ban."

Landholders' Memorandum to Cabinet Mission

New Delhi—15th. April 1946

That the land-owning community should be effectively represented at all stages of the constitutional negotiation is the gist of the case submitted to the Cabinet Mission by the *Maharajdhiraja of Darbhanga*, the *Maharajadhiraja of Burdwan*, the *Maharaja of Parlakimedi* and the *Maharajkumar of Vizianagram* at New Delhi on the 15th April 1946. They declared that they stood for a united India, one Constitution-making body and immediate transfer of power to Indian hands.

In a memorandum stated to represent the views of all grades of landlords in British India, the delegation told the Cabinet Mission that it was essential that there should be statutory safeguards against expropriatory legislation. Today landlords stood on very shaky ground. The Constitution Act merely provided for payment for compensation for property acquired for public purpose : landlords had no legal relief if compensation was inadequate or if their rights were extinguished or modified in other circumstances. Under parliamentary government in the provinces, such safeguards as the directions in the instrument of instructions were bound to prove illusory. "Landlords stands today shorn of any effective safeguards although arrangements for ultimate reference to H. M. G. is recognized".

As the Mission had come to transfer power to Indians, the memorandum added, H. M. G. would in future have to disclaim all responsibility for safeguarding land-owning interests. This emphasized the case for a statutory provision that no vested rights in or over land and any other property should be extinguished without guaranteeing the existing net income of landlords or the investors' actual amount being assessed either by arbitration or under judicial procedure. The landholders' delegation was convinced that the interests of the country did not call for such revolutionary changes as scrapping of private landlordism with which the welfare of the middle classes and social economy were bound up.

It stood for orderly progress and political evolution through constitutional means but apprehended that, if India was denied the right to carve out her own orderly life through negotiations, it would be difficult to check the pace of revolutionary forces. Today, India was in a positive mood to negotiate terms for the transfer of power. The sense of frustration that would follow if the Cabinet Mission failed would be terrible for India and tragic for Indo-British relations.

The landholders' delegation, therefore, urge that terms for the transfer of power should be negotiated on the following principles :

(1) An Indian Union with the utmost autonomy to constituent units ; (2) Favourable agreement with Britain on trade, commerce, defence and external relations ; and (3) No confiscation in respect of rights to land, any commercial undertaking or other property.

The delegation also asked that landowning interests should be adequately represented (1) it the discussion or in the conference at which transfer of power to Indians would be negotiated in consultation with representatives of British India and Indian States : (2) in the Constitution-making body : and (3) in the Executive Council at the Centre when it is reconstituted for the interim period.

ZEMINDARS' RIGHTS

These demands for protecting zemindars' rights were supported by *Nawab Sir Muhammad Yusuf*, President of the Agra Province Zemindars' Association, Allahabad, who also spoke for the taluqdars of Oudh and the landholding interests in

Bombay Presidency and other parts of India. Sir Muhammad Yusuf explained to me that the landholders' delegation did not discuss general constitutional questions, but confined itself to the zemindars' care which included a demand that there should be no abolition of the zemindari system and that definite and categorical safeguards should be included in the constitution itself. "As a very important section of the people and an integral part of the social and economic structure of the rural areas, zemindars should not be regarded as capitalists. They are agriculturists whose lot is bound up with that of their tenants and who, in co-operation with the State and their tenants, are promoting the social and economic progress of the provinces in the larger interests of India.

"The British Ministers appeared to feel that as the zemindari system still existed in large parts of the world, the question of elimination probably did not arise, but it would be the duty of political parties in India to solve these problems in a spirit of sympathy and goodwill. It is obvious that India will largely have to depend on private enterprise based on the co-operation of zemindars and tenants to raise the economic position of the rural masses and also of the remainder whose lot has been made more difficult by indebtedness and a steep fall in income.

"We must, in a spirit of love, tolerance, justice and fairplay, decide all international, national, communal and class questions by banishing struggle and strife and killing the spirit of harted which has caused so much mischief in the world."

With reference to Bengal, Sir Muhammad Yusuf emphasized that the right of private ownership of property must be recognized in the future Constitution. but he agreed that Government might have to enter into fresh understanding with zemindars in the permanently settled areas so that the State might get more revenue while leaving the zemindars enough to carry on their beneficent activities among their tenants.

He added that in the U. P. there was a cry for abolition of the zemindari system. Sir Muhammad Yusuf hoped that no insidious procedure would be adopted in view of the present constitutional position and that, with a changed outlook, the Congress Government would recognize its responsibility to all sections of the people.

The Anglo-Indians and the Cabinet Mission

Mr. Anthony Condemns Cabinet Mission's Proposals—22nd. June 1946

Vehement criticism of the Cabinet Mission's proposals was made by Mr. *Frank Anthony*, leader of the Anglo-Indian community, addressing the extraordinary general meeting of the community held at New Delhi on the 22nd June, 1946. Representatives from all parts of India, including the Anglo-Indian provincial M L. A.'s, attended.

Declaring that he was speaking to the community in contrasting moods of intense bitterness and of satisfaction. Mr. Anthony said that his "bitterness, which would be shared by all members of the community, was at the criminal disservice which has been gratuitously rendered by the Cabinet Mission to the community both in the proposals concerning the Constituent Assembly and the Interim Government. Despite H. M. G's alleged solicitude for the Indian minorities, the Cabinet Mission seems to have been inspired by a desire deliberately to ignore, and even to destory, the smaller minorities."

Mr. Anthony declared : "In spite of the Sapru Committee's proposals granting Anglo-Indians specific representation in a Constituent Assembly, the Cabinet Mission has seen fit to override this vital right of the community. I am not convinced one iota by the disingenuous explanation made by the Cabinet Mission in their attempt to explain why no specific representation had been granted in the Constituent Assembly to the smaller minorities.

"The reason given was that if such specific representation was granted, it would mean the projection into the Constituent Assembly of the weightage enjoyed by the minorities in the provincial legislatures.

"Yet when an explanation was asked for with regard to the voting rights of Europeans, the unhesitating reply was made that they had the right to vote. This meant the projection into the Constituent Assembly on behalf of Europeans of a fantastic weightage. Yet the Mission would have us believe that a few seats granted either to Anglo-Indians or Indian Christians would have upset the balance between the major communities."

The proposed Advisory Committee, he said, looked very much like an emasculated after-thought offered as a sop to the smaller minorities.

"Quite frankly, we regard this provision as little more than a deception and a snare.

"The proposals of the Mission, singling out the Anglo-Indian community for exclusion from the Interim Government," Mr. Anthony said, "were a foul disservice. It is a disservice whose heinousness is accentuated by the fact that the Congress had, in its original plan, recommended a seat for the Anglo-Indian community, and even after it was decided to have 14 members urged that an Anglo-Indian should on this occasion be given preference to the Parsis. It would appear that the British authorities were actuated by almost malicious motives against Anglo-Indians in evolving the proposals for the Interim Government.

"Long enough have we done the dirty work of this ungrateful administration. Long enough have we endured as return for this work not only ingratitute but now almost deliberate victimization.

"We are still being compelled to serve in the Auxiliary Force. This force, I believe has been recommended for disbandment by the Willcox Reorganization Committee. It is only being maintained as a convenience by the Administration in order to crush likely disturbances by other communities in the near future. Once we have served the purpose of the present Administration the Corps will be disbanded, but not before our position with the other communities has been made difficult.

The Government has absolutely no right to conscript Ango-Indians, who are one of the Indian communities. Either the Corps should be immediately disbanded or thrown open to members of all other communities. In any case, as a mark of our bitter and emphatic protest against the terrible injustice that has been done us by our deliberate exclusion from the Interim Government, I would ask every self-respecting Anglo-Indian immediately to resign from this Force which has only been made use of against the peoples of this country."

Mr. Anthony said that in spite of the attempts of the British authorities to destroy us politically, we shall not be destroyed. Today we have been rightfully recognised by the nationalist leaders. Our future rights with Indian leaders are assured. Today we know who our friends and enemies are, and our enemies are not our fellow-Indians and Indian leaders.

"By this last psychological blunder on the part of the British, we have never been able to understand the peoples of India. They have succeeded in joining Anglo Indians to all other Indian communities in a deep and implacable distrust and contempt of the British."

Resolution passed at the meeting—23rd. June 1946

Calling for 'increasingly direct action against the present administration", the general meeting of Anglo-Indians, which concluded on the 23rd June, passed a resolution urging "on all members of the committee to express their emphatic protest against the Cabinet Mission's proposals by resigning from all voluntary services, refraining from giving any assistance and not contributing to any charitable or other funds organized by the present administration for promoting non Indian interests."

Although younger elements urged direct action against the Government in every possible manner, Mr. Anthony and some provincial M.L.A.S counselled moderation.

After much discussion and ultimate elimination of the clauses calling for immediate direct action against the Government, the resolution was moved by Mr. C. E. Gibbons, M. L A (Punjab), and was seconded by Mr. G. C. D, Wilks, M. L. A. (Bengal).

The resolution referred to the feelings of "incredulity and bitterness" felt by the community over its "deliberate exclusion from the Interim Government", and called on Anglo-Indians to resign from all voluntary services.

The resolution further directed the leaders of the community, "in the event of the Mission finally rejecting our just demands, to influence Anglo-Indians all over the country to make increasingly direct action against the present administration."

It called upon "all Anglo-Indians to resign immediately from the auxiliary Force."

The meeting decided, by arrangement with national leaders, to return the following representatives to the proposed Constituent Assembly: Mr. Frank Anthony M. L. A. (Central), Mr. S. H. Patter, M.L.A. (Bombay), Mr. C. E. Gibbons, M.L.A. (Punjab), Mr. Fauthome, M,L.A. (U.P.) and Maj Benard, M. L. A. (C.P.)

Communist Party Memorandum to the Cabinet Mission

The following is the text of the Communist Party Memorandum submitted to the Cabinet Mission, dated the 15th. April 1946 ;—

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

The foremost desire of all Indians today is the immediate ending of British rule which has meant for them economic degradation and political slavery. Two centuries of British rule with its record of brutal suppression of the Indian people and of famine, destitution and poverty for the mass of people, has convinced every Indian that there is no decent existence possible for him unless the British overlordship over India is ended. Successive British Governments, who have not hesitated to break their pledged word, have battered the faith of the Indian people in the willingness of Britain to transfer power. The Communist Party, therefore, will judge the Cabinet Mission only by its practice and the first proof of sincerity that they demand is an unequivocal and unambiguous declaration recognising Indian independence and Indian sovereignty. In further proof of its sincerity, the British Government should declare its determination to effect within six months the total withdrawal of British troops from all Indian territory, including the States.

Such a declaration should be made and implemented irrespective of the fact whether Indian's political parties have settled their differences. The question of Indian unity is an internal question to be settled by the people themselves. It cannot be made an excuse for the refusal of Britain to transfer power. The withdrawal of British troops and the recognition of India's sovereignty must begin forthwith and the following measures should be taken to achieve the same.

TRANSFER OF POWER

Establishment of a Provisional Government, based on main popular parties. We think that the best course would be an agreement between the Congress and the League for parity in the Government and for adequate representation to minorities.

All the powers vested in the British Government and the King-Emperor as the paramount and sovereign power vis-a-vis the Indian States and the present Indian Government as well as all special powers vested in the Viceroy and the Governors must be forthwith ended. This alone will enable the Provisional Government freely to negotiate with the British Government on the basis of equality and to be in a position to deal with the question of the Indian Princes and the States and their future place in a free India.

FUNCTION OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

(i) The main task of the Provisional Government will be to convene a Constituent Assembly within six months of its establishment and ensure that the elections to the Assembly are free and democratic.

(ii) The Provisional Government would be responsible to the Constituent Assembly when the latter comes into existence, as stated below, and in the meanwhile it would not lie within its competence to commit India to any political, economic or military treaty with any power.

(iii) The Provisional Government should prepare a treaty to be negotiated with the British Government for the prompt payment of sterling balances and mutual trade relations, subject to its final ratification by the All-India Constituent Assembly.

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

It is the right of the Indian people to frame their own constitution and it is in the Indian people that full sovereignty is vested.

The Constitution-making Body envisaged by the British Government is undemocratic, as it will be formed by election of delegates by the members of the Provincial Assemblies, on the basis of indirect election. The existing Provincial Assemblies based on a narrow franchise keep the vast majority of the people out of power.

The acute differences between the Congress and the League on the issue of Constituent Assembly can only be settled by the just application of the principle of self-determination.

We suggest that the Provisional Government should be charged with the task of setting up a Boundaries Commission to redraw the boundaries on the basis of natural ancient homelands of every people, so that the redemarcated Provinces become as far as possible linguistically and culturally homogeneous National Units,

e.g., Sind, Pathanland, Baluchistan, Western Punjab, etc. The people of each such unit should have the unfettered right of self-determination, *i.e.*, the right to decide freely whether they join the Indian Union or form a separate sovereign State or another Indian Union.

The elections to the Constituent Assembly should, therefore, be based on recognition of this fundamental right and during the elections the question of separation or union should be put by the political parties to the people. The delegates elected from each National Unit shall decide by a majority whether they will join the all-India Constituent Assembly to form an Indian Union or remain out and form a separate sovereign State by themselves or join another Indian Union.

The Communist Party stands for a free, voluntary democratic Indian Union of sovereign units. It is firmly convinced that the best interests of the Indian masses will be served by their remaining together in one common Union in a common brotherhood to defend the freedom and solve the problems of poverty which require the co-operation of all. It is only on the basis of the application of the principle of self-determination as indicated above that Indian unity can be preserved.

States

The Indian people are determined to put an end to the Princes' autocracy which holds sway over one-third of India. Indian freedom and Indian democracy will have no meaning, in fact, they will be constantly endangered, if one third of India is allowed to remain under the yoke of these mediaeval autocrats. The Princes are the creation of the British Government, and have been in the past and are to-day maintained by British bayonets as a useful prop to British rule. India regards the so-called treaties and obligations of the British Government as merely a conspiracy against Indian democracy. There should be, therefore, no question of inviting the Princes to share power in the Interim Government or of allowing them any share in determining the decisions of the Constituent Assembly.

The peoples of the Indian States should, therefore, have the same rights and franchise as the rest of the Indian people. The people of each State should have the full right to decide through a freely-elected Constituent Assembly whether they should join the Indian Union as a separate Province, inhabited by people of the same nationality.

Civil Liberties

Normally when the independence of a country is to be discussed, an essential precondition to the opening of discussions should be the resolution of complete civil liberties and a general amnesty for all political prisoners. The Communist Party has noted that whatever is being done at present, is full of hestitation and discrimination.

The Communist Party, therefore, demands :

(*i*) the immediate release of all political prisoners including those convicted of terrorist offences and in particular the Bengal pre-reform prisoners, many of whom have been in jail for more than fifteen years ;

(*ii*) the immediate release of all Indians belonging to the Army, Navy and Air Force who have been imprisoned or convicted in connection with the recent strikes ;

(*iii*) the immediate release of all soldiers of the *Azad Hind Fauj* (Indian National Army) still in prison and of all Indians in the Armed Forces who during the past six years have been convicted or detained on account of their political activities ;

(*iv*) the immediate lifting of the ban on all political parties (*e.g.*, Congress Socialist Party, Forward Bloc, etc.) that still remain illegal ;

(*v*) the immediate restoration of full civil liberties to the entire people, including the cessation of arrests of political workers and of demands from newspapers for security, etc., actions which, in particular, are being increasingly directed at members and newspapers of the Communist Party.

The Communist Party is of the opinion that only if the British Government proceeds along the lines laid down in this Memorandum, will it be able to achieve stable democratic settlement between the Indian people and the British people on the basis of equality, thus solving one of the knottiest problems of world security and peace among peoples.

Any attempt, however, to exploit the differences among the Indian people, to impose an arbitrary partition, and to retain the Princes in order to perpetuate British domination will be resisted by the Indian people with all the strength at their command.

Mahatma Gandhi on Cabinet Mission's Statement

Mahatma on Britain's Best Effort—26th May 1946

"After four days of searching examination of the State paper issued by the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy on behalf of the British Government my conviction abides that it is the best document the British Government could have produced in the circumstances", wrote Mahatma Gandhi under the caption "An Analysis" in the "*Harijan.*"

Mahatma Gandhi adds: "It reflects our weakness, if we would be good enough to see it. The Congress and the Muslim League did not and could not agree. We would grievously err, if at this time, we foolishly satisfy ourselves that the differences are a British creation. The Mission have not come all the way from England to exploit them. They have not come to devise the easiest and quickest method of ending British rule. We must be brave enough to believe their declaration until the contrary is proved. Bravery thrives upon the deceit of the deceiver.

My compliment however does not mean that what is best from the British standpoint is also best or even good from the Indian. Their best may possibly be harmful. My meaning will, I hope, be clear from what follows.

The authors of the document have endeavoured to say fully what they mean. They have gathered from their talks the minimum they thought would bring the parties together for framing India's charter of freedom. Their one purpose is to end British rule as early as may be. They would, if they could, by their effort, leave a united India not torn asunder by internecine quarrel bordering on civil war. They would leave in my case.

Since in Simla the two parties, though the Mission succeeded in bringing them together at the conference table (with what patience and skill they could do so they alone could tell), could not come to an agreement, nothing daunted them. They descended to the plains of India and devised a worthy document for the purpose of setting up the Constituent Assembly which should frame India's charter of independence free of any British control or influence. It is an appeal and an advice. Thus the provincial assemblies may or may not elect the delegates. The delegates having been elected may or may not join the Constituent Assembly. The Assembly having met may lay down a procedure different from the one laid down in the statement. Whatever is binding on any person or party arises out of necessity of the situation. The separated voting is binding on both the major parties only because it is necessary for the existence of the Assembly and in no otherwise. At the time of writing I took up the statement, re-read it clause by clause and came to the conclusion that there was nothing in it binding in law. Honour and necessity alone are the two binding forces What is binding is that part of which commits the British Government. When I suppose the 4 members of the British Mission took the precaution, receiving full approval of the British Government and the two Houses of Parliament, the Mission are entitled to warm congratulations for the step in the act of renunciation which the statement is. Since other steps are necessary for full renunciation I have called this one a promissory note.

Though the response to be made by India is to be voluntary, the authors have naturally assumed that the Indian parties are well organised and responsible bodies capable of doing voluntary acts as fully as, if not more fully than, compulsory acts. Therefore when Lord Pethick-Lawrence said to a press conference, "if they do come together on that basis it will mean that they will have accepted that basis but they can still change it, if by a majority of each party they desire to do so," he was right in the sense that those who became delegates well knowing the contents of the statement were expected by the authors to abide by the basis unless it was duly altered by the major parties. When two or more rival parties meet together they do so under some understanding. A self-chosen umpire (in the absence of one chosen by the parties the authors constitute themselves one) fancies that the parties will come together only if he presents them with a proposal containing a certain minimum and he makes his proposal leaving them free to add, to substract from or altogether change it by jointe agreement.

This is perfect so far. But what about the units? Are the Sikhs, for whom the Punjab is the only home in India, to consider themselves agaist their will as part of the section which takes in Sind, Baluchistan and the Frontier Province? Or is the Frontier Province also against its will to belong to the Punjab called "B"

in the statement, or Assam to "C" although it is a predominately non-Muslim province? In my opinion the voluntary character of the Statement demands that the liberty of the individual Unit should be unimpaired. Any member of the sections is free to join it. Freedom to opt out is an additional safeguard. It can never be a substitute for freedom retained in para 15 which reads:

"Provinces should be free to form Groups with executives and legislatures and each Group could determine the provincial subjects to be taken in common." It is clear that this freedom was not taken away by the authors by section 19 which "proposes" (does not order) what should be done. It pre-supposes that the Chairman of the Constituent Assembly at its first meeting will ask the delegates of the provinces whether they would accept the Group principle, and if they do, whether they will accept the assignment given to their province. This freedom is inherent in every province and that given by 15 (5) will remain intact.

There appears to me no other way of avoiding the apparent conflict between the two paragraphs as also the charge of compulsion which would immediately alter the noble character of the document. I would therefore ask all those who are perturbed by the Group proposal and the arbitrary assignments, that, if my interpretation is valid there is not the slightest cause for perturbation.

There are other things in the document which would puzzle any hasty reader who forgets that it is simply an appeal and an advice to the nation showing how to achieve independence in the shortest time possible. The reason is clear. In the new world that is to emerge of the present chaos, India in bondage will cease to be the "brightest jewel" in the British Crown. It will become the blackest spot in that Crown, so black that it will be fit only for the dustbin. Let me ask the reader to hope and pray with me that the British Crown has a better use for Britain and the world. The brightest jewel is an abrogation.

When the promissory note is fully honoured, the British Crown will have a unique jewel as of right flowing from due performance of duty.

There are other matters outside the statement which are required to back the promissory note. But I must defer the examination to the next issue of "*Harijan*",

Mahatma on Vital Defects of the Plan—2nd June 1946

"Intrinsically and as legally interpreted, the State Paper seems to be a brave and frank document. Nevertheless, the official interpretation would appear to be different from the popular. If it is so and prevails, it will be a bad omen," said Mahatma Gandhi writing under the caption "Vital Defects" in the *Harijan* issued on the 2nd June 1946.

Mahatma Gandhi added: "During the long course of the history of British rule in India the official interpretation has held sway, and, it has been enforced. I have not hesitated before now to say that the office of the law-giver, judge and executioner is combined in one person in India. Is not the State Document a departure from the imperialistic tradition? I have answered "yes". Be that as it may, let us try to glance at the shortcomings.

"The Delegation, after a brief spell in Simla, returned to Delhi on the 14th instant, issued their statement on the 16th and yet we are far from the popular Government at the Centre. One would have thought that they would have formed the Central Government before issuing the statement. But they issued the statement first and then set about the search for the formation of the Interim Government. It is taking a long time coming, whilst the millions are starving for want of food and clothing. This is defect No. 1.

The question of paramountcy is unsolved. It is not enough to say that paramountcy will end with the end of British rule in India. If it persists without check during the interim period, it will leave behind a difficult legacy for the independent Government. If it cannot be ended with the establishment of the Interim Government, it should be exercised in co-operation with it and purely for the benefit of the people of the States. It is the people who want and are fighting for independence, not the Princes who are sustained by alien power even when they claim not to be its creation for the suppression of the liberties of the people. The Princes, if they are true to their professions, should welcome this popular use of paramountcy so as to accommodate themselves to the sovereignty of the people envisaged under the new scheme. This is defect No. 2.

"Troops, it is declared, are to remain during the interim period for the preservation of internal peace and protection against external aggression. If they are kept for such use during the period of grace, their presence will act as a damper on the Constituent Assembly and is more likely than not to be wanted even after the

establishment of independence so called. A nation that desires alien troops for its safety, internal or external, or has them imposed upon it, can never be described as independent in any sense of the term. It is in effect a nation unfit for self-government. The acid test is that it should be able to stand alone, erect and unbending. During the interim period we must learn to hop unaided, if we are to walk when we are free. We must cease from now to be so spoon-fed.

"That these things are not happening as we would wish, is to be accounted as our weakness, be the causes whatever they be, not the cussedness of the British Government or their people. Whatever we get, will be our deserts, not a gift from across the seas. The three Ministers have come to do what they have declared. It will be time to blame them when they go back upon the British declarations and devise ways and means of perpetuating British rule. Though there is ground for fear, there is no sign on the horizon that they have said one thing and meant another."

Mahatma on Europeans' Right to Vote—23rd June 1946

"That the Europeans will neither vote nor offer themselves for election should be a certainty, if a Constituent Assembly worthy of the name is at all to be formed," wrote Mahatma Gandhi under the caption "The European Vote" in the *Harijan* issued on the 23rd June 1946.

Mahatma Gandhi added : "The Europeans have been made to look so foolish in their latest statement as to say that they would refrain from voting for themselves but would use their vote for electing their henchmen wearing the Indian skin. They would, if they could, repeat the trick which has enabled them, a handful, to strangle the dumb millions of India. How long will this agony last ? Do the Mission propose to bolster up this unholy ambition and yet expect to put to sea the frail barque of their Constituent Assembly ? Indians cannot perform the obvious duty of the Mission for them."

"No less a person than the President of the European Association has exhibited the lion's paw. That seems to be the naked truth. That the Europeans will neither vote nor offer themselves for election should be a certainty, if a Constituent Assembly worthy of the name is at all to be formed. The British power in India has four arms—the official military, the official civil and the unofficial military. So when the ruling class speaks of the unofficial European as not being under their control, it is nonsense. The official exists for the unofficial. The former would have no work if the latter did not exist. The British gunboat came in the wake of British commerce. The whole of India is an occupied country. We have to examine in this light the exploits of the European President. In the intoxication of power he does not seem to have taken the trouble to ascertain whether the State paper has provided for the legal power for his community to vote or be voted for in the proposed Constituent Assembly. For his and his constituents' edification I have secured opinion from the leader of the bar in Delhi. It will be found in these columns.

"Did the President condescend to inquire of the Mission what his moral and legal position was ? Or, did he hold them cheap because he represented the real imperialism which the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy representing British Labour were struggling to discard ? It is the straw which shows the way the wind is blowing.

This unreasonable performance of the European Association is to my mind the greatest disturbing factor to shake the faith in the reality of the Mission's work. Has the Mission come before its time ? Will the gun-protected Europeans of India silence their guns and stake their fortunes, Andrews-like, purely on the goodwill of the masses of India ? Or, do they expect in their generation to continue the imposition of foreign rule on India ?

"How can they say, they 'are not intransigent ?' The statement reeks of intransigence. They have a loaded communal franchise, glaringly in Bengal and Assam. What right had they to be in the Assemblies at all ? What part have they played in the two Assemblies save to embarrass the people of Bengal and Assam by dividing the communities ? This load was not imposed upon them. It would have redounded to their honour if they had repudiated it. Instead they welcome the 'white man's burden'. And even now, at the hour of the dawn they would graciously contribute to constitution-making ! Not every one who says, 'I am not intransigent' is really so ; he only is who says nothing but lets his deeds eloquently speak for themselves.

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The Congress Election Manifesto 1946

BEING THE ELECTION MANIFESTO OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

For sixty years the National Congress has laboured for the freedom of India. During this long span of years its history has been the history Indian people, straining at the leash that has held them in bondage, ever trying to unloose themselves from it. From small beginnings it has progressively grown and spread in this vast country, carrying the message of freedom to the masses of our people in the towns as well as the remotest villages. From these masses it has gained power and strength and developed into a mighty organization, the living and vibrant symbol of India's will to freedom and independence. From generation to generation it has dedicated itself to this sacred cause, and in its name and under its banner innumerable countrymen and countrywomen of ours have laid down their lives and undergone suffering in order to redeem the pledge they had taken. By service and sacrifice it has enshrined itself in the hearts of our people; by its refusal to sumbit to any dishonour to our nation it has built up a powerful movement of resistance to foreign rule.

The career of the Congress has been one of both constructive efforts for the good of the people and of unceasing struggle to gain freedom. In this struggle it has faced numerous crises and come repeatedly into direct conflict with the armed might of a great empire. Following peaceful methods, it has not only survived these conflicts but has gained new strength from them. After the recent three years of an unprecedented mass upheaval and its cruel and ruthless suppression, the Congress has risen stronger than ever and become more loved by the people by whom it has stood through storm and stress.

The Congress has stood for equal rights and opportunities for every citizen of India, man or woman. It has stood for the unity of all communities and religious groups and for tolerance and goodwill between them. It has stood for full opportunities for the people as a whole to grow and develop according to their own wishes and genius; it has also stood for the freedom of each group and territorial area within the nation to develop its own life and culture within the larger framework, and its has stated that for this purpose such territorial areas or provinces should be constituted, as far as possible, on a linguistic and cultural basis. It has stood for the rights of all those who suffer from social tyranny and injustice and for the removal for them of all barriers to equality.

The Congress has envisaged a free, democratic State with the fundamental rights and liberties of all its citizens guaranteed in the constitution. This constitution, in its view, should be a federal one with autonomy for its constituent units, and its legislative organs elected uuder universal adult franchise. The federation of India must be a willing union of its various parts. In order to give the maximum of freedom to the constituent units there may be a minimum list of common and essential federal subjects which will apply to all units, and a further optional list of common subjects which may be accepted by such units as desire to do so.

The constitution shall provide for fundamental rights, among them the following: 1. 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. 2. Every citizen shall enjoy freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess and practise his religion, subject to public order and morality. 3. The culture, language and script of the minorities and of the different linguistic areas shall be protected. 4. All citizens are equal before the law, irrespective of religion, caste, creed or sex. 5. 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. 6. All citizens have equal rights 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. 7. Every citizen has the right to keep and bear arms, in accordance with regulations and reservations made in that behalf. 8. No person shall be deprived of his liberty, nor shall his dwelling or property be entered, sequestered, or confiscated, save in accordance with law. 9. The State shall observe neutrality in regard to all religions. 10. The franchise shall be on the basis of universal adult suffrage. 11. The State shall provide for free and compulsory basic education. 12. Every citizen is free to move throughout India and to stay and settle in any part thereof, to follow any trade or calling, and to be treated equally with regard to legal prosecution or protection in all parts of India.

The State shall further provide all necessary safeguards for the protection and the development of the backward or suppressed element in the population, so that they might make rapid progress and take a full and equal part in national life. In particular, the State will help in the development of the people of the tribal areas in a manner most suited to their genius, and in the educational and social and economic progress of the scheduled classes.

A hundred and fifty years and more of foreign rule have arrested the growth of the country and produced numerous vital problems that demand immediate solution. Intensive exploitation of the country and the people during this period has reduced the masses to the depths of misery and starvation. The country has not only been politically kept under subjection and humiliated, but has also suffered economic, social, cultural and spiritual degradation. During the years of war this process of exploitation by irresponsible authority in utter disregard of Indian interests and views, and an incompetence in administration reached a new height leading to terrible famine and widespread misery. There is no way to solving any of these urgent problems except through freedom and independence. The content of political freedom must be both economic and social.

The most vital and urgent of India's problems is how to remove the curse of poverty and raise the standard of the masses. It is to the well-being and progress of these masses that the Congress has directed its special attention and its constructive activities. It is by their well-being and advancement that it has judged every proposal and every change, and it has declared that anything that comes in the way of the good of the masses of our country must be removed. Industry and agriculture, the social services and public utilities must be encouraged, modernised and rapidly extended in order to add to the wealth of the country and give it the capacity for self-growth, without dependence on others. But all this must be done with the primary object of benefitting the masses of our people and raising their economic, cultural and spiritual level removing unemployment, and adding to the dignity of the individual. For this purpose it will be necessary to plan and coordinate social advance in all its many fields, to prevent the concentration of wealth and power in the hands of individuals and groups, to prevent vested interests inimical to society from growing, and to have social control of the mineral resources, means of transport and the principal methods of production and distribution in land industry and in other departments of national activity, so that free India may develop into a co-operative commonwealth. The State must, therefore, own or control key and basic industries and services, mineral resources, railways, shipping and other means of public transport. Currency and exchange, banking and insurance, must be regulated in the national interest.

Though poverty is widespread in India, it is essentially a rural problem, caused chiefly by overpressure on land and lack of other wealth-producing occupations. India, under British rule, has been progressively ruralised, many of her avenues of work and employment closed, and a vast mass of the population thrown on the land, which has undergone continuous fragmentation, till a very large number of holdings have become uneconomic. It is essential, therefore, that the problem of the land should be dealt with in all its aspects. Agriculture has to be improved on scientific lines and industry has to be developed raidly in its various forms—large-scale, medium and small—so as not only to produce wealth but also to absorb people from the land. In particular, cottage industries have to be encouraged, both as whole-time and part-time occupations. It is essential that in planning and the development of industry, while maximum wealth production for the community should be aimed at, it should be borne in mind that this is not done at the cost of creating fresh unemployment. Planning must lead to maximum employment, indeed to the employment of every able-bodied person. Landless labourers should have opportunities of work offered to them and be absorbed in agriculture or industry.

The reform of the land system, which is so urgently needed in India, involves the removal of intermediaries between the peasant and the State. The rights of intermediaries should therefore, be acquired on payment of equitable compensation. When individualist farming or peasant proprietorship should continue, progressive agriculture as well as the creation of new social values and incentives require some system of co-operative farming suited to Indian conditions. Any such change can, however, be made only with the goodwill and agreement of the peasantry concerned. It is desirable, therefore, that experimental co-operative farms should be organised with State help in various parts of India. There should also be large State farms for demonstrative and experimental purposes.

In the development of land and Industry there has to be a proper integration

and balance between rural and urban economy. In the past, rural economy has suffered, and the town and city have prospered at the cost of the village. This has to be righted and an attempt made to equalize, as far as possible, the standards of life of town dwellers and villagers. Industry should not be concentrated in particular provinces, so as to give a balanced economy, to each province, and it should be decentralized, as far as this is possible, without sacrifice of efficiency.

Both the development of land industry, as well as the health and well-being of the people, requires the harnessing and proper utilization of the vast energy that is represented by the great rivers of India, which is not only running to waste but is often the cause of great injury to the land and the people who lived on it. River commissions should be continued to undertake this task in order to promote irrigagation and ensure an even and continuous supply of water, to prevent disastrous floods and oil erosion, to eradicate malaria, to develop hydroelectric power, and in other ways to help in raising the general standard of life, especially in the rural areas. The power resources of the country have to be developed rapidly in this and other ways in order to provide necessary foundation for the growth of industry and agriculture. Adequate arrangement should be made for the education of the masses with a view to raising them intellectually, economically, culturally and morally, and to fit them for the new forms of work and services which will open out before them. Public health services which are essential for the growth of the nation should be provided for on the widest scale, and in this, as in other matters, the needs of the rural areas should receive especial attention. This should include special provisions for maternity and child welfare. Conditions should thus be created in which every individual has an equal opportunity for advance in every field of national activity and there is social security for all.

Science in this innumerable fields of activity has played an ever-increasing part in influencing and moulding human life and will do so in even greater measure in the future. Industrial, agricultural and cultural advance, as well as national defence depend upon it. Science research is, therefore, a basic and essential activity of the State, and should be organised and encouraged on the widest scale.

In regard to labour, the State shall safeguard the interests of industrial workers and shall secure for them a minimum wage and a decent standard of living, proper housing, hours of work and conditions of labour in conformity, as far as economic conditions in the country permit, with international standards, suitable machinery for the settlement of disputes between employers and workmen, and protection against the economic consequences of old age, sickness and unemployment. Workers shall have the right to form unions to protect their interests.

Rural indebtedness has in the past crushed the agricultural population, and though owing to various causes in recent years this has grown less, the burden still continues and must be removed. Cheap credit must be made available through co-operatives. Co-operatives should also be organized for other purposes both in rural and urban areas. In particular, industrial co-operatives should be encouraged as being especially suited for the development of small scale industry on democratic basis.

While the immediate and urgent problems of India can only be effectively tackled by a joint and planned attack on all fronts—political, economic, agricultural, industrial and social—certain needs are of paramount importance today. Owing to the gross incompetence and mismanagement of the Government an incredible amount of suffering has been caused to the people of India. Millions have died of starvation, and scarcity of food and clothing is still well-spread. Corruption in the services and in all matters pertaining to the supply land control of the vital necessaries of life is rampant and has become intolerable. These urgent problems require immediate attention..

In international affairs, the Congress stands for the establishment of a world federation of the nations. Till such time as such federation takes shape, India must develop friendly relations with all nations, and particularly with her neighbours. In the Far East, in South-East Asia and in Western Asia, India has had trade and cultural relations for thousands of years, and it is inevitable that with freedom she should renew and develop these relations. Reasons for security and future trend of trades also demand closer contacts with these regions. India which has concluded her own struggle for freedom on a non-violent basis, will always throw her weight on the side of world peace and co-operation. She will also champion the freedom of all other subject nations and peoples, for only on the basis of this freedom and the elimination of imperialism everywhere can world peace be established.

On the 8th of August, 1942, the All-India Congress Committee passed a resolution, since then famous in India's history. By its demands and challenge the

Congress stands today. It is on the basis of this resolution and with its battle-cry that Congress faces the elections.

The Congress therefore appeals to the voters all over the country to support Congress candidates in every way at the forthcoming elections, and stand by the Congress at the critical juncture, which is so pregnant with future possibilities. In these elections, petty issues do not count, nor do individuals, nor sectarian cries —only one thing counts: the freedom and independence of our motherland, from which all other freedoms will flow to our people. Many a time the people of India have taken the pledge of independence; that pledge has yet to be redeemed, and the well beloved cause for which it stands and which has summoned us so often, still beckons to us. The time is coming when we shall redeem it in full. This election is a small test for us, a preparation for the greater things to come. Let all those who care and long for freedom and the independence of India meet this test with strength and confidence and march together to the free India of our dreams.

[The Independence Pledge has undergone slight changes since it was first taken by Congressmen in 1930, 26th January. We reproduce below the pledge taken by Congressmen on Independence day, 1946.]

Independence Pledge for 26th. January, 1946

We believe that it is an inalienable right of the Indian people, as, of any other people, to have freedom and enjoy the fruits of their toil and have the necessities of life, so that they may have full opportunities of growth. We believe also that if the Government deprives a people of these rights and oppresses them, the people have a further right to alter it or to abolish it. The British Government in India has not only deprived the Indian people of their freedom but has based itself on the exploitation of the masses, and ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually. We believe, therfore, that India must sever the British connection and attain Purna Swaraj or Complete Independence.

We recognise that the most effective way of gaining our freedom is not through violence. India has gained strength and self-reliance and marched a long way to Swaraj following peaceful and legitimate methods, and it is by adhering to these methods that our county will attain independence.

We pledge ourselves anew to the Independence of India and solemnly resolve to carry out non-violently the struggle for freedom till Purna Swaraj is attained.

We believe that non-violent action in general and preparation for non-violent direct action in particular, require successful working of the constructive programme kept before the country by Gandhiji and accepted by the Congress and in particular of Khadi, communal harmony and removal of untouchability: We shall seek every opportunity of spreading goodwill among fellowmen without distinction of caste or creed. We shall endeavour to raise from ignorance and poverty those who have been neglected and to advance in every way the interests of those who are considered to be backward and suppressed. We know that though we are out to destroy the imperialistic system, we have no quarrel with Englishmen, whether officials or non-officials. We know that distinction between the caste Hindu and Harijans must be abolished and Hindus have to forget these distinctions in their daily conduct. Such distinctions are a bar to non-violent conduct. Though our religious faith may be different, in our mutual relations we will act as children of mother India, bound by common nationality and common political and economic interest.

Charka and Khadi are an integral part of our constructive programme, for the resuscitation of the seven hundred thousand villages of India and for the removal of the grinding poverty of the masses. We shall, therefore, use for our personal requirements nothing but Khadi, and so far as possible, products of village handicrafts only and endeavour to make others do likewise. We shall also try to work to the best of our ability some item or items of the constructive programme.

We pay our grateful homage to thousands of our comrades who faced grave hardships, suffered humiliations and sacrificed their life and property in the last struggle. Their sacrifice will always remind us of the duty never to rest until we have attained our goal.

We reaffirm the resolution passed by the All-India Congress Committee on 8th August, 1942. It demands the immediate withdrawal of the British power from India in the interest as much of India as of World Peace and Freedom for all.

This day we pledge ourselves again to a disciplined observance of Congress principles and policies and to keep in readiness to respond to the call of the Congress for carrying on the struggle for the Independence of India.

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Results of Election in 1946

Votes Polled by: Congress and other Parties in Assembly Elections (1946)

(Table does not include votes of uncontested seats, Unopposed returns, Congress : 303 and Muslim League : 40)

Province	*Congress*	*Muslim League*	*Non-League Muslims*	*Scheduled Caste Federation*	*Communists*
Madras ...	21,79,576	3,07,398	23,058	58,335	3,69,785
Bombay ...	38,09,469	2,51,331	25,440	2,72,061	51,620
Bihar ...	75,79,922	1,46,078	51,573	...	4,221
U. P. ...	13,84,650	5,22,705	2,76.935	19,255	20,589
Punjab ...	5,19,389	6,79.923	3,58,235	...	40,660
N. W. F. P. ...	1,55,085	1,47,880	2,08,896	...	...
C. P. & Berar ...	6,39,715	46,889	10,385	78,417	1,864
Sind ...	62,997	1,99,651	1,52,235	...	...
Assam ...	3,37,614	1,58,190	81,756	...	16,446
Orissa ...	66,281	4,336	554	...	2,234
Bengal ...	23,34,812	20,36,775	3,97,325	97,004	1,59,304
TOTAL ...	1,90,69,510	45,01 156	15,86,392	5,32,072*	6,66,723

*Out of 151 seats reserved for the Scheduled Castes the Congress Scheduled Castes candidates won 36 seats unopposed and 105 seats contested with 2182·2 (thousand) Vote,—Votes of unopposed seats not included.

N. B.—The Congress polled more thane 190 lakhs or 19 million votes.

The Muslim League polled about 45 lakhs or 4·5 million—75%Muslim votes.

The Non-League Parties polled more than 15 lakhs or 1·5 Million—25% Muslim votes.

The Scheduled Castes Federation polled more than 5 lakhs or ·5 million votes.

The Communist Party polled more than 6 lakhs or ·6 million votes.

As the Congress Party Stands *VIS-A-VIS* other Parties in the Provincial Legislative Assemblies (1946) after the Elections

Province	Congress		N. M.	M. L.	H. M.	S. C. F.	R. D. P.	Com.	Others	Total
	1937	1946								
N. W. F. P.	[6]19	[2]30	2(J)	17	...	...	...	...	1 (Akali)	50
Punjab	18	51	...	73	...	...	...	...	20 (Unionist) 22 (Akali) 9 (Independent)	175
Sind	7	18	4(J)	27	...	...	...	...	4 (Ind. Pro. Con.) 4 (M. L. u-Syed)[5] 3 Europeans	60
U. P.	134	153[4]	7	54	...	...	...	...	1 Ind. Pro. Con. Muslim [3] 13 Independents	228
Bihar	98	[1]98	...	34	...	...	...	...	5 Momins (N. L. M. P.) 12 Independents 3 Adibasis	152
Orissa...	36	47	...	4	...	...	...	1	4 Independents 4 Non-elective	60

Bengal	54	86	...	113	1	1	...	3	25 Europeans 9 Non-League Muslims 12 Independents	250
Madras	159	165	...	29	...	...	...	2	19 Independents	215
C. P. & Berar	70	92	...	13	...	1	...	...	6 Independents	112
Bombay	86	125	...	30	1	...	1	2	16 Independents	175
Assam	33	58	3(J)	31	...	...	...	...	7 Independents 9 Europeans	108
TOTAL ...	714	923	16	425	2	2	1	8	201	1585

[1] Including 4 Muslims.

[2] Including 19 Muslim members.

[3] Including 3 Europeans.

[4] Including one Muslim seat

[5] Opposed to official Muslim League under Mr. Jinnah. The group is working with the Congress in the Assembly.

[6] Including 15 Muslims,

ABBEVIATIONS :—

N. M.—Nationalist Muslim.

M. L.—Muslim League.

H. M.—Hindu Mahasabha.

S.C.F.—Scheduled Caste Federation.

R.D.P.—Radical Democratic Party.

Com.—Communist.

J—Jamiat-Ul-Ulema.

Ind. Pro. Con.—Independent Pro-Congress

M. L.-u-Syed.—Muslim League under Syed.

N.L.M.P.—Non League Muslim Party.

The Government of India

Budget for 1946-47

The Budget at a Glance

1945-46 Original Budget

Expenditure : Rs. 517·63 crores.
Revenue : Rs. 362·34 crores.
Deficit : Rs. 155·29 crores.

1946-47 Budget

Expenditure : Rs. 355·71 crores.
Revenue : Rs. 307·00 crores.
Deficit : Rs. 48·71 crores.

1945-46 Revised Budget

Expenditure : Rs. 505·61 crores.
Revenue : Rs. 360·66 crores.
Deficit : Rs. 144·95 crores.

(This estimated deficit of Rs. 48·71 crores is increased to Rs. 70·16 crores, as a result of the several tax reliefs announced in the Budget. By transferring Rs. 26·10 crores from the War Risks Insurance Funds, the deficit is reduced to Rs. 44·06 crores).

Defence Expenditure

1945-46
Budget estimate : Rs. 394·23 crores.
Revised estimate : Rs. 376·42 crores.
1946-47
Budget estimate : Rs 243·77 crores.

Salient Features of the Budget

Reduction in the rate of income-tax on the second income slab of Rs. 3,500 *from* 15 *pies to* 12 *pies and on the third income slab of Rs.* 5000 *from two annas one pie to two annas. Earned income relief will be raised to one-fifth, subject to a maximum of Rs.* 4000. *On merits, and as a partial offset to the loss of revenue involved by these changes the tax on the balance of income above Rs.* 15,000 *is increased from four annas nine pies to five annas. Sur-charges on income-tax and super-tax are amalgamated with basic rates—a proposal that will not only affect all classes of tax-payer, but benefits the provinces to the extent of Rs. 12·75 crores at the expense of the Centre. There will be a more gradual steepening of the super-tax rate.*

A reduction in the duty on kerosene from four annas six pies to three annas nine pies per gallon. The duty on motor spirit is cut from 15 annas to 12 annas per gallon, while an import is levied on gold bullion and coin and the silver duty is raised.

The main proposals affecting industry, in whose expansion the Finance Member sees the earliest prospect of increasing the national income and raising the standard of living are :—

(1) *discontinuance of E. P. T. after March 31* ;
(2) *special depreciation allowances for new buildings, plant and machinery* ;
(3) *relief from customs duty on imported raw materials, plant and machinery* ;
(4) *reduction in the tax on companies* ;
(5) *adjustment of tax on dividends to encourage ploughing back of profits* ;
(6) *income-tax relief for building expenditure.*

The Finance Member foreshadowed the formation of an Industrial Finance Corporation, mentioned investigations into a scheme for a National Investment Board and announced a Taxation Inquiry Committee.

Presenting the first post-war budget of the Central Government, the Hon'ble *Sir Archibald Rowlands*, Finance Member to the Government of India, in his first and almost the last budget, indicated in the Central Assembly on February 28, 1946 a revenue deficit in the current year of Rs. 144·95 crores, as against Rs. 155·29 crores anticipated in the Budget Estimates. Revenue for the next financial year at the existing level of taxation, is placed at Rs. 307 crores and expenditure at Rs. 355·71 crores, leaving a prospective deficit of Rs. 48·71 crores.

The revised estimate of Defence expenditure, for the current year met from revenue is Rs. 376·42 crores as against the original estimate of Rs. 394·22 crores. The estimate for 1946-47 is Rs. 243·77 crores.

The Financial Settlement will continue for one more year, at the request of the Government of India. The question of alternative methods of financing H.M.G.'s future expenditure, stated the Finance Member, is engaging the closest attention of Government.

As regards India's forthcoming negotiations with H. M. G. regarding the sterling balances, he stressed that "India will be entirely free to take any line that she may see fit to pursue." Any idea that she was committed in advance to a scaling down of the balances was entirely without foundation.

Finally, the Finance Member announced that a Taxation Enquiry Committee would be set up in the near future which he hoped would be predominantly non-official.

The Finance Member said: Although I have not undertaken any intensive research to establish the fact, I imagine that I am the first Finance Member to deliver his first Budget in the knowledge that it will almost certainly be his last.

In the interval since my distinguished predecessor presented his sixth and final Budget, the international and domestic scene has been transformed. The monstrous ambitions of the Fascist dictatorships have been utterly destroyed and the peace-loving and democratic nations can look forward to the building of a new world in the confidence that for many years to come their plans will not be frustrated and set at naught by the threat of external aggression.

But though our external foes have been overthrown, the world, and particularly India, is still confronted by a whole array of dangerous and enduring enemies—poverty, squalor, ill-health, illiteracy, under-nourishment and under-employment; and of these the most formidable is poverty. If we can expel this adversary from our midst we shall find no great difficulty in dealing with the allies who revolve round his axis.

Leadership

Let us not deceive ourselves, however, into thinking that we can triumph over the forces thus drawn up against us without a supreme and combined endeavour. Victory will not be achieved without sustained effort, without leadership. Almost the greatest of these is leadership, and at this point I shall refer to the only political issue which I propose to raise in the course of my speech. No army has encompassed the defeat of its enemies on the battlefield without faith and confidence in its leaders. With all the earnestness at my command I add one more plea to the leaders on the benches opposite to co-operate with those on this side and with His Majesty's Government in finding an early solution to the political problem. I am conscious of the difficulties and am not insensible of the width of the gulf which has to be bridged, but it is my firm conviction that with toleration, restraint and good-will a solution can be found. What is certain is that for every day the solution is deferred for so long will be postponed the attainment of India's destiny which is hers by right.

What I have said so far is merely to indicate in broadest outline what I conceive to be the aims of India's national long-term policy. Fiscal policy is merely one of the means to achieve national policy and in the proposals which I am about to submit to the House I have kept these long-term aims in mind. But necessarily and inevitably my proposals have been coloured and qualified by the conditions which have been created by the war and by its merciful termination earlier than any of us had dared to hope.

Let us pass these conditions under a brief review. While India has been spared the material destruction that has befallen many other countries, she has suffered in full measure, and in some directions in greater measure than others, the economic consequences of war. Her industrial equipment has been worked to the very edge of a breakdown and there is a large backlog of maintenance and replacement to be made good; more than that, the development of her economy and even her reconstruction are being delayed through her inability to obtain the necessary capital equipment owing to destruction and unsatisfied demands in the supplying countries. Civilian building has been almost entirely neglected for over five years, and this presses heavily on a country where the large annual increase in population and where growing industrial development require a continually expanding building programme.

In India, as elsewhere, there have occurred large shortages of consumer goods, caused on the one hand by the failure of supplies from overseas and on the other by diversion of a large part of her productive capacity to war purposes. Outstanding examples are textiles and foodgrains, though there are many other examples. I do not propose to dilate on the foodgrains situation, since that is

only too well known to the House. Finally, as elsewhere, the purchasing power in the hands of the public has enormously increased and here, too, the consuming public is anxious to make effective use of its spending capacity. In other words, there are still pockets of inflationary forces which require to be closely watched and controlled.

Deflation : A Warning

In one important respect, however, the situation in India resulting from the cessation of hostilities differs from that in other important belligerent countries such as the United Kingdom and the United States of America. In largely agricultural countries such as India and the Middle Eastern States, war expenditure, though in absolute amounts much less than in the industrialised states of the West, has had a proportionately greater effect in stimulating the growth of the national income. It follows that, with the fall in war expenditure which is now inevitable, a greater proportionate effort will have to be made if the national income is not to fall too far below its war-level. In other words, deflationary tendencies will, in the absence of countervailing measures, begin to manifest themselves before very long. When I mention that the drop in defence expenditure on account of His Majesty's Government and the Government of India combined will be of the order of Rs. 600 crores next year as compared with the Budget this year, the House will realise how strong these tendencies will be. It must, therefore, be the object of the Government, in the coming year, with the help of the public and of the business community, to avoid the Scylla of increasing inflation and the Charybdis of too precipitate a deflation.

Financial Year, 1945-46

Revenue

It is against this background that I now proceed to review the financial position for the current and the following years.

Total revenue receipts are now expected to reach Rs. 360.66 crores, a decrease of Rs. 1·68 crores on the budget estimates.

Customs receipts are likely to improve by Rs. 9¾ crores as a result of larger imports. Under Central Excises, however, we expect a short-fall of approximately Rs. 2 crores from the Rs. 48·59 crores provided in the Budget.

Under Taxes on Income, we estimated a collection of Rs. 190·5 crores, Rs. 90 crores under Excess Profits Tax and Rs 100.5 crores under other taxes on income. We now place the revenue at Rs. 189 crores, the short-fall of Rs. 1½ crores occuring under ordinary income-tax. The divisible pool of income-tax is likely to amount to Rs. 55.94 crores and the share of the Provinces together with the carry over of Rs. 5.28 crores from the previous year, to Rs. 28·75 crores.

The revenue of the Posts and Telegraphs Department is now estimated at Rs. 32·84 crores, Rs. 96 lakhs more than the budget figure. Expenditure is placed at Rs. 22·17 crores, an increase of Rs. 2·14 crores, due mainly to post-budget decisions regarding war and dearness allowances. The anticipated surplus of Rs. 10·67 crores will accrue to general revenues.

The contribution from Railways to General Revenues has been taken at Rs. 32 crores as envisaged in the Budget Estimates.

Expenditure

Defence Services.—It has been customary during the war years for the Finance Member to give in this section of his speech a general review of the progress of the war and the activities of the Indian Defence Services both in India and abroad. Partly in order to reduce the length of my speech and partly because I feel that such a review would come more appropriately from the War Department, I shall, on this occasion, confine myself to only such broad matters of policy as directly affect India's defence expenditure, leaving it to my Hon'ble friend, the War Secretary, in the course of the budget debates, to give the House fuller and more detailed information on the administrative measures and other activities with which his Department is primarily concerned. I am circulating with the Budget papers an Explanatory Memorandum prepared by the War Secretary setting out in more detail the main administrative measures in the field of defence and giving details of the amounts provided in the defence Budget Estimates.

The outstanding events of the year were, of course, the unconditional surrender of Germany on may 7, followed, about four months later, by a similar surrender on the part of Japan. Though the latter event came about six months earlier than was generally expected, plans for the demobilisation of personnel of the Indian

armed forces had been under active preparation for a considerable time before V-J Day and it was found possible to put these into operation at the beginning of October last. The number of personnel to be demobilised in India is well over a million and a half and no effort is being spared to speed up the rate of releases. It is a formidable task, which is complicated by transport difficulties and the uncertainties that must necessarily exist for some time regarding the ultimate size and composition of India's defence forces, but we expect it to be largely completed by the end of the coming financial year.

DEMOBILISATION

The actual discharge of personnel from the Indian armed forces represents, however, only one aspect of the process of demobilisation—using that term in its wider sense of the unwinding of war activities and the diversion of India's economic resources, both human and physical, from winning the war to the tasks of rehabilitation and development. Thus the defence authorities, besides dealing with the problem of the orderly release and repatriation of over one million and a half men from the fighting services, which includes the making of arrangements for the welfare of soldiers awaiting discharge and their education and preparation for civilian life, are directly concerned with the cancellation or reduction of their demands for stores of all kinds, the closing or slowing down of munitions manufacture, the stoppage of building activity and the declaration of surplus stocks and the disposal of fixed assets no longer required for defence purposes. The complementary schemes and measures to ensure that the personnel and industrial resources, thus set free are utilised as fully and speedily as possible for the recuperation and expansion of India's civil economy, are primarily the concern of the civil authorities both at the Centre and in the Provinces, though naturally, in view of the strong interest that the defence authorities have in the resettlement of defence personnel, they are constantly brought into consultation regarding these matters.

In view of the fact that by the middle of the year the war had ended, it may come as a surprise and disappointment to some that the revised estimate for the current year does not indicate a more substantial fall in the expenditure chargeable to India's defence estimates, as compared with the budget for that year. The budget estimate was Rs. 394.23 crores and the revised estimate is Rs. 376.42 crores. The explanation for this is to be found very largely in the heavy costs of war gratuities, special leave and other terminal benefits granted to personnel on discharge in addition to their pay and allowances and other maintenance expenses while awaiting discharge in India.

With effect from V-J Day (September 2, 1945) the supply of goods and services from the United States of America to the United Kingdom and other countries under Lend-Lease arrangements came to an end and from the same date those nations, including India, ceased to provide services and supplies for the U. S. Forces on Reciprocal Aid terms. It was agreed however, as a matter of administrative convenience, that supplies and services through mutual aid channels should continue for a short time to be rendered on both sides, but on a cash repayment basis. A number of claims and counterclaims are arising between India nnd the United States of America on this account.

Another matter outstanding between India and the United States of America is the settlement of Lend-Lease and Reciprocal Aid, and the transfer to the Government of India *en bloc* of stocks and installations accumulated by the United States of America authorities in India during the war and now surplus to their requirements.

It is clearly necessary to arrive at an early understanding with the United States of America on these matters and the Government of India, therefore, welcomed a suggestion from the U. S. A. Government of their discussion at Washington. Two senior officers will accordingly be deputed to America for this purpose.

CIVIL ESTIMATES

The revised civil estimates for the current year stand at Rs. 129.19 crores, an increase of Rs. 5½ crores over the Budget figure. Civil expenditure connected with the war shows a fall of Rs. 7 crores, but this is more than offset by the provision under "grants-in-aid" of a further subvention of Rs. 8 crores to Bengal. This further assistance is calculated to bring the total Central grant to Bengal to a figure representing roughly half the cost to the Province of the disastrous 1943 famine, and does no more than enable the Government of Bengal to break even on their revenue account to the end of 1945-46, when most other Provinces have been in a position to tuck something away for purposes of their post-war development. It

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is accompanied by a withdrawal of the Central Government's offer to meet half the losses involved in the rapid turnover of food which was found to be necessary to prevent wholesale deterioration, and represents the last measure of special assistance which Bengal will require from the Centre as a result of the major calamity which was peculiar to that Province alone.

For the rest, the increase in the Revised Estimates is due mainly to the strengthening of the Central revenue organization and to expansion in a number of Departments, mostly those which are popularly called "nation building". I do not propose to refer here to individual variations since they are explained in the Explanatory Memorandum which accompanies the printed Budget Statement, and developmental expenditure will be dealt with separately later on in this speech. There are, however, one or two matters of general interest which I should like to mention in view of their bearing on Central expenditure,

SUPPLY DEPARTMENT

The House will appreciate that the sudden termination of active hostilities did not end the difficulties and abnormalities of the country's economy which the war brought into being. In the discharge of its responsibility for the economic health of the country, the Government has of necessity had to maintain the system of controls, both economic and financial, which was developed during the war, but although some of the controls have come to stay since you cannot have a planned economy without some controls, the remainder are being, and continue to be, withdrawn as soon as they have ceased to serve the purpose for which they were designed. Indeed, some 150 control measures have already been so withdrawn.

The work on the Supply Department, now that wartime procurement operations have ceased to be of primary importance, is being directed towards restoring the civil economy of the country. The department has been amalgamated with that of the Industries and Civil Supplies and the new department will deal mainly with the development of industries in accordance with the approved plans. During the first seven months of the current year the value of orders placed by the Supply Department was Rs. 107 crores compared with Rs. 162 crores during 1943-44.

Latterly one of the main tasks of the department, however, has been to terminate war contracts already entered into and arrange for the disposal of surplus stores. By December 1945, existing contracts to the value of approximately Rs. 20 crores had been cancelled, while in other cases contractors were permitted to utilise the materials acquired by them for Government contracts for the production of goods required by the public. As a result of this policy, the amount of compensation paid has been very small and amounted to only Rs. 8 lakhs to the end of January, representing the final settlement of claims for contracts totalling over Rs. 13 crores. Some Rs. 8¾ crores have also been received by the direct sale of surpluses. I have already referred to the negotiations which are taking place with the American authorities in connection with the disposal of U. S. A. surpluses in this country.

The future policy in regard to Ordnance factories has been laid down, and, as a purely short-term measure, the available spare capacity is being utilised for the production of civilian goods in short supply.

A Co-ordination Committee of Council has been appointed to ensure that the many complicated problems connected with the transition of India's economy from a war footing to a peace footing are effectively integrated and speedily dealt with. The Defence Department was wound up last month.

To summarise the whole budgetary position in 1945-46, the figures are these:

Ordinary Budget.—Expenditure Rs. 517·63 crores, Revenue Rs. 362·34 crores, giving a revenue deficit of Rs. 155·29 crores.

Revised Budget.—Expenditure Rs. 505·61 crores, Revenue Rs. 360·66 crores, yielding a revenue deficit of Rs. 144·95 crores. The revenue deficit position has, therefore, improved to the extent of Rs. 10·34 crores.

FINANCIAL YEAR 1946-47

REVENUE

I now turn to the financial year 1946-47. Before taking into account fresh taxation proposals and an adjustment to which I shall refer later, our total revenue estimates amount to Rs. 307 crores compared with Rs. 362.34 for the current year.

Customs receipts have been placed at the conservative figure of Rs. 65 crores net, which is the same as in the revised estimates for the current year, but with an improvement in the shipping position and with the increasing availability of supplies from exporting countries receipts may well exceed this figure. Under Central Excise Duties, the estimates provide for Rs. 47·20 crores.

Now that war activities have ceased, we are allowing for a total revenue of Rs. 158 crores only under Corporation and Income-Taxes. This includes an expected yield of Rs. 75 crores from excess profits tax. The divisible pool of income-tax has been taken at Rs. 46.79 crores and the share available to Provinces at Rs. 19.64 crores.

The revenue of Posts and Telegraphs Department is expected to be Rs. 32.25 crores and expenditure Rs. 22.25 crores, inclusive of an extra-contribution of Rs. 50 lakhs to the Renewals Reserve Fund. The surplus is estimated to be Rs. 10 crores.

In modification of the policy pursued during the war years, of taking the entire surplus of the Posts and Telegraphs Department to general revenues, it is proposed, for the coming year, that the contribution should be three-quarters of the surplus instead of the whole. The share which accrues to the Posts and Telegraphs Department will strengthen the resources available for expenditure on Post-war schemes.

As regards the contribution from Railways, we are providing for Rs. 7.36 crores. This represents a drop in receipts by Central Revenues of nearly Rs. 25 crores. The House is already aware of the basis of this estimate from the Railway Budget recently presented.

EXPENDITURE

Defence Estimates.—As already mentioned, general demobilisation will be in progress throughout the year 1946-47 and for this reason the defence estimate for that year are inflated by the abnormal expenditure arising out of that process. Provision has been made for the maintenance of an Indian contingent consisting of one Indian brigade, one R. I. A. F. squadron and two R. I. N. sloops, with ancillary and administrative units and formations, to be stationed in Japan during the year as part of the forces of occupation furnished by the United Nations. Apart from the great part played by her armed forces in the subjugation of the Japanese, India's representation amongst the forces of occupation is an appropriate and inevitable recognition of her international importance.

Some reduction in the estimate has resulted from the decisions to withdraw Japanese campaign pay, the further accrual of war service increments, and other wartime concessions, with effect from various dates in 1946-47.

FINANCIAL SETTLEMENT

It has been decided, after consultation with His Majesty's Government, tha the Financial Settlement will remain in force until April 1, 1947. In spite of much discussion on the subject both in the House and elsewhere some confusion of thought and misunderstanding still persist about the nature and intent of this Settlement. Three separate, though interconnected issues are involved.

First, there is the principle in accordance with which expenditure on the armed forces of India is borne by the revenues of India and of the U. K. respectively. The principle is simple and is not new. It has been in force for many years. It is this: expenditure incurred for the purpose of India's own defence falls on India: the remainder falls on His Majesty's Government.

Secondly there is the so-called Financial Settlement. This is merely a set of accounting rules for allocating to the respective exchequers the total war expenditure in accordance with the principle to which I have just referred. Experience gained in the last war showed that the normal peacetime methods of determining the shares to be borne by India and the U. K. in accordance with this principle are quite impracticable under war conditions and the Settlement was, therefore, devised as a rough and ready means of arriving at India's share of defence expenditure, which, while broadly conforming to the accepted principles of incidence would not impose an intolerable strain on the administrative and accounting machines.

Shortly after the conclusion of hostilities with Japan, His Majesty's Government asked us to consider a suggestion that the Financial Settlement might be terminated on March 31, 1946. It was pointed out to them, however, that the great virtue of the Settlement lies in its saving of manpower and that, in view of the heavy calls that general demoblisation and other transitional activities would make on India's administrative and accounting staffs, the reversion during that year to the normal accounting methods of allocating expenditure would be impracticable. It was therefore urged by us that the retention of the Settlement until the end of that year (by which time these distributing factors would have largely disappeared) was essential, and His Majesty's Government has accepted this view. I want to emphasise that it was Whitehall and not Delhi that wanted to drop the Financial Settlement at the end of the current financial year.

Thirdly, there is the method of financing the expenditure for which His Majesty's Government is responsible. This is not affected in the slightest degree by the terms of the Financial Settlement itself; it follows that the continuation of the Settlement for another year in no way prejudices the question of an alteration in the financing procedure hitherto followed, which, as the House knows, has resulted in heavy accumulation of sterling balances. The question of alternative methods of financing His Majesty's Government's expenditure is engaging the closest attention of Government although as will be seen in a second, the amount involved next year is insignificant in comparsion with the total of our sterling assets to date.

Hydari Mission's Work

The estimate of defence expenditure recoverable from His Majest'ys Government for the year 1946-47 is only Rs. 42 crores, against Rs. 489 crores in the Budget for the year 1945-46. The very marked decrease in next year's claim reflects partly the success of the Hydari Mission's efforts to secure a reduction of the demands for war purposes on India's productive capacity, partly the decision to discontinue, except in respect of certain agreed categories of stores with effect from April 1, 1946, the use of India as a source of supply of the S. E. A. Command's requirements, partly the fact that, to a large extent, the requirements of both the India and S. E. A. Commands during 1946-47 will be met from stocks in India paid for His Majesty's Government in previous years; and finally the large reduction in the numbers of Indian troops employed overseas. The recoverable expenditure for 1946-47 will thus represent for the most the pay and allowances of Indian forces employed on occupational duties overseas (elsewhere than in Japan) and connected transportation charges incurred in India.

While the war lasted, the budget estimates of the defence services ceased for the most part to serve as instruments for restricting and generally controlling expenditure. This was inevitable in view of the impossibility of foreseeing the course of the war and, therefore, the measures that would have to be taken to meet the threats to India's security as they arose from time to time. Clearly, if a measure could be shown to be essential for the prosecution of the war, its introduction could not be opposed merely on the ground of the absence of budget provision. Now that the war has ended, this state of affairs can no longer be allowed to continue and it has been decided to reintroduce, as far as possible, the normal procedure for budgetary control over defence expenditure during 1946-47. Owing to the existence of numerous abnormal factors it will not be possible to introduce the normal peacetime accounting and budgetary procedure in its entirety, but I contemplate that such control will be substantially secured.

Defence Expenditure

The budget estimates of defence expenditure for 1946-47 amount to Rs. 243·77 crores and Rs. 1·57 crores for the Revenue and Capital heads respectively, as compared with Rs. 376·42 crores and Rs. 14·93 crores in the revised estimates for 1945-46. His Majesty's Government's expenditure is now Rs. 347 crores in the revised estimates for 1945-46 and, as already stated, Rs. 42 crores in 1946-47.

Civil Estimates

I shall not, at this stage, detain the House with details of the civil estimates. Suffice it to say that expenditure debitable to Revenue amounts to Rs. 111·94 crores.

The position for the coming year is thus as follows. The expenditure detailed in the civil estimates comes to Rs. 111.94 crores and provision for the defence service has been placed at Rs. 243 77 crores, the combined total being Rs. 355·71. The total revenue at the existing level of taxation is estimated at Rs. 307 crores. We are thus left, before making adjustments resulting from taxation proposals, with a prospective revenue deficit of Rs. 48·71 crores, as compared with Rs. 155.29 crores in the original and Rs. 144·95 crores in the revised budgets for 1945-46.

In the context of war finance our ways and means operations have assumed a position of special importance and my predecessor took occasion to explain the changed significance which they have come to occupy in the broader field of Government's financial and economic policy as a whole.

During the period of hostilities, due to the situation created by our own war expenditure and that of the Allied Governments, a major pre-occupation was the problem of trying to absorb by taxation and borrowing, the purchasing power in the hands of the public so as to bridge, or to reduce to a manageable size, the inflationary gap. Today, the problem in its broadest aspects has, as I have indicated earlier in my speech, two facets, first, of securing stability in the immediate future

by keeping in check an inflationary potential that undoubtedly still exists, and secondly, of preventing any material decline in business and economic activity as a result of the cessation of wartime expenditure.

DIVERSION OF SURPLUS FUNDS

In so far as the immediate problem still remains that of an excess of purchasing power competing for a limited volume of consumer goods, a main objective of our policy in the financial sphere must be to ensure that through the issue of various loans and through other forms of borrowing as well as by measures of taxation, surplus funds in the hands of private citizens are diverted to the public fisc to the extent that they are not devoted to new productive enterprises. Investment in Government loans and the consequent withdrawal of redundant purchasing power from the public has the twofold advantage of mitigating the pressure of such surplus funds on the prices of consumable goods, and, at the same time, of building up reserves in the hands of Government for development purposes.

With this purpose in view, we have continued our efforts to popularise investment in Government loans. While the support accorded by the various sections of the public to the borrowing programme of Government has been satisfactory, a great deal remains to be done to bring home to the population in the rural areas the desirability of investing in Government loans, in furtherance of the common good. With the object of turning the savings movement from a wartime measure to combat inflation, to a peacetime organisation which can serve a great social end, the Small Savings Scheme has been reorientated with the primary purpose of encouraging consistent savings among the less well-to-do section of the community.

Particular emphasis has been directed towards ensuring that no presure is brought to bear, but that the people should be persuaded, by reasoned explanation of the advantages, to save regularly whenever possible and however small the amount. The propaganda which has recently been launched with the co-operation of gentlemen eminent in the public life of the country has been directed towards these ends and I should like to take the opportunity of acknowledging the support which they have given in laying the foundations of a scheme which, I believe sincerely, is not only in the interests of the individual saver but also to the advantage of the community as a whole. I greatly hope that the day is not far off when the people will cease to keep the bulk of their savings in the form of hoarded currency, or bullion or superfluous ornaments, and will put their savings to work to create new wealth. It has always seemed stupid to me that man should expend so much effort in digging out treasure from mineral deposits only to bury the bulk of it in safe deposits.

During the last financial year Rs. 40½ *crores were invested in small Savings and during the first nine months of* 1945-46, *Rs.* 43½ *crores have been accumulated. The total amount invested by the public in the various public loans offered during the period February* 1945 *to January* 1946, *aggregated Rs.* 346 *crores, compared with Rs.* 286 *crores during the corresponding period last year.*

PUBLIC LOANS

The progressive total of public loans issued since the beginning of the war up to the end of January 1946 reached the figure of Rs.1,178 crores. Impressive as this total is, the House will agree that there is no room for complacency when we regard the development expenditure in prospect. It is true that it has been possible to float the loans required for the prosecution of the war cheaply, but it is necessary at the same time that funds required for India's development should be obtained at equally and even more favourable rates. If large developmental expenditure is to be undertaken whether from the public fisc or from the private sector, one of the pre-requisites will be the ability to borrow what is needed at cheap rates of interest.

On the other hand, the capacity of the country to lend to the State will depend, to an appreciable extent at any rate in the years immediately ahead, on the volume of the expenditure by the Government of the day coupled with other recognised important factors such as Government's taxation policy, the retention of selected controls and the public's liquidity preference. Borrowing and spending must, therefore, go hand in hand.

As a result of the gradual funding of our floating debt there is a reduction in the outstandings of Treasury Bills. Thus, against a figure of Rs. 104.81 crores at the end of December 1945, the corresponding figure at the end of December 1945 was Rs. 66.01 crores. It is true that our comfortable ways and means position does not compel the continuance of this form of borrowing, but this class of investment plays an important role in the money market. In the coming years it may be

necessary, and even possible for Government to exercise greater discrimination in the finding of development expenditure and to meet some of it by short-term borrowing. I am satisfied that we can without risk carry a floating debt substantially in excess of the present figure.

Excluding the contributions for quotas under the Bretton Woods Agreements, in regard to which special arrangements will be made with the Reserve Bank of India at the appropriate time, the total borrowings, which I hope to raise during the coming year, amount to approximately Rs. 300 crores. This compares with Rs. 346 crores raised during the last twelve months.

Sterling Credits

As regards sterling, during the first nine months of the current financial year £228 million were added to the Reserve Bank's holding and it is estimated, allowing for the receipts during the last three months of the year, that the total holding on March 31, 1946, will be of the order of £1,330 million.

As I have already indicated, additions to this total on account of His Majesty's Government's defence expenditure will be quite small next year even if no change is made in the method of financing this expenditure. Indeed it is possible that in the course of 1946-47 the United Kingdom may succeed in increasing her exports to India to such an extent as to avoid any further additions to our sterling credits and, perhaps, even to reduce them. And this, of course, is quite apart from the amount of sterling which will be convertible into free exchange as a result of the negotiations which will take place in the course of the year between His Majesty's Government and ourselves.

I have made it clear on previous occasions that the arrangements to be made for the transfer of these balances are a matter for bilateral settlement between India and the United Kingdom and I take this opportunity of reiterating what I have said before, namely, that should negotiations take place while the present Government is in office, I would hope to associate representatives of the leading political parties in the country and other non-officials with the delegation appointed to undertake the discussion with His Majesty's Government.

I would also repeat what I have told the House previously, that India will be entirely free to take any line that she may see fit to pursue at these negotiations and any idea that she is committed in advance to a scaling down of the balances or to a continuance of arrangements under which such balances will continue to accrue is entirely without foundation.

When these negotiations will take place, however, it is not yet possible to say, but it is highly unlikely that they will be held until the United States Congress has ratified the U. S. A-U. K. Loan Agreement.

In my opinion, no grounds exist for the fears which have been expressed that India's ability to obtain, in the immediate future, capital equipment from abroad will be prejudiced by the fact that a large portion of her foreign exchange reserves are in the form of sterling. Indeed, I would go so far as to say that, for a number of years to come, the main consideration will not be the availability of exchange but the physical capacity of the two main exporting countries to meet the demands of a war shattered world. At the same time, the absorptive capacity of India herself and the rate at which the necessary technical personnel can be made available, may well be limiting factors of considerable importance.

Empire Dollar Pool

Another question which is closely connected in the public mind with sterling balances is that of the so-called Empire Dollar Pool. There is a widespread belief that the arrangement which goes by this name has been grossly unfair to India, that this country has contributed enormous net amounts of hard currency to the Pool and that it would be to our advantage to withdraw from it without further delay.

There is, I am afraid, a great deal of misconception about the whole subject. Nobody is to blame for this misconception. It is mainly due to the fact that for some security reasons, it was not possible, while the war was on, to disclose the volume and details of the transactions which took place through the Dollar Pool.

I should like to examine the question very briefly under four heads: Firstly, what is the nature of Empire Dollar Pool? Secondly, how has its operation affected India? Thirdly, would it be to our advantage to withdraw from the Dollar Pool immediately? Fourthly and lastly, to what extent has India contributed to the Pool assets in excess of assets drawn by her from the Pool?

To take the points in turn. First, what is the Dollor Pool? The Dollar Pool

is in effect, the modification, imposed by war conditions of the sterling area arrangement which has existed for a century. Under this sterling area arrangement, Empire countries, and other countries as well, found it convenient and economical to settle their transactions on international account through sterling through London. Before the war, sterling was freely convertible into any other currency. When war broke out, the ability of the Commonwealth to earn foreign exchange was severly reduced owing to the fact that productive capacity previously devoted to exports had to be diverted to armaments, munitions and other warlike stores. At the same time imports necessary for the prosecution of the war remained high. The different countries in the Commonwealth were, however, affected in this respect in varying degrees and an arrangement was therefore entered into among them whereby earnings of dollars and other hard currencies would be pooled and the essential requirements of the several countries in terms of these currencies, would be met from the Pool.

Secondly, how did the pooling arrangement affect India? The answer is that India had free access to the Pool to finance her essential current imports from hard currency countries, which included the U. S. A., Canada, Switzerland, Sweden and Portugal. Moreover, a sum of 20 million dollars was specially embarked to pay for capital equipment required by India from non-sterling countries for the post-war development.

Thirdly, would it be in India's interest to withdraw from the Pool forthwith? In my view, it would be premature and unprofitable to do so, since the balance of trade with U. S. A. has been unfavourable to India for many months. In other words, India is receiving from the Pool more dollars than she is currently earning and she is far from having exhausted the sum of 20 million dollars to which I have just referred. Moreover, under Article 7 of the Anglo-American Loan Agreement, the U. K. are committed to making arrangements which will involve the dissolution of the Dollar Pool within one year of the effective date of that Agreement.

Lastly, what is the excess of India's contibution to the Pool over the drawings from it? The wildest and most fantastic guesses have been made and the lowest, non-official guess has put the figure at several hundred crores. I have been at considerable pains to establish what the true opposition is. Owing to the number and complexity of the transactions, it is very diffiult to arrive at completely accurate figures, but with the help of the Reserve Bank I can give figures which are approximately correct. Here they are: Between September, 1939 and March, 1945, India earned hard currency assets to the amount of Rs. 364.33 crores. Excluding the 20 million dollar special fund which I have already mentioned, India had utilised hard currency assets to the amount of Rs. 265 02 crores. To this latter figure should be added the net import of gold from the United Kingdom during the same period, since gold is equivalent to hard currency. Computed at the world (not the Indian) price, the value of this gold is Rs. 50.08 crores. The balance in India's favour is therefore, Rs. 49.23 crores as at March of last year.

It is contended that India should claim this amount from what remains of the Dollar Pool. Having regard to the essential character of the Dollar Pool, it seems to me difficult to establish a claim on the basis. The most that could be claimed would be a *pro rata* share of the existing Pool assets. But even if the full amount could be established, it is much less than I hope and expect that we shall obtain by way of free exchange from the pending negotiations between India and the United Kingdom on the subject of sterling balances.

"GROW MORE FOOD" CAMPAIGN

I shall now turn to the important subject of development planning, in which great strides have been made during the past twelve months, both at the Centre and in the Provinces. My predecessor last year referred to the steps which had been taken at the Centre for dealing post-war planning and development, and mentioned a number of preparatory measures which had been put in hand, such as the establishment of a Central Electrical Power Board, an Irrigation and Waterways Board, the Resettlement and Re-employment Directorate and the training of students overseas. Preparatory work of various kinds has expanded and intensified throughout the year, particularly in connection with the "Grow More Food" campaign, essential training both in India and overseas, preparations for the resettlement and re-employment of ex-soldiers and discharged war workers, and various research activities.

In addition, all-India policies in respect of a number of subjects such as education, agriculture, food, health, labour, transport and civil aviation have been announced. The Central Government Departments have not confined their own

plans but have also been able to assist the Provinces in the preparation of theirs. Some, indeed most, of the subjects which I have just mentioned are, of course, primarily the responsibility of the Provincial Governments, but we hope that the general policies suggested, for example, in the Report on education and in the Report of the Committee on Public Health will afford valuable guidance to Provincial Governments.

All Provincial Governments have formulated their 5-year plans, and they are now under review by the Centre so as to ensure that they are properly co-ordinated *interse*, are generally in broad accord with all-India policies and objectives, and are individually and collectively feasible. I anticipate that, after the examination and discussion with Provincial Governments, the 5-year Provincial plans will be finalised in the course of the next few months. They involve expenditure of the order of Rs. 900 crores, part of which, however, will extend well into the second five year period. In addition to this, the plans of the Centre in respect of railways, roads, civil aviation, tele-communications, Central institutions etc., will also add up to a considerable figure. Our approach to the problem of planning has been of the severely practical kind, for which the main justification is that we now have within a minimum of time a very large programme of practical and desirable schemes in an advanced stage preparation.

I have already mentioned the very heavy drop in war expenditure and the deflationary tendencies which this drop will set in motion with a consequent threat of widespread unemployment and depression. The House will doubtless wish to know what is being done to meet the situation. Industrial development cannot be relied upon to fill the immediate gap, if only because of the difficulties and delays in securing large-scale imports of capital goods. No Government whether Central or Provincial, can afford to contemplate with complacency the onset of deflation or allow purely financial considerations to stand in the way of maintaining the economic health of the country. Public expenditure of a useful kind is the obvious remedy, and in May last Provincial Governments were asked to select from their 5-year plans schemes which would create employment and could be started at short notice; they were promised a substantial contribution towards the the cost of such measures.

When the war with Japan came to an unexpectedly early end, the position was further reviewed and our offer of financial assistance extended. Provincial Governments have been urged to embark forthwith on all schemes which provide a high proportion of employment relative to the cost, or are productive or of economic importance calculated to increase the national income. Such schemes will include roads, buildings, minor irrigation works, anti-erosion measures, agricultural and forestry development, and public health measures such as anti-malaria, water supply and drainage schemes. As an incentive to urgent action we have undertaken to provide Provincial Governments with all the funds that they may require for approved schemes of this nature up to the end of March 1947.

In the case of self-financing schemes, this assistance will take the form of loans, while for others we are prepared to make advance grants to cover the full costs, which will not be recoverable but will be adjusted against whatever scheme of Central grant is eventually decided upon. List of schemes proposed to be taken up during this interim period have been received from most of the Provincial Governments, and approval is being freely and quickly accorded. A lump sum provision of Rs. 35 crores has been made in the budget estimates for such advance payments, and of Rs. 15 crores for loans to Provinces for productive development works.

Housing Scheme

For Central Government development schemes, excluding some Rs. 22 crores on Railway items, a total provision of about Rs. 27 crores has been made on the Budget. This covers development expenditure in the Centrally administered Areas, expenditure on the post-war plans of the Post and Telegraphs and the civil Aviation Departments, special loans to Port Trusts to assist them in carrying out works which will create employment, and a lump sum provision for various schemes of the Central Departments which are not sufficiently advanced for inclusion under the ordinary departmental budgets. One of these latter items, to which I would like to invite attention, is the Labour Department's subsidised housing scheme. Building is one of the most useful desirable forms of investment, in regard to which there is, as I have already said, a tremendous leeway to be made good. The scheme which is intended to benefit not only employees of Governments and Local Authorities but also industrial workers, provides for a subsidy up to 12½ per cent. by the Centre to

local bodies and industrial employers, provided the Provincial Government concerned is also prepared to make a grant equivalent to 12½ per cent. of the cost to enable suitable houses to be constructed for the pooer classes of workers who are not in a position to pay a full economic rent.

The scheme will apply mainly to urban employees, but we have not overlooked the importance of improving rural housing conditions also, and we are considering the possibility of setting up model housing schemes in selected villages in Delhi Province or other Centrally Administered Areas. In order to assist and stimulate private buildings activity special steps are being taken to increase allocations of coal for the burning of bricks and release of timber, cement and steel, to relax controls over these materials and to expand production capacity. I thing it is true to say, in regard to all the various schemes to which I have referred, whether Central, Provincial or private, that any delay which may arise is far more likely to be due to lack of qualified personnel that to lack of funds.

In the matter of the general financing of Governmental plans there is little that can usefully be added to what has been stated in the last two Budget speeches. The scope for development is greatest in the Provincial sphere, but planned development on a national scale must be a joint and co-ordinated effort by both the Central and Provincial Governments with a large measure of pooling of resources notwithstanding constitutional limitations. The Centre and the Provinces alike will need to develop their taxation resources to the full. If this is done, and effort during the early years is concentrated on economic measures designed to increase material prosperity and national income so as to build up revenue on which expansion of the social services must depend, there is good reason to believe that funds will be available to the extent that they can be usefully spent.

Central Grants

It seems likely that Provincial Governments between them will have, by the end of the current year, balances of the order of Rs. 70 crores, and will acquire during the next six years revenue surpluses totalling some Rs. 100 crores. They have based their plans on the broad assumption that, apart from borrowings either from the Centre or from the market, they will receive Central grants during the quinquennium amounting to approximately Rs. 250 crores which will be distributed roughly on a population basis.

I do not myself regard population as an altogether appropriate basis of distribution and would prefer a scheme more on the lines of the Australian grants system, under which grants to States are made on the recommendation of an independent and impartial body such as the Australian Federal Grants Commission. As I understand it, the Australian system aims at achieving a reasonably equal standard of social and cognate services in all the States of the Commonwealth. In making their recommendations, the Commission takes into account such factors as the natural resources of each State, its stage of industrial development, its taxable capacity, the extent to which this taxable capacity is exploited, and so on. The Commonwealth Government have very kindly agreed to receive one of my senior officers to study on the spot the working of the Australian system and the possibility of its adaptation to Indian conditions. Pending his report I am not in a position to make any more definite statements on the subject.

Industrial Development

It is not on the activities of the Government alone, however, that the rapid development of India will depend, but also, and to a very large extent, on the effort of private enterprise, particularly in the industrial field. I do not propose to go into the details of the various measures which the Planning and Development Department, in co-operation with the other Departments of Government and the industries concerned, have in hand for the rapid progress of industrialisation of this country. Reference to those measures will take place during the course of the budget debates. For my part I need only mention some of the more important measures which I have taken in hand. One of them is the establishment of an Industrial Finance Corporation in order to ensure the availability of medium and long-term credit to industrial enterprise in India where the more normal methods of industrial finance are inadequate. Detailed proposals for the establishment of such a Corporation have reached an advanced stage of preparation. Legislation will be required, and I shall endeavour to introduce the necessary measures in the course of this session.

Another matter which is under the consideration of my Department is that of

of the planning of investment, both public and private, with a view to securing the fullest and most advantageous utilisation of the economic resources of the country in the interests of planned capital development. Investigation is required to determine whether a National Investment Board should be set up for this purpose, and, if so, how it should be constituted and on what lines it should work. Meanwhile the existing control over capital issues must necessarily be continued. Some measure of relaxation has been rendered possible by the steady reduction of pressure on goods and services in short supply which the end of the war has brought about; but that control is necessary to prevent excessive flow of capital into less important or less desirable directions which would lead to unregulated and lopsided development will, I think, hardly be disputed. Whatever final decision is taken will require the backing of new legislation, until which time the course must be kept clear by retaining the existing Defence of India Rule in operation.

If control over investment is to be made effective, the Government of India's statistical and economic organisation will have to be so strengthened as to enable us to prepare, and to present with the Annual Budget, a National Investment budget. We are not at present in a position to introduce this desirable reform, but I have this year taken the first step by presenting a Central Capital budget along with the Central Revenue budget. It is but a modest step towards the ultimate objective, but it seems to me to be an innovation in the right direction. Even if it serves no other purpose, it will at least permit of a proper presentation of our transactions of a capital nature and focus attention on the productive and deadweight indebtedness of Government, and on the expenditure of loan monies on productive and unproductive schemes. The changes made are explained at length in the Explanatory Memorandum, and I trust that the departure made from past practice will meet with the approval of the House.

Before I explain the taxation proposals for next year, there is one further matter to which I would like to refer. A widespread desire has been expressed for the appointment of a Committee to examine and report on the present tax structure and taxation incidence, with special reference to their effect on the trade, industry, employment, standard of living, savings and capital formation. The Government appreciate that more than 20 years have elapsed since the last general enquiry into taxation in India was held, and that the situation has in many ways changed materially since then, particularly during the six years of war. Not least of the changes has been the re-orientation of economic thought in the interval.

With the cessation of hostilities and an era of intensive development begun, which will require constructive planning of taxation with a view to ensuring the most effective use of the taxable resources of the country, the present may reasonably be regarded as ripe for a fresh comprehensive taxation review. I propose, therefore, to set up a Taxation Enquiry Committee in the near future. Since one important object of the proposed enquiry would be to secure, as between the various classes of taxpayers, an equitable distribution of the burdens of taxation, it would seem to be essential that as in the case of the Taxation Enquiry Committee of 1924, the scope of the enquiry should extend to the whole field of taxation—Central, Provincial and local. While it would not be appropriate for the Committee to concern itself with the question of the distribution of taxable resources between the Centre and Provinces, it should cover the harmonisation of Central and Provincial taxation where experience has shown conflict or overlap to exist in their respective spheres, as defined in the Constitution Act.

The present lack of uniformity in the incidence of taxation as between Provinces, illustrated by the varying rates of sales tax, octroi property tax, motor taxation, etc., could be dealt with by the Committee. The main purpose of the enquiry would however be to ascertain what adjustments or modifications of the taxation system of the country as a whole would be required and could, from the practical administrative point of view, be introduced in order to produce a properly balanced and scientific tax structure, fair in its incidence and adequate to the needs of a forward development policy without deterrent effect on initiative and private enterprise, and with due regard to the administrative requirements for the prevention of tax evasion. The Provinces are in favour of an enquiry of this nature.

My provisional view is that the Committee should be predominantly non-official in character and that it should be an expert rather than a representative body, although care should be taken to obtain the views of all the interests affected,—industry, commerce, agriculture, labour, the consumer, the ordinary taxpayer and lastly, Administration, both Central and Provincial. Above all, it should not be unwieldy. There appears to me to be in India a tendency to set up not only too

many committees but also committees which are quite unmanageable from the point of view of size. I shall greatly welcome the views of Hon'ble Members as to the scope and composition of the Committee.

Taxation Proposals

I now pass to my taxation proposals for next year.

I said early on that fiscal policy was not an end in itself. It must subserve the ends of national policy. Its purpose should be not merely to raise a given revenue but to raise it in such a way as to obtain the maximum social and economic advantage and to distribute the burden as justly and as fairly as possible between the various classes of tax-payers. This is, of course, an ideal which it is difficult to achieve in this imperfect world, where psychological and political factors operate to modify and qualify economic theory and doctrine, but the pattern and design of my proposals attempts to conform as near as possible to this ideal.

The lines of this pattern are made plain in the opening paragraphs of my speech. Let me recall briefly the gist of those paragraphs. I pointed out, first, that a great deal of money would be required to combat the evils of poverty, ill-health, squalor, illiteracy and unemployment; and secondly, that during the next year or two Government must do all it can to offset the fall in economic activity which will otherwise result from the heavy drop in military expenditure.

The largest single source of revenue in the years immediately ahead will have to continue to be the profits of industry. I am conscious of the depressing effect on industrial enterprise of a high level of taxation on profits, and that it is the expansion of industry which holds out the earliest promise of increasing the national income and raising the standard of living in the country, although India will not achieve the maximum of economic health and wealth untill agriculture as well as industry have multiplied their productivity many times.

The fiscal problem, so far as industry is concerned, is how to lay it under a heavy contribution and at the same time, to encourage it to expand. This is the problem which I have attempted to solve, but its successful solution will require the wholehearted co-operation of industry itself. If it be the aim of India's industrial leaders, as I am sure it is, not so much to make millions for themselves as to raise the standard of life of India's toiling and poverty-stricken millions, then the problem can be solved.

Here is my own contribution to its solution. First, I propose to discontinue the Excess Profits Tax on earnings arising after March 31, 1946. The only justification for E.P.T. as a tax is the emergency which called it into being. By all the canons of taxation doctrine it is a thoroughly bad tax. It is rough and ready in its operation; it is unfair in its incidence and, beyond a certain point, it is a direct inducement to inefficiency. Except that I, as tax gatherer-in-chief, cannot refrain from casting a longing, lingering look behind at its high yield, none of us will, I think, mourn the passing of the Excess Profits Tax.

It will, of course, be realised that the discontinuance of the tax will not, of itself, affect the revenue of the coming year nor give any immediate relief to the class of tax-payer to whom it applies, since the tax will still be payable in respect of all excess profits earned up to March 31, 1946. The scheme of compulsory deposits will also remain in force to the end of the E.P.T. period.

As regards the refunds of E.P.T. deposits, they will be sanctioned in advance of the date for which the law provides, on condition that they are not distributed as dividends to shareholders but are required for the provision or replacement of buildings, plant or machinery.

When I remind the House that E.P.T. will yield Rs. 90 crores in the current year and is estimated to produce Rs. 75 crores in the coming year, Hon'ble Members will be able to measure the loss to revenue and the benefit to industry which the abandonment of E.P.T. implies.

One last word about E.P.T. Concern has been expressed about losses and expenditure which may arise in the period of transition from war time to peace-time conditions and which may involve hardship if they are not allowed against the profits of the final E.P.T. chargeable accounting period. This question is under consideration and, when it is known what is the actual extent and nature of these hardships, then will be the time to consider appropriate legislation.

Relief to Industry

The next relief to industry which I propose is to revive the proposals which were dropped last year to grant special initial depreciation allowances of 10 per cent. on new buildings and of 20 per cent. on new plant and machinery and to

allow for income-tax purposes expenditure on scientific research. In addition, I propose to widen the scope of what is called the obsolescence allowance, so as to make it include the loss of the asset by destruction or demolition and also to extend it to buildings. These proposals will cost Rs. 2 crores.

In order to complete the picture of the easements which I propose for industry, I shall now move to the field of indirect taxation. I shall return later to other direct taxation proposals which will affect industry.

I am anxious at the earliest possible moment to meet the demand so often made in the past for the relief from Customs duty of raw materials imported for industry; and also, to the extent that this may be practicable without injury to Indian manufacturers of similar goods, to reduce the rates on such imported plant and machinery as are now dutiable. The former proposal is estimated to cost approximately Rs. 70 lakhs. As regards the latter, it is difficult to estimate the cost of relief till a careful review of the position is made. So no allowance has been made in the revenue estimates on this account at this stage. It is proposed to give effect to the decisions separately by a notification under the Sea Customs Act.

Income-Tax and Super-Tax

I now revert to the direct taxation field but, before dealing with it as it specially affects industry, I should like to mention a proposal which will affect not only all classes of taxpayers but also Central and Provincial Revenues, namely, the amalgamation of the surcharges on income-tax and super-tax with the basic rates. This amalgamation is estimated to benefit the Provinces to the extent of Rs. 12¼ crores at the expense of the Centre.

Coming back to industry, the total of the present rates of income-tax and super-tax on a company is 7¼ annas. I propose to reduce this total of 7¼ annas by 1¼ annas to 6 annas, by a reduction of 2 annas in the super-tax and an addition of ¾ anna to the income-tax. This is estimated to cost Rs. 7 crores. For the past two years the Finance Act has contained a provision giving a rebate of super-tax to companies at the rate of one anna on all sums not distributed as dividends. This, in effect, imposed an extra tax at the rate of one anna on all sums distributed as dividends. I think that circumstances now warrant the introduction of a new method for discouraging the distribution of dividends. In my view, a reasonable distribution is something which the shareholder has right to expect and which should not attract a penal rate of tax. I am, therefore, proposing that, exclusing dividends payable at a fixed rate, sums equal to 5 per cent, on the capital of the company, including reserves, and equal to 30 per cent. of the total income, may be distributed without attracting more than the 1 anna rate of super-tax. Dividends above that datum line will become liable to additional super-tax at steepening rates. I hope that this provision will keep the distribution of dividends within reasonable bounds and encourage the ploughing back of profits into the business. This is estimated to yield about Rs. 1½ crores.

Before turning to the non-company direct taxpayer, it will be appropriate to mention at this stage another and somewhat novel proposal which affects both classes. I have referred more than once to the possible emergence of deflationary tendencies consequent upon the very heavy fall in military expenditure, and I reminded the House that, owing to the difficulty experienced by our industries in obtaining adequate quantities of capital equipment from abroad, they would not be able to do a great deal next year to replace the economic activity engendered by the vast military expenditure of recent years. There is, however, one direction in which the private sector of the national economy can do much to help. I mean, of course, building, which has been almost at a standstill, except for war purposes, for the past five or six years, The great advantage of a large building programme is that the ratio of labour costs to total costs is high and so therefore, is the employment factor.

Apart from the offer of subsidies for working-class dwelling which I have already mentioned, Government are doing all they can to assist by increasing the free availability (but by this expression I do not, of course, mean free of cost) of bricks, timber, cement and steel. But so important do I regard private building as an anti-deflationary activity that I have left justified in going further in making a contribution in the fiscal field. I am, therefore, proposing some incom-tax relief where new buildings are begun and completed within the next two years. For residential buildings, I propose a two years' income-tax exemption and for building used for the purposes of the business, profession or vocation I propose that the initial depreciation allowances should be 15 per cent. instead 10 per cent. These

proposals are contained in a Bill to amend the Income-Tax Act which is being put before the House. As next year's estimates are not likely to be affected, no provision has been made on this account.

And now I turn to greet the ordinary direct tax-payer, and I hope that, on reading tomorrow morning what I have to say, he will think the greeting cordial, or at any rate as cordial as any greeting between an Income-Tax Officer and an assessee can reasonably be expected to be. In my judgment, the steep rise in direct taxation inseparable from the war has borne more heavily on the man of moderate means and particularly on the man with a moderate fixed income than on almost any other class of tax-payer. I think the time has come to give him some relief. I propose to do this in two ways. First, by reducing the rate of Tax in the lower ranges and secondly by increasing the earned income allowances. As to the first, I propose to reduce the rate on the second income slab of Rs. 3,500 from 15 pies to 12 pies, and the rate on the third slab of Rs. 5,000 from 2 annas 1 pie to 2 annas. These two changes will cost about Rs. 1½ crores. As to the second, I propose to raise the earned income allowance from one-tenth of the earned income, subject to a maximum of Rs. 2,000 (in terms of income), to one-fifth subject to a maximum (in terms of income), of Rs. 4,000. This relief will cost about Rs. 3½ crores.

I propose to take a further and, I think a logical step in carrying over the differentiation of treatment between earned and unearned income into the super-tax range. At the same time I propose the number of slabs in incomes subject to super-tax, the result being a more gradual steepening of the rates, although the rates will be more severe on the largest incomes than at present. The differentiation in favour of earned income is one anna in the rupee between Rs. 25,000 and up to Rs. 2 lakhs and half an anna between Rs. 2 lakhs and Rs. 5 lakhs. On the balance above Rs. 5 lakhs there is no differentiation. This proposal is estimated to yield about 75 lakhs. On merits, and as a partial offset to the loss of revenue involved in the three changes which I have just increased, I propose to increase the rate of income-tax on the balance of income above Rs. 15,000 from 4 annas 9 pies to 5 annas. This will yield about Rs. 3¼ crores.

Life Insurance Firms

With two other and relatively minor changes I shall be done with my proposals relating to direct taxation. The first is a reduction of the rate on life insurance companies from 5 annas 3 pies to 5 annas. The second relates to the discontinuance of the provision for finding a portion of the tax in the case of incomes up to Rs. 6,000. The reductions in the rates on the lower slabs and the increased earned income allowance now proposed take away the justification for this provision. Salaried assessees, however, have to be given the benefit of the provision in the coming year, since they came under the scheme one year less than other assessees. These two proposals are estimated to cost Rs. 25 lakhs.

I have now dealt with relief to industry and to the man of moderate means, and some of my Hon'ble Friends opposite will be wondering whether I propose to do anything for the poor man. In the field of direct taxation, I can obviously do nothing since he does not pay direct taxes. At least he does not pay them directly. The extent to which an increase or a decrease in direct taxation is passed on to him through the price of the articles he has to buy is one of the things which I hope that the proposed Taxation Inquiry Committee will examine and ascertain.

Now it is easy to do very much for the poor man in the field of direct taxation. The main advantage which he will derive from my proposals will be through the schemes, economic and social, which will be financed by the yield of the taxes contributed by the wealthier sections of the community.

But there are two other things which I am doing for the poor man, one negative and the other positive. As to the first I do not think that any of my proposals will add to the cost of his essential purchases—indeed the contrary should be the case—and secondly, I propose to reduce the duty on kerosene, which plays so important a part in the economy of the poorer class households, from 4 annas 6 pies to 3 annas 9 pies an imperial gallon. This will cost about Rs. 65 lakhs, of which Customs will bear Rs. 60 lakhs.

Indirect Taxation Proposals

And this brings me to my other indirect taxation proposals. I propose to continue (subject to some modifications) the general surcharge for one more year. In the customs tariff a small change is proposed in respect of "Wines". The rate

of surcharge on "Wines," which is now one-fifth, will be raised to one-half, thereby bringing it on a par with "spirit." I expect an increase of revenue by about Rs. 5 lakhs on this account. The duty on cinematograph films, both exposed and not exposed, is at present assessed on *advalorem* rates. It will be an improvement to convert this into a specific duty charged on footage, and this change, besides yielding an increased revenue of Rs. 45 lakhs, will make for administrative convenience.

In the interests both of the revenue and of the indigenous grower, I consider it desirable to raise substantially the duty on imported betelnuts. I propose to fix the duty (without any surcharge) at the standard rate of 5½ annas a pound, with a preference of 6 pies a pound for British colonies British colonies even now enjoy a preferential rate of 45 per cent. *ad valorem* against the standard duty of 54 per cent. *ad valorem*. The yield is estimated at Rs. 155 lakhs. I have considered very carefully whether, concurrently with an increase in the customs duty on imported betelnut. I should not reduce the excise on indigenous nuts in view of the fact that the wholesale trade, instead of passing the whole tax on to the consumer, has tended to reduce the price paid to the grower, thereby diminishing the benefit which the latter has derived from the high prices resulting from the cessation of foreign imports during the war. Any such reduction would, however, I am convinced, be absorbed by the wholesale trade and would bring little, if any, benefit to the grower.

I am satisfied, morover that the increase now proposed in the customs duty on betelnuts renders reduction of the excise less necessary, since whole prices ought thereby to remain hereafter at level which will permit the payment of a reasonable price to the grower. I have, however, been very impressed by the grower's difficulties, which I believe to be rooted in the weakness of his bargaining position *vis-a-vis* the wholesaler and I think that the grower's interest will be best served by organising the marketing of his products in such a way as to strengthen his position *vis-a-vis* the wholesale dealer; by improving cultivation methods and, if possible, finding further uses for the nuts; and I propose accordingly to make an annual grant of Rs. 3 lakhs for the purpose of financing measures designed to improve the production and marketing of this corp.

I propose a change in the levy of duty on cotton. At present the customs duty on raw cotton is 1 anna a pound and a further duty of the same amount is levied under the Cotton Fund Ordinance of 1942. The Fund has a sufficient balance to its credit to carry out the purpose for which it was created and it is no longer necessary to aid the Fund by proceeds of the special duty. At the same time, general revenues cannot afford to give up the amount yielded by the duty and I propose to am lgamate the two charges into a consolidated duty of 2 annas a pound (without any surcharge) which will be leviable wholly under the Indian Tariff Act, the Ordinance being repealed.

Motor Spirit and Bullion

I shall bring my indirect taxation proposals to a close with two important changes. The first relates to motor spirit and the second to bullion. It admits of no doubt that, if India is to advance economically and socially, a great improvement in her road communications will be necessary. Village must be joined with village, town with town and producing centres with markets. Although the supply of motor spirit is at present severely restricted, it is not too much to hope that before the next financial year is out both vehicles and petrol will be available in much greater abundance. I propose to encourage the use of road transport by reducing the rate of duty on motor spirit from 15 annas to 12 annas an imperial gallon. This will cost Rs. 165 lakhs of which the share of Customs will be Rs. 120 lakhs

My last proposal under Customs is in respect of bullion. As the House is aware, the Indian prices of gold and silver bear no sort of parity with world prices. The paucity of imports has, in a large measure, contributed to the present high and artificial prices. With the end of the war and with the general restoration of normal trade in sight, we may expect the resumption of bullion imports, but we must be prepared to have a ready suitable machinery which will render it unattractive on the part of anyone to indulge in speculation and to hope to reap profits at present levels. I propose therefore to provide for the imposition of a specific duty on gold bullion and coin at the rate of Rs. 25 a tola of 180 grains fine. This rate will be varied from time to time by a notification under the Sea Customs Act, in order to attain in an orderly manner a reasonable measure of approximation to world prices. The House will appreciate the difficulties that lie

in the way of framing any estimate of the likely imports during the next year and the revenue that may result. I am, however, allowing for a revenue of Rs. 1 crore on this account, but the figure is no more than a shot in the dark.

DUTY ON SILVER

As regards silver, the existing duty is 3 annas an ounce, with a surcharge of 7-1-5 pies. As it is proposed to have a specific duty (without surcharge) on gold, it is appropriate that the rate on silver should be brought reasonbly in line with gold. I accordingly propose to alter the existing rate to 8 annas an ounce, without any surcharge. At this stage I am making no revenue provision on account of this change in the tariff, but this must not be taken as meaning that I am satisfied that there will be no increase in supplies available to the market next year.

All these changes, except that in regard to raw cotton, are being put into immediate effect.

I shall now summarise the financial effect of the above proposals. In the field of direct taxation, my income-tax proposals will cost Central Revenues Rs. 21·50 crores, while the changes under customs and excise are expected to yield a net Rs. 5 lakhs. The estimated gap between revenue and expenditure will thus be increased from Rs. 48·71 crores to Rs. 70·16 crores. To bridge a part of this gap, I propose to transfer to revenue Rs. 26 10 crores, being the estimated balances in the two War Risk Insurance Funds, which sums are transferable to revenue in pursuance of the provisions of the relevant Acts. On the basis of these proposals, next year's deficit comes to Rs. 44 06 crores.

I have come to the end of my story. I have aimed at keeping the revenue at the level necessary to sustain and advance India's economy and I have tried to do this by distributing the burdens and the reliefs evenly and fairly over the various classes of taxpayers. Is it too much to hope that the last budget presented by a British Finance Member will be judged on its merits and will not be rejected on purely political grounds? I humbly believe that my proposals will do something to help my Indian successor, who will shortly be taking over from me and to whom I wish the best of good fortune, to lead India farther along the road to prosperity, happiness and greatness. However that may be, I can assure him of one thing, namely, that he can search the world in vain for a more able, a more loyal or a more devoted body of public servants than those who serve in India's Finance Department and who are predominantly Indian. Brief though my association with them has been, it will always be a source of pride to me that it was my privilege to be their leader, even if for so short a time.

The Government of Bihar

Budget for 1946-47

The Bihar Budget for 1946-47 issued from Patna on the **27th. March 1946** shows a surplus of Rs. 50 lakhs. Revenue is placed at Rs. 13·89 lakhs and expenditure at Rs. 13·39. The excise revenue estimates are placed at Rs. 400 lakhs. No new taxation measures have been proposed.

The Budget provides Rs. 48 lakhs for dealing with epidemics, Rs. 15 lakhs for the grid system, Rs. 7 lakhs for irrigation and Rs. 3 lakhs for drainage schemes. A grant of Rs. 2 lakhs has been sanctioned to an American Mission for constructing a hospital at Patna.

For development schemes under the all-India plan which starts on April 1, the Central Government has promised all possible encouragement and offered to contribute on a large scale towards expenditure for the first quinquennium. In the meantime they have advanced grants-in-aid to speed up work. Bihar has requested and been promised Rs. 160 lakhs for 1946-47. As the programme of expenditure on such projects during the year may require Rs. 260 lakhs, the balance will be found from provincial revenues.

This programme proposes expenditure of Rs. 150 lakhs on civil works such as roads and buildings, Rs 30 lakhs on the purchase of essential road-making machinery, Rs. 50 lakhs for urban water supply and drainage schemes, Rs. 5 lakhs for a women's college and hospital (mentioned above).

The Government of Madras

Budget for 1946-47

The Madras Budget for 1946-47 published from Madras on the **19th March 1946** discloses a surplus of Rs. 61,68,100. Revenue is estimated at Rs. 41,44,06,800 and expenditure at Rs. 40,82,38,700.

Provincial excise, the largest head under Revenue, is expected to fetch Rs. 13 crores. A balance of Rs. 24 crores is estimated in the Revenue Reserve Fund.

In presenting the Budget, Government states that partial or complete remission of land revenue will have to be granted on a large scale in the current year.

"Government also expects to have to undertake extensive relief measures in Anantapur, Bellary, Kurnool and Chittor," says the Budget communique.

The communique places the deficit of foodgrans in the province at 870,000 tons of rice and 750,000 tons of millets, a total deficit of over 1,600,000 tons, against which the Government of India has given only 22,000 tons of Burma rice so far.

Government has decided to start executing its five-year plan of post-war development in the current year with a provision of Rs. 167·36 lakhs.

The Budget provides Rs. 140 lakhs far famine relief. Capital expenditure of Rs. 349·42 lakhs for 1946-47 includes allotment for the Tungabhadra irrigation project.

The Government of Bombay

Budget for 1946-47

A scheme to provide additional irrigation facilities to scarcity areas in the province and other measures in furtherance of the "Grow More Food" campaign at an estimated cost of Rs. 226 lakhs have been sanctioned in the budget proposals for the next financial year 1946-47 which were presented by the Governor of Bombay to the Press on the **26th. March 1946**.

The budget proposals disclose receipts estimated at Rs. 30·30 crores and an expenditure of Rs. 30·15 crores, leaving a small surplus of Rs. 5 lakhs.

Since the budget was framed some time ago, the Governor said the need for sanctioning a great deal of additional expenditure had become manifest, mainly in connection with the deterioration of a large part of the province. It was impossible to estimate at present the cost which the measures to counteract the situation would impose on the province. But it would be for the popular Government, which he expected would be in office shortly, to find fresh sources of revenue to meet the needs of the situation.

Expenditure included, the Governor added, transfer of Rs. 2 crores to the Debt Redemption and Avoidance Fund and Rs. 2·25 crores to the Post-War Reconstruction Fund. The second would amout at the end of 1946-47 to Rs. 13·25 crores. A sum of Rs. 130 lakhs for the scheme to supply cheap milk to children and expectant and nursing mothers in Bombay and Poona, provision of Rs. 294 lakhs for Education, Rs. 174 lakhs for Public Health, Rs. 226 lakhs for Agricultural, Veterinary and Co-operative Services, Rs. 33 lakhs for Industries and Rs. 54·50 lakhs for Civil Works, are some of the major allotments made in the budget estimates. The sanction of the Government of India has been received for the Bhandardara Hydro-Electric Development Scheme, which eventually would involve a capital cost of nearly Rs. 4 crores. On the revenue side, the Governor said that the levy of the Sales Tax in the province would contribute Rs. 82·50 lakhs to the revenues. He added that the urban immovable property tax now in force in Bombay City and suburbs would be extended to Poona, with effect from the next financial year and would yield Rs. 4 lakhs.

Government of the Punjab

Budget for 1946-47

A surplus of Rs. 47 lakhs is estimated in the Budget for 1946-47 presented by Mr. *Bhimsen Sachar*, the Finance Minister, in the Punjab Legislative Assembly at Lahore on the **22nd March 1946.**

The Revenue Receipts are estimated at Rs. 21,30,00,000 and Revenue Expenditure at Rs. 20,83,00,000.

In the course of his speech while presenting the Budget, Mr. Sachar said that this surplus was likely to disappear as, due to the delay in the issue of orders regarding the revision of pay of the subordinate Services, it had not been possible to make the necessary provision for the additional expenditure that might have to be incurred on this account in the next year's Budget.

The Finance Minister, continuing, observed: "The Budget proposals, strictly speaking, are not the proposals of the new Ministry because we had no time to appraise them. The Budget, as we found it, is being presented to the House. Consequently, the Government will have to review the various schemes of new expenditure contained in it. It is, therefore, possible, that, as a result of this new review, some of these proposals may have to be recast in material particulars."

Speaking on the need for more beneficent activities, Mr. Sachar said : "Some of the non-beneficent Departments, notably, the Police, swallow the greater portion of our revenues. No doubt, with the present economic and social skeleton of society, expenditure on the Police is inevitable. But when the only justification for a large portion of the expenditure is found in the existence of mutual distrust and hate amongst the communities in the province, or in the low state of social life wherein the thief, dacoit and murderer flourish, it is time we sat down to consider if anything could be done to prevent this waste, and divert the consequent flow of our savings to better purpose."

The expenditure on beneficent Departments in the Budget is estimated at Rs. 6 crores. Some schemes of the five year post-war plan are being taken up next year.

BHAKRA DAM PROJECT

Explaining the Bhakra Dam Project, the Finance Minister said: "It is proposed to construct a 480 feet high dam on the Sutlej at Bhakra with a live storage of three million acre feet for the improvement of irrigation in the famine-stricken areas of Hissar, Rohtak and adjacent districts. The dam would also generate 160,000 kilowatt of electric power, which would facilitate the industrialisation of the Province. The design for the dam is being prepared in the United States of America and is expected to be completed by the end of June 1946. The construction of the project would be framed after the design has been received in India."

Referring to the food situation, the Finance Minister said : The present position is that whereas there is probably enough wheat and certainly enough food in the Province as a whole to carry us through till the new crops come in, local shortages have developed in a number of places, which it is necessary for Government machinery to adjust. Certain measures have been taken by the Government to conserve supplies, and these measures will probably be described in due course by the Honourable Minister concerned and also the improvement which it is intended to effect in the system of markets and procurement of produce. The Government, the Finance Minister assured, are fully conscious of the necessity of regulating the control of markets in a manner which should cause the least possible dislocation and inconvenience to the public in general and to the grower and the trader in particular.

The Government of Assam

Budget for 1946-47

The Finance Minister. Mr. *Bishnuram Medhi*, presenting the budget in the Assam Legislative Assembly on the *12th March 1946* said that the Budget disclosed a surplus of Rs. 51,27,000 for the year 1946-47.

The year is estimated to start with an opening balance of Rs. 1,07,90,000 while annual receipts are estimated at Rs. 37,62,37,000 (comprising revenue receipts of Rs. 5,15,59,000 and capital receipts of Rs. 32,46,78,000). The annual expenditure has been taken at Rs. 38,19,00,000 (revenue expenditure Rs. 5,05,32,000 and capital expenditure Rs. 33,13,68,000) leaving a closing surplus balance of Rs. 51,27,000.

The surplus of Rs. 10,27,000 shown in the revenue budget for the next year is mainly due to the fact that it does not provide any amount for new schemes as it is stated, the Ministry has not had any time to scrutinize all schedules accepted by the last Ministry. The present Congress Ministry however, proposes to scrutinize all schemes soon after the budget session and prepare new ones to be introduced in the next session of the Assembly.

The principal heads of revenue receipts for 1946-47 are as follows : Customs, Rs. 10,44,000 : taxes on income other than Corporation tax, Rs. 73,78,000 ; land revenue Rs. 179,76,000 ; provincial excise Rs. 69,46,000 ; stamps, Rs. 19,50,000 ; forests, Rs. 29,65,000 ; registration, Rs. 3,47,000 ; receipts under Motor Vechicles Taxation Act, Rs. 8,16,000 and other taxes and duties, Rs. 16,11,000.

The estimated expenditure for the year is as follows : General Administration, Rs. 34,39,900 ; Administration of Justice. Rs. 10,58,100 ; Jails and Convict Settlements, Rs. 12,30,700 ; Police, Rs. 39,42,300 ; Education, Rs. 60,82,400 ; Medical, Rs. 15,10,200 ; Public Health, Rs.18,62,100 ; Agriculture, Rs. 26,08,100 ; Veterinary. Rs. 2,85,000 ; Public Works. Rs. 59,11,200 ; Superannuation Allowances and Pensions. Rs. 21,05,800 ; Miscellaneous, Rs. 32,45,700 ; Navigation, Embankment, Drainage Works, Rs. 6,91,700. Co-operation, Rs. 3,39,500 and Industries, Rs. 3,51,200.

The Government of Sind

Budget for 1946-47

A gross revenue surplus of Rs. 2,13,16,000 is revealed in the budget estimate of the Sind Government for 1946-47 as presented by Sir *Ghulam Hussain Hidayatulla* in the Sind Legislative Assembly on the **12th. March 1946.**

Out of the surplus 175 lakhs will be transferred to the Land Revenue Equalisation Fund and Rs. 35 lakhs to the post-war development plan for the year thus leaving a net surplus of Rs. 3,16,000. The estimates anticipate a revenue receipt of Rs. 8,03,29,000 and provide for an expenditure of Rs. 8.00,13,000 which include the contributions to the equalisation and post-war development funds.

The revised estimates for 1945-46 also show a surplus of Rs. 2,29,000 after transferring Rs. 150 lakhs and 65 lakhs respectively to the reserve funds, with revenue receipts at Rs. 8,27,90,000 and total expenditure at Rs. 8,25,61,000 while the actuals for 1944-45 almost balanced the revenue receipts of Rs. 8,80,07,000.

The estimate provide for about Rs. 6,00,000 in the current year and Rs. 24,00,000 in the next year for expenditure on postwar development schemes in addition to Rs. 1.40 00,000 proposed to be spent on roads and the building programme during 1946-47. The noticeable increase in the police expenditure, which is the largest item with about Rs. 93 lakhs, is stated to be due to the reduction in the Central Government's contribution by 50 per cent for the increased police force due to war exigencies.

State trading by the Sind Government in the supplies of foodgrains to deficit areas in India—which had enabled the province to a large extent to wipe out her huge Barrage Debt will he continued but not on a profit-making basis. The Government will buy from the primary producers at controlled rates and will sell them to deficit areas at the same rate excluding the expenses in connection with the administration and transport of foodgrains.

Scheme for Revision of Salaries

It is revealed that the Sind Government has in hand a scheme for the revision of pay scales of Government servants to suit post-war conditions. The scheme is expected to cost Rs. 60 lakhs more, which represents the amount now paid to them in the shape of war and dearness allowances. The scheme is expected to be brought into force early next financial year.

It is explained that the Equalisation Fund is meant for conserving unexpected high land revenues against expenditure in lean periods. With the introduction of the sliding scales of assessment the land revenue fluctuates very considerably in revenue. In order that the Government may know how much revenue it can rely on so that too great recurring commitments are not made in times of high prices, it is proposed to equalise the revenue by making an estimate of what the average receipts will be over a long period, which it assumes as Rs. 250 lakhs. The amount that is being deposited in the Equalisation Fund represents the estimated land revenue receipts minus the normal figure of Rs. 250 lakhs.

The following is the statement of receipts and expenditure for 1944-45, revised estimates for 1946-47:

Actuals for 1944-45 : Receipts. Rs. 8,80,07,000 ; Expenditure, 8,79,93,000.

Revised estimates for the 1945-46 : Receipts, Rs. 8,27,90,000 ; Expenditure, Rs. 8,25,61,000.

Budget estimates for 1946-47 : Receipts, Rs. 8,03,29,000 ; Expenditure Rs. 8,00,13,000.

The Government of Bengal

Budget for 1946-47

Bengal's first post-war budget (for 1946-47), authorized by the Governor on the **28th. March 1946** reveals a revenue deficit of Rs. 9½ crores.

Revenue is estimated at Rs. 41 crores, including Rs. 10 crores received from the Government of India, for financing development projects, and expenditure at Rs. 50½ crores. It was understood that the Governor's budget will be superseded by the budget which the Ministry would present to the Legislature after coming into office.

According to the revised estimates for the current year, revenue receipts are expected to be about Rs. 7 crores higher than was originally anticipated. Of this Rs. 1 crore and 10 lakhs represents grants from the Centre in respect of develop-

ment schemes and the balance is accounted for by larger yield under Excise, Stamps and other taxes and duties.

Expenditure on revenue account, according to the revised estimates, is likely to be Rs. 5 crores and 90 lakhs higher than the original estimates.

There is no proposal for any new taxation. The tax on professions has been abolished.

The Provincial taxes from 1939-40 actuals to 1945-46 revised mark an increase from Rs. 9 crores to Rs. 24½ crores and is a measure of the effort made by the Province to reduce the widening gap between revenue and expenditure.

Bengal's share in income-tax will drop by Rs. 60 lakhs in the coming year owing to the decrease in general receipts from this source. Receipts from agricultural income-tax too are expected to be lower by Rs. 10 lakhs owing to a fall in the prices of agricultural produce. Excise receipts will fall by Rs. 1 crore and 80 lakhs as a result of reduced consumption of liquor and other excisable articles owing to the repatriation of military personnel and imported labour. The reduction in the yield from petrol tax is expected to be Rs. 1 crore.

DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

Of the total revenue expenditure for the coming year Rs. 10 crores and 59 lakhs is on account of development projects. A considerable portion of the provision relates to the construction of roads and buildings.

The following are among other important items in the development programme: Rs. 70 lakhs for water supply; Rs. 50 lakhs for the purchase of surplus military stores; Rs. 30 lakhs for the reorganization of the Co-operative Department; Rs. 30 lakhs for the re-excavation of derelict irrigation tanks; Rs. 20 lakhs for self-propelled water-craft for police forces in riverine districts and Rs. 15 lakhs for the rehousing of bustee dwellers.

A special provision of Rs. 35 lakhs has been made for the general elections.

One of the important irrigation schemes to be taken up in the coming year is the Moor Reservoir project, designed to irrigate an area of 600,000 acres. The total cost of the scheme is about Rs. 7½ crores of which Rs. 70 lakhs has been provided in the present budget.

The famine budget, which shows a decrease of Rs. 70 lakhs, contains a total provision of Rs. 3½ crores for gratuitious relief, poor houses, orphanages and special medical relief.

A saving of Rs. 1½ crores has been effected by winding up the Civil Defence measures and reducing the Civic Guard and Home Guard organizations.

Provincial Legislation—1945-46

The Government of Bengal

Bills—1945 & 1946

The Bengal Repealing and Amending Bill, 1945. (*Introduced in the Legislative Council*):—To make necessary amendments of a formal nature in certain enactments and to repeal certain spent, useless or unnecessary matter in the statute book.

The Criminal procedure (*Bengal Amendment*) *Bill, 1945.* (*Introduced in the Legislative Council*):—To amend the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, in its application to Bengal, in order that the power conferred on an officer in-charge of a police station by section 127 or section 128 of the said Code may be exercised also by any police officer not below the rank of Assistant Sub-inspector of police who is present, and also by a head constable under certain circumstances.

The Bengal Local Self-Government Association (*Recognition*) *Amendment Bill 1946.* (*Introduced in the Legislative Council*):—To amend the Bengal Local Self-Government Associations (Recognition) Act, 1946 so as to empower the local authority concerned to pay the travelling expenses of its representative for attending not more than four meetings of the executive committee of an association recognised under the said Act.

The Bengal non-Agricultural Tenancy Bill, 1946. (*Introduced in the Legislative Assembly*):—To make better provision relating to the law of landlord and tenant in respect of certain non-agricultural tenancies in Bengal.

The Calcutta Rent Bill, 1946. (*Introduced in the Legislative Council*):—To make better provision for the control of rents in Calcutta.

The Calcutta Improvement (Howrah Amendment) Bill, 1946. (*Introduced in the Legislative Assembly.*):—To further amend the Calcutta Improvement Act, 1911, so as to provide for the extension of the operations of the Calcutta Improvement Trust to the town of Howrah for the improvement and expansion of that town.

The Bengal Dentists (Amendment) Bill, 1946. (*Introduced in the Legislative Council*):—To amend the Bengal Dentists Act, 1939, with a view to giving *bona fide* dental practitioners, who have not yet had their names registered, a further opportunity of doing so, if such person not later than 31st May, 1950, passes a special examination to be held by the State Medical Faculty of Bengal for this purpose.

The Calcutta Trespass (Bengal Amendment) Bill, 1946. (*Introduced in the Legislative Council*):—To further amend the Cattle Trespass Act in its application to Bengal so as to provide for the delegation of some of the functions of the District Magistrate and the police officers under the said Act to Chairman and Vice-Chairman of Municipalities and Presidents and Vice-Presidents of Union Boards. The District Magistrate is also authorised to delegate some of his powers under the Act to subordinate Magistrates.

The Bengal Motor Spirit Sales Taxation (Amendment) Bill, 1946. (*Introduced in the Legislative Assembly*):—To further amend the Bengal Motor Spirit Sales Taxation Act, 1941, for the enhancement of the rate of tax leviable under the said Act, as amended by the Bengal Motor Spirit Sales Taxation (Amendment) Act, 1945, from As. 3 to As. 8½ per gallon.

The Bengal Special Tribunals (Continuance) Bill, 1946. (*Introduced in the Legislative Council*):—To provide for the continuance of the Special Tribunals constituted under the Criminal Law Amendment Ordinance, 1943.

The Bengal Molasses Control Bill, 1946. (*Introduced in the Legislative Assembly*):—To provide for control of the production, supply and distribution of and trade in, molasses in Bengal.

The Calcutta Disturbances Commission of Enquiry Bill, 1946. (*Introduced in the Legislative Council*):—To vest with certain powers the Commission of Enquiry appointed by the Government of Bengal to enquire into and report on the causes of and the measures taken to deal with the disturbances which occurred in the town and suburbs of Calcutta during the month of August, 1946.

The Murshidabad Bill, 1946. (*Introduced in the Legislative Council*):—To provide for the payment of certain allowances to certain members of the family of the Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad and to create a charge on the agricultural lands of the Nawab Bahadur for payment of the said allowances, and to provide for the re-enactment of the Murshidabad Act, (Ben. Act XV of 1945) which was made by the Governor under the Proclamation issued under Section 93 of the Government of India Act, 1935 and its provisions are identical with those of the Act.

Acts—1944

The Bengal Agricultural Income-tax Act, 1944. (*Bengal Act IV of 1944*). (*21-12-1944*):—To provide for the imposition of a tax on agricultural income derived from land in Bengal.

The Bengal Alienation of Agricultural Land (Temporary Provisions) Act, 1944. (*Bengal Act V of 1944*). (*21-12-1944*):—To provide for the restoration to proprietors, tenure-holders, raiyats and under-raiyats of certain agricultural lands alienated by them during the year 1943 as a result of the prevailing economic distress.

The Bengal Diseases of Animals Act, 1944 (*Bengal Act VI of 1944*). (*5-1-1945*):—To provide for the prevention of the spread of contagious diseases amongst animals in Bengal.

The Coroners and Criminal Procedure (Bengal Amendment) Act, 1944 (*Bengal Act VII of 1944*). (*28-1-1945*):—To amend the Coroners Act, 1871, and the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, in order to dispense with the inquiry to be held by the Coroner or by a Police Officer in cases of deaths caused by enemy action unless the Provincial Government so directs.

Acts—1945

The Bengal Legislative Chambers (Members' Emoluments) Amendment Act, 1945 (*Bengal Act I of 1945*). (*24-3-1945*):—To provide for increase in the existing rates of salaries and daily allowances of Members of the Bengal Legislature.

*The Bengal Finance Act, 1945. (Bengal Act II of 1945). (15-4-1945) :—To vary for a certain period the rates of entertainments tax, totalisator tax and betting tax leviable under the Bengal Amusements Tax Act, 1922, and also the rate of electricity duty leviable under the Bengal Electricity Duty Act, 1935.

*The Bengal Non-Agricultural Tenancy (Temporary Provisions) Amendment Act, 1945 (Bengal Act II of 1945). (25-1945) :—To extend the operation of the Bengal Non-Agricultural Tenancy (Temporary Provisions) Act, 1940 for two years more from May 29, 1945 and to bring agricultural holdings in municipal areas under its protection.

*The Bengal Rent Recovery (Under-tenure) Amendment Act, 1945 (Bengal Act IV of 1945). (25-5-1945) :—To amend the Bengal Rent Recovery (Under-tenures) Act, 1865, so as to empower any officer other than a Collector, whom the Provincial Government may by notification appoint to exercise the functions of a Collector under that Act.

*The Bengal Suppression of Immoral Traffic (Amendment) Act, 1945 (Bengal Act V of 1945). (18-5-1945) :—To amend the Bengal Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act, 1933, in order to extend the definition of the word "brothel" so as to include one which is not kept for the gain of any other person.

*The Bengal Embankment (Amendment Act, 1945 (Bengal Act VI of 1945). (9-6-1945) :—To amend the Bengal Embankment Act 1882, so as to give Collectors power to have necessary repairs done to a private embankment where considered necessary without taking charge of its future maintenance and to recover the cost thereof from the people benefited by the work.

*The Bengal Motor Spirit Sales Taxation (Amendment) Act, 1945 (Bengal Act VII of 1945). (7-6-1945) :—To enhance the rate of tax leviable on retail sales of motor sprit under the Motor Spirit Sales Taxation Act, 1941 from one anna and six pies to three annas per gallon.

*The Bengal Finance (Sales Tax) Amendment Act, 1945 (Bengal Act VIII of 1945). (17-6-1945) :—To enhance the rate of tax on the sale of goods in Bengal imposed under the Bengal Finance (Sales Tax) Act, 1941, from one half of an anna in the rupee to three-quarters of an anna in the rupee.

*The Bengal Finance (No. II) Act, 1945 (Bengal Act IX of 1945). (7-7-1945) :—To vary further for a certain period the rates of totalisator and betting taxes leviable under the Bengal Amusements Tax Act, 1922, as amended by the Bengal Finance Act, 1945 (Bengal Act II of 1945).

*The Bengal Public Gambling (Penalties Enhancement) Act, 1945 (Bengal Act X of 1945). (7-7-1945) :—To enhance the penalties provided by law for the punishment of certain offences relating to wagering or betting upon a horse-race.

*The Bengal Private Forests Act, 1945 (Bengal Act XI of 1945). (19-7-1945) :—To provide for the conservation of private forests and for the afforestation in certain areas of wastelands in Bengal.

*The Bengal Tenancy (Amendment) Act, 1945 (Bengal Act XII of 1945). (28-7-1945) :—To afford some relief to an aboriginal tenant by making the provisions in respect to the manner of execution of a decree for arrears of rent due on the tenure or holding of an aboriginal tenant less stringent.

*The Bengal Destitute Person (Reparation and Relief) Act, 1945 (Bengal Act, XIII of 1945). (25-8-1945) :—To make special provision for dealing with persons wandering about in a destitute condition as a result of the prevailing economic distress.

*The Bengal Motor Vehicles Tax (Amendment) Act, 1945 (Bengal Act XIV of 1945) (20-9-1945) :—To amend the Bengal Motor Vehicles Tax Act, 1932, so as to provide for exemption from double provincial taxation of private motor vehicles transferred from one province to another during a taxing quarter.

*The Murshidabad Act, 1945 (Bengal Act XV of 1945) (12-11-1945) :—To provide for the payment of certain allowances to certain members of the family of the Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad and to create a charge on the agricultural lands of the Nawab Bahadur for payment of the said allowances.

*The Bengal Slum Improvement Act, 1945 (Bengal Act XVI of 1945) (27-11-1945) :—To provide for the improvement of slum areas in Bengal.

*The Bengal Destitute Persons (Repatriation and Relief) Extending Act 1945 (Bengal Act XVII of 1945). (26-12-1945) :—To extend the duration of the Bengal Destitute Persons (Repatriation and Relief) Act, 1945.

Acts—1946

*The Bengal Legislature (Corrupt Practices and Election Inquiries) Act, 1945 (Bengal Act I of 1946) (11-1-1946) :—To declare certain practices to be practices

involving disqualification for membership of the Bengal Legislature and for voting at any election to such Legislature and to make further provisions for the conduct of inquiries in regard to disputed elections to such Legislature.

**The Bengal Excise (Amendment) Act, 1946 (Bengal Act II of 1946) (10-1-1946)*:—To amend the Bengal Excise Act, 1909, so as to give relief to the Commissioner of Excise in the matter of disposal of appeals filed before him by providing for transfer to the Deputy Commissioner of Excise (Distilleries and Warehouses) such of the appeals as the Excise Commissioner may in his discretion transfer.

**The Bengal Finance (Repealing) Act, 1946 (Bengal Act III of 1946) (29-1-1946)*:—To repeal the Bengal Finance Act, 1939, which provides for the imposition of a tax on professions, trades, callings and employments.

**The Bengal Finance (Sales Tax) Amendment Act, 1946 (Bengal Act IV of 1946) (29-1-1946)*:—To enhance the rate of tax on the sale of goods in Bengal imposed under the Bengal Finance (Sales Tax) Act, 1941 from three quarters of an anna in the rupee to one anna in the rupee.

**The Bengal Tanks Improvement (Amendment) Act, 1946 (Bengal Act V of 1946). (6-2-1946)*:—To amend the Bengal Tanks Improvement Act, 1939, so as to enable the recovery, on a voluntary basis, the requisite rates in respect of water drawn for irrigation purposes from tanks improved under the said Act and for permitting the irrigation of areas which are not, in terms of record-of-rights, entitled to irrigation from such tank. It also provides for obtaining the possession of land adjoining a derelict tank, even though such possession may be essential to the improvement of the tank itself.

**The Bengal Co-operative Societies (Amendment) Act, 1946 (Bengal Act VI of 1946). (6-2-1946)*:—To amend the Bengal Co-operative Societies Act, 1940, so as to give relief to the Registrar by providing for the delegation of all or any of his powers or duties to any person appointed to assist the Registrar. It also provides for the exclusion of persons employed upon Federal Railways or in mines or oilfield from the scope of section 51 of the Parent Act.

**The Bengal Slum Improvement (Amendment) Act, 1946 (Bengal Act VII of 1946). (8-2-1946)*:—To amend the Bengal Slum Improvement Act, 1945, so as to rectify a clerical error.

The Government of Orissa

Bills—1946

The Orissa Ministers' salaries (Amendment) Bill, 1946 (23-4-1946):—To increase the salaries of ministers from Rs. 500/- to Rs. 1,000/- a month in view of the changed circumstances.

The Orissa Legislative Assembly Speakers' and Deputy Speakers' salaries (Amendment) Bill, 1946, (29-6-1946):—To increase the salaries of the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker from Rs. 400/- and Rs. 150/- to Rs. 1,000/- and Rs. 350/- per month, respectively, to enable them to discharge conveniently and with dignity the duties of their office.

The Orissa Legislative Assembly Members' salaries and allowances (Amendment) Bill, 1946. (29-6-1946):—To increase the salaries of M. L. A.'S from Rs. 100/- to Rs. 150/- and travelling allowances from "double the fare of the Inter-class" to one and a half fare of the First Class" and to enhance the mileage from 4 annas to 8 annas.

The Madras Court of Wards (Orissa Amendment) Bill, 1946):—To amend the Madras Court of Wards Act, 1902, to make it applicable to the Agency areas in Ganjam and Koraput districts.

The Central Provinces Court of Wards (Orissa Amendment) Bill, 1946):—To amend the Central Provinces Courts of Wards Act, 1899, in its application to the district of Sambalpur in the Province of Orissa.

The Court of Wards (Orissa Amendment Bill, 1946:—To Amend the Court of Wards Act, 1879, for its application to the Province of Orissa.

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* These acts were made by the Governor of Bengal under the Proclamation dated the 31st day of March 1945, issued under section 93 of the Government of India Act, 1935.

The Government of Assam

Bills—1945

The Assam Finance Bill, 1945 :—To fix the rates at which the Agricultural Income shall be taxed under the Assam Agricultural Income Act Act, 1939.

The Assam Local Board Elections (Emergency Provisions) Bill, 1945 :—To provide for the further postponement of Local Board Elections.

The Assam Debt-Conciliation (Amendment) Bill, (1945) :—To further amend the Assam Debt-Conciliation Act, 1936.

The Sylhet Non-Agricultural Urban Tenancy Bill, (1945) :—To make better provisions relating to the Law of landlord and tenant in respect of Non-Agricultural Tenancies in the Urban areas of the District of Sylhet.

1946

The Assam Finance Bill, (1946) :—To fix the rates at which the Agricultural Income shall be taxed under the Assam Agricultural Income Tax Act, 1939.

The Assam Forest (Amendment) Bill, (1946) :—To further amend the Assam Forest Regulation, 1891.

The Assam Sales of Motor Spirit and Lubricants Taxation (Amendment) Bill, (1946) :—To further amend the Assam Sales of Motor Spirit and Lubricants Taxation Act, 1939.

The Assam Amusements and Betting Tax (Amendment) Bill, (1946) :—To further amend the Assam Amusements and Betting Tax Act, 1939.

The Assam Urban Areas Rent Control Bill, (1946) :—To restrtct temporarily the increase of rents of houses situated within the limits of Urban Areas in Assam.

The Assam Sales of Motor Spirit and Lubricants Taxation (Second Amendment) Bill, (1946) :—To further amend the Assam Sales of Motor Spirit and Lubricants Taxation Act, 1939.

The Industrial Statistics (further Provision and Validating) Bill, (1946) :—To make further provisions for the purpose of facilitating the collection of Statistics of certain kinds relating to Industries and for validating certain Acts already done in furtherance of such purpose.

Acts—1945

The Assam Finance Act, (1945) (28-3-45) :—To fix the rates at which the Agricultural Income shall be taxed under the Assam Agricultural Income Tax Act, 1939.

The Assam Local Board Elections (Emergency Provisions) Act, 1945 (28-3-45) :—To provide for the further postponement of Local Board Elections.

1946

The Assam Finance Act, 1946 (1-4-46) :—To fix the rate at which Agricultural Income shall be taxed under the Assam Agricultural Income Tax, 1939.

The Assam Revenue Tribunal Act, 1946 (28-5-46) :—To provide for the constitution of Revenue Tribunal.

The Government of Sind

Bills—1946

Bill No. II of (1946) :—To establish and incorporate a University in the Province of Sind.

Bill No. III of (1946) :—To establish beggars' homes where beggars can be kept and those among them who are fit to do manual work taught some useful trade or occupation.

Bill No. V of (1946) :—To repeal the Bombay Prevention of Adulteration Act, 1925, and enact in its place a more comprehensive and effective measure.

Bill No. VI of (1946) :—To provide for the medical treatment of lepers.

Acts—1944—46

The Sind Medical Council Act, No. XIX of 1944 (1-12-1944) :—To remove doubts as to the validity of the Sind Medical Act, 1944, which was not reserved for the consideration of the Governor-General.

The Sind Local Boards (Extension of term) Act, No. I of 1945 (29-3-1945) :—To provide for the extension of the term of the office of the members of the local boards in the Province of Sind.

The City of Karachi Municipal (Extension of term) Act, No. X of 1945 (21-4-1945) :—To extend the term of the Corporation to enable Government to redistribute the seats on the basis of the latest population figures and also to alter the franchise.

The Sind Muslim Education Cess Act, No. V of 1946 (10-5-1946) :—To realise funds for the construction of buildings required for the Sind Muslim College.

The Sind Legislative Assembly (Powers and Privileges) Act, No. VIII of 1946 (6-6-1946) :—To define certain powers and privileges of the Sind Legislative Assembly and of its members and to make certain other provisions with a view to enable such members to discharge their functions duly and properly.

The Government of Bihar

Acts—1944

The Bihar Municipal (Second Amendment) Act, 1944 (Bihar Act XV of 1944) (26-2-1944) :—To raise the maximum limit of the tax on holdings to 12½ per cent. of the final value in order to meet the increasing costs of municipal administration.

Acts—1945

The Bihar Local Self-Government (Amendment) Act 1945 (Bihar Act I of 1945) (1-6-1945) :—To provincialise the services of District Board Engineers for the improvement and efficient maintenance of public roads and main and inter-districts roads in the province.

The Patna (Latrine Taxes) Validating Act, 1945 (Bihar Act II of 1945) (10-7-1945) :—To validate past assessments and recoveries of latrine taxes in the area within the jurisdiction of the Patna Administration Committee.

The Bihar Maternity Benefit Act, 1945 (13-7-1945) :—To introduce a maternity benefit scheme in respect of women workers employed in factories in Bihar.

The Bihar Restoration of Agricultural Land (Temporary Provisions) Act, 1945 (Bihar Act IV of 1945) (27-7-1945) :—To safeguard the interests of a raiyat or under-raiyat who was absent from home due to employment in military service, or if he is dead, of his legal representative and whose holding has been sold during the absence in execution of a decree for arrears of rent.

The Bihar Nurses Registration (Amendment) Act, 1945 (Act V of 1945) (19-10-1945) —To increase the representation of the nursing service on the Nurses Registration Council of the province.

The Bihar Municipal (Amendment) Act, 1945, (Bihar Act VI of 1945) (20-10-1945) —To make obligatory the constitution of a special waterworks committee for municipal waterworks with certain well-defined powers, in order to improve the administration of municipal waterworks in the province.

The Bihar (Munsif's Proceedings Validation Act, 1945, (Bihar Act VII of 1945) (24-10-1945) :—To remove the doubt cast on the power of the High Court to extend the jurisdiction of Munsifs to try the suits above the value of Rs 2,000 and to validate the proceedings in the Munsifs' Court concerned.

The Bihar Municipal (Second Amendment) Act, 1945 (Bihar Act VIII of 1945) (22-12-1945) :—To enable Government to determine the strength and remuneration of the staff employed in different local bodies in order to improve the efficiency of the staff and avoid extravagance.

The Bihar Local Self-Government (Second Amendment) Act, 1945 (Bihar Act IX of 1945) (22-12-1945):—

The Bihar Motor Vehicles Taxation (Amendment) Act, (Bihar Act X of 1945 (22-12-1945) :—To exempt vehicles, other than transport vehicles, taxes in one province, from further taxation in respect of the same quarter on transfer elsewhere and to provide a penal provision for contravention of the rules made under section 14 (1) and (2) of the Act.

Acts—1946

The Bihar Agricultural Statistics Act, 1946 (Bihar Act I of 1946) (3-1-1946) :— To facilitate the collection of statistics relating to agriculture and for that purpose to empower the staff to enter upon any land to be surveyed and to do any other act necessary for the ascertainment of area, the nature and extent of crops standing thereon or the yield of crops therefrom.

The Bihar Sugar Factories (Control Amendment) Act, 1946 (Bihar Act II of 1946), (2-2-1946) :—To provide that in villages where 66 per cent. of the cane-growers are members of a Cane-growers' Co-operative Society, the remaining cane-growers shall supply cane to a sugar factory only through the agency of such society.

The Bihar Private Forests Act, (Bihar Act III of 1946) (12-2-1946) :—To empower Government to take over suitable private forests for management as protected forests to prevent their wanton destruction.

The Bihar Municipal (Amendment) Act, 1946, (Bihar Act IV of 1946). (16-3-1946) :—

To empower municipalities to raise the water tax and certain fees at higher maximum rates to meet the increasing costs of municipal administration.

The Bihar Drug Advertisements Control Bill, 1946 (*Bihar Act V of 1946*) (30-3-1946) :—To control objectionable advertisements relating to alleged cures for venereal and female diseases and sexual stimulants.

The Bihar Municipal (*Second Amendment*) *Act, 1946* (*Bihar Act VI of 1946*). (31-3-1946) :—To empower Government to appoint Executive Officers for Municipalities and District Boards with a rule to secure a better discharge of their executive functions.

The Bihar Local Self-Government (*Amendment Act, 1945* (*Bihar Act VII of 1946*)(*31-3-1946*) :

The Bihar Restoration of Uses of Land Act, 1946 (*Bihar Act VIII of 1946*) (31-3-1946) :—To empower Government to impose restrictions on the unregulated development of land with a view to prevent ribbon development and to regulate building activities in places where regular town planning operations have not been taken.

The Bihar Ministers' Salaries (*Amendment*) *Act, 1946* (*Bihar Act IX of 1946*). (26-6-1946) :—To increase the salaries of the Hon'ble Ministers owing to the increased cost of living and as they will no longer draw their house and motor car allowances.

The Bihar Legislature Officers' Salaries (*Amendment*) *Act, 1946* (*Bihar Act X of 1946*). (26-6-1946) :—To increase the salaries of the officers of the Bihar Legislature owing to the increased cost of living.

The Bihar Legislature Members' Salaries and Allowances (*Amendment*) *Act, 1946* (*Bihar Act XI of 1946*). (26-6-1946) :—To revise the scale of salaries and allowances of members of the Bihar Legislature owing to the increase in the cost of living and to the fact that travelling has become more inconvenient.

The Bihar Sugar Factories Control (*Second Amendment*) *Act, 1946* (*Bihar Act XII of 1946*) (25-6-1946) :—To extend the operation of the Bihar Sugar Factories Control Act till June 30, 1950.

The Bihar Waste Lands (*Reclamation, Cultivation and Improvement*) *Act, 1946.* (8-9-1946) :—To enable Government to take into its own ocupation for a maximum period of 10 years, lands which have gone out of cultivation and have for the time being become unproductive, restore it to cultivation and to recover the cost of the work from the persons benefited.

The Bihar Tenancy (*Amendment*) *Bill, 1946.* (6-9-'46) :—To amend the Bihar Tenancy Act to make it clear that the produce of the holding which is to be shared by division in the case of produce rents is limited to grains only.

The Bihar Tenancy (*Second Amendment*) *Bill, 1946. The Chota Nagpur Tenancy* (*Amendment*) *Bill 1946.* (6-9-1946) :—To permit the average of the prices ruling in the five years before 1939 to be considered in commuting rents instead of the period of 10 years immediately before the dates of commutation.

Bills—1946

The Bihar Primary Education (*Amendment*) *Bill,* 1946 :—To introduce primary education in a small compact area where the scheme of basic education is in operation as an experimental measure.

The Bihar Public Irrigation and Drainage Works Bill, 1946 :—To provide a simplified procedure for taking up works of irrigation, drainage, land reclamation and flood alleviation.

The Bihar Muslim Wakfs Bill, 1946 :—To ensure the proper administration of wakfs.

The Government of Central Provinces & Berar

Acts from 1-10-1944 to 31-7-1946.

The Nagpur Improvement Trust (*Amendment*) *Act, 1944* (*VII of 1944*).(3-11-1944) :—To remove certain doubts regarding the powers of the Nagpur Improvement Trust to undertake schemes for expansion and development within the municipal limits; provide for powers in respect of sewage disposal and to remove defects revealed by the operation of the principal Act.

The Central Provinces Land Revenue (*Amendment*) *Act, 1945.* (*I of 1945*). (29-1-1945) :—To enhance the maximum fine from Rs. 200 to Rs. 1,000 under section 202 of the Act to check reckless exploitation of malguzari forests.

The Central Provinces and Berar Maintenance and Restoration of Order and Collection of fines (*Indemnity*) *Act 1945* (*II of 1945*). (7-2-1945) :—To validate imposition of certain fines and to indemnify servants of the Crown and other

persons in respect of acts ordered or done in good faith for maintaining or restoring order.

The Nagpur Improvement Trust Tribunal (Validation of proceedings) Act, 1945 (III of 1945). (2-3-1945):—To validate proceedings of the Tribual which continued to function unauthorizedly after its statutory period of two years.

The Central Provinces and Berar Epidemic Diseases (Amendment) Act, 1945 (IV of 1945). (12-3-1945) :—To empower District Magistrates to exercise powers of Provincial Government, subject to Government control, in respect of framing of regulations etc. regarding outbreak of epidemic diseases.

The Central Provinces and Berar Finance (Annual) Act, 1945 (V of 1945). (23-3-1945) :—To continue the operation of certain taxation Acts, and to provide for enhancement of entertainments duties under Central Provinces and Berar Entertainments Duty Act. 1936.

The Central Provinces and Berar Municipalities (Amendment) Act, 1945 (VI of 1945). (5-5-1945):—To amend section 25 of the principal Act with a view to remove ambiguity in the interpretation of the section.

The Central Provinces and Berar Local Self-Government (Amendment) Act, 1945 (VII of 1945). (5-5-1945) :—To amend section 45 of the principal Act with a view to remove ambiguity in the interpretation of the section.

The Central Provinces Land Revenue (Second Amendment) Act, 1945 (VIII of 1945). (29-6-1945):—To provide for the appointment of additional Deputy Commissioners in districts to assist Deputy Commissioners in their work.

The Central Provinces and Berar Courts (Amendment) Act, 1945 (IX of 1945) (27-8-1945):—To amend the act to designate functionaries of Civil Courts as 'Civil Judges' instead of 'Subordinate Judges.'

The Central Provinces and Berar Co-operative Societies Amendment and Liquidators' Orders Validation Act, 1945 (X of 1945) (8-9-1945).

To validate contributory orders passed by liquidators of certain Co-operative Societies and to accelerate the rehabilitation of Co-operative Societies which are showing a promise of emerging from moribund condition.

The Central Provinces Irrigation (Amendment) Act, 1945 (XI of 1945) (27-9-1945):—To assess to water-rate compulsory lands commanded by State irrigation work in order to encourage maximum use of water in irrigated lands so as to provide for increased cultivation of food crops.

The Nagpur Improvement Trust (Amendment) Act, 1945 (XII of 1945) (1-10-1945):—To empower Provincial Government to prescribe qualifications for an assessor to be appointed under section 62 of the Act.

The Central Provinces Land Revenue (Amendment) Act, 1946 (I of 1946) (11-1-1946):—To check illegal extraction and removal of minerals from mines and quarries.

The Berar Land Revenue Code (Amendment) Act, 1946 (II of 1946) (11-1-1946) —To check illegal extraction and removal of minerals from mines and quarries

The Central Provinces and Berar Finance (Annual) Act 1946 (III of 1946) (25-3-1946):—To continue operation of certain taxation Acts.

The Central Provinces and Berar Debt Conciliation (Amendment) Act, 1946 (IV of 1946) (19-4-1946):—To omit reference to the Deputy Commissioners so as to enable appropriate Revenue Officer to proceed with the recovery of defaulted instalments to provide for the distribution of the sale proceeds. To extend the power to issue certificate of irrecoverability.

The Central Provinces and Berar Religious Charitable Trusts (Amendment) Act, 1946 (V of 1946) (20-4-1946) :—To amend section 17 so as to make the Act supplementary to the two Central Acts *viz.*, The Religious Endowment Act, 1863 and the Charitable and Religious Trusts Act, 1920.

The Central Provinces and Berar Agriculturists' Loans (Amendment) Act, 1946 (VI of 1946) (20-4-1946) :—To provide in the Act for the recovery of the loan as a first charge on the land after land revenue and rent.

The Central Provinces Tenancy (Amendment) Act, 1946 (VII of 1946) (20-4-1946):—To provide in the Act for the recovery of the loan as first charge of the land after land revenue and rent.

The Berar Patel and Patwaris Law (Amendment) Act, 1946 (VIII of 1946) (20-4-1946):—To prevent a Watandar from escaping forfeiture of his watan by death or by absconding and thus evading conviction for acts committed in the discharge of his official duties.

The Central Provinces and Berar payment of salaries (Amendment) Act, 1946

(*IX of 1946*) (16-5-1946) :—To enhance the scales of salaries of Ministers, Speaker, Deputy Speaker and the members of the Legislative Assembly.

The Government of the United Provinces

Acts—1945

The U. P. Municipalities (Amendment) Act, 1945, (15-1-1945) :—To place under suspension a member against whom an inquiry relating to abuse of his position as a member is pending in a court of law or under the orders of the Provincial Government till final orders has been passed, and, etc.

The U. P. District Boards (Amendment) Act, 1945, (16-2-1945) :—To place under suspension a member against whom an inquiry relating to the abuse of his position as a member is pending to a court of a law or under the orders of the Provincial Government till final orders has been passed, and, etc.

The U. P. Sugar Factories Control (Amendment) Act, 1945. (12-4-1945) :—To empower the Government to remit in whole or in part the cess on cane grown and purchased in the specified area.

The U. P. Provincialisation of Hospitals Act, 1945. (14-4-1945) :—To improve the medical facilities in the province by relieving of the responsibility of an expenditure on maintaining such hospitals by district boards, private trusts and Municipal boards.

The U. P. Badrinath Sanitation and Improvement Act, 1945. (20-5-1945) :—To check the unregulated construction of buildings and to improve the sanitary condition of the Badrinath Puri.

The Cawnpore Urban Area Department Act, 1945. (4-8-1945) :—To provide for the development and expansion of the urban area of Cawnpore.

The U. P. District Boards (Second Amendment) Act, 1945. (1-12-1945) :—To empower Government to declare the expenditure to be outside the district as an appropriate charge on the district fund.

The U. P. Municipalities (Second Amendment) Act, 1945. (4-12-1945) :—To put the sanitary inspectors under the control of the chairman and the medical officers of health in the matter of appointment and dismissal in order to ensure proper sanitary arrangements in Municipalities.

The U. P. Nurses Midwives, Assistant Midwives and Health Vistors Registration (Amendment) Act, 1945. (4-12-1945) :—To enable the Superintendent of the nursing services to be a member of the U. P. Nurses and Midwives Council.

The U. P. Roadside Land Control Act, 1945. (13-12-1945) :—To give control over areas adjacent to main roads in the U. P. except in cantonment areas.

Acts—1946.

The Lucknow University (Amendment) Act, 1946. (22-1-1946) :—To enable those licentiates who possessed the preliminary qualification of Intermediate in Science to take the degree of M. B. B. S. at the Agra and Lucknow Universities after attending a two-year course.

The Agra University (Amendment) Act, 1946 (22-1-1946) :—To enable those licentiates who possessed the preliminary qualification of Intermediate in Science to take the degree of M. B. B. S. at the Agra and Lucknow Universities after attending a two-year course.

The U. P. Tenancy (Amendment) Act, 1946, (30-1-1946) :—To meet the difficulty experienced by the Forest Department in securing the co-operation of Zamindars in their scheme to create areas of new village plantations or the replantations of small forests on the Zamindari land.

The U. P. Encumbered Estates (Amendment) Act, 1946 (1-2-1946) :—To remove the disabilities imposed on a debtor landlord by making a declaration by the Collector in cases where debts are liquidated by mutual compromise.

The Agra University (Second Amendment) Act, 1946. (*8-3-1946*) :—To provide equal representation of the U. P. and non-U. P. colleges under the relevant sections.

The U. P. Ministers' Salaries (Amendment) Act 1946. (*23-5-1946*) :—To revise the scales of salaries suitably as the cost of living has risen considerably since the existing Act was passed.

The U. P. Legislature (Officers' Salaries) (Amendment) Act, 1946, (23-5-1946) :—To revise the scales of salaries suitably as the cost of living has risen considerably since the existing Act was passed.

The U. P. Legislative Chambers (Ministers' Emoluments) (Amendment) Act 1946), (23-5-1946) :—To revise the scales of salaries suitably as the cost of living has risen considerably since the existing Act was passed.

The U. P. District Boards (Amendment) Act, 1946 (24-5-1946) :—To provide for the postponement of the establishment of a district board in a newly created district and to provide for the holding of the first elections of the new Boards.

Bills—1946

U. P. Electricity (Temporary Powers of Control) Bill, (1946):—To provide for the continuance during a limited period of powers to control the production, supply and distribution of, and trade and commerce in electricty.

U. P. Cotton (Statistics) Bill, (1946) :—To facilitate the collection of statistics relating to raw cotton in U. P.

U. P. Shops and Commercial Establishments Bill, (1946) :—To regulate the hours of employment in shops and commercial establishments.

U. P. Tenancy (Amendment) Bill (1946) :—To modify the relevant sections which made it possible for the landlords to secure the ejectment of a very large number of cultivators in contravention of the underlying intention of the Act.

U. P. Forest Produce Bill, (1946) :—To provide for the continuance during a limited period of powers to control the production, supply and distribution of, and commerce in (Forest produce).

U. P. (Temporary) Control of rent and Eviction Bill :—To provide for the continuance, during a limited period, of powers to control the letting and the rent of residential and non-residential accommodation and to prevent the eviction of tenant therefrom.

U. P. Restoration of lands and Houses Bill, (1946) :—To provide for the restoration to certain persons of lands and houses which were sold in consequence of the political movement started in August, 1942, and for the reinstatement of certain tenants who were ejected from their holdings in consequence of such movement.

The Gaon Hukumat Bill, (1946):—To establish and develop local self-government in the village communities of the U. P.

The U. P. Town Areas (Amendment) Bill, 1946 :—To establish Town areas in all towns and villages of more than 2,000 inhabitants.

U. P. Trade Dispute Bill, (1946) :—To provide for powers to avoid strikes and lock-outs and to settle trade disputes.

U. P. Molasses (Control) Bill, 1946 :—To provide for the grading and the marketing of molasses produced by sugar factories and for the control of the prices of molasses intended for use in distilleries or otherwise.

The Government of Madras
Acts—1944 to 1946

The Madras District Municipalities and Local Boards (Second Amendment) Act, 1944. (Madras Act XVIII of 1944). (31-10-1944) :—To confer on the Government power to direct that notifications under the M. D. M. and M. L. B. Acts instead of being published in the Gazette may be published in such other manner as may be specified by Government.

The Madras District Municipalities (Second Amendment) Act, 1944, (Madras Act XIX of 1944) (7-12-1944) :—To remove the conflict between the Statutes of the Andhra University and the Provisions of the M. D. M. Act in regard to the appointments to the teaching staff of every affiliated College.

The Madras City Civil Court and Presidency Small Cause Courts (Amendment) Act, 1945 (Madras Act I of 1945). (18-1-1945) :—To provide that in suits or other proceedings instituted in the High Court which in the opinion of the trying judge ought to have been instituted in the City Civil Court or the Court of Small Causes, the successful defendant should be allowed costs at the maximum admissible under the Madras High Court Fees Rules for suits set down for final disposal.

The Madras Estates Land (Amendment) Act 1945 (Madras Act II of 1945) (18-1-45) :—To make it clear that where a grant as an inam is expressed to be of a named village, the area which forms the subject matter of the grant shall be deemed to be an estate although it did not include certain lands in the village of that name which have already been granted on service or other tenure or been reserved for communal purposes.

The Madras Irrigation Cess (Amendment) Act, 1945. (Madras Act, III of 1945) (10-2-1945) :—To make it clear that the water-cess levied under the Act is not a tax on land but a fee levied for the water supplied or used for the irrigation of land.

The Madras Irrigation Works (Repairs, Improvement and Construction (Amendment) Act, 1945. (Madras Act IV of 1945) (9-3-45) :—To make the landholder liable only for so much of the cost of the irrigation work constructed by the Government on

his lands, which is proportionate to the extent of, the lands, in his estate served by the work.

The Madras Entertainments Tax (Amendment) Act. 1945 (Madras Act V of 1945) (27-3-1945) :—To increase by fifty per cent the rates of entertainments tax leviable on payments exceeding two annas for admission to any entertainment.

The Malabar Tenancy (Amendment) Act 1945 (Madras Act VI of 1945) (4-4-1945) :—To provide that for such period as the Govt. may direct, paddy, cocoanuts, arecanuts, and pepper payable as rent or michavaram should be valued at the prices specified in the list of market prices last published by the Collector before the date of payment.

The Madras General Sales Tax (Amendment) Act 1945 (Madras Act VII of 1945) (25-4-1945) :—To restore the exemption from the tax in respect of bullion and specie, which was provided for in the principal Act as it originally stood.

The Madras Electricity Duty (Amendment) Act 1945 (Madras Act VII of 1945) (9-6-1945) :—To impose a duty also on the energy consumed by a licensee for purposes other than those connected with the construction, maintenance, and operation of the Electrical undertaking.

The Madras General Sales Tax (Second Amendment Act, 1945). (Madras Act, IX of 1945) (11-6-1945) :—To substitute annual rate of tax for the monthly rates specified in section 3 (1) (a) of the principal Act.

The Madras Local Boards (Amendmeut) Act. 1945 (Madras Act X of 1945) (29-6-1945) :—To raise with effect from the 1st July 1945 the rate of land cess from one anna and a half to two annas in the rupee of the annual rent value of all occupied lands.

The Madras Medical Registration (Amendment) Act, 1945, (Madras Act XI of 1945 (29-6-1945) :—To empower the Govt., during the continuance of the war and a period of six months therafter, to extend the term of office of the members of the Madras Medical Council.

The Madras Prevention of Couching Act., 1945 (Madras Act XII of *1945)* (18-6-1945) :—To penalise the performance of the operation of "Couching" by unqualified persons.

The Madras Prevention of Begging Act, 1945 (Madras Act XIII of 1945) (*24-6-'45*) :—To provide for the prevention of begging in the muffasil, the Act sanctions the committal to a work-house, or special home of beggers aged 16 and above.

The Madras State Land (Second Amendment) Act, 1945 (Madras Act XIV of 1945) (28-6-1945) :—To empower the Collector to execute, on the application of the party concerned, the orders passed by a special Tribunal constituted under Section 185-A (2) of the principal Act.

The Madras Electricity (Validation of Levy of Surcharges) Act, 1945. (Madras Act XV of 1945) (8-7-1945) :—To remove doubts raised in respect of certain orders of the Government under Rule 81 of the Defence of India Rule directing the levy of surcharge by certain electrical undertakings on the price of electrical energy supplied by them.

The Madras City Improvement Trust Act, 1945. (Madras Act XVI of 1945.) (12-7-'45) :—To provide for the Improvement and expansion of the City of Madras and the constitution of an Improvement Trust therefore.

The Court-fees (Madras Amendment Act 1945) (Madras Act XVII of 1945). 1-9-1945) :—To amend Article 18 of Schedule II to the Court-fees Act, 1870 (as amended by Madras Act V of 1922) as this was rendered necessary by the repeal of the Second Schedule to the Code of Civil Procedure by the Arbitration Act, 1940.

The Madras City Municipal (Amendment) Act 1945, (Madras Act XVIII of 1945) (11-9-1945) :—To authorise the increase in the levy of surcharge on the stamp duty payable in respect of the instruments of sale, gift and mortgage with possession of immovable property situated within the limits of the City of Madras.

The Madras Registration Births and Deaths (Amendment) Act, 1945 (Madras Act XIX of 1945) (17-10-1945) :—To give effect to the recommendation of the Royal Commission on Labour that in the case of plantations the manager should be required to maintain registers of births and deaths.

The Madras District Municipalities and Local Boards (Amendment) Act, 1945 Madras Act XX of 1945.) (18-10-1945) :—To authorise the levy of a surcharge on the stamp duty payable in respect of the instruments of sale, gift and mortgage

with possession of immovable property situated within the limits of a municipality or local board.

The Madras Commercial Crops Markets (Amendment) Act. 1945, (Madras Act XXI of 1945.) (1-11-45) :—To provide that where a market committee is established for any notified commercial crop, no licence will be granted or renewed to a person in respect of any place for the purchase and sale of such crop, if it is situated within a prescribed distance of the market.

The Madras Civil Courts (Amendment) Act 1945. (Madras Act XXII of 1945) 4-12-1945) :—To empower the High Court to receive appeals when the District Court in which they have ordinarily to be filed is closed during vacation.

The Madras District Municipalities (Amendment) Act, 1945 (Madras Act XXIII of 1945) (5-12-1945) :—To empower the Government to require any municipal council to sanction one or more post of Asst. Municipal Electrical Engineer.

The Malabar Tenancy (Second Amendment) Act, 1945. (Madras Act, XXIV of 1945) (5-12-1945) :—To make it clear that the eviction of a tenant under clause (5) of Sections 14 and 20 should be allowed only if the landlord needs the holding for raising crops or other produce for his own maintenance or for that of any member of his family, tarward or tavazhi having a proprietory interest in the holding.

The Criminal Tribes (Madras Amendment) Act, 1945 (Madras Act XXV of 1945) (6-12-1945) :—To empower the Superintendent of Police also, subject to the control of the District Magistrate, to hold in abeyance a direction of the Government under Section 10(i) (a).

The Madras Pawn brokers (Amendment) Act 1945 (Madras Act XXVI of 1945) (18-12-1945) :—To restrict the scope of section 2 (5) (ii) of the Principal Act to advances made by regular banking companies.

The Madras District Municipalities (Amendment) Act 1946 (Madras Act I of 1946), (11-1-1946) :—To enable the Commissioners of Madura Municipality to draw from the 1st January, 1945 the war allowance sanctioned by the Secretary of State.

The Madras Motor Vehicles Taxation (Amendment) Act, 1946 (Madras Act II of 1946), (15-1-1946) :—To enable municipalities constituted after the 1st April 1931, to get the benefit of compensation for loss of tolls or vehicle tax on motor vehicles.

The Madras Legislative Assembly (Railway Employees Removal of disqualifications) Act, 1946, (Madras Act III of 1946). (28-1-1946) :—To remove the disqualifications of employees in State Railways in this Province, who hold an office of profit under the Crown in Iudia, for being chosen or and for being members of the Madras Legislative Assembly.

The Madras Gaming (Amendment) Act. 1946, (Madras Act IV of 1946) (29-1-1946) :—To extend the scope of the definition of 'Gaming' to cover all forms of wagering and to extend the definitions of "Common gaming-house" and "Instruments of gaming" to cover gaming generally.

The Madras Debt Conciliation (Amendment) Act 1946. (Madras Act V of 1946) (27-2-1946) :—To provide that all applications pending on the date on which a board ceased to exist and in respect of which a direction had not been issued by the Government under Section 4 A, should be deemed to have been dismissed on the date on which the new provision would come into force.

The Madras District Municipalities (Second Amendment) Act, 1946. (Madras Act VI of 1946) (11-3-1946) :—To empower the Government to frame rules prescribing the manner in which, and the person or persons by whom, the annual value of lands which are not exclusively used for agricultural purposes, shall be estimated or revised.

The Madras District Municipalities and *Local Boards) Amendment). Act VII of 1946).* (21-3-1946) :—To enable Government to constitute a separate highways Department and to take under its control roads of Military importance and other important roads in the Province and to transfer from the control of local bodies, important roads within their areas, to the control of the new Department.

The Madras Elementary Education (Amendment) Act 1946 (Madras Act VIII of 1946) 16-3-1946) :—To transfer to the District Educational Officer the powers formerly exercised by the Commissioner, Corporation of Madras, etc., in regard to the enforcement of compulsory attendance of children in areas where compulsory education has been introduced.

The Madras Land Acquisition (Ex-Service Men's Settlements) Act., 1946 (Madras

Act IX of 1946) (31-8-1946) :—To take power to acquire land for making grants to or for the benefit of demobilised soldiers, sailors and airmen.

The Madras Hindu Religious Endowments (Amendment) Act, 1946. (*Madras Act X of 1946*) (26-8-46) :—To give effect to certain recommendations of a non-official committee appointed for the purpose of suggesting improvements in the administration of Hindu Religious Endowments in this Province.

The Madras Local Boards (Amendment) Act, 1946. (*Madras Act XI of 1946*) (29-8-1946) :—To remove certain difficulties encountered in working the Act and to improve the administration of district boards in the light of past experience.

The Madras Village Panchayats Act, 1946 (*Madras Act XII* of *1946*). (27-8-1946) ;—To exclude Panchayats from the ambit of the Madras Local Boards Act, and to frame a separate enactment and place them in charge of District Collectors.

**The Madras Payment of Salaries and Removal of Disqualifications (Amendment) Act, 1946* (*Madras Act XIII of 1946*). (10-6-1946) :—To increase the salaries of the Ministers, the Speaker, and Deputy Speaker, the President, and Deputy President, the Parliamentary Secretaries and Members of the Legislature in view of the increase in the cost of living.

The Government of Bombay

Acts—1944—46

The City of Bombay Municipal (Post-War Reconstruction Fund) Act, 1944 (*Bombay Act XIII of 1944*) (7-11-1944) :—To provide for the creation of a special post-war reconstruction fund and to confer upon the Municipal Corporation of the City of Bombay the power to apply its ordinary revenue for the purpose of creating such special fund intended to be used for expenditure at some indefinite future time, dependent upon the duration of hostilities.

The Bombay Rent Restriction (Second Amendment) Act, 1944 (*Bombay Act XVI of 1944*) (24-11-1944) :—To penalise any landlord who receives directly or through an agent any fine, premium or other like sum in addition to rent in contravention of sub-Section (1) of Section 10 of the Bombay Rent Restriction Act, 1939.

The Bombay Rents, Hotel Rates and Lodging House rates (Control) (Amendment) Act, 1944 (*Bombay Act XV of 1944* (24-11-1944) :—To provide for penalties for breach of certain provisions of the Bombay Rents, Hostel Rates and Lodging Rates (Control) Act, 1944.

The Bombay Growth of Food crops (Amendment) Act, 1944 (*Bombay Act XVI of 1944*) (6-12-1944) :—To provide for adjustment of rents payable to the superior holders by the inferior holders in the light of prices of scheduled food crops grown compulsorily on the tenant's holding and certain other factors and certain other matters.

The City of Bombay (Building Works Restriction) Act, 1944 (*Bombay Act XVIII Of 1944* (20 12-1944) :—To restrict the construction, alteration or repair of any building in the area in the Bombay City which was devastated by the fires resulting from the explosions that occurred on April 14, 1944.

The Bombay Increase of Stamp Duties (Amendment) Act, 1944* (*Bombay Act XIX of 1944*) (23-12-1944) :—To reduce the rates of surcharge leviable under the Bombay Increase of Stamp Duties Act, 1943.

The Bombay Municipul Boroughs (Amendment) Act 1944 (*Bombay Act XX of 1944*) (29-12-1944) :—To provide that persons whose names have been entered in the Municipal electoral roll will be qualified to vote at a municipal election in such municipal borough only if they have paid all arrears of the Municipal taxes within three months next preceding the last day for receipt of applications for enrolment in the list of voters under preparation or revision.

The City of Bombay Municipal (Amendment) Act, 1945 (*Bombay Act I of 1945*) (31-1-1945) :—To give relief to the Municipal Corporation of the City of Bombay by reducing the municipal contribution to the improvement schemes account for a further period of three years from April 1, 1945, on which date the relief afforded by Bombay Act XVI of 1942 ceases to operate.

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*The first 40 Acts were made by H.E. the Governor in exercise of the powers of the Provincial Legislature assumed by him by the Proclamation issued under Section 93 of the Government of India Act, 1935. The last Act, *viz.*, Madras Act, XIII of 1946, was passed by the Madras Legislature.

The Bombay Village Panchayats (Amendment) Act, 1945 (Bombay Act II of 1945) (8-3-1945) :—(i) To provide for the revenue and police patels being *ex-officio* members of village panchayats :—(ii) To provide for exemption from the levy of the tax by village panchayats of certain classes of buildings ; and (iii) To prescribe the modes for the presentation of bills and writs of demand.

The Bombay Land Improvement Schemes (Amendment) Act 1945 (Bombay Act VII af1945) (17-4-1945) :—To simplify the procedure prescribed under the Principal Act by dispensing with formal notices, the detailed provisions of Sections 7 and 8 and the preparation of records of rights liabilities under Section 13 of the Principal Act.

The Bombay Agricultural Debtor's Relief (Amendment). Act, 1945. (Bombay Act VIII of 1945) (19-4-1945) :—To give effect to the recommendations of the committee appointed by Government to inquire into the working of the Bombay Agricultural Debtor's Relief Act, 1939, with a view to ascertain the defects which obstruct the smooth working of the Act and the measures to be taken for remedying those defects and to suggest measures for simplifying the procedure of debt adjustment and to provide for a large scale and speedy composition of agricultural debts.

The Mussalman Wakf (Bombay (Amendment) Act. 1945. (Bombay Act XV of 1945) (7-6-1945) :—To provide that a Court should have jurisdiction to decide when the existences of a Wakf exists and whether it is a Wakf to which the Mussalman Wakf Act in its application to the Province of Bombay applies.

The Bombay Weights and Measures (Amendment) Act 1945. (Bombay Act XVI of 1945) (24-7-1945) :—To provide for the penalty for giving short weight or measures in cases in which the amount of error to be tolerated has not been prescribed by Government under Section 46-A of the Principal Act.

The Greater Bombay Laws and the Bombay Highcourt (Declaration of Limits) Act, 1945, (Bombay XVII of 1945) (8-8-1945) :—To extend the limits of the City of Bombay by including therein some portion of the Bombay Suburban District.

The Bombay Rents, Hotel Rates and Lodginy House Rates (Control) (Amendment) Act, 1945. (Bombay Act XVIII of 1945) (23-8-1945) :—To extend the provisions of Part II of the Bombay Rents, Hotel Rates and Lodging House Rates (Control) Act, 1944. to business premises in the Bombay Suburban District.

The Bombay Industrial Disputes (Amendment) Act. 1945. (Bombay Act XIX of 1945) (29-10-1945) :—To empower the Labour Officer to convene a meeting in the mill compounds and to require the employee to post announcement of such meeting at such places on the premises as he may order.

The Land Acquisition (Bombay Amendment) Act, 1945. (Bombay Act XX of 1945). (30-10-1945) :—To secure that Land acquisition proceedings be completed as expeditiously as possible, and for this purpose to authorise the preliminary survey of lands likely to be needed for any public purpose and to empower officers to carry out such survey.

The Bombay Primary Education and Local Boards (Amendment) Act, 1945. (Bombay Act XXI of 1945). (5-1-45) :—To raise the limits of the minimum and maximum rates at which the local fund cess on land revenue can be levied, and to make the payment of dearness allowance by local authorities to their staff compulsory at the rates fixed by Government.

The Bombay Beggars Act, 1945. (Bombay Act XXIII of 1945) (12-2-1945) :—To provide for the prevention of begging, for the detention, training and employment of beggars and their dependents in Certified Institutions, and for the custody, trial and punishment of beggar offenders in the Province of Bombay.

The City of Bombay Municipal (Amendment) Act, 1946. (Bombay Act I of 1946 (18-1-1946) :—(1) To facilitate the preparation and revision of the Municipal elections roll and the conduct of elections by delimiting the existing electoral divisions of the City and to provide for the preparation of a Municipal election roll only once every four years, instead of every year as required before the passing of this Act.

(2) To make certain amendments relating to disqualifications for being a councillor, and

(3) To provide for new electors, who became qualified in the period between two general election roll upon claims being made.

The Bombay Agricultural Debtors Relief (Amendment) Act, 1946. (Bombay Act II of 1946) (1-2-1946) :—To give an option to the creditors to agree to such scaling down of the debts as to bring them within the scheme agreed to by the Land Mortgage Bank *viz.*, the said Banks should take over the awards in all cases where the total amount of award is 50 per cent. or less of the value of the debtor's

immovable property and the creditors should be compelled to receive payment from those Banks for this long term credit.

The Bombay Rent Restriction and the Bombay Rents, Hotel Rate and Lodging House Rates (Control) (Amendment) Act, 1946. (Bombay Act IV of 1946) (14-2-1946) —To provide that a lessee, to whom the premises are rented on a lease for a period of one year or more, should be allowed to continue as tenant within the meaning both of Section 4 (4) of the Bombay Rent Restriction Act, 1939 and Section 4 (5) and Section 17 (6) of the Bombay Rents, Hotel Rates, and Lodging House Rates (Control) Act, 1943, and get protection from eviction provided for tenants in the two Acts mentioned above.

The Bombay Sales Tax Act, 1946. (Bombay Act V of 1946) (28-2-1946) :—To levy a tax on the sale of goods or, more accurately, on the turnover of such sale.

The Bombay Sales Motor Spirit Taxation Act, 1946. (Bombay Act VI of 1946) (6-3-1946) :—To provide for the levy of a tax on the sales of the motor spirit in the Province of Bombay.

The Bombay District Municipal and Municipal Boroughs (Amendment) Act, 1946. Bombay Act VII of 1946) (12-3-1946) :—To provide that motor vehicles plying between the limits of two or more borough municipalities or Municipal Districts shall not escape wheel tax but shall be liable to it in one Municipal area only.

The Bombay Finance (Amendment) Act, 1946. (Bombay Act. IX of 1946) (26-3-1946) :—To provide that the imports of an electricty duty, enhanced stamp duty and Court-fees, and the Urban immovable property tax should continue for another year and that the Urban immovable property tax should be extended to the Poona City and the Poona Suburban Borough Municipalities and the Cantonments of Poona and Kirkee at the rates levied in the Municipal borough of Ahmedabad.

The Bombay Legislature Members (Removal of Disqualifications) (Amendment) Act, 1946. (Bombay Act X of 1946) (23-3-1946) :—To repeal section 4 of the Act providing that a person should not be disqualified for election or continuance as a Member of either Chamber of the Bombay Legislature by reason only that he held or accepted any office in the service of the Crown in India certified by the Government of Bombay to be an office created for a purpose connected with the prosecution of war.

The Bombay Legislature Members' Salaries and Allowances (Amendment) Act, 1946 (Bombay Act XI of 1946) (4-6-1946) :—To raise the salary and daily allowance of members of the Bombay Legislature.

The Bombay Legislative Council (President and Deputy President and the Bombay Legislative Assembly (Speaker and Deputy Speaker) Salaries (Amendment) Act XII of 1946). (6-6-1946) :—To raise the salary and motor-car maintenance allowance of the President of the Bombay Legislative Council and the speaker of the Bombay Legislative Assembly and to raise the salary paid to the Deputy President of the Bombay Legislative Council and the Deputy Speaker of the Bombay Legislative Assembly.

The Bombay Ministers' Salaries (Amendment) Act. 1946. (Bombay Act XIII of 1946) (15-6-1946) :—To raise the salary and motor-car allowance of the Ministers.

The Bombay Town Planning (Amendment) Act 1946. (Bombay Act XIV of 1946) (3-7-1946) :—To enable the Provincial Government to extend the period of 12 months allowed to a local Authority to prepare and publish a draft scheme; to render the provisions regarding the issue of commendment certificates from doubt and to provide for claims to compensation in the excepted areas referred to in sub-Section (2) of Section 15 of the Principal Act being subject to the conditions of any agreements entered into between the owners and the local authorities.

Bills—1946

A Bill to amend the Kh^{o}ti Settlement Act, 1880 (L. A. Bill No. V of 1946) (15-7-1946) :—To secure to the Khots their legitimate rights and just privileges while at the same time safeguarding the tenants' interests by bringing it in line with Sections 14 to 31 of the Bombay Tenancy Act.

A Bill to re-enact the Bombay Tenancy Amendment) Act, 1941, and to amend the Bombay Tenancy Act, 1939 (L.A. Bill No. VII of 1946) (19-7-1946) :—To repeal and re-enact Sections 2 to 7 of the Bombay Tenancy (Amendment) Act, 1941, to validate the gradual and piecemeal application of the Act; to modify the relevant provisions of the Act, to shift on the landlord the onus of proving that the tenant is not entitled to certain rights conferred on him by the Act and to prescribe penalties for the failure of the landlord to discharge the liabilities imposed on him by the Act.

A Bill to amend the Indian Electricity Act, 1910, in its application to the Province of Bombay (L. A. Bill No. IX of 1946) (26-7-1946) :—To provide for the continuance of the possession already obtained, pending the completion of the purchase of the undertaking by Government.

The Bombay Cotton (Statistics) Bill (L. A. Bill No. XI of 1946) (26-7-1946) :—To facilitate the collection of statistics of stocks of Indian raw cotton in the Province of Bombay.

Bombay Prevention of the Hindu Bigamous Marriages Bill (L. A. Bill No. XII of 1946) (26-7-1946) :—To provide for the prevention of bigamous marrigages among Hindus.

The Government of N. W. F. Province Acts—1946.

The Punjab Tenancy (N.-W. F. P. *Amendment) Act, Act I of 1946.* (5-4.1946) :—To apply the provisions of the Arbitration Act to cases pending in Revenue Courts in the N. W. F. Province.

The N.-W.F.P. Sales of Motor Spirit (Amendment) Act, 1946. (Act II of 1946) (5-4-1946) :—1. To avoid smuggling in the neighbouring Provinces of the Punjab.

2. To increase the revenues of the Province.

The N.-W. F. P. Hazara Forest (Amendment) Act III of 1946 (5-4-1946) :—To empower the D. C. Hazara, to set apart a portion of the waste land in an estate for the growth of grass, trees, etc., in cases of individual ownership.

The N. W. F. P. Control of Advertisements relating to medicines Act, 1946 (Act IV of 1946). (5-4-1946) :—To establish control of the publication of advertisements relating to medicines.

The N.-W. F. P. Legislative Assembly Members' allowances (Amendment) Act, 1946 (Act V of 1946) (5-4-1946) :—To provide for a compensatory allowance of Rs. 200 p. m. for members of the Legislative Assembly.

The N.-W. F. P. Legislative Assembly Speaker's and Deputy Speaker's Salaries (Amendment) Act (No. VI of 1946) (5-4-1946) :—To raise the salary of the Deputy Speaker from Rs. 200 p. m. to Rs. 400 p. m.

The Punjab and District Board N.-W. F. P, (Amendment) Act, 1946, (No. VII of 1946), (6-4-1946) .—To vest in the Provincial Government the powers of employment, transfer, promotion etc., of the staff serving in Veterinary, Educational and Medical Institutions of District Boards.

The Punjab Municipal (N.-W. F. P. (Amendment) Bill, 1946 (Act VIII of 1946) (15-4-1946) :—To vest in the Provincial Government the powers of employment, transfer and promotion of the personnel employed in veterinary, medical and educational institutions of the Municipal Committees.

To regularize the Municipal elections.

Disturbances in Calcutta

Sequel to Agitation over I. N. A. Sentence

First Day—Calcutta—11th. February 1946

Disturbances broke out in Calcutta on the 11th February 1946, following demonstrations organised to protest againt the sentence imposed on *Captain Abdul Rashid* of the Indian National Army. The police were reported to have opened fire on three occasions to disperse crowds in different parts of Calcutta.

The police used tear gas to disperse a crowd in North Calcutta, which was hurling stones and brickbats at military lorries in Vivekananda Road area.

Five military vehicles were set on fire near the crossing of Central Avenue and Vivekananda Road. None of the drivers were injured. Another four military vehicles were similarly destroyed in front of the Manicktola Market near Upper Circular Road.

As the morning advanced, crowds on the roads and excitement increased and tram and bus services were suspended in many areas.

Most shops in North and Central Calcutta were closed. In Bhowanipore, Jogu Babu's Bazar, a crowd erected barricades on Russa Road with dustbins and other implements and held up passing vehicles, compelling passengers to get down. A police party which asked the crowd to disperse was stoned. After some time the police used tear gas but this also failed to disperse the crowd. The police then opened fire. One person was killed and eight injured.

An unconfirmed report stated that fire was opened from a military type of vehicle on a crowd near the crossing of Beadon Street and Chittaranjan Avenue.

A military vehicle was set on fire near Hazra Park in South Calcutta. Another military vehicle was burning near Jogu Babu's Bazar.

The police opened fire for the second time in South Calcutta, on the 12th February, when at about a quarter past two they dispersed a crowd in the Hazra Park area. Five persons were injured in the firing, two of them seriously.

A military vehicle was burning here and a large crowd had gathered and was attempting to hold up passing conveyances. When the police tried to disperse it, they were met with brickbats and stones. The police then opened fire resulting in the above-mentioned casualties. About 15 policemen were injured in the morning's incidents in the Bhowanipore area.

Student Demonstrators Dispersed

Twenty-seven students were arrested today in two clashes with police during a demonstration protesting against the sentencing last week of Capt. Abdul Rashid, of the Indian National Army. Several persons sustained minor injuries when struck by police lathis or missile thrown by the crowd.

The students, both Hindus and Muslims, left their classes and gathered in Wellington Square for a meeting, where it was decided to March to Dalhousie Square in the downtown area. Police said the square is a restricted area.

The students were passing the Lal Bazar Police Station in the downtown section when the police broke up the parade with a lathi charge. Thirteen persons were arrested.

Later, the students made an attempt to reach the Square by another route proceeding south on Strand Road to Canning Street. Near Clive Street, they were again intercepted by the police and the marches were dispersed by a lathi charge. Fourteen were arrested.

A large crowd continued to gather in front of the police station early to-night but there were no reports of further disturbances. Truck-loads of Indian police officers in jeeps recently purchased by the Government from the United States Army and radio patrol cars cruised around the city.

In an address at the meeting in Wellington Square Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, Secretary, Bengal Muslim League Parliamentary Board, and former Minister of Bengal, deprecated the lathi charge and arrests made by the police. He expressed satisfaction at the sight of Congress and Muslim League flags flying side by side.

When the school and college students struck classes, they converged on Wellington Square, carrying both Congress and League flags and shouting slogans of both political parties.

MILITARY LORRIES SET ON FIRE

Following the afternoon's incidents in Dalhousie Square area, many shops in Burrabazar and North Calcutta were closed and vehicular traffic, including trams and buses, came to a standstill on some roads.

In the evening two military lorries were set on fire at the crossing of Harrison Road and Chittaranjan Avenue.

Two more military lorries were set on fire on Chittaranjan Avenue later and there were thus four of them burning within a total distance of half a mile

A procession which started from College Square in the evening marched through College Street, Bow Bazar Street, Sealdah and Harrison Road, carrying Congress and Muslim League flags and shouting slogans urging Hindu-Muslim unity and destruction of British Imperialism. It held up tramcars, buses and other conveyances and asked people to dismount and go on foot. Shops were asked to close and to observe a hartal on the next day.

Firing of four or five rounds from a military type vehicle was reported by eye-witnesses to have occurred at about 9 in night on Chittaranjan Avenue, near Colootola Street. It was not known whether any persons were injured in this.

Three persons with bullet injuries were treated at one of the hospitals. The injury of one of them was serious.

By 10 at night, crowds had mostly dispersed, but military trucks were still burning, about half a dozen of them having been set on fire in different parts of North Calcutta.

Estimates of injured in the day's incidents varied from half a dozen to scores.

TEAR GAS USED—12 FEB.

Reports of yesterday's incidents in the City were splashed in the morning's Calcutta Press. Firing by the police was stated to have occurred but till early this morning no authoritative confirmation was available.

The Statesman reported that the police opened fire on mobs on three occasions at night in different parts of Calcutta. Tear Gas was also used for the first time in many years and lathi charges were made. Over thirty persons were injured, ten receiving gunshot wounds. The condition of four injured persons lying in the Medical College Hospital was reported to be serious. Some forty arrests were made, said the paper.

The Statesman added that a large mob attacked the Bowbazar Police Station. Converging on the Central Avenue from different lanes and bylanes, a crowd said to be one thousand strong, approached the thana building, shouting slogans and throwing brickbats. The Officer-in-charge and the few policemen left at the thana went upstairs and fired on the attackers.

On Chittaranjan Avenue, the police and the Fire Brigade who tried to put out a blaze were attacked with stones and other missiles according to *The Statesman.*

Tear gas was used but this failing to have effect the police opened the fire after which the crowd dispersed. The police also opened fire to disperse a menacing crowd in the front of a cinema theatre nearby.

STUDENT SECRETARY'S STATEMENT

The General Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Students' Federation, Mr. *A. S. Bhattacharjee,* in a statement, says that several scores of young men have been arrested and wounded in the incident near Dalhousie Square this afternoon. He stated that when the processionists arrrived at Clive Street approach to Dalhousie Square they were faced by a cordon of police. An Indian Police Officer asked them whether they were ready to go peacefully. He (General Secretary) replied on behalf of the demonstrators that they would maintain absolute peace but they must be allowed to go. He next addressed the students and on his request they all squatted down. He spoke for ten minutes and a member of the Muslim Students' League got up to speak. But before he started an Indian police officer shouted: 'Either you go back or we smash.' Then smash came with lathis and batons, said Mr. Bhattacharjee. A contingent of not less than 200 policemen, Gurkhas, Sergeants and policeman was let loose on the processionists who were still squatting peacefully. Exact figures were not known, but the indiscriminate assault cost the student community at least several scores in arrested and wounded, many of them being school students of very young age.

CITY OUT OF BOUNDS FOR U. S. TROOPS

Calcutta was placed temporarily out of bounds for U. S. Troops owing to the disturbed situation of the city. It was learnt that a few American Military lorries

were damaged in last evening's incidents but correct figures were not yet available. Three Military personnel were slightly injured.

MUSLIM SHOPS CLOSED IN DELHI

As a mark of protest against the sentence passed on Captain Abdul Rashid of I. N. A., all Muslim shops in the city were closed on 11th Feb.

In spite of a ban, a procession was taken out in the city. Some 2,000 Muslims carrying League flags, marched towards the Assembly Chamber and held a demonstration in front of the Assembly for about half an year.

At Parliament Street, the processionists were alleged to have man-handled a party of British soldiers and three British civilians in front of the All-India Radio were reported to have been knocked down from their cycles and pelted with stones. Several military lorries were also stopped by the processionists.

PUNJAB MUSLIM LEAGUE'S RESOLUTION—11 FEB.

The Punjab Provincial Muslim League, in a telegram to Sir Claude Auchinleck, Commander-in-Chief, demanded the immediate release of Capt. Abdul Rashid of the Indian National Army. The League characterised the sentence of seven years passed against him as "wholly unjust".

BOMBAY MUSLIMS OBSERVE HARTAL—12 FEB.

Bombay Muslims observed a hartal to-day as a mark of protest against the sentence of seven years' imprisonment passed on Captain Abdul Rashid of the Indian National Army and to urge his release.

Second Day—Calcutta—12th. February 1946

Mile long Procession

A mile-long procession in which over a lakh of people—Hindus and Muslims, Congressmen, Leaguers, Communists, students and women—joined, paraded through the Dalhousie Square area this afternoon as a mark of protest against the sentence passed on Captain Abdul Rashid of the I. N. A. The processionists carried Congress, League, Communist and Khaksar flags and shouted slogans demanding the release of Captain Rashid and other I. N. A. prisoners and urging Hindu-Muslim unity.

Starting from Wellington Square after a mammoth public meeting held there to condemn yesterday's police lathi charges and firing, the procession was led by Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, ex-Minister, Bengal and Mr. Satish Chandra Das Gupta of Khadi Pratisthan, the two leaders moving arm-in-arm under Congress and League flags tied together and held aloft by volunteers.

Emerging from Wellington Square, it passed through Ganesh Chandra Avenue and Mission Row extension and finally went round Dalhousie Square, where similar processions organised under the joint auspices of the Congress and League had been disallowed and dispersed twice by lathi charge yesterday afternoon on the ground that the area was a prohibited one. The processionists were peaceful and orderly and there was no incident till it passed Dalhousie Square.

An incident occurred when the procession was passing along Bowbazar Street. It is stated a police lorry was coming from the opposite direction, presumably on its way to the headquarters. It was caught in the traffic jam caused by the procession and there was a stampede. A number of people from the crowd surrounded the lorry, some of them trying to snatch away lathis which the constables were carrying. At this stage, tear gas was used. Mr. Suhrawardy and Mr. Das Gupta, who were at the head of the procession, and were not aware of what was happening in the rear, retraced their steps after the incident and succeeded in restoring order among the excited crowd. The procession then resumed its march to the city street.

Interviewed by an Associated Press representative while he was leading the procession in Dalhousie Square, Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy said that after seeing the demonstration, Government should realise the intensity of feeling that existed regarding Captain Abdul Rashid's release. The agitation was not confined to a handful of students. The entire Hindu and Muslim public had joined it.

Mr. Suhrawardy added that this was a warning that once the Muslim public was roused, it would need all the force of Government to restrain it. It took what it demanded. "The reason for our success is the sincerity of purpose behind all this agitation and if all the parties concerned could combine together on one common platform with the same sincerity, the problem of India would be solved. I hope that a sincere attempt will be made now in this atmosphere for mutual co-operation and understanding each other's point of view and evolve something which may be acceptable to both the Congress and the League."

"Let it not be misunderstood that we are against the individual Britisher," continued Mr. Suhrawardy. "I have heard to-day some people speaking of revenge. This spirit is entirely wrong. We shall eradicate British imperialism root and branch, but we take no revenge. Our movement is founded on moral principles."

Five United States military vehicles were set on fire last night in the disturbances. A United States Officer First Lieutenant Horate J. Gabart, who was proceeding to his headquarters along Chittaranjan Avenue, was attacked by a mob and sustained a fractured arm. He was rescued by the United States military police.

City Life Paralysed

City life in some places appeared to be paralysed, said an Associated Press of India representative, who motored round the disturbed area about mid-day to-day. Most of the disturbances were reported from Chittaranjan Avenue area, the biggest thoroughfare in North Calcutta running from the northern extremity to Esplanade. On this road not a single wheeled vehicle was being allowed to pass without some sort of interference. While several motor trucks had already been set on fire, many private cars, hackney carriages, rickshaws and even bicycles were being stopped. The occupants were being persuaded by students and young men to get down and walk to their destination. In many places the broad thoroughfare was entirely blocked from one footpath to another by dustbins and debris of broken baffle walls, which had been placed to hold up any passing vehicle

Instances of burning of lorries and police firing also occurred in South Calcutta.

Police Open Fire Again

The police opened fire again in front of the Hazra Park at about 3 p. m. jus after the first firing there, when demonstrators attacked a party of policemen with brickbats. Three persons were injured as a result of firing and removed to hospital. This was the third firing resorted to by police in South Calcutta, and the fourth so far to-day in the city as a whole.

At about 2 p. m. the police dispersed a large crowd at the crossing of Bow Bazar Street and Central Avenue by firing tear gas cartridges, following the burning of several military trucks.

Among the policemen injured in to-day's disturbances in Bhowanipur area, were the Deputy Commissioner of police, Mr. S. Doha, and Assistant Commissioner of Police, Mr. R. N. Gupta.

The Police had to open fire thrice between 4 and 6-30 in the evening at Esplanade Junction, where stray demonstrators were alleged to have stoned police vans and molested passersby, including women, dragging them out of their motor cars, and created disturbances. Several persons were reported to have been injured as a result of these firings but their number was not known.

Attacks on Passers-by

There were also incidents of stray assaults on passersby, and the police in Dalhousie Square Area after the procession had passed off. In one case a number of demonstrators were stated to have snatched away turbans of some police constables and made a bonfire of them. They also attacked and severely assaulted a Gurkha officer in uniform at the crossing of the old Court House Street and Dalhousie Square South.

Some European businessmen passing along the old Court House Street faced a shower of brickbats thrown by some demonstrators, resulting in damage to their motor cars. No one was, however, injured. Following these incidents the area was being patrolled by armoured cars.

A procession, composed mainly of Gurkhas paraded the disturbed areas in South Calcutta late in the after-noon to-day. The processionists were carrying Congress and League flags side by side and included a number of women.

Tram Depot Set on Fire

The Kalighat Tram Depot was set on fire to-night and nine trams were burnt down. A tower wagon was also destroyed in the fire, and the roof of the depot was brought down. The fire was subsequently brought under control by fire engines. The cash room of the depot was raided and burnt.

The Calcutta fire brigade received about 80 fire calls in connection with the disturbances since they broke out yesterday.

The Kalighat Post Office was damaged in a fire to-night. A railway booking office at the junction of Mazzarfa Road and Russa Road in South Calcutta was broken into and looted by miscreants.

It was reported that mobs had put up bamboo barricades at one or two places in South Calcutta.

A lorry belonging to the Khadi Pratistan at Sodepore (where Mahatma Gandhi stayed during his recent Bengal visit) was attacked and set on fire by rowdy elements this evening on Ashutosh Mookherjee Road, South Calcutta.

The lorry was fitted with microphones and loud-speaker equipment lent by the Muslim League and was flying both the Muslim League and Congress flags. It was carrying a number of volunteers who had come to restore order in the disturbed areas and to persuade the people to go home. Several volunteers received injuries and the microphone and loud-speaker were destroyed. These volunteers had toured North Calcutta in the same lorry earlier on a similar mission. They then proceeded to South Calcutta where the incident occurred.

SHOPS DAMAGED IN CHOWRINGHEE

Chowringhee, one of the main shopping and amusement centres of the city, suffered heavily in the disturbance. An Associated Press representative who toured the area found that glass show windows of the majority of shops and restaurants had been smashed. Broken glass were lying scattered all over the pavement.

Park Street which is a high class business and residential locality, also suffered damage. Doors and windows were broken. Many firms in this area appointed their own men to guard their damaged premises. In addition, British troops were patrolling the street.

Restaurants, cinemas and theatres in Chowringhee remained closed.

Metro Cinema, a landmark of Chowringhee, presented a sorry picture with all its glass broken.

Several European establishments and flats in the Park Street area were also raided by hooligans. In some cases, curtains and furniture were removed and set fire on the road.

Half-a-dozen flats tenanted by Anglo-Indians in Creek Row were attacked by a mob but Indian residents of the area intervened and persuaded the crowd to disperse.

Leaders of different political parties were seen patrolling the disturbed areas and pacifying the crowds till late in the night. The situation about midnight was quiet, the affected areas being lulled into silence with armed pickets watching over them.

Peace squads, formed of Muslim Leaguers, Communists and Congressmen, were on some occasions challenged by the military, but later let off and allowed to contact people of the affected area.

GOVERNOR'S APPEAL

His Excellency the Governor of Bengal, Mr. R. G. Casey, announced to-night that he had asked the Army to come to the assistance of civil power so that order might be restored in Calcutta as quick as possible. His Excellency was broadcasting from the Calcutta Station of the All-India Radio. He said:

"I regret to have to tell you that Calcutta is again in a state of disturbance. Arising out of political procession held yesterday afternoon, the situation has degenerated and has rapidly developed into an attempt at mob rule in several important parts of Calcutta. Within a very short time from the holding of the procession, unruly elements started looting shops and setting fire to buildings and transport. A number of motor lorries have been burnt—both army vehicles and lorries containing the people's food. Peaceful citizens are being molested in many parts of Calcutta.

"It is impossible to believe that any of the principal political parties are supporting the present state of affairs. The mob are trying to take charge—and they are not going to be allowed to take charge.

"The situation is such that I have asked the Army to come to the assistance of the civil power in order that order may be restored in Calcutta as quick as possible.

"I am speaking to you at this early stage so that the public of Calcutta may be aware of the steps that are being taken. Peaceful citizens should keep to their houses. The police and Army will not interfere with any peaceful citizens in any way whatsoever—but they will take all necessary steps against malefactors and those who refuse to obey their orders. Keep off the streets and keep out of trouble. Both the Army and the police will use the greatest possible restraint—provided they are not interfered with. If the troops are impeded in their efforts to restore order and to open up the roads to normal traffic, they will use their weapons.

"You will remember that in the course of the last disturbances in late November, I was extremely reluctant to ask for the assistance of the Army. I am equally reluctant now—I believe that Army assistance is essential in the public interest and in these circumstances, I have not hesitated to invoke their aid. This mob violence must be ended and ended speedily."

"The lesson to be learnt—for the second time within a few months—is that political processions, however well-intentioned, prove nothing. They inevitably lead to public disturbance and casualties. I hope very much that this second costly experience will have its lesson for those responsible for the demonstrations in November and now."

ARMOURED CARS PATROL STREETS

Following the Governor's announcement armoured cars equipped with powerful headlights were patrolling the whole of Chowringhee. Many other parts of the city were also being patrolled by armoured cars.

About half a dozen military vehicles were seen burning in South Calcutta area late this evening. Road barricades, erected with felled trees and dustbins could not been removed in some places. Looting of some shops were also reported from South Calcutta.

CONGRESS PRESIDENT'S CALL TO CITIZENS

Regretting the incidents that were taking place in Calcutta for the last two days Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President, appealed to all the citizens to try their best to stop the spread of hooliganism in the city.

Maulana Azad, who returned from Shillong in the afternoon in a statement issued to the Associated Press of India, said:

"On my arrival here at 2 p.m. from Shillong, I was extremely shocked to hear of the incidents taking place in Calcutta for the last two days. I am making an enquiry and probably be able to give a detailed statement shortly. But it is obvious from the reports that the bad characters of the city are inflaming the sentiments of young men and utilising the situation for their nefarious ends. I would appeal to all the citizens to try to stop the spread of hooliganism. Those who are engaged in holding up the traffic, damaging military vans and other wanton acts are doing a great disservice to the best interests of the country. It is the duty of every Congress worker of the city to stand for the preservation of peace and order.

LEAGUE LEADER'S ADVICE

Qazi Mahomed Isa Khan, Member, Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, in a statement on the disturbances in Calcutta and elsewhere said:

"It is the inherent right of a citizen under a civilised government to express his dissatisfaction with and protest against any action of the Government of the day by lawful means, but at this stage I would earnestly appeal to all, and especially to Mussalmans, not to resort to direct action and wait till such time as their national organisation, the All-India Muslim League, takes a decision in the matter. At the same time, I must warn the Government not to resort to methods which would incite the people to violate the law. Let the Government adopt a saner attitude in the matter."

BRITISH PRESS FEATURE REPORTS—LONDON—FEB. 13

The riots in India formed the front-page "splash" story to-day in Britain's three most widely circulated national newspapers, which between them boast most of the adult population among their readers.

Lord Beaverbrook's *Daily Express* carried a six-column head-line "Troops called out to quell mob rule", "Calcutta crowds fire buildings." The Conservative *Daily Mail* adopted almost the same layout, while the official Labour organ, the *Daily Herald* gave seven columns—one show of the entire front page—to its head-line "Martial law in Bengal".

DEMONSTRATION IN BOMBAY—12 FEB.

Trams and Buses were stoned in the Jacob Circle, Madanpura and Foras Road areas this morning as a result of which all traffic remained suspended. As police parties moved about in these areas, there was slight improvement towards midday and vehicular traffic was resumed. Tram and bus traffic, was however, completely suspended in Muslim localities.

Six mills remained closed to-day, as the operatives refused to go to work. The working of seven other mills were affected as Muslim workers joined the hartal. All the Muslim schools remained closed to-day.

A procession organised by the Captain Rashid Protest Committee to demonstrate against the sentence passed on Capt Rashid by the Court Martial was taken out in the afternoon.

The police arrested six persons in the morning for throwing stones in the Jacob Circle area. One person was arrested. There was something also at Crawford Market.

The Deputy Commissioner of Police, Mr. Caffin, who was moving in taxi in plain clothes, was stopped between Jackeria Musjid and Crawford Market and asked to get down. He had to divert his route. In the Mahomedali Road traffic of all kinds, tram and civilian vehicles, were completely absent. Throughout the city no victoria was plying to-day as the drivers, mostly Muslims, joined in the hartal.

Bombay city and suburbs had no meat to-day following the decision of the butchers of Bandra Slaughter House to observe hartal to-day. The Crawford Market and other fruit and vegetable Markets remained closed. Workers of textile mills and two factories abstained from work.

Elaborate police arrangements were made an armed police parties were posted at important centres.

STUDENTS' RALLY IN LAHORE—12 FEB.

Students of local schools and colleges absented themselves from classes to-day in order to attend a students' rally organised in Gopal Bagh by the Lahore Students' Congress to demand the release of detenus, political prisoners and I.N.A. men.

The rally, which was presided over by Mr. Abdul Aziz, President of the Punjab Students' Congress, passed a resolution protesting against the police firing on students in Calcutta and Bombay, urging the release of Messrs. Jai Prakash Narain, Ram Monohar Lohia, Achut Patwardhan, Sardul Singh Caveeshar and other political prisoners and I. N. A. men and demanded the lifting of the ban on the Congress Socialist Party and Forward Bloc.

By another resolution the rally urged tbe release forthwith of Captain Abdul Rashid of I. N.A.

ARRESTS IN DELHI—12 FEB.

Dr. Abdul Ghani Qureshi, a member of the Delhi Provincial Muslim League Committee and three others were arrested by the police for holding a public meeting yesterday as a protest against Capt. Abdul Rashid's conviction.

About 30 Muslims were arrested by the police, including Mr. Amin Hashimi, Secretary of the Delhi Provincial Muslim League and office-bearers of the various wards in the city. Some Communists were also reported to have been arrested.

ARRESTS AT ALLAHABAD—12 FEB.

Further reports of damage done to four or five military lorries and one motor cycle in connection with the demonstrations and hartal held to-day in the city were received.

It was also reported that about four policemen were manhandled during the course of the day by some demonstrators and a book from a policeman was snatched and burnt.

An order under section 144. Cr. P. C. prohibiting assembly for taking out of procession of more than five persons within the municipal limits without previous sanction of the District Magistrate was promulgated by the District Magistate to-day.

Reports of damage done to three area rationing officers in the city by some persons while the city was observing hartal to-day were received. Stone were thrown at the central town rationing office.

Third Day—Calcutta—13th February—1946

Governor Calls Army to help

A check-up with the hospitals this morning gave the casualties as a result of incidents in the city till the early hours to-day as 15 dead and about 70 were treated and sent home.

The police opened fire about 15 times,

The total casualties as a result of the two days' disturbances thus add up to 17 dead and about 200 injured.

Formations of the military began operating in the city at eight last night, following the Governor's announcement that the Army had been called in to assist

the civil power. They patrolled the city along with the armed police all night and this was being continued this morning.

The city's tram and buses which suspended service about 11 yesterday morning could not be resumed. Except for private cars and lorry loads of military and armed police patrolling the city Central Calcutta was without traffic. Few taxis were seen on the streets but rickshaws were plying.

There was a new alertness among the police patrols to-day. They were equipped either with lathis or with rifles and each lorry load was under the command of an Anglo-Indian or Indian officer. A couple of police had their rifles ready and some of the lorries had been equipped with weird-sounding horns not very different in sound from the wail of the air raid alert.

The Commander of the United States base section headquarters, Brigadier General Wilson, in an announcement, said that the policy of the American troops will be to stay out of the Indian incidents completely. He added that all American vehicles and personnel were being withdrawn from the streets including military police cars.

District Magistrate Assaulted

The District Magistrate of 24-Parganas. Mr. M. M. Stuart, was roughly handled by a crowd yesterday at Alipore, in the Calcutta area. His car was set on fire.

Among other incidents last night was an attack on a police sergeant who was waylaid in Chittaranjan Avenue. He was taken into a narrow lane, assaulted and stripped of his clothes, and his revolver was stolen.

About 20 military vehicles were set on fire yesterday by mobs which held them up by means of road blocks. Nine trams were burnt down when the Kalighat Tram Depot was set on fire. The roof of the Depot was also brought down.

His Excellency the Governor of Bengal, Mr. R. G. Casey, announced last night that he had asked the army to come to the assistance of the civil power in order that order might be restored in Calcutta as quickly as possible.

The Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, also issued an appeal to all citizens to try to stop the spread of hooliganism. Similar appeals were also issued by Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose and Mr. Surendra Mohan Ghosh, President of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee.

The first case of firing in Calcutta to-day occurred at about 7-30 a. m. This was in Jogu Babu Bazar, in the southern half of the city, which was one of the worst affected areas yesterday.

It was learnt that the incident occurred when a mob collected there this morning to build up again the road barricade which had been cleared up yesterday to hold up traffic.

Armed pickets patrolling the area dispersed the crowd with firing.

The situation in North Calcutta remained peaceful. Armed police and military were patrolling different localities. The civil traffic police were practically withdrawn from the streets all over Calcutta since nightfall yesterday.

A post office at Manshatola in the dock workers' area of Kidderpore was set on fire in the early hours of this morning but the flames were put out soon. The University post office in the Colootola area, in North Calcutta, was also set on fire. 'Here three fire engines fought the flames and brought them under control. These incidents brought the number of post offices attacked since yesterday to three. The mob that forced its way into the Kalabagan post office yesterday looted and burnt letters, parcels and other postal articles.

Military Open Firr on Crowd

The mllitary opened fire the first time since they were called in last night when they dispersed a mob in the Wellington Square area this morning. About half a dozen rounds were fired.

Reports were current of firing in a couple of other localities but these lacked confirmation.

Between six this morning and one in the afternoon 36 injured were admited to the Medical College Hospital. The majority of these sustained either gunshot injuries or were tear-gas cases.

Tear gas was used this morning to disperse a crowd in front of the Kalighat tram depot which was the scene of a disastrous fire last night.

At about 11 a. m. armed police and military opened fire on a rowdy mob in front of Girish Park on Chittaranjan Avenue as a result of which eleven persons were injured and removed to the Medical College Hospital.

The police also opened fire at a crossing near the Upper Circular Road, but the number of casualties could not be known.

The Kalighat post office, tram depot and the Jogu Babu Bazar area in South Calcutta remained under military guard. Stationary military pickets were posted in the area and moving parties were also patrolling.

In North Calcutta there was little traffic on the main roads which were freqently patrolled by the military and armed police lorries. There were, however, knots of people in lanes and streets who came out as soon as patrols have passed, to run back to safety at the approach of other contingents of military or police.

Shops in most areas were closed but many market were functioning.

POST OFFICES CLOSED

Post offices in a number of areas remained closed to-day following the attack on three of them last night. Those which were functioning were under strong guard.

Firing occurred at half-a-dozen places. There was an incident at Manicktola. Mobs engaged in cutting tramways' overhead wires here played a game of hide and seek with military patrols, melting away when the parols approached them and re-forming when the Army vans left the place. Brickbats were also thrown at the Military. This continued for some time, and then the military used tear gas without effect. Firing was next resorted to, resulting in some casualties.

Between 2 p. m. and 6 p. m. firing was reported to have occurred thrice in the Jogu Babu Bazar area, the centre of much trouble in South Calcutta. One person was injured and removed to hospital.

The working of the Calcutta Telephone system was seriously affected to-day by the disturbances. Only about 50 of the force of 500 girl operators, mostly Anglo-Indian, turned up for work to-day. The rest had not been able to come owing to the disturbed state of the city. It was stated that some had been held up by mob and roughly handled.

FIRE OPENED ON MILL WORKERS

Four persons were killed and 14 others injured when the police opened fire on a crowd of mill hands at Kankinara (24-Parganas) about 22 miles from Calcutta in the afternoon.

Several hundred mill hands, who had abstained from attending their mills to-day as a protest against police firing in Calcutta, proceeded in a body to the Kankinara railway station and held up the 99 Santipur Local train by standing on the railway track, at about 11 in the morning. About 2-30 p.m. an attempt was made to start the train with the help of the police, but the crowd again blocked the passage. The police then opened fire, as a result of which four persons were killed and 14 others injured. Nine of the injured were removed to Chinsurah Hospital and five to the Barrackpore Hospital.

After the firing the demonstrators raided the railway station and set fire to a part of the station building and two railway bogies standing on the platform.

Due to the disturbances, no down train on the main line had been able to reach Sealdah after midday, and all the up trains were being diverted *via* Naihati.

It was learnt that mill workers who raided Kankinara Railway station to-day burnt down the rakes of three trains. There were several carriages in each rake.

The station building was also burnt down.

All the three trains were held up on the truck. The passengers got off the carriages and then the men set fire to the rakes. One of them were the 9 up and the 73 up.

In the afternoon disturbances at the Kankinara railway station spread to adjoining areas till towards sun-down there was another expression of fury at Naihati, an important junction station on the Bengal-Assam Railway, 20 miles from Calcutta. Here a big crowd of mill hands raided the station yard and were stated to have done some damage to the carriages of a train in the station. There were no casualties. The six-mile stretch of railway line between Kankinara and Naihati stations with the mill areas on either side was under military partol.

CHURCH SET ON FIRE

The Thoburn Methodist Church in Dharamtola Street, one of the busiest areas in Calcutta, was set on fire by a mob.

The fire brigade, which arrived with three engines to fight the flames, was attacked by the mob with brickbats. The brigade went back to the fire station and returned to the scene of fire with necessary military and police support.

The fire was then extinguished in about an hour's time. The altar, the wooden staircase and some religious books were damaged.'

OBSTRUCTION ON TRAINS

While no serious incident was reported from the disturbed area on the E. I. Railway, the obstruction to trains continued all through the day. Whenever trains arrived crowds shouting slogans assembled on the track blocking their passage. Some trains, it was reported, were allowed to pass only after flying Congress or Muslim League flags on their engines.

MR. SARAT BOSE URGES WITHDRAWAL OF ARMRD FORCES—14TH FEB.

Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, in a statement issued to-night, emphatically stated that if the military had not been posted in Calcutta, the city would have quickly returned to normal. He asked for the withdrawal of armed forces and advised the Governor to invoke the aid of leaders of public opinion.

"Before deciding to invoke the aid of the Military, the Governor did not consider it fit, or necessary, to ask for the advice of leaders of political opinion," said Mr. Bose. "Even the President of the Indian National Congress who arrived in this city yesterday afternoon, was ignored by him. Almost all prominent leaders of the Bengal Congress organisation are in Calcutta, but their advice was not sought."

Proceeding, Mr. Bose says that the local authorities have since this morning prevented him and others, including the President of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, from making enquiries over the telephone about the situation in the different parts of the city.

TREATMENT OF NEPALESE—Azad's Appeal

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President, issued the following statement on the 13th. Feb, :—

"I am grieved to learn that some people are harbouring feelings of ill-will against the civilian Nepalis who reside in various parts of the city. They think that the actions of the Gurkha Military should be avenged on all the Nepalese. If it is true, it is very regrettable. I would appeal to all the citizens not to give way to such evil feelings, and they should try to bring it home to others also. The Gurkhas employed in the Army have no grudge against Indians. When they carry out orders of their officers, they do so because they have been trained to follow the military discipline as a soldier, and they have no capacity to understand anything further. It would be criminal to hold all the Nepalis responsible for it and to avenge on them.

UNIVERSITY EXAMINATIONS POSTPONED

Owing to the disturbed state of the city, the Calcutta University examinations, which were to commence on the 14th. Feb. was postponed for the Calcutta and Bhowanipore centres.

The meeting of the Calcutta Corporation announced for the 13th. Feb. could not be held for want of quorum.

DELHI TRAMWAY WORKERS' STRIKE—13TH FEB.

The tramway workers of the Delhi Electric Supply and Traction Company struck work at 5 p. m, to-day as a token protest against the conviction of Captain Abdur Rashid and the arrest of Muslim League and Communist workers, including the President of the Tramway Workers' Union, Mr. Mohammed Yamin Khan.

The Muslim League and Communist workers, numbering 37, arrested yesterday were produced before Mr. F. D. H. Teal, Additional District Magistrate, Delhi and remanded for further investigation. All of them were refused bail.

The students of the Anglo-Arabic College and other Muslim schools, who were on strike and who intended to go in a procession, were dissuaded by Messrs Quazi Mohammed Isa and Sheikh Abdul Salam, who advised them to express their sentiments in an orderly manner and in accordance with the instruction of their leaders.

Official quarters denied that the Muslim League processionists on Monday manhandled or molested British soldiers and civilians in front of Broadcasting House, or sopped military lorries.

MADRAS STUDENTS' DEMONSTRATION—14TH FEB.

To protest against the action of the Calcutta police, students from the various colleges in the City went this morning, at about 10, to the Fyson Park, Presidency College, and held a meeting. The gathering included a number of women students from the Presidency and the Medical Colleges. It was joined later by the students of the Muhammadan College.

The meeting which was presided over by Mr. C. Veeraraghavan, demanded the unconditional release of Captain Rashid, and also other political prisoners. A reso-

lution condemning the action of the Calcutta police, and congratulating the people of Calcutta on their "militant stand against imperialism" was adopted.

Before the meeting began, the students of the Muhammadan College, led by Mr. Mehkari stated that they would not shout the slogan "Jai Hind" unless the others consented to their slogan "Pakistan Zindabad." There was some confusion, and Mr. M. B. Sreenivasan addressing the gathering, said that they had not assembled under any party flag but had come there in the capacity of students to protest against the detention of Captain Rashid. He said that being the first time when Hindu and Muslim students had assembled on a common platform, they should not mar the occasion by any controversy over slogans. He appealed to them to adopt both the slogans or to follow the common slogan "Release I. N. A. prisoners."

Mr. Selvaraj pointed out that Captain Rashid, for whose release they were clamouring, was a member of the I. N. A., whose slogan was "Jai Hind." Hence he requested the Muslim students not to protest against "Jai Hind."

The students finally resolved to adopt the slogan "Down with police repression" and "Release I. N. A." The students then went in procession with placards with the words "Release all I. N. A. prisoners" and carrying Congress and Muslim League flags to the People's Park.

At the People's Park, a meeting was held at which Mr. Mahomed Raza Khan presided. Resolutions were passed demanding the unconditional release of Captain Rashid and the other I. N. A. prisoners. The meeting also condemned the police firing in Calcutta and the use of handcuffs on those who were arrested ae Delhi. A number of students spoke on the "united front" put up by students of the various organisations and denominations for urging the release of the I. N. A. prisoners. The unity that had been forged on that occasion, they said, should be an eye-opener to the powers-that-be not to put aside lightly the sentiments of the people on things that vitally concerned them. The meeting then dispersed peacefully.

Students of the Madras Pachaiyappa's College held a meeting on the 13th. Feb. inside the College compoud and adopted resolutions protesting against the shooting and lathi charge on demonstrators in Calcutta who wanted to show their resentment against the action of the Government in convicting Captain Rashid. A number of students stayed away from the classes for the day.

Resolutions protesting against the police firing in Calcutta and demanding the release of Captain Rashid of the I. N. A. were passed at a meeting of the students of the Engineering College, Guindy, held last evening.

QUESTION IN COMMONS—13TH. FEB.

Earl Winterton (Conservative) in a question about the riots in Calcutta in the Commons to-day, asked, "Is it not clear that the sole reason for these riots was the sentence imposed, some think life senience, upon a former member of the Indian Army who betrayed his million loyal comrades and was an associate of murderers and torturers in the Japanese army ?"

Mr. Arthur Henderson, Under-Secretary for India, said that the disturbances reached a pitch yesterday evening at which it was impossible to restore and maintain order with available civil resources. The Governor accordingly authorised the importation of strong military forces.

He would make a fuller statement when he had received a further report.

APPEAL TO MR. ATTLEE

The assertion that the Calcutta shootings might be a signal for a revolution throughout India contained in a telegram sent to-day to the British Prime Minister Mr. Clement R. Attlee by Mr. Mohammed Abbas Ali, President of the All-India Muslim League, London Branch,

"Please stop further bloodshed in India", the telegram said. Delay in action may lead to a terrible revolution from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. The British Government will have to pay the penalty for every drop of innocent Indian blood that is shed. Justice demands immediate release of Captain Rashid and redress of Muslim grievances",

In reply to a question by a United Press of America correspondent whether the Governor of Bengal, Mr. R. G. Casey, had the Secretary of State for India's consent to order military action on Calcutta's demonstrators, an India Office spokesman to-day said that the "Governor, being the man on the spot, is responsible for any action taken."

OFFICIAL WARNING TO THE PUBLIC—13TH. FEB.

The Government prohibited holding of public meetings and processions in the city by an order issued under Section 144, Cr. P. C., unil restoration of normal conditions. A Press note issued by the Government of Bengal gave the following warning to the public:

"Although the situation in some parts of the city has improved somewhat, acts of lawlessness still continue at many points. The principal form which these acts of violence are taking is the obstruction of the public roads and interference with traffic thereon. The continuance of this kind of mob violence can not be tolerated and it has become immediately necessary to take active measures to stop it. Every peaceful citizen must be protected and must be free to go about his lawful business without interference. The public road must be made safe and free for use by every one to go about his ordinary business in the normal way.

"Government have accordingly decided to issue this general warning to all concerned that any person obstructing or barricading a public road or interfering with the free use of any public road for lawful purposes will be liable to be fired upon by the police or military. Instructions to this effect are being issued to the police and to the military authorities and will come into operation immediately. The public are warned to keep away from the vicinity of road blocks or obstructions on any area in which traffic on the streets is being violently interfered with unruly crowds.

"All peaceful citizens are exhorted to do all that is possible to persuade persons engaged in these unlawful activities to desist at once.

"Government have also declared that in view of the fact that free and safe movement for all on the public roads has not yet been re-established, processions and assemblies for whatever purpose must for the time being be prohibited. Orders to this effect are being issued and will come into force at once. All persons concerned are warned of this and are requested to assist the authorities to restore free and full use of the public thoroughfares for all lawful purposes as rapidly as possible. When this has been done, the normal right to hold procession and meetings will be at once restored and the prohibition will be cancelled.

Fourth Day—Calcutta—14th February 1946

IMPROVEMENT IN SITUATION

Calcutta was quiet this morning, Traffic in the city, however, remained suspended. Mititary and police vans were patrolling the city. Enquiries at different police stations indicated that the situation remained quiet. The total casualty list in the disturbances since they began on Monday stood to-day at 33 killed and over 300 injured. The later did not include injuries to the police, nor those not reported at hospitals. No serious incidents were reported in the morning and no casualties.

A convoy comprising of 75 trucks bringing some enlisted men of the U. S. army from Kanchrapara to Calcutta was attacked last evening by a mob on Barrackpore Road. About 19 of the men, who were on their way to the United States, were reported to have been injured but not seriously excepting two who were detained in Calcutta temporarily for treatment. The others left Calcutta. Military police who were accompanying the convoy, though armed, did not open the fire. None of the trucks were damaged.

So far 32 enlisted men and six officers were stated to have been injured since the disturbance started in Calcutta.

The Governor Mr. R. G. Casey made a tour of inspection of the greater part of the city of Calcutta this morning. His Excellency was accompanied by Mr. R. E. A. Ray, Commissioner of Police.

PEACE SQUADS AT WORK

Peace squads of Congressmen, Muslim Leaguers and Communists were at work in the disturbed areas. A prominent League leader interviewed after a midnight tour of the city expressed the view that the situation might be better on the next day.

Fifth Day—Calcutta—15th February 1946

One person admitted to hospital earlier in the week with injuries sustained in the disturbances died to-day, raising the total deaths in Calcutta to 43. No cases of injuries were admitted to-day, so that the number injured in connection with the disturbances remained at 238. In addition, cases of minor injuries during the disturbances numbered 251.

On the Bengal Nagpur Railway trains were held up for some time to-day, also

a large crowd squatting on the track, as was the case yesterday. It was, however, persuaded to disperse.

On the Bengal-Assam Railway line to Budge Budge, a crowd gathered at Akra, 13 miles from Calcutta, and train service to Budge Budge was therefore suspended.

The number of deaths in incidents outside Calcutta, Naihati, Kankinara, Bally and Dum Dum during the four days ending 14th was 9. This was in addition to the Calcutta deathroll of 43. No incidents were reported from these areas to-day.

STUDENTS' DEMONSTRATION IN DACCA—14TH. FEB.

College and school students in the city—both Hindus and Muslims—came out of their classes again to-day as a protest against the police firing in Calcutta and marched in processions from different localities to the Victoria Park, where a meeting was held under Congress, Muslim League, Hindu Mahasabha and Red flags. Many shops in the city also remained closed.

DELAY IN INFORMING COMMONS—LONDON, FEB. 15.

A complaint that it was only to-day that the Government was able to give the House of Commons details about the Calcutta riots whereas a Press statement had appeared on Tuesday, was made in the House of Commons to-day by Earl Winterton (Conservative).

The Government of India should be informed of the need for earliest information in view of the fact that the serious disturbanc obviously affected the safety and welfare of both British and European nationals, said

The Under-Secretary for India, who had given casualty figures and other details already published, said that he would look int a suggestion but in fairness to both the Government of India and the India Office, would say that situation reports had been sent from time to time but he had been unable to give a full report because of the changing situation.

CASUALTY FIGURES

The Associated Press of America added:

Thirty-eight persons died and 527 civilians and 82 policemen were injured in Calcutta this week, Mr. Arthur Hennerson, Parliamentary Under-Secretary for India, told the House of Commons to-day. Military casualties included one officer wounded seriously and four others injured.

Announcing an "increasing improvement in the situation," Mr. Henderson said, no outbreaks were reported on Thursday night. Troops continued to patrol the city, but standing pickets were withdrawn.

Fifth Day—Calcutta—16th February 1946

MILITARY PICKETS WITHDRAWN

Calcutta was almost normal to-day, following the disturbances earlier in the week. Tram service resumed and all other transport services in the city were functioning. Military pickets stationed at various points were withdrawn last night in view of the improved conditions. Military and police patrols, however, continued. To-day's race meeting was held and shops opened. There was an explosion of a large cracker near Shampukur Police Station last night. No one was injured.

Govt. Explain Policy—New Delhi—15th February

The reasons why it was decided to commute the life sentence passed on Captain Shah Nawaz and the other two accused in the first I. N. A. case and award a sentence of seven years' R. I. in Captain Abdul Rashid's case were set out in a communique issued to-day.

"The Government is within its rights", it declared, "in condoning offences against the State, but it cannot, without undermining the very basis of social morality, condone acts flagrantly abhorrent to civilised conduct."

The following is the text of the Communique:

"The Government of India's policy regarding the trial and punishment of members of the I. N. A. was clearly laid down in a Press Communique issued on November, 30, 1945. The relevant portions of this Communique are reproduced below:

"There is evidence, however, that of these men, a small number have committed acts of gross brutality, resulting in some cases in death upon their fellow-countrymen, who were prisoners of war or members of the I. N. A. Crimes of this nature are abhorrent to all civilised people and it would be wrong for the Government to

refrain from bringing to trial men against whom there is *prima facie* evidence that they have committed such offences.

"In reviewing any sentences which may be passed by Courts Martial, whether in the present or any future trials, the competent authorities will have regard to the extent to which the acts offend against the canons of civilised behaviour."

"This limits the penal liability of the accused to two charges : (A) 'Acts of gross brutality' (B) 'Acts offending against the canons of civilised behaviour'.

'Gross brutality' and civilised behaviour are not technical legal terms and are not capable, therefore, of exact legal definition. They are, however, plain and unambiguous enough as a statement of policy, and it is inconceivable that any serious doubt should exist regarding their import or intention. The scale of punishment recognised by law for major categories of crime is more or less identical in all civilised lands. Wanton cruelty and physical torture are not sanctioned by any legal code in any part of the civilised world.

In reviewing the sentences passed in the first and second completed court-martial trials of the I. N. A. therefore the Reviewing Authority was called upon to decide whether, quite apart from other legal considerations, the offences alleged to have been committed by the accused did or did not constitute (a) acts of gross brutality and (b) acts offending against the canons of civilised behaviour.

In the first trial, Captain Shah Nawaz was found guilty of abetment of murder. The other two accused are found guilty of waging war against the King but were acquitted of the charges of murder and abetment of murder.

CAPT. RASHID'S CASE

"In the second trial, Grpcain Abdul Rashid was found guilty of five charges. Two among them pertained to acts of gross brutality against Indian prisoners of war. In one case, he himself beat a P. O. W and on two successive days caused him to be tied above ground-level to the trunk of a tree and left there until he lost consciousness. In the other he himself beat a P. O. W. with a stick and then caused him to be cruelly beaten and kicked by two other men in his presence.

"Shah Nawaz was alleged to have passed harsh sentences on the deserters from his illegally constituted force. It was not contended that he had personally participated in inflicting torture or pain on any of his fellow countrymen. It was also not contended that the punishments sanctioned by him were in excess of those which a legally constituted force might have imposed for similar offence technically amounted to murder but it obviously did not constitute either 'gross brutality' or uncivilised conduct.'

"Equally obviously the two offences proved against Abdul Rashid did constitute both 'gross brutality' and acts offending against 'civilized behaviour' even though technically they amounted to no more than 'grievous hurt'. It was accordingly, decided to commute the life sentences in the first case and in the second case award a sentence of seven years' rigorous imprisonment. Any other decision would have been inconsistent with the considered Government policy already made public.

"There is no doubt that in the eyes of the law, murder or abetment of murder is a more serious offence than grievous hurt irrespective of the brutality or the uncivilised character of either act. It is also true that in the eyes of the law waging war against the King is as serious an offence as either murder or grievous hurt. Adherence to the letter of the law, therefore, would have resulted in wholesale punishment of the entire I.N.A. This had been taken into account when Government decided that in view of the very exceptional circumstances of the case punishment or clemency in these trials should not be governed by the provisions of the legal code but by the dictates of the universally accepted code of humane and civilized conduct.

The Government is within its rights in condoning offences against the State but it cannot, without undermining the very basis of social morality, condone acts flagrantly abhorrent to any civilized country.

Congress President's Statement—Calcutta, Feb. 17.

In a statement on the Calcutta disturbances Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President, says that the Government must bear a large share of responsibility for whatever has happened. At the same time, students and young men must act with a greater sense of responsibility if they are to serve the cause of Indian freedom. perhaps the worst incident of all in the disturbances was the attack on the Methodist Church in Dharamtalla Street, he adds. Maulana Azad visited the Church yesterday and requested the Minister, the Rev. Atkinson, that he

should place before the next meeting of the Church Committee his (Maulana Azad's) proposal that the damage must be made good by contributions raised by citizens of Calcutta. "This would, in my opinion, serve as a proof that in the India of the future. the places of worship of every community would be sacred to every other community. I am directing the local Congress committees to collect necessary funds and to get in touch with the Methodist Church Society" the President.

The following is the text of the Congress President's statement.—

"I have refrained from any comment on the regrettable incidents of few days while passions ran high and my words might be torn out of their to contribute to the excitement. Now, however, the city is returning to norm I feel it my duty to place my views clearly before the public.

"The first thing I want to state is that the Government must bear a share of responsibility for whatever has happened. The attempt to reserve parts of the city as a special and sacrosanct area of the bureaucracy is indefen and the citizens of Calcutta are not prepared to tolerate it any more. If the cessionists had been allowed to go through Dalhousie Square, nothing would h happened beyond the shouting of a few slogans. The blocking of the procession, the other hand, led to the loss of 47 lives, injury to many hundreds, destructio and damage of property and creation of uncontrolled bitterness and hatred. T futility of Government policy was proved once in November last when the poli attempted to block a procession from Dalhousie Square, and it has been pro tragically once again in the incidents of the last few days.

"I left for Shillong on the seventh instant. I am told that the Communists were trying to stage a demonstration over the release of Captain Rashid of the I.N.A. from the ninth and a section of Muslim students who owe allegiance to the Muslim League joined forces with them. With the help of the Communist Party they took out a demonstration on Monday in support of the demand for the release of Captain Rashid. Obstruction to this procession near Dalhousie Square led to the tragic developments.

"On my return from Shillong on Tuesday, I found that the situatien had already assumed serious proportions, but from reports from responsible leaders, I was led to believe that things were beginning to settle down and would perhaps have quietened down by Wednesday night, but for the intervention of the military. This added provocation led to further excitement, and Wednesday and Thursday saw some of the wildest and most regrettable exhibition of mob fury. I am convinced that if the Government had contacted responsible leaders of public opinion and acted in concert with them, the situation could have been brought under control.

"At the same time, I must point out that the students and young men must act with a greater sense of responsibility if they are to serve the cause of Indian freedom. Our struggle for Independence has reached a state when sporadic and isolated action of individuals and groups served as a hindrance rather than help. Those who are soldiers of freedom they must obey their leaders. For an army in which everyone issues commands ceases to be an army and becomes a rabble. Those Muslim students who owe allegiance to the League should have taken direction from the Provincial League Committee and its responsible leaders instead of confronting them with an accomplished fact. I am sure that if they would have approached the League leadership, they would have weigned the *pros and cons* on each decision. Had they decided to call a hartal, they would have taken steps to see that the League behaved in a controlled and disciplined manner.

"I understand that the President of the B. P. C. was approached for calling a general strike of the whole city, but in view of the condition prevailing and the great hardship of the public, he refused to call for such a hartal. He also had in mind the situation that would arise as a result of such a hartal, which would bring on the streets a number of men without occupation during a troubled time. Anyhow the hartal was held, and this in my opinion was a grave mistake.

"Some of the things that the President of the B. P. C. C. had foreseen came to pass. Wednesday saw attacks on the military vehicles, on private cars, rickshaws, on individual Europeans and Anglo-Indians and on a convoy of American homebound troops on the Barrackpore Road. These are incidents which every sensible and responsible public man regrets and condemns, but perhaps the worst incident

of all was the attack on the Methodist Church in Dharamtalla Street. I do not know who were responsible for this attack, but it must be clear to all who have the welfare of India at heart that we cannot tolerate an attack on the places of worship [illegible] community however small.

[illegible] had continuous fever since my return from Shillong, but even then I [illegible] refrain from going to the Methodist Church yesterday and seeing for myself [illegible]ges of the miscreants. The Rev. Atkinson, the Minister, was kind enough to [illegible]round and I requested him that he should place before the next meeting [illegible]hurch Committee my proposal that the damage must be made good by the [illegible]tions raised by the citizens of Calcutta. This would in my opinion serve as [illegible] that in India of the future, the places of worship of every community would [illegible]d to members of other communities."

BAN ON PROCESSIONS IN CALCUTTA

Government's Defence of order—Calcutta, Feb. 17.

Arising from certain comments in the Press and the platform following the [illegible]cutta disturbances, the Government of Bengal explained in a Press Note the 17th. February why in the Dalhousie Square and certain areas adjacent to it, no [illegible]ublic assembly or procession was allowed without the permission of the Commis[illegible]oner of Police.

It will be recalled that on the "Abdul Rashid Day" on the 11th instant, cer[illegible]in processions in the Dalhouie Square area were dispersed by the police and that [illegible]r-wards disturbances spread over the city.

The Government narrate the history of this prohibition order and state that it was not a war-time measure but has in fact been in force since 1936 and was in 1937 endorsed and continued by the Council of Ministers. Its object is to provide a reason ble precaution against possible obstruction, annoyance or interference with the conduct of public or private business in a locali[illegible]y in which the Legislative Building, Government House, the High Court, the principal Calcutta offices of the Central and Provincial Governments and numerous important business houses are situated. Under the order, no public assembly or procession is allowed in this area unless the written permission of the Commissioner of Police is obtained in advance.

The Press note says that under the Calcutta Police Act, the Commissioner of Police is empowered, if he considers it necessary or the public assemblies and processions in any specified area for a period not exceeding seven days, and for longer periods with the sanction of the Government. This power was exercised by him to prohibit demonstration in the neighbourhood of Dalhousie Square for limited periods on many occasions in the past. In 1936, circumstances ar se, which made it necessary for the Government to authorise the Commissioner of Police, without any limit of time, to ban the holding, except with his previous permission obtained in writing, of public assemblies and processions in Dalhousie Square area and also in three other areas in the city.

The question was reviewed by the Council of Ministers in August, 1937, and it was their decision that special powers were not called for in respect of other areas bounded by Strand Road on the south, Canning Street on the west, Radha Bazar Street, Bentick Street and part of Chowringhee Road on the north, and Ochterlony Road, Lawrence Road and Auckland Road on the east required special treatment. Accordingly, the power to prohibit, without limit of time, the holding of public assemblies and processions in this area alone, except with his previous permission obtained in writing, was left in the hands of the Commissioner of Police. A revised order was issued and this now forms part of the statutory rules which are in force for the regulation of traffic in the streets and public places in Calcutta and its suburbs.

HARTAL IN DACCA—16TH. FEB.

A hartal was observed here to-day upto midday as a protest against the Calcutta firings. Shops and markets were closed and vehicular traffic was also stopped. The local Gymkhana races had to be abandoned.

Bombay Naval Ratings on Strike

Demand for better Conditions

First Day—Bombay—19th February 1946

About 3,000 strikers from sloops, mine-sweepers and shore establishments of the Royal Indian Navy in the Bombay Harbour demonstrated widely and sometimes violently for two hours on the 19th February 1946 causing utter confusion and complete hold-up of traffic at Flora Fountain, one of the busiest centres of Bombay. Some British officers and men of the fighting services were attacked. Three British servicemen, four police officers and two constables received injuries as a result of the demonstration. Complete calm was restored by about 1 p.m.

According to strikers, the men of H.M.I.S. Talwar who started the agitation against the quality of food supplied to the men and ill-treatment, had secured the sympathy and support of nearly 20,000 men representing the entire Royal Indian Navy personnel.

As soon as the news of the strike by the ratings of the Talwar were known, ratings from five other shore establishments were reported to have joined the strike. The establishments affected were H.M.I.S. Feroz, H.M.I.S. Akbar, H.M.I.S. Machlimar and signal station, dockyard. These units had a total strength of about five thousand.

One of the strikers of H.M.I.S. Tawlar said this evening that a number of ratings working in other ships had either been arrested or asked to report. One steward of H.M.I.S. Nasik had been put under close arrest. Four men of H.M.I.S. Kalavati had been asked to report on a charge of mutiny. A signal rating of H.M.I.S. Oudh was asked to report while the whole company of H.M.I.S. Neelam numbering about 60 were detained.

Some of the naval lorries which went round the City asking the strikers to observe discipline and non-violence bore the letters INN (Indian National Navy) The Congress tricolour flag was also seen fiying on the bonnet of some of the lorries.

The Associated Press of India representative who toured the harbour area this evening found almost all the ships of R.I.N. numbering about 24 practically unmanned. The Congress tricolour flag was seen fluttering on the bows of H.M.I.S Lahore and Motor Minesweeper 151.

A spokesman of the working committee of the strikers told the representative that the strikers were waiting for a response from Rear Admiral Rattray in regard to their complaints.

He added that the strikers had been assured of wholesome food from to-morrow. If they were satisfied with the quality of the food, they would take food in the mess. The strikers, he added, would, however, continue till all their other demands had been met. He said that the strikers did not want to mix up their demands for better service conditions with politics.

Incident at Flora Fountain

A straggling procession of some hundreds of R. I. N. ratings on strike, many armed with hockey sticks and axes paraded through the main streets of Bombay this morning. At around 9-30 a.m. they took charge of the Flora Fountain area which is Bombay's main traffic centre. Office workers in buses were forced to dismount, cars were stopped and a barricade of iron drums which were being used in connection wiih road repairs work, was placed across the street. Some British soldiers in uniform were chased and belaboured with canes and sticks. What appeared to be naval lorries in the hands of the strikers carried some of the processionists. These lorries were driven without regard to traffic directions by inexpert drivers up and down both sides of the streets.

Mob law prevailed for about 20 minutes along Hornby Road from Victoria Terminus to Flora Fountain. Trams and traffic were held up, shops were quickly closed and the occasional British soldier on the sidewalk was chased by groups of strikers as the soldiers ran for shelter. In some cases, however, the ratings themselves intervened to protect the soldiers. A rating from the Punjab stood with arms outstretched holding off his co-strikers from a British soldier who lay prone on the ground where he had been struck down. One soldier was taken off to hospital with

two severe head wounds and the strikers followed another into a well-known provision store near Flora Fountain and in the chase they broke some of the plate glass windows.

Outside the Prince of Wales Museum, patrol cans were seized from lorries, emptied on the tram lines and set ablaze. Foreign mail vans standing outside the British base post office were emptied, the sacks opened and the foreign mail strewn across the street.

During the incidents at the Flora Fountain this morning an American flag was taken down and burnt on the Hornby Road. Among those assaulted by the ratings in Flora Fountain was a police officer, Superintendent Hewson, who was admitted to the St. George's Hospital, with a head wound. Batches of ratings in R.I.N. lorries were moving about the city flying the tricolour, Muslim League and Communiat flags.

Some European establishments in the Fort area were found closed shortly after the trouble at the Flora Fountain. Four police officials were injured and admitted into St. George's Hospital this morning as a result of attacks near Flora Fountain by processionists.

Disorders continued till night fall in the Bombay dock area when crowds of R.I.N. ratings on strike gathered opposite the main gates of Alexandra Dock near Ballard Pier. Stones were thrown at all cars entering the docks and some cars were damaged. City police who intervened were assaulted. At 1 a.m. there was still an air of unquiet throughout the dock area.

Second Day—Bombay—20th February, 1946

There was recrudescence of trouble in Bombay to-day in connection with the strike of Naval ratings of the Royal Navy.

Churchgate station was the scene of trouble to-day. About quarter past ten hundreds of naval ratings from Versoa and other naval establishments in the suburbs of Bombay arrived by local trains at Churchgate station. In fifteen minutes nearly 2000 persons belonging to the R. I. N. assembled in front of the Churchgate station carrying Congress tricolour flags and shouting slogans. Throughout their journey in local trains from Andheri to Churchgate station the demonstrators were shouting slogans and booing British servicemen. One or two British soldiers were assaulted by the demonstrators but the victims were soon rescued by civilian office-goers and some of the naval ratings themselves.

Batches of Indian naval ratings arrived at Churchgate from various places in the suburbs and after staging a demonstration in front of the railway station the demonstrators marched to the Oval in a procession.

One Indian Sikh army despatch rider was stopped and his motor bicycle tyres were punctured. The demonstrators were holding a meeting later assembled at Oval maidan opposite the University, where they were addressed by one of the leaders of the strikers, who asked them to observe perfect non-violence and discipline. Then, they all marched peacefully to H. M. I. S. Talwar where a general meeting of all naval ratings on strike had been called to-day. Mr. S. M. Khan, President of the Central Strike Committee, addressed the meeting and exhorted to all discipline and order.

Strikers' Demands

The Central Committee of the strikers formulated a revised set of demands which were forwarded to the Flag Officer of the Royal Indian Navy, Vice-Admiral Godfrey. The demands included, besides better facilities for the Indian establishment of the Royal Indian Navy, withdrawal of Indian troops from Indonesia.

Some excitement was caused at the Talwar establishment by noon, as some ratings brought into the establishment one rating bleeding with injuries. He, along with four other ratings, were injured as the lorry by which they were proceeding to Talwar skided on the road and the driver of the lorry lost control of steering.

Arrested Rating Released

P. C. Dutta of the H. M. I. S. Talwar, who was caught writing "Jai Hind" and "Quit India" on the saluting base at the time of the visit of the Flag Officer Commanding on February 2, and was put under arrest has now been released. The naval rating, R. K. Singh, for whose release the strikers were agitating, was still in the Aurther Road Jail.

The strike also affected the naval wireless receiving station at Colaba, which was considered the second biggest station of the R. I. N. in India.

The Commanding Officer of H. M. I. S. Talwar, whose insulting behaviour

towards the ratings was the immediate cause of the strike, was to-day transferred and another British officer put in charge. The strikers demanded the appointment of an Indian officer to be in charge of the camp.

About 2,000 R. I. N. Ratings from various ships now in harbour joined the strikers.

U. S. FLAG BURNT BY CROWD

A crowd of persons, mostly wearing uniforms of the Royal Indian Navy, to-day tore the United States flag from the front of the building housing the United States Information Service here and burned the flag in the street, then failed in an effort to break into the American Express Company office nearby.

Mr. Walter D. Sheakleton in charge of the U.S.I.S., said that protests would be made "through proper channels". Washington had been notified of the incidents and they were awaiting further instructions on the next step to be taken. He added that the Bombay police did not interfere with the flag burning.

Strike in Calcutta—19th. Feb.

About 200 R. I. N. ratings went on strike at Behala, Calcutta. They belonged to the H. I. M. S. Hooghly shore establishment. Release of the ratings arrested in Bombay, non-victimisation of strikers, equal travelling facilities with Royal Navy ratings and speedy demobilisation were among their demands. The strike commenced in the afternoon. The men's grievances were communicated to the Commanding Officer, who met them and assured them that their demands would be communicated to the higher authorities. The strike, however, continued. There were about 500 ratings attached to the H. I. M. S. Hooghly.

BOMBAY RATINGS ORDERED TO RETURN TO BARRACKS

All Indian naval ratings on strike were ordered to return to their barracks forthwith. These orders were communicated to those on strike by the naval authorities. Batches of naval police force were seen moving about the streets calling upon the men on strike to return to their barracks immediately.

The Naval Officer Commanding H.M.I.S. Talwar announced from a loud-speaker van this afternoon that all the ratings who were on strike should go back to their barracks before 3-30 p. m. to-day, adding that those found outside their barracks after that time were liable to be arrested.

Exactly at 3-30 p.m. the gates of H.M.I.S. Talwar, a shore establishment of R. I. N., were closed and an Indian military picket was placed round the establishment.

FORTY RATINGS ARRESTED

Shortly after 10 p.m. to-night the naval ratings of the R. I. N. at H. M. I. S. Talwar went to their mess to take food and thereafter they went to their billets. The situation was described as "all quiet" at midnight by a high naval officer.

The naval police authorities continued their round-up of strikers who were on the streets and arrested more than 40 ratings who refused to go to their respective establishments.

STRIKERS TAKEN TO BARRACKS

A company of the 18th Maratta Regiment was relinquished and stationed in front of the 'Talwar' establishment round about 4 p.m. The naval ratings on strike who were scattered along the roads were then ordered to return to their respective barracks. After some argument, the majority of the ratings got into the 'Talwar' compound. Such of those as declined to return to their barracks were put in lorries and then taken to their establishments.

By 5 p.m. the majority of strikers who were in the streets had either gone into the 'Talwar' compound or to their respective barracks. Six lorry loads of Indian military toured round the area picking up Indian naval ratings wandering on the roads. It was explained that the ratings were being ordered to get back to barracks so that there may not be any further incidents of the nature that occurred yesterday and to-day. The strikers could continue their strike inside their barracks and they could send in their authorised spokesman to place their grievances and demands before the naval authorities.

OFFICIAL PRESS COMMUNIQUE

A Press communique issued by the Flag Officer, R. I. N., Bombay, on the naval ratings' strike said :—

Owing to the many incidents of violence and hooliganism which took place on Tuesday, it became necessary for the safety, not only of the general public, but also of the R. I. N. ratings themselves, to direct the ratings to return to their ships and establishments to-day. Loud-speaker vans were accordingly sent round Bombay in-

structing the ratings to return by 3-40 this afternoon, and warning them that anyone found in the town after that hour would be liable to arrest.

Large numbers of ratings made their way to the establishments in Bombay and the ships in the stream during the afternoon, but it was not possible to estimate the number who were still at large.

The military were called out to furnish pickets on the gates of the various shore establishments, but after a period of comparative quiet during the late afternoon, the ratings in Castle Barracks tried to rush the pickets about an hour ago (9 p. m.). The situation subsequently appeared to be quieter, though it remained extremely tense.

Strikers Form Peace Patrol Corps

An open enquiry into the unruly conduct of some of the members of the RIN who held demonstrations yesterday was held by the representative committee of the RIN ships and shore establishments at the Talwar this morning.

After recording the statements of individual ratings and unit representatives, the Committee came to the conclusion that no naval ratings as such was responsible for the acts of violence committed on shops and pedestrians on Hornby Road.

A "Peace Patrol Corps" under the auspices of the Naval Strike Committee was formed for the purpose of ensuring peaceful conduct on the part of the RIN strikers. At a public meeting held at the Talwar this morning, some ratings complained that some of them were threatened with loaded revolvers inside the Castle Barracks when they were coming out this morning to join the demonstrations.

A spokesman on behalf of the Strike Committee openly apologised to the American people for the incident in front of the office of the U. S. I. S. in which the American flag was burnt. He said that, from the facts available, the Committee was convinced that the RIN ratings had nothing to do with the flag incident. The Committee felt that the burning of the American flag was done by crowds who got mixed with the naval ratings in civilian clothes. "Should, however, it be a fact that the R.I.N. ratings did it", said the spokesman, "the Central Committee regrets the action and assures the Americans that they have as much respect for their flag as they have for their own National Flag."

Several batches of Indian naval ratings shouting slogans marched in procession through Hornby Road in the direction of Colaba, where the H. M, I. S. Talwar was situated.

Excepting for the ugly incident in front of the Churchgate station, demonstrations on the whole were peaceful to-day. Police authorities took precautions to prevent any breach of the peace.

R. I. A. F. Ranks Ordered to Barracks

Armed pickets from a British regiment were posted at the R. I. A. F. camp at Andheri, a suburb of Bombay, to guard the camp. All R. I. A. F. ranks of the Andheri camp were asked by the Officer Commanding the R. I. A. F, camp at Andheri to be in their barracks till further notice.

These pickets were posted following the report of an incident in which some naval ratings who were on strike at H. M. I. S. Kakori at Varsova, near Andheri, entered the camp and scribbled on the walls the slogans, "Quit India" and "Jai Hind".

Supply of Indian Food to Ratings

A conference of naval authorities to consider the demands of the Indian naval ratings was held this evening at Admiralty House. It was attended by Vice-Admiral J. H. Godfrey, Flag Officer Commanding the R. I. N., Rear-Admiral Rattray, Flag Officer Commanding, R. I. N., Bombay, and other high naval officers. As a result of this evening's discussions, it was decided to provide Indian food to the ratings on strike according to the list of menu submitted by them. This decision of the authorities was communicated to the ratings of the various establishments.

Mr. Howard Donovan, United States Consul-General, announced that he received this after-noon a note from Rear-Admiral A. R, Rattary, expressing sincere regret over the action of a group of R. I. N. ratings who yesterday seized and burned the U. S. flag which flew over the library door of the United States Information Services office here.

Strike in Karachi—21st Feb.

Military police opened fiire this morning on strikers of H. M. I. S. Hindustan, which was lying on the east wharf. The Indian ratings retaliated with two naval guns. Nine people were injured and one was killed.

It was stated that the action took place when the British military police on a patrol vessel tried to prevent armed strikers from disembarking from the vessel. The injured, whose number rose to 14, were admitted into the military hospital.

The military was called out this morning to guard all avenues to the city from Keamari, where the Indian naval ratings were on strike. Scores of British soldiers with tommy guns and machine-guns were standing by. Traffic to Keamari was stopped.

The Indian naval ratings of H. M. I. S. Chamak, Himalayas and Bahadur, all shore establishments numbering over 1500, went on strike this morning. On hearing the outpipe this morning, they failed to fall in parade and struck work. A few hundreds of them came out of the vessels and were demonstrating along the only road that led to the city from Keamari. The whole harbour area was guarded by the military.

Over 120 Indian ratings of the H. M. I. S. Hindustan were reported to have gone on strike since 3 p. m. on the 20th Feb. A group of 12 Indian ratings belonging to the signal section of the vessel came out while others were reported to have resorted to stay-in-strike. Two European officers of the Royal Indian Navy were seen negotiating with the group of the Indian seamen and gave an undertaking that the strikers would not be punished if they returned to the vessel by 18-00 hours to-day.

Strike in Calcutta—20th Feb.

R. I. N. ratings on strike at Behala to-day numbered about 300. This was the second day of their strike, which they declared in sympathy with ratings in Bombay and they were conducting it peacefully. The strikers were awaiting any decision that might be arrived at in Bombay.

Interviewed by the Associated Press of India, Commander Hugh-Hallet of the R. I. N. who met the strikers yesterday, said that the men were peaceful. As a result of the strike, no work was being carried on in Calcutta establishments of the R. I. N. Commander Hugh-Hallet added that it was a strike of only about 300 ratings and no officers were involved in it. The strikers were peaceful and were being seen every day by their establishment commandants.

Strike in Delhi—20th Feb.

The strike fever affecting R. I. N. men in Bombay and Calcutta also spread to New Delhi. About eighty ratings of H. M. I. S. India, Naval Headquarters, mainly telegraphists and signalmen, struck work this evening. It was learnt that their Commanding Officer tried to persuade them to forward their grievances through their officers and to rejoin duty immediately, but with the exception of four or five men, they refused to do so.

One of the strikers told the Associated Press that their demands were the same as those of their comrades now on strke in Bombay, namely, better food, better accommodation and immediate improvement of service conditions.

Ratings' Demonstration in Madras—21st Feb.

Some eighty naval ratings stationed in Madras harbour area staged a demonstration this morning in sympathy with their confreres on strike in Bombay.

Leaving their barracks in Springhaven area this morning, they marched in procession in their uniform and shouting "Jai Hind" slogans through some of the main roads of George Town, Park Town and Chintadripet reached Mount Road. By this time an officer of the Naval Establishment arrived on the spot and spoke to them. Just then, someone in the crowd threw a stone which hit the officer who sustained a bleeding injury.

After some time, the officer succeeded in taking back the men to their barracks. It was gathered that two of the men were placed under arrest in connection with the stone throwing. It is understood, a petition detailing the grievances of the men was presented to the Commanding Officer of the Barracks who promised to convey it to the higher authorities.

Third Day—Bombay—21st February 1946

Admiral Godfrey warns Ratings

British military police opened revolver fire near the Town Hall at 10 this morning, following a tense situation connected with the naval ratings' strike.

Military police fired half a dozen shots to disperse a crowd which was collecting, while they were rounding up some of the Indian naval ratings still at large.

Excitement in the Town Hall area ran high. Military pickets were moving in the lorries. Several shots were fired by the British military police and some persons were injured as a result of the firing. The number of the injured and the extent of the injuries could not be known.

Following the trouble near the Town Hall, crowds were not allowed to collect in the vicinity and strict military patrol was maintained.

It was ascertained that no one from the public was injured as a result of the firing. Whatever injuries were sustained were reported to have been sustained by naval ratings who resisted arrest. No official information could be available as to the happening of this morning.

Attempt to Capture Armoury

It was learnt that the cause of this morning's firing by British military was an attempt by some of the ratings to take possession of the armoury inside the Castle Barracks. Besides resisting arrest, it was now reported some of the extreme sections of the ratings made an effort to capture the armoury inside the Castle Barracks, assaulted certain officers and threw stones at passing motor cars and other vehicles. Many of the officers, it was reported, were forced to leave the area and British military, which was rushed to the scene, opened fire. As far as could be ascertained, six naval ratings were reported to have been injured as a result of the firing.

It was reported that two canteens in the Barracks had been badly smashed up by the Indian ratings. A truck carrying Indian ratings was seen on the road opposite Castle Barracks where military troops fired at the truck as the ratings appeared to be defying the order to return to Barracks and remaining at large. The vehicle however speeded ahead. It could not be known whether there were any casualties.

Though frequent gun fire was heard, there could be no indication of what exactly was happening inside the Castle Barracks, as the area surrounding the Castle Barracks and Town Hall had been put under a military cordon and no one was allowed to go inside.

Sitting on one of the tallest buildings near the Castle Barracks, one of the Associated Press reporters saw some Indian naval ratings crawling round the barrack wall.

British troops replaced Indian troops which were mounting guard yesterday. A unit of the Indian Dogra Regiment was also guarding the area.

Vehicular traffic of all kinds in the vicinity however, continued uninterrupted.

British Officer Injured

One British Major and two Indians were reported to have been injured as a result of firing by the Indian naval ratings. According to a naval officer the Indian ratings were in possession of large quantities of ammunition which they secured as a result of their raid on the armoury this morning.

The trouble in the Castle Barracks, it was stated, had nothing to do with the trouble in the Talwar. The ratings who had entrenched themselves in the Castle Barracks were stated to belong to other establishments and were scheduled for demobilisation in a short time.

According to an Indian official of the Royal Indian Navy, British military troops were only returning the fire when the Indian ratings fired at them. Otherwise, he said, there was no firing from the British military. The ratings inside the Castle Barracks, according to the officer, numbered nearly 2,000. The firing however continued.

Fresh reinforcements of British soldiers arrived near the Castle Barracks. The Indian naval ratings, some of whom possessed fire-arms, appeared to be in possession of a large part of the inside of the Castle Barracks, while British troops took their stand at the main gates. Troops subsequently took fresh positions along the flight of steps of the Town Hall and other strategic points in the area. Occasional exchanges of shots between the ratings and British soldiers however continued.

Mint Closed

His Majesty's Mint, which was situated next to the Town Hall and the Castle Barracks, was closed at mid-day and the workers were asked to go home.

Machinegun fire was heard from inside Castle Barracks round about 12-30 p.m. Reports of gunfire could be heard at Flora Fountain. The road in front of H. M. Mint, the Town Hall and the Castle Barracks were however completely cleared of pedestrians and traffic and police were seen preventing motor cars and other traffic proceeding from Free Road towards Museum passing along the Castle Barracks and the Town Hall areas.

While a kind of regular warfare was in progress inside Castle Barracks between Indian ratings and British soldiers, the strikers in other establishments and ships were reported to be quiet.

Fifteen hundred ratings inside the Talwar were on a hunger-strike. They

refused to take food until the military guard was removed. The military authorities, however, were not willing to agree to this demand of the strikers.

One civilian pedestrian was hit by a bullet in front of the Town Hall near the Elphinstone Circle.

The entire area from the junction of Frere Road and Ballard Road upto the Museum was cleared of all traffic and civilians and the military were cordoned off this locality to prevent civilians being involved in the shooting.

HEAVY EXCHANGE OF GUNFIRE

Between 12 noon and 12-30 p.m. there was a heavy exchange of fire between the Indian ratings and the British troops. The ratings threw hand grenades at the British troops who replied with machinegun fire. For thirty minutes there was withering gunfire. Thereafter the firing died down in intensity and only occasional gun shots were heard.

From the nature of the exchange of fire, it was apparent, the casualties must be large, but so far no definite imformation on this subject was forthcoming.

The Indian naval ratings helped themselves with the food stored inside the barracks. There was once again intense exchange of fire between the Indian naval ratings, who barricaded themselves within the Castle Barracks and the British troops outside. Loud and repeated gunfire could be heard nearly three-quarters of a mile away.

STRIKE COMMITTEE'S DECISION

Most of the naval ratings, who were at large in the city yesterday, returned to the establishments in Bombay and ships in steam, and those who could not return, were asked by the Central Naval Strike Committee to obey the instructions issued by the Flag Officer, Royal Indian Navy, Bombay.

The Central Naval Strike Committee, it was learnt, met after midnight, inside the Castle Barracks, and adopted a resolution appealing to all naval ratings to carry on a hunger-strike and a sit-down strike till military guards were withdrawn from every establishment in Bombay. It was understood that a copy of this resolution was sent to Vice-Admiral J. H. Godfrey, Flag Officer Commanding the Royal Indian Navy, who was in Bombay, and Rear-Admiral Rattray, Flag Officer Commanding Bombay. The Central Strike Committee, it was further learnt, was sending out special envoys round the city who would instruct all naval ratings found in the city to go back to the naval establishments and ships. Naval ratings who were still at large would be asked by these special envoys not to disobey the order and to return to their barracks.

ADMIRAL GODFREY'S WARNING

The determination of the Government of India not to allow indiscipline in the ranks of service and never to give in to violence was expressed by Vice-Admiral Godfrey, Flag Officer Commanding Royal Indian Navy (India) in a broadcast to the ratings from the Bombay station to-day.

Vice-Admiral Godfrey warned the ratings: "To continue the struggle is the height of folly when you take into account the over-whelming forces at the disposal of the Government at this time and which will be used to their utmost even if it means the destruction of the Navy of which we have been so proud."

CONGRESS LEADERS IN TOUCH WITH AUTHORITIES

The Associated Press of India learnt that Congress leaders in Delhi were in touch with the military authorities to help to bring about a settlement in connection with the naval ratings' strike.

It was urged on behalf of the Congress leaders that there should not be any hardship caused to the strikers nor should there be any victimisation.

Meanwhile, the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee passed a resolution, at its meeting to-day, sympathising with the naval ratings in their efforts to obtain redress of their grievances and urging the authorities to take immediate steps in this direction. The Committee at the same time made it clear that its services for intervention on behalf of the ratings could be available only on condition that if any direct action was proposed for the purpose of obtaining the redress of the grievances, it should be conducted in a non-violent manner in accordance with the Congress creed.

R. I. A. F. PERSONNAL DECLARE STRIKE—21st Feb.

Over one thousand men of the RIAF camps at Andheri and Marine Drive declared a sympathetic strike to express their sympathy with the strike of the R. I. N. ratings. This morning the men of the RIAF camp at Marine Drive struck work and refused to confine themselves to the camp. Thereupon there was a lathi charge as a result of which six members of the camp received injuries. A little later, 450

members of the Andheri RIAF camp came to Marine Drive and the members of these two camps jointly took out a procession. The strikers held a meeting at the Oval and expressed sympathy with the Indian naval ratings now on strike. The station commander of the Andheri camp was in touch with high air authorities.

Bombay Sailors Cease Fire

The six-hour "battle" between Indian naval ratings and the British military ended in the afternoon after all the RIN ships in the hands of the "mutineers" had signalled "cease fire" at 2-35 p. m.

The position at this time was that while the "battle" had ended, the sit-down strike of the Indian naval ratings continued pending a decision on the larger issues by the Naval authorities.

The gate of the Castle Barracks continued to be guarded by British troops.

It was understood that Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, who was approached by a number of persons to intervene in the dispute and bring about a peaceful settlement, put himself in touch with the Governor of Bombay and the Commander-in-Chief of India, Sir Claude Auchinleck through Mr. Asaf Ali. Sardar Patel was understood to have emphasised the need both to the Governor and the Commander-in-Chief to bring about quickly a peaceful settlement of the dispute, adding that the Congress was willing to help in bringing about such a settlement. It was learnt that the authorities conveyed to Sardar Patel a message saying that they would do everything to bring about peaceful settlement consistent with the maintenance of discipline among the ranks of the services.

As there had been many reports of a proposed hartal on the next day, the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, on the advice of Sardar Patel, issued an appeal to the Indian naval ratings to observe complete non-violence and to the public not to have a hartal and thus avoid any further disturbances.

"MUTINEERS" HOLD TWENTY SHIPS

According to reports nearly twenty ships of all descriptions belonging to the Royal Indian Navy, including H. M. I. S. Narbada, Vice-Admiral Godfrey's Flagship, were reported to be under the control of the "mutineers".

RATINGS ON HUNGER STRIKE

The following Press Communique was issued by the Flag Officer, Bombay, at 13-00 on Thursday the 21st. Feb.—

At 09-00 this morning, the situation in Castle Barracks and H.M.I.S. Talwar was generally quiet. Men were on hunger strike. Canteens in Castle Barracks and H. M. I. S. Talwar were broken into and most of the contents removed.

At 09-40, the situation deteriorated in the barracks. Ratings began to break out of the gates barricaded from inside, and military guards on duty were compelled to open fire with single shots. The guards were stoned by the ratings and the guard commander was injured. Sporadic firing continued for about half an hour, which was returned by ratings who had obtained arms.

At 10-50 hours, military reinforcements had to be called in for assistance in Castle Barracks. At the same time a signal was intercepted from H. M. I. S. Narbada stating that if any shots were fired by the military all ships would open fire. She is also reported to have .invited other ships citing them by saying, "All guns loaded. Do the same and if any shots are fired from ashore, open fire." Men from barracks are also reported to have gone aboard H. M. I. S. Jumna who has been told to open fire on the barracks as soon as the latter are clear of mutineers.

A message was sent by mutineers to ships in steam directing all British officers to quit the ships and asking any Indian officer who wish to join the mutineers to do so.

At 11-30, ships were reported to be firing with small arms at the dockyard. A signal was made, with the approval of the Flag Officer Commanding, R. I. N., directing all officers to leave their ships. Other R. I. N. establishments in Bombay have been generally quiet and it appears that the bulk of ratings have returned to their establishments.

ADMIRAL GODFREY'S BROADCAST

Vice-Admiral Godfrey, in his broadcast to the naval ratings on strike said: "In the present regrettable state of indiscipline in the service, I have adopted this means of addressing the R. I. N. as being the way in which I can speak to the greatest number of you at one time.

"To start with, every one of you must realise that the Government of India has no intention of allowing indiscipline to continue or their actions to be influenced by such indiscipline. They will take the most stringent measures to check in-

discipline, if necessary. I ask you to bear this in mind in considering the other hings which I have to say to you now.

As regards the requests made by those of you who waited on the Flag Officer, Bombay, on Tuesday. the 19th February, you may be assured that all reasonable complaints or grievances, if any, will be fully investigated. Demobilistation will proceed strictly in accordance with age and service groups, though you must realise that this will lose its trained nucleus of experienced ratings, especially in the communications branch.

"The whole question of pay, travelling allowances, and family allowances is now being examined by an Inter-Service Committee. This Committee has just been afloat in one of H. M. I. ships and has visited establishments in Karachi, Jamnagar and Bombay, The situation in Bombay this morning both afloat and ashore is deplorable. A state of open mutiny prevails in which ratings appear to have completely lost control of their senses,

"In order to ensure that ratings confined to barracks did actually stay there and to avoid a recurrence of the unfortunate incidents of the day before, it was necessary to place small guards of soldiers on the gates of Talwar and Castle Barracks last night. This morning ratings from Castle Barracks burst through the guard which was forced to open fire. This fire was replied to by the ratings inside the Barracks. The only reason for firing in the first place was to confine ratings within the Barracks and not to coerce or intimidate them. I want again to make it quite plain that the Government of India will never give in to violence."

SAILORS' APPEAL TO LEADERS—21ST. FEB.

The Central Naval Strike Committee issued an appeal to Indian national leaders to support the demand of the men of the Royal Indian Navy "who have been suffering untold hardships regarding pay and food and the most outrageous racial discrimination."

The appeal refers to the problem of demobilisation and resettlement and says that they had made repeated appeals to the authorities for the redress of their grievances "particularly regarding racial discrimination" and demanded equality of treatment but the authorities never listened to their demands. They had, therefore, followed the example of their brethren in the R. I. A. F. and decided to go on a strike.

"For the last five days, we have been on a peaceful strike but the authorities have refused to listen to us. They have called the military, particularly British troops, because they cannot trust our Indian brethren in the army. They opened fire on us in Castle Barracks and forced us to use arms to defend ourselves. Now the Flag Officer Commanding is threatening us with total destruction, usiug the overwhelming armed forces of the Empire.

"No patriotic Indian will expect us to surrender to such humiliating terms or to bend so low before the jack boots of British Imperialism, though we are prepared to negotiate. We know too, that the Flag Officer Commanding will carry out his threat, unless our people and our respected political leaders come to our aid. We appeal to you, particularly the leaders of the Indian National Congress, the Muslim League and the Communist Party, to use all your might to prevent a blood bath in Bombay and force the naval authorities to stop shooting and negotiate with us.

SARDAR PATEL'S CALL TO RATINGS—21ST. FEB.

An appeal to the Royal Indian Navy ratings to be patient and peaceful and to the people to maintain strict discipline and to do nothing to disturb the peace in the city in the present state of high tension, was made by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel in a statement to the Associated Press of India to-night.

Sardar Patel said: "The unfortunate clash between the naval ratings and the British naval and military police has resulted in creating an atmosphere of tension in the city. The tension has been further accentuated to-day when reports of the pitched battle between the naval ratings and the British naval and military police spread throughout the city. The immediate cause of the firing is not known: nor is it possible to ascertain the actual loss of life which, it is feared, may be very large. Without knowing all the facts, it is not possible to say whether all this regrettable loss could not have been avoided. The Congress was making all possible efforts to bring about a peaceful settlement of the long-standing legitimate grievances of the naval ratings. Until yesterday, there was good hope of restoring harmony and goodwill between them. Who was responsible for the unfortunate turn of events, which led to these disastrous consequences, and what was the actual provocation

which led to them is not known. But this is not an opportune moment to assess the relative responsibilities or to apportion blame between the parties concerned.

"The primary and immediate duty of every responsible man is to see that peace is restored between the parties as also to see that the city is not plunged into trouble and its peaceful atmosphere not disturbed. Every effort should be made to prevent panic and to control the unruly elements which always are on the look-out to take advantage of such a situation. The best thing for the people to do is to go about their normal business as usual.

"There should be no attempt to call for a hartal for stoppage of mills or closing of schools and colleges. Such a thing is not likely to help the unfortunate naval ratings in their efforts to get redress of their legitimate grievances or in the great difficulty in which they find themselves. All possible efforts are being made by the Congress to help them out of their difficulty and to see that their genuine grievances are immediately redressed. The Congress has a big party in the Central Assembly and is doing its best to help them, I would, therefore, earnestly appeal to them to be patient and peaceful and also, to the people, to maintain strict discipline and to do nothing to disturb the peace in the city in the present state of high tension".

BOMBAY CORPORATION ADJOURNS

The Bombay Municipal Corporation adjourned its meeting to-day to express sympathy with the Indian naval ratings' grievances.

The adjournment motion was moved by Mr. S. A. Kader (Congress) and was seconded by Munshi Fateh Khan (League).

38 ARRESTS IN DELHI—21ST. FEB.

Thirty-eight ratings of H. M. I. S. India, the R. I. N. Barracks, New Delhi, refused duty on the afternoon of February 20, said a communique. These ratings wers arrested by the military authorities at 8-30 a.m. on February 21 and were being kept under close arrest until the matter had been investigated when disciplinary action would be taken as necessary. A considerable number of ratings remained unaffected and were carrying out their duties.

Some of the airmen of the Royal Indian Air Force in the Bombay area went out on strike to-day in sympathy with the ratings of the Royal Indian Navy, it was announced by Air Headquarters.

STRIKE IN CALCUTTA—21ST. FEB.

Over 500 R. I. N. ratings in Behala and Kidderpore were on peaceful strike in sympathy with the ratings on strike in Bombay. To-day was the third day of the Calcutta strike, and it had now affected the remaining 200 ratings of H. M. I. S. Hooghly.

STRIKE IN VIZAGAPATAM—21ST. FEB.

A strike was staged to-day by ratings belonging to the H.M.I.S. Circars establishment, H.M.I.S. Sonavati, Shillong and Ahmedabad, in sympathy with the strikers of H.M.I.S. Talwar, Dalhousie, Akbar, etc. in Bombay. The flag was torn and fired at.

The strikers hoisted on the mast of H.M.I S. Sonavati the "Jai Hind" and the national tri-colour flags. About 600 of them marched out in procession through the main streets shouting national slogans. Some of the strikers remained in the city and arrangements were made to feed them. It was further learnt that all the ships and motor launches were unmanned as the crews came out leaving the national flags flying on them.

R. I. A. F. MEN IN MADRAS ON STRIKE—22ND. FEB.

The Indian personel of the R. I. A. F. stationed in Madras, numbering over 200, went on strike this morning at the Menambakkam Aerodrome, as a protest against armed reprisals against the R. I. N. demonstrators at Bombay.

The strikers peacefully stayed off from the morning parade and work. They assembled this morning in the Recreation Room and when an officer called them out for work, they refused. They did not give their names and numbers when asked to do so.

Later, the strikers met Wing Commander Hardinge and presented to him a memorandum of grievances. In the memorandum, they objected to prayers on the common parade ground, and demanded that working hours should be reduced to the agreed minimum for all the units in the station. They wanted equal treatment with the R. A. F. and pleaded that travelling facilities should be on the same basis as for the R. A. F. They also protested against the attitude of the authorities towards the R. I. A. F. personnel at Secunderabad following the hunger-strike.

R. I. N. S's BACK AT WORK IN MADRAS—22ND. FEB.

All the eighty men of the shore establishment of the R.I.N. in the city returned to work after the demonstration they staged yesterday and everything was quiet to-day, according to the Naval authorities.

The communications sections of the establishment. it was understood, had to be put in charge of military units for a few hours yesterday but later in the day the work was resumed by the regular men of the section.

One of the ratings who was put under guard and not "arrested" and escorted to the barracks following the incident in which a British Officer was injured, was subsequently released, the authorities having decided that no action be taken against any of the demonstrators, except to give a general warning for the future.

Commander Bingham, Naval Officer-in-Charge, told a reporter of THE HINDU to-day that it was a pity that the men, many of whom had a fine record to their credit in connection with the Arakan campaign and other episodes of the war in the east, should have got excited. "They are mostly drawn from the villages" the Officer said, "but they have done good work involving heavy responsibility. I know they did not mean any harm. There was no harm in their shouting 'Long live India' or 'Victory to India'; but they were excited and did things in excitement without knowing what they were doing."

Asked about the actual grievances of the men, the officer said: "Their demands are being attended to by the local authorities to the best of our ability, special attention being paid to their complaint about preparation of food. Their other complaints are being forwarded to the higher authorities for necessary action."

The demands of the men, it was learnt, were as follows : No victimisation of the ratings on strike and no arrest; better food and allowances like those paid to men of the Royal Navy; withdrawal of all Indian troops from Indonesia, release of I.N.A. personnel and Captain Rashid and abandoning of the trials still pending against I.N.A. men and the dismissal of the British Officer of the H.M.I.S. Talwar who was reported to have insulted Indians.

Commander Bingham told the reporter of THE HINDU that the men returned to duty at about 11 a.m. yesterday and since then everything had been going on smoothly in the establishment.

Strike Situation in Karachi—22nd Feb.

It was officially announced at 11-15 this morning that H. M. I. S. Hindustan had been brought under fire and had surrendered after 25 minutes.

Following the exchange of shells this morning the casualties among the Indian ratings of H. M. I. S. Hindustan were taken in a number of ambulances through Queen's Road, escorted by British paratroops in jeeps. While these paratroops were escorting the Ambulance, a large crowd, mostly students, stoned them heavily near the Queen's Road. It was understood that casualties in this morning's firing were heavy.

Paratroops were posted along the Native Jetty where they had mounted artillery and heavy guns. All approaches to Leamari had been closed.

After a comparatively quiet night, there was a flare up again in the morning. Four rounds of heavy Naval gunfire were heard at 10-30 a. m. to-day. Stray cannon shots landed in the Cantonment area, about five miles away from the Harbour area. Flashes of the firing were seen by the citizens.

The military took control of the whole Harbour area.

No one was allowed to proceed beyond the Port Trust buildings about four miles from Keamari. British Paratroops were reinforced.

HARTAL IN CITY

The city was observing hartal. Students abstained from attending their classes and a number of processions were being taken.

The strike of Indian ratings in the shore establishments of Bahadur, Himalayas and Chemak continued to-day. The men in Chemak staged a hunger strike yesterday but were however continuing their stay in strike. They took their meals in the morning. The strikers in these establishments were peaceful and non-violent. They were not allowed, however, to leave their establishments for the Harbour area, nor were they permitted to contact civilians.

PRESS COMMUNIQUE

The following Press communique was issued by the military authorities .—

"Acts of indiscipline in R. I. N. establishments ashore and in A. R. I. N. vessel in Keamari occurred this morning, leading to fire being opened at about 11 a. m. from the ship with all guns. As a result two British soldiers of military detach-

ment in the vicinity were wounded and the detachment returned fire with small arms which caused casualties reported to be eight among naval personnel of the vessel concerned.

"Since mid-day the situation remained quiet and no further resort to firing has occurred. Steps have been taken by the service authorities concerned to bring the situation under control."

Ratings' Demands

Full details of the events that led to to-day's development in R. I. N. rating strike in Keamari show that the ratings of various shore establishments in Karachi went on strike at 8-30 this morning on a twelve-point demand.

Their demands included speedy demobilisation, schemes for post-war resettlement, equality of pay and allowances with the personnel of the Royal Navy, facilities for closer working with the civilians, better food, and treatment, improvement of welfare conditions, no victimization and accelerated promotions. They also demanded the release of Capt. Abdul Rashid and other I. N. A. prisoners.

Following the declaration of the strike this morning, groups of strikers from Himalayas and Chemak moved towards H. M. I. S. Hindustan and others along the Keamari road. Boatloads of strikers approached H. M. I. S. Hindustan lying alongside the east wharf followed by batches of British soldiers on patrol vessels. When the strikers attempted to embark the vessel and Indian ratings aboard tried to contact them, British soldiers opened fire. The strikers aboard retaliated with all arms from heavy naval guns to small arms. The strikers thereafter gained complete control of the vessel and prevented any one excepting Indian ratings from approaching the vessel. The strikers hoisted the Congress and League flags on the vessels.

Other groups moved out along the road which was barricaded by the military police. Military pickets were stationed all over the area. The strikers were, however, persuaded to retire to their establishments, and were holding a meeting to formulate their final demands in the light of the recommendations said to have been made by the Area Commander, R. I. N. to the higher authorities.

Naval Commodore Curtis who arrived from New Delhi this afternoon was stated to have tried to contact the strikers for a settlement, and according to the strikers the talks failed.

The strikers held a meeting on board H. M. I. S. Chemak and demanded the following steps prior to the initiation of negotiation : firstly they wanted an enquiry into the firing incident this morning. They also demanded the immediate release of Lieut. E. Bandari. Other demands included the provision of pensions to the families of those who had been killed. The immediate withdrawal of the British troops from the harbour area and unconditional release of those who had been arrested so far in this connection were also demanded. They suggested that the court of enquiry into to-day's incidents must include representatives of ratings from different establishments and ships.

British troops were posted to guard the shore establishments of H. M. I. S. Bahadur, Himalayas and Chemak during the night.

Bombay Sailors Surrender—23rd February

All the Royal Indian Navy ships under the control of the ratings on strike surrendered unconditionally this morning in accordance with the advice tendered to them by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.

A signal from the Strike Committee that the ships were ready to surrender was received at Naval Headquarters at Bombay at 6-30 a.m. to-day after which the ships surrendered one by one in accordance with the terms laid down by the Flag Officer Commanding, the Royal Indian Navy.

The Indian naval ratings who had barricaded themselves inside Castle Barracks, also surrendered simultaneously. The naval ratings' strike was thus called off. The situation returned to normal.

Soon after the surrender signal was hoisted by the Royal Indian Navy Ships under the control of the strikers, Rear Admiral Rattray, Flag Officer Bombay, and Lt. Choudhury went on board the ship and addressed the ratings.

The Flag of Vice-Admiral Godfrey was hoisted on the Narbadda, the flag ship of the Vice-Admiral.

Arrangements were made for the supply of fresh water and food to the ratings on all ships and in the Castle Barracks.

Naval and military authorities were at this time in conference discussing the control measures to be adopted in regard to the R. I. N. ships.

SARDAR PATEL'S ASSURANCE—22 FEB.

Advice to the Royal Indian Navy ratings on strike to lay down their arms and to go through formality of surrender which had been asked for was given by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, when his advice was sought by the representatives of the naval ratings to-day.

Mr. Patel said: "In the present unfortunate circumstances that have developed the advice of the Congress to the RIN ratings is to lay down arms and to go through the formality of surrender which has been asked for. The Congress will do its best to see that there is no victimisation and the legitimate demands of the naval ratings are accepted as soon as possible. There is considerable tension all over the city and there has been heavy loss of life and property. There is also considerable strain both on the naval ratings as well as on the authorities. While fully appreciating their spirit and courage and also having full sympathy in their present difficulties, the best advice that the Congress can give them in the present circumstances is to end the tension immediately. This advice is in the interests of all concerned."

The gist of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's advice to the Royal Indian Navy ratings on strike was conveyed to the authorities. A formation of 19 R.A.F. machines flew over Bombay city and harbour area at 13-00 hrs. There were no incidents.

NO OFFICIAL VICTIMISATION—23rd FEB.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President, who had a half-hour interview with the C-in-C. this morning told an A. P. I. correspondent later that he had the C-in-C's authority to assure all the persons concerned that there would be no victimisation or vindictive action taken in connection with the R I N strike and that all legitimate grievances would be sympathetically examined and redressed.

But the Maulana added, a calm and peaceful atmosphere was essential for the immediate purpose as well as in the larger interests of the country. He earnestly hoped that all parties concerned would keep this in view.

The Maulana said that he was very glad that Sardar Patel's advice had been accepted by the strikers.

Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan, Deputy Leader of the Muslim League Party in the Assembly, also had a talk with the C-in-C to-day in connection with the RIN strike. It was learnt that the C-in-C gave him assurance that there would be no victimisation or vindictiveness of the people involved.

MR. JINNAH'S APPEAL—23 FEB.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League in a statement to-day, offered his services unreservedly for the cause of the R.I N. men to see that justice was done to them. He appealed to the men to call off the strike and to the public not to add to the difficulties of the situation.

Mr. Jinnah added that on his return to Delhi about March 8, he would take up the question directly with the Viceroy and do all he can in the matter.

The following is the text of Mr. Jinnah's statement:

"The Press reports that the R. I. N. strike at Bombay has taken very serious turn and that the ratings in Calcutta and Karachi have gone on strike have caused serious apprehensions. Newspaper reports from various parts of India, particularly from Bombay, Karachi and Calcutta show that the R. I. N. men have some very just grievances and it has been made clear by them how deeply they are affected by these grievances and how they genuinely feel hurt about their present position. No civilized Government or responsible man in this country can tear their feeling and grievances lightly."

"I offer my services unreservedly for the cause of the R. I. N. to see that justice is done to them. If they will adopt constitutional, lawful and peaceful methods and apprise me fully of what will satisfy them, I give them my assistance that I shall do my best to see that their grievances are redressed.

"I appeal to all the R.I.N. men not to play into the hands of those who want to create trouble and exploit those on strike for their own ends. I urge upon them to restore normal conditions and let us handle the situation, which will surely result in their welfare and will be in their best interests. I, therefore, appeal to the men of the R.I.N. and to the ratings to call off the strike and to the public in general not to add to the difficulties of the situation. Particularly, I call upon the Muslims to stop and to create no further trouble until we are in a position to handle this very serious situation. If we fail to make the authorities understand and meet the just demands of the R.I.N. men, then it will be time for us all with

perfect unity among ourselves, to force the hands of the Government if they are not reasonable.

"I hope my advice and appeal will not fail. On my return to Delhi about the 8th of March I shall take up the question directly with the Viceroy and I shall do all I can in this matter.

NEED FOR IMPARTIAL ENQUIRY AT MADRAS—22 FEB.

A warning to the Government not take shelter under the guise of military discipline and condemn the R I N workers, but to institute an impartial enquiry was given by Mr. V. V. Giri, ex-Labour Minister, Madras, and President, All-India Railwaymen's Federation, referring to the R.I.N. ratings' strike. Mr. Giri said that it was the immediate duty of the Government to appoint an impartial committee of enquiry, on which the representatives of both the Government and the workers should have a place, with an impartial man of status as Chairman. That alone will relieve tension and convince the ratings that justice will be done to them.

DEMONSTRATION IN ERNAKULAM—22 FEB.

Ratings of H M. I. S. Venduruthy staged demonstrations this morning going in a procession along the streets of Ernakulam, shouting slogans such as "Cease fire in Bombay" and "Indian Navy Zindabad". The ratings were on strike and proposed to abstain from food until the trouble in Bombay was settled.

CALCUTTA RATINGS' DEMAND—22 FEB.

Ratings on strike adopted a resolution to-day asking for the withdrawal of the broad-cast of Rear-Admiral Godfrey from Bombay yesterday. They also reiterated their determination not to be intimidated by threats and to continue the strike till their grievances were redressed.

POONA RATINGS' STRIKE—22 FEB.

Nine hundred trainees of the Royal Indian Navy establishment, H. M. I. S. Shivaji, near Lonavla, had been on a sit-down strike since Wednesday in sympathy with the naval ratings of Bombay. They however remained peaceful.

AMBALA AIRMEN OF STRIKE—22 FEB

The entire personnel of the R. I. A. F. stationed in Ambala, with the exception of officers, went on strike this morning as a protest against the firing on R. I. N. ratings in Bombay.

Karachi Naval Ratings' Strike Ends—23 Feb.

The police fired there rounds at 2-55 p. m. to-day on an unruly crowd at the Idagh Maidan. The firing followed heavy stone-throwing by the crowd. The men who were injured were removed to hospital. Policemen were said to have been injured as the result of stone-throwing.

An order under sec. 144 of Cr. P. C. was promulgated in Karachi for an indefinite period, prohibiting assemblies of more than five persons, meetings and processions.

Students who abstained from their classes to-day, took out a procession and were later joined by Communist leaders. The procession held up tram service near the Corporation building. Armed police arrived on the scene and restored tram traffic. Armed police was posted to regulate the traffic in the locality.

Tramway workers went on strike at 10-30 a. m., in sympathy with the R. I, N. strike. All tramcars and buses were brought back to the tramway yard.

SAILORS RESUME WORK

The stay-in strike in the Indian Naval Shore establishments, Himalaya, Bahadur and Chemak in Manora island was called off this morning. The men resumed work to-day unconditionally. The situation remained quiet in Kemari, the scene of the Royal Indian Navy strike trouble during the past three days.

It was officially announced that all was quiet at Karachi. H.M.I.S. Hindustan was evacuated.H. M. I. S. Bahadur, H. M. I. S. Chamak, and H.M.I.S. Himalaya were under military guard which remained until such time as the area commander and N. O. I. C. were satisfied that they had been brought completely under control.

As a result of the action to bring H. M. I. S. Hindustan under control, R.I.N. casualties numbered six dead and 33 wounded.

Approximately 300 ratings from H. M. I. S. Hindustan were under arrest. Of these, approximately 75 were H. M. I. S. Hindustan's own ship's company, the remainder from shore establishments. A number withdrew before the ultimatum expired. H. M. I. S. Dilawar was quiet and working normal routine.

H. M. I. S. Travancore proceeded to sea with all her officers on board when action was taken against H. M. I. S. Hindustan. The Naval Officer Commanding in Chief agreed that unarmed ships might enter the port.

A close view and a visit of the surrendered sloop H. M. I. S. "Hindustan" after this morning's action revealed extensive damage to her. She gave the appearance of a war-worn unit just returned after a heavy action.

It was stated that the low tide saved destruction to the city as the "Hindustan" could not retaliate with her heavy guns effectively. She had to fire her guns in an ackward angle and at random. After an exchange of fire lasting for 27 minutes the "Hindustan" lowered her flag of mutiny and hoisted a white flag. The troops demanded the surrender of arms and asked the ratings to fall in with their hands up on the jetty. The ratings were then arrested and sent to a detention camp. The injured were removed to hospital. Among the complement of the "Hindustan" was an Indian officer who likewise surrendered.

PRESS COMMUNIQUE—22 FEB.

The following Press communique was issued by the military authorities at Karachi :

Early this morning after a night without incident, mutineers in possession of H. M. I. S. Hindustan were informed by a senior naval officer that military action to capture the ship would be begun unless they surrendered forthwith. The mutineers were allowed until 09-00 hours for any ratings who wished to do so to leave the ship. No advantage was taken of this period and at about 10-00 hours a senior military officer called upon the mutineers to lay down their arms and abandon the ship as this would be their last chance before action to seize the ship was taken. The mutineers were warned that any men remaining on deck who did not surrender would be fired on. The only response was that some of the mutineers manned the ship's guns on deck.

At 10-35 hours, after the period of grace had lapsed, strictly controlled rifle fire on individuals still on the ship's deck was opened by the troops. The ship returned the fire with heavy machine-guns, but the military still restricted their fire to sniping by individual riflemen. The ship's company then began firing with the whole ship's armament including four-inch guns and it became necessary to open fire in return with one field-gun and mortars. Hits on the deck of the ship were observed from 10-50 hours until 10-55 hours when the white flag was displayed and the fire was stopped immediately.

Reported casualties were four R. I. N. ratings killed and 26 R. I. N. ratings wounded. One BOR of the military detachment was wounded slightly. As far as is known, no casualties of any other sort have occurred. The ship's company were disembarked and a military detachment occupied the vessel. All is reported quiet in the naval shore establishments and no further incidents have occurred since the main party of mutineers from H. M. I. S. Hindustan surrendered.

Assembly Passes Censure Motion—23rd Feb.

The Central Assembly at a special sitting at New Delhi on the 23 February 1946 passed by 74 votes to 40, Mr. *Asaf Ali's* adjournment motion to discuss "the grave situation that has arisen in respect of the Indian Navy, affecting practically the whole of it, as a result of mishandling by the immediate authorities concerned."

During the debate, the War Secretary, Mr. P. Mason stated that the incidents in Bombay and Karachi would be enquired into by three separate agencies.

First, the general policy would be examined by the Defence Consultative Committee. Then a services enquiry would be held into the conduct of those who dealt with the happenings : and lastly, a wide and impartial enquiry would be made into the whole question of the grievances including the allegations against the immediate authorities. With the last enquiry, representatives of the Legislature would be associated.

At the outset Mr. *Philip Mason,* War Secretary, made a statement on the latest situation. The situation as regards indiscipline, Mr. Mason said, had practically come to an end. In Karachi, as he had mentioned in the House yesterday, Commander Curtis visited the establishments in Manora Island and spoke to the ratings there. Later, he visited the Hindustan but the ratings there would not listen to him and would not discuss surrender. He gave an ultimatum and warned that force would be used after one hour's time. The House was aware of the details and he would only add that 33 minutes after the ultimatum had expired, they surrendered.

"HINDUSTAN" CASUALTIES

The latest casualty figures for the Hindustan were eight ratings killed and 33 wounded. The situation in Karachi was normal and ratings iu Manora Island were doing their routine duty.

In Bombay they unconditionally surrendered at 6-13 a.m. to-day. During the morning officers went on board the ships. Work was being resumed everywhere. From other ports information received stated that the position was more or less the same. A number of ratings were demonstrating in sympathy with the Bombay ratings but there had been no violence of any kind and there was no reason to suppose that on hearing the news from Bombay they had not gone back to work.

There was one very small item of information which provided a lighter turn in this very serious matter. In Delhi, where eight ratings refused duty, a cook was asked to join in the indiscipline. When he was told that one of the reasons for the indiscipline was bad food, he refused to be a party to the demonstration saying, "No, no, the food is very good. "This", said Mr. Mason, "is a very small piece of information but it also indicates. I think, that many of the men who took part in this indiscipline did so for reasons which were very insufficient.".

Replying to supplementaries, Mr. Mason said that he had not yet got the figures of casualties in the Castle Barracks (Bombay). One RIN officer died of wounds and one RIN officer, one Army officer and eight other ranks were wounded. He believed that the casualties among the RIN ratings were very small indeed and considerably smaller than those at Karachi.

Continuing to answer supplementaries from all parts of the House, Mr. Mason said that Admiral Godfrey's broadcast conveyed a wrong impression. When Admiral Godfrey referred to the "destruction of the Navy" he did not mean physical destruction ; he meant the collapse of its prestige and of its achievements.

Regarding the treatment of ratings after they had surrendered, Mr. Mason said that they would receive full food and rations as soon as they resumed duty. The ratings surrendered from H.M I.S. Hindustan were under arrest.

Mr. Mason, in reply to another question, said that a considerable measure of decentralisation was necessary in dealing with this question and in Bombay, Major-General Lockhart was in charge of the land, air and sea forces.

There would certainly be no victimisation and Government's policy had been communicated to Major-General Lockhart but Government were not prepared to tie the hands of the man on the spot by passing specific instructions in particular cases.

Mr. Mason, replying to an interruption, said that he had no reason to believe that there was any truth in an agency report that 200 ratings had been killed by the fighting in Castle Barracks, Bombay. He believed that there were fewer casualties in Bombay among the ratings than the figures given for Karachi.

Dealing with further questions on the subject, Mr. Mason said he could not be responsible for inaccuracies in agency reports.

Answering another supplementary, Mr. Mason said that it would have been "fantastic and quixotic to a degree which would surprise even this House" if ratings had been supplied with food while they were in a ship in armed insurrection.

With a number of members of the House standing up to catch his eye, the *President* intervened to say that it would perhaps save a large number of supplementaries if Mr. Mason made a full statement at that stage. Mr. Mason agreed to the suggestion.

The War Secretary continued that indiscipline in armed forces was very dangerous. It was not like a trade dispute where pressure was brought to bear fairly gradually and there was time for discussion. There was a stage in Bombay when the whole city was threatened when the ratings hoisted steam. He was glad they were wise enough to avoid that criminal act.

"I must acknowledge the fact," Mr. Mason said, "that this danger of indiscipline which threatens us and which involved the Navy began, I am sorry, with the indiscipline in R.I.A.F. and it has led to all this."

In regard to the Government's policy, the War Secretary said, the matter required very careful consideration and Government must undoubtedly consult the views of the people and the question would come up before the Defence Consultative Committee. That would be the first step which Government would take. Government also need to inquire into the whole question. There were two kinds of enquiries, one purely of a service nature and the other a very full and impartial consideration of the whole question as to how the trouble arose, the reasons for the indiscipline and other matters and in such an enquiry members of the Legislature should be associated.

With regard to victimisation, he could give no assurance that punishment

would not take place. But there would be no mass punishment or victimisation. The majority of the ratings were very young and some one must have misled them and it was essential that, if that person could be found and if charges could be brought home, then Government should reserve for themselves the right to punish such people with the object of preventing further indiscipline and secondly, to make the position clear for the future.

At the same time, Government would take into account the present "electric atmosphere" in the country and as far as the military authorities were concerned they would take the greatest care to avoid anything which might lead to a general deterioration of the feeling.

The War Secretary asked the House to carefully consider the adjournment which implied censure of Government. That meant that those who took part in the discipline weuld feel that they might have been right in the course they took.

MR. ASAF ALI'S CRITICISM

Moving his adjournment motion, Mr. *Asaf Ali* said: "During the war the ratings had been hearing about freedom and national self-respect and their conduct in the war has been praised by Mr. Attlee. But they found Commanding Officer King calling them names which I am ashamed to repeat (hear, hear). Even others who may not have been so well-trained for fighting may have retaliated for such treatment with perhaps greater violence than that used by these boys."

The grievances of the ratings, apart from politics, would be regarded as legitimate anywhere, said Mr. Asaf Ali. "I need not say anything further for the simple reason that I am as fully conscious of the gravity of the situation as anybody else. I am conscious as anyhody else that the army is to be kept out of party politics. I do not want a single man in the army who is not patriotic but I also want them to be impartially patriotic. The army must serve their people and fight for their country and so long as they are animated with this feeling, I respect and honour them. The entire country will back them to the last man if they are fighting for the national self-respect of the country (hear, hear).

"If in their excitement the ratings have gone beyond proper limit," said Mr. Asaf Ali, "the whole matter should be considered calmly and quietly in a place where we can exchange views with the War Department and where we can advise the Department. Meanwhile, no steps should be taken which may make the bad situation worse."

"To blame these boys alone for the situation would be rather out of proportion. The strikes were first started by the American Army and followed by the RAF. The RAF gave the cue to the RIAF and the RIN followed suit."

Concluding Mr. Asaf Ali said that, although it was extremely difficult under the circumstances, he wished to exercise the greatest restraint; he did not wish to say any word which might in any way contribute to the deterioration of the situation. This self-simposed restraint was due to the fact that as Sardar Patel had said in another place India's ship was nearing the shore and had to be piloted as carefully and cautiously as possible out of the shoals which lay ahead.

BASIS OF TROUBLE

Mr. *Abdur Rahman Siddiqui* (Muslim League) said that the basis of the trouble was racial discrimination. The authorities had not realised the spirit of the age. Immediately after the war, officers of the services went back into the spirit of the prewar days when it was considered a legitimate privilege to treat the Indian section of the forces unkindly and disrespectfully. If the War department was not aware of the grievances of the ratings, the men in charge of it, especially the naval section, belonged to the company of opium-eaters (hear, hear). The officer who used ungentlemanly language against the ratings should have been kicked out of the navy (hear, hear).

Those boys, said Mr. Siddiqui, "did not go mad overnight when they committed acts to which exception is taken. Whether in Bombay or Karachi, these boys have behaved as any group of young folk would have done. My boys had a larger justification to do what they did than the men of the American or British forces."

"Your age", said the speaker, "is finished and a new age has dawned. Unless you go with the spirit of the age, there will be trouble and misery for my own countrymen as well as for those who would like to crush them." (Cheers).

Sardar Mangal Singh (Akali Party), supporting the motion, said that the action of the ratings was a protest against continued racial discrimination. "A Government which maintains such discrimination has no claim on our allegiance and we have the right to revolt against it. When the enquiry is made into the

strikes of the rebel ratings, the whole question should be re-examined, so that such troubles will not recur." He asked the War Secretary to give an assurance that no punishment would be given even to individual ratings till the Defence Consultative Committee had gone into the matter.

R. I. N. RULES MUST BE CHANGED

Mr. *M. R. Masani* (Congress) said that the Government of India had misinformed the British Prime Minister when he said in the House of Commons that the grievances of the ratings had not been previously presented. For months past, Naval Headquarters in Delhi had from time to time received reports and complaints in regard to pay, food, clothing allowances, leave and travel facilities and invidious distinction between the terms of demobilisation between the British and Indian demobilised personnel. These grievances had been simmering for a long time and came to the surface as a result of the behaviour of Commander King and the arrests of two ratings.

There was also a feeling of insecurity among the ratings. In September 1945 there were 3,500 officers and 28,000 ratings in the RIN. Since September, Naval Headquarters had issued three orders in succession on demobilisation. According to the first plan, 18,500, men were to be retained according to the Second 13,000 men and according to the third only 11,000 men.

Under RIN rules, it was extremely difficult to have grievances redressed. One must either take it lying down or mutiny. No combined representation was permitted and the grievances had to be represented individually. "That makes it extremely difficult for the peaceful redress of grievances to take place and men who are frustrated, whose grievances fester, are driven by the kind of conduct like Commander King's to take this grave step."

"Why", asked Mr. Masani, "do the peoples of Bombay unanimously support the mutineers? It is because Indians do not differ. We do not accept moral basis of your authority. Your law is not law to us because it has not got the consent of the people behind it (hear, hear). That is why, when your military or civil law is broken, every-one of us instinctively regards the rebellion with sympathy. In other words, the real cause of this mutiny is the existence of British rule in this country (hear, hear). I can imagine the irritation which must be caused to any average Indian in having to hoist a foreign flag over his own establishment (hear, hear). The flag which the people of this country have is the Tri-colour of the Congress and the Mustim League flag."

Mr. Masani appealed to the British to leave the country while there was "still an army, navy and air force left in this country." They were no longer a cementing force; they had lingered too long and had become a disruptive force. The Communists, who called out Bombay workers in defiance of the B. P. C. C. were fostered by Government during the war. The Communists had turned against the Government because they had fallen out "with their principals in Moscow."

"We are told the situation is in control and that prestige has been preserved. It has been preserved no doubt—with the co-operation of men like Sardar Patel in Bombay and Mr. Gazdar in Karachi. It has been preserved because our national leaders of all parties are prepared in the interests of this country to endorse the call on the authorities. I wonder whether this kind of victory is worth having. The ratings who surrendered in the interests of their country were the moral victors of the struggle. (hear, hear)"

Mr. Masani urged that in view of the C-in-C's assurance, nothing would be done further which would exacerbate the situation.

FIRM HAND ADVOCATED

Mr. *P. J. Griffiths*, Leader of the European Group, speaking amid many interuptions, wished that on occasions like this, the War Member himself was present to take part in the debate. Four things seemed to be needed, Mr. Griffiths went on. An accurate estimate of what had happened should be made; then they should consider why it had happened. Then consider what its probable effect would be and finally address themselves to the action to be taken. He would not hesitate to use the word mutiny in describing the events—mutiny not in a technical sense but mutiny in a real, full and practical sense.

Mr. Griffiths agreed with Mr. Masani that deep down was the strain and maladjustment inherent in the present political situation, but the remedy was to push on with constitutional settlement and not say that till that setlement came, soldiers might desert and the navy might mutiny. Among reasons for the trouble, Mr. Griffiths went on, were the inflammatory speeches made by influential and vociferous leaders which made men in the defence services waver in their allegiance

and the public laudation of the 20,000 I. N. A. men who had gone over to the enemy. (Mr. Sri Prakasa: They were handed over to the enemy).

Mr. Griffiths called upon Government to make it clear that if by any ill-fortune there was a recurrence of trouble, they would use the utmost force to suppress it and they would not make the mistake they did over the I. N. A. "Do not make heroes of them," he urged (Voices: we will)

ADMIRAL GODFREY'S BROADCAST CRITICISED

Dr. *G. V. Deshmukh* (Congress), said that the real cause of the trouble was racial discrimination That discrimination existed not only in navy but in the army and air force as well. The only way to make them loyal was to give them a National Government and an idea to fight for. The days were gone, Mr. Deshmukh said, when the Indian soldiers were satisfied with a bowl of 'kanji", when they thought that the British Government paid them. Now their national consciousness had been roused.

The War Secretary had stated that the shops had been looted. Dr. Deshmukh asked who looted them. He also asked why outbreak of rioting occurred whenever there were talks of constitutional adjustments, (here, here). Were Police doing their duty? He asserted that he had information that, when a Post Office in Bombay was burning, the police were not there He asked Government to remember that the old order has changed and men of the I. N. A. and the RIN demonstrated their adherence to the higher loyalty and higher discipline.

Dr. Deshmukh criticised Admiral Godfrey's broadcast and considered it wrong that men who had once been praised for valour should now be condemned as mutineers because they complained to-day about inhuman conditions of pay and racial discrimination.

LEAGUE SPOKESMAN'S CRITICISM

Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan, Deputy Leader of the Muslim League Party asked for clarification of the function of the Enquiry Committee which Mr. Mason said would be set up. If the Government were going to have an impartial commission to enquire into the whole question, then where was the need for a departmental inquiry separately?

Referring to the complaints voiced by the R. I. N., the Nawabzada said that on more than one occasion some of the members of the House including himself, had pointed out that the treatment meted out to Indian Officers were greatly resented by them.

On more than one occasion, Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan said that he had also pointed out that there was racial discrimination which would re oil on the authorities. No efforts were made by the Government either to inquire into those grievances or remedy them. "It is the common belief of every section of the people in India that the present Government sit with cotton wool stuck in their ears and they never listen to the voice of reason till such time as it is dinned into their ears. All this trouble is due to this belief and there is a common feeling in the country that there is no use of talking to them in a gentlemanly manner" he said. "Unless you create trouble they could not be roused from their slumber." The feeling was very unfortunate and he requested the Government to shake off their lethargy and be more responsive to public opinion. While he endorsed the desire of the War Secretary that complete discipline should be maintained in the army, he also would submit that officers who were placed in charge of men of the Indian Army should be such as were really competent and able to command the confidence of the Indian soldiers.

It was gratifying that the situation in Bombay and in Karachi was practically normal and men had started duty. "I can assure them from here," he said, "that the Muslim League will use whatever lies in its power to secure reasonable and legitimate demands of the R. I. N. and they may count upon the assistance and active support of the Muslim League in their legitimate grievances. I appeal to the Government that they should be more vigilant with regard to the feeling and sentiments of the forces of the Indian Army and they should remedy their legitimate grievances. I hope the Committee would be appointed at an early date with full powers to recommend to the Government on every aspect of this question."

MR. MASON'S REPLY

Mr. *Mason*, replying to the debate, explained the difference between the two enquiries which he had mentioned would take place after the Defence Consultative Committee had examined general policy. Until a full impartial enquiry

was held, he went on, it was impossible to make up our mind as to what Commander King had said. The ratings said he used that language; but no one yet knew whether he actually used that language. Commander King had denied having used it. Mr. Mason would request the Opposition to keep an open mind on this aspect which would be one of the subjects of the enquiry.

As regards looting of shops, Mr. Mason said that some of the reports said that RIN ratings were guilty of breaking into shops but that again was a matter for enquiry. Replying to Mr. Griffith's remarks, Mr. Mason pointed out that the C. in-C. had two functions. He was the C.-in-C. and the War Member. Personally Mr. Mason wished that such a situation would come to an end and we would straightway have a civilian War Member, but so long as he was the C.-inC., it would be absolutely wrong for him to come to the House and become involved in controversial questions.

A member: Why does he go to the Council of State?

Mr. Mason remarked that the Council of State proceedings were less controversial (laugher).

Mr. Mason added that he could say with all sincerity that it had been the C.-in-C.'s constant endeavour on every possible occasion to eliminate discrimination. Mr. Mason could give hundreds of instances in which the C.-in-C. had interevened to prevent discrimination. Mr Mason asked the House not to censure the Government on this question or condemn officers unheard because such censure or condemnation would mean encouragement to further acts of indiscipline which he knew all sections of the House wished to avoid.

C.-in-C. on R. I. N Strike—New Delhi—25th Feb.

The Commander-in-Chief, General *Sir Claude, Auchinleck* in a broadcast to night on the R.I.N. strike said that there would be no collective punishment, no vindictive action or indiscriminate retribution, but ringleaders and others would be individually tried and those found guilty would be punished "To refrain from awarding punishment where such is due would put a premium on insubordination," he said.

"Legitimate grievances can be and are being rectified continually and quickly as far as possible," he went on. But, he made it clear that some of the men's wishes could not be met.

"I am aware that politics have had something to do with the recent regrettable happenings in the services," General Auchinleck said. "In my position as C.-in-C. I have nothing whatever to do with politics, and I will not countenance political intrigue in the armed forces in India. To do so would be a great dis-service to India both now and for the future." The following is the full text of the broadcast:—

The subject of my short talk to-night is the discipline and well-being of the forces.

Unrest in certain parts of the armed forces in India has undoubtedly caused misgivings in people's minds and my object in speaking to you to-night is to help you to see things in the right light.

The word 'strike' has been loosely used. The correct word is "mutiny", and this refers to any collective act of a few or many persons, subject to naval, military or air force law against the legal authority of the service. Any attempt to whitewash collective disobedience by using the civil term 'strike' is damaging to the discipline and stability of the armed forces, and can only react unfavourably on law and order generally. The use of the word 'strike' is dangerous in that it suggests something less serious than mutiny and implies that the armed forces can be excused if they indulge in such direct action as is legally open to those in civil employment.

It matters not what form collective disobedience takes—whether negative—such as refusal to work or refusal to eat; or positive, such as a demonstration march or an act of violence. Such acts are all mutinous, though obviously they can and do vary in degree. The milder forms of insubordination are infectious and easily lead to violence.

Appeals are often made that there shall be no so-called 'victimisation' of those guilty of mutiny. In so far as this means that there will be no collective punishment of a body of men, it is true that there will be no vindictive action or indiscriminate retribution. But I never have made, and never will make, any promise that ring-leaders and others individually tried and found guilty will not be punished. On the contrary, they will be. To do otherwise would strike at the root of all discipline, and would be quite unfair to well-behaved servicemen who form the

vast majority. To refrain from awarding punishment where such is due would be a premium on insubordination.

CANNOT BE PAID BRITISH SCALE OF PAY

It is all too readily assumed that recent mutinous acts are due to grievances, and the implication is that grievances can only be rectified as the results of acts of ill-discipline. Nothing could be further from the truth. I do not deny for a moment that grievances may exist in the services, as is inevitable in any large organisation employing hundreds of thousands of men. Some of the men's wishes cannot be met. To give one example—it is not possible to pay everyone in the RIN and RFA at the same rate as in the RN and RAF. Just as it is not possible to pay everyone in the British Navy and Air Force on the same scale as, for instance, those in the U. S. Navy or Air Force without affecting the whole economic structure of the country and creating similar demands in every branch of Government service. We have as a matter of fact a strong Inter-Service Committee sitting at the moment to look into the conditions of pay, accommodation, travel etc., of all the three Indian services.

LEGITIMATE GRIEVANCES BEING RECTIFIED

Legitimate grievances can be and are being rectified continually and as quickly as possible. As you know, I am myself touring constantly and when I see anything wrong in any one of the three services I do my best to put it right without delay. Enquiry into reasonable complaints is normal service procedure, and I rely upon every officer under my command, of whatever service, to see that this is properly carried out. I came to know what my men are thinking and it has been my pratice in the past, as it will always be in the future, to ensure, as far as lies within my power, good treatment and due consideration for the men serving under my command. Collective acts of insubordination hinder rather than help me and my commanders in our efforts to effect this.

The unfortunate and erroneous impression appear to exist that the normal life of sailor, soldier or airman is full of burning grievances. This is just not true, but because they are normal and not sensational, we hear very little of the many things on the other side of the slate, such as the very great efforts which has been and are being made to improve the lot of the servicemen. There is also an astonishing assumption in some quarters that the people at the head of affairs do not really care, and not interested in seeing to the welfare and treatment of the men. How much happier we should all be if we assumed the opposite, which is in fact the truth.

I am aware that politics have had something to do with the recent regrettable happenings in the services. In my position as C.-in-C. I have nothing whatever to do with politics, and I will not countenance political intrigue in the armed forces in India. To do so would be a great disservice to India both now and for the future. India has been well served by her armed forces. The secret of this service has been a sense of public duty based on discipline and mutual confidence between all ranks from the highest to the lowest. Discipline is not negative quality, but a positive spirit; and any attempt to undermine this discipline will be firmly resisted, not only in the interest of the armed forces themselves, but also of the future of India. We are going through difficult and emotional times. Self-restraint and cool heads are essential in all of us.

COURTS OF ENQUIRY TO BE HELD—25th FEB.

A communique issued by the Joint Advance H. Q. Southern Command, at 18-30 hours said : "R.I.N. ratings are settling down to normal duties and there are no incidents to report. Five courts of enquiry have been ordered, of which four are to be held immediately."

RATINGS' STRIKE IN CALCUTTA ENDS—25TH FEB.

The seven-day strike of about 500 R. I. N. ratings at Majherhat ended this morning, Commodore Hughes Hallett announced. He said the ratings returned to work at 11-10 hours to-day.

RIAF MEN ON STRIKE—25TH FEB.

One hundred and fifty men of the RIAF camp at Sion, Bombay, went on a stay-in-strike this afternoon in sympathy with the strikers of other RIAF camps in Bombay and other parts of the country.

The strikers stated that it was regrettable that the Inter-Services Pay Rela-

tions Committee, which was recently in Bombay, did not contact any member of the RIAF camps but only met officers.

Sardar Patel on Bombay Riots—26 Feb.

A mammoth meeting attended by over a hundred thousand people was held at Choupathi, Bombay on the 26th. February 1946 under the auspices of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel presided and Pandit Jawharlal Nehru addressed the meeting.

Both Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Pandit Nehru condemned the acts of violence and hooliganism in the city during the last four days and emphasised that the Congress which was fighting for the independence of the country had not called a hartal and people should not listen to the advice of those who spoke in the name of the Congress and created troubles like the one in Bombay.

The meeting passed off peacefully. The authorities had permitted the meetings despite the general ban on meetings and assemblies of more than five persons and also modified the curfew to enable the citizens to attend the meeting.

A stern warning to the people of India not to be misled by those who attempt to exploit the anti-imperialist feelings and political awakening of the masses and direct them into wrong channels was given by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, in the course of his address.

Sardar Patel declared that such a step would lead to complete anarchy and chaos. After three days of complete anarchy in the city, which was followed by the military shooting of innocent people, it was time for all concerned to do a certain amount of heart-searching over the tragic happenings of the past four days in the city. "I shall, however, refrain," continued the Sardar, "from plain speaking as the time for such plain speaking will soon come."

Sardar Patel said that those who had committed ghastly crimes during the disturbances would not go unpunished. Over 300 persons had lost their lives and over a thousand had been injured. What was all this sufferings and toll of human life for? "I cannot understand why the people should think of an uprising against the Government when the Congress had not given a call for revolt but was engaged in normal peaceful constructive activities."

"LISTEN TO THE VOICE OF CONGRESS"

"I ask the people of India not to listen to those who, calling themselves Congressmen, are determined to create anarchy and disorder. The people should listen to the voice of the Congress alone and carry out the lead given by the Congress. If you think that the Congress lead is wrong, it is upto you to replace the Congress leadership. But so long as its leadership is accepted, you should abide by the advice given by your leaders and carry out faithfully the instructions your leaders give you. Such wrong lead as was given to the people of Bombay can bring neither Swaraj nor peace to the people. Such wrong lead, as was demonstrated, only results in anarchy and chaos".

Sardar Patel said that the Communist Party was giving a wrong lead to the people and trying to exploit their patriotism. They were doing this for the purpose of resurrecting their own party's prestige which had suffered in recent years. The Communist Party had whole-heartedly co-operated with the British Imperialism when India had been plunged in the "Quit India" struggle of 1942 whose battle-cry was "Do or die." That party was to-day talking of an anti-imperialist struggle. Would anyone take them seriously? It was merely a feeble attempt on their part to revive their rapidly losing influence among the people of India. Such attempts would not carry them very far. All their efforts to rebuild themselves were doomed to failure. The duty of the people was clear. It was not to listen to the advice of such misguided people but to follow the lead of the Congress which knew when to fight and when to negotiate.

Addressing himself to the student world, the Sardar said that he was pained to see the gross indiscipline among the ranks of the students. If they were to make any headway they should not attempt to give a lead but follow the lead of the Congress. They should learn to discipline themselves and act according to the advice and guidance given them by their national leaders.

NAVAL RATINGS' DEMANDS

Sardar Patel dealt at length with the strike of the ratings of the Royal Indian Navy and described the events leading to the declaration of a hartal on Friday. He said those who, against the advice of the Congress, had called for a general hartal on Friday to express their sympathy and solidarity with the ratings on strike were

living in a fool's paradise. They had not realised the gravity of the situation. Knowing the real situation the Congress was handling the question in the most appropriate manner and it could be trusted to do its utmost to ensure that the just grievances of the naval ratings were promptly and fully redressed. The misguided demonstrations organised by the so-called sympathisers of the naval ratings not only did not help their cause but had cost the city dear. As the Congress had been seized of the question of the demands of the naval ratings, it would have been wise to leave the matter in the hands of the Congress which could use its influence and position to secure relief to the ratings. Instead of doing this, some misguided persons interfered in the matter and their interference definitely injured the chances of a proper settlement.

C.-IN-C.'S STATEMENT CRITICISED

The Sardar then referred to the Commander-in-Chief's broadcast speech last night and said he had emphasised on the need for maintaining discipline with which, said the Sardar, he readily concurred, but he would remind the Commander-in-Chief that the conditions under which the Indian personnel of the army and other armed services were serving in the present transitional stage were most difficult and therefore such delicate situations as the naval ratings' strike arose. The naval ratings had been doing everything humanly possible to secure redress of their legitimate grievances and when they were frustrated in their legitimate efforts and were even punished or insulted every time for making any representation, they had no alternative but to resort to collective action. Technically such collective action might be described as an offence but there could be no punishment for such technical offences especially when racial discrimination in regard to status, pay and conditions of living were involved.

The ratings were nursing a long-standing grievance which drove them almost to desperation. Such a situation required to be handled with tact and sympathy. He did not wish to say anything more on the subject as the whole matter was the subject of an enquiry. He would, however, remind the authorities that time had changed and that not only India but the whole of Asia was asking for redress of long-standing grievances.

Maulana Azad on Ratings' Strike—26 Feb.

The Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in an interview to-day on the present happenings in the RIN, said that it was true that discipline in the army was a matter of supreme importance, but, having regard to the entire chain of happenings in connection with the ratings' strike, the question of discipline should not be viewed in a narrow spirit. "Nothing should be done. Maulana Azad said, "to give the impression that individuals ean be, or are responsible for collective and general feelings and actions."

Maulana Azad said : "Now that the RIN episode for the last week has come to a close, it was impossible to view its origin and development in their proper perspective in a dispassionate manner. It is whether the action of ratings in going on strike is called by its technical terms of the naval law, viz., mutiny, or is called by the civil term, strike, the essential nature of the action resorted to by the ratings undergoes no change. It is perfectly clear that certain grievances which the ratings had been feeling for some time were not redressed for one reason or another. Certain immediate incidents brought the trouble to a head, but the root of the struggle, as far as one can judge, was the feeling of the ratings that inspite of the fact that they were in no sense inferior to those of the British Navy they were not placed on the same footing as regards general treatment. For a hundred and fifty years or longer, the Indian services have been subject to this discriminatory treatment. Now that India has come of age, and Indians generally are keenly conscious of rational dignity and self-respect, racial discrimination is very keenly felt and resented. It is quite obvious from the facts as they have been reported that Indian ratings of RIN went on strike as the result of what they considered were a gratuitous insult to national self-respect. They formulated their demands in a clear and precise form. An examination of their demands shows that they were legitimate. And so far as they are legitimate, they must be sympathetically examined and redressed.

"It is true that discipline in the army is a matter of supreme importance, but having regard to the entire chain of happenings in connection with the ratings' strike the question of discipline should not be viewed in narrow spirit, and nothing should be done to give the impression that individuals can be or are responsible for collective and general feelings and actions. In such instances, the term 'ring-leader'

usually applies to a person, who acts as a spokesman of a general body of complainants. It would be unjust to select such persons for punishment. In the present atmosphere of the country, which is surcharged with emotion and political irritation, it is essential that nothing should be done which may accentuate the situation. I earnestly appeal to the authorities concerned who seem to be anxious to secure efficient working of the services both during the interim period and in the future to try to see things from the Indian national point of view. India is not in a mood to tolerate any action that may have even the semblance of the suppression of national spirit in any quarter."

CALCUTTA RATINGS RESUME WORK—26 FEB.

Dr. P. K. Banerji, Secretary of the Strike Committee, told the Associated Press of India that ratings of H. M. I. S. Rajputana, numbering about a hundred, had also called off their strike thus falling into line with the decision of the ratings at the Behala camp. The decision to call off the strike was taken at a meeting of the ratings this morning and this decision was unanimous. Mr. Banerji added : They had gone on strike at 1-30 p.m. on February 19 and conducted the strike peacefully with strict discipline. He further said that all his colleagues of the H. M. I. S. Hooghly were thankful to the Commanding Officer, Lt.-Com. Webster, but for whose kind and helpful treatment during the period of strike, they could not have remained so peaceful. All the ratings there had full confidence in him.

In addition to the ratings of the camp, drivers and other staff, numbering about 50, were also on strike with them. They also resumed their work.

Rioting in Bombay

British Troops go into Action

First Day—Bombay—22nd. February 1946

British troops were called out in Bombay shortly before midday to-day, following a conference between the Chief Presidency Magistrate and the police authorities. Steel-helmeted British troops with fixed bayonets were patrolling the Fort area.

British troops went into action for the first time at about 1 p. m. to-day near J. J. Hospital junction. They fired several rounds to disperse a riotous and menacing mob which was throwing stones.

The total casualties up to 3-30 p. m. were 18 killed, over 250 injured of whom 165 were bullet cases. Over a hundred cases were reported to be serious. The three main city hospitals were overwhelmed with continuous flow of casualties and doctors and nurses were hardly able to cope with the situation. More doctors and nurses were summoned.

Though the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel issued special appeals last night not to have a hartal to-day, Communists and other organisations called for a total stoppage of work.

Thousands of workers belonging to the G. I. P. and the B. B. and C. I. Railway workshops and other factories came out. Attempts were made in the early part of the morning to prevent running of trains by calling upon engine drivers and railway guards to strike work. So far, the main line train service and suburban service and G. I. P. and the B. B. and C. I. were continuing.

The city police opened fire a number of times this morning in the Kalbadevi, Bhulcshwar and Girgaum areas, where mobs broke open a number of shops, looted them and set fire to furniture. The number of casualties seemed to be heavy. Over a dozen persons were removed to hospital with bullet wounds. Nearly thirty to forty grain, cloth and jewellery shops were reported to have been looted. There were also repeated firings on the mobs.

The Mumbadevi Post Office was set on fire and police patrols were heavily stoned. Tram, bus and other vehicular traffic along Girgaum and Kalbadevi Roads and adjoining areas were suspended.

Workers of 60 textile mills came out and were marching in processions. Small processions were going round all over the city from Museum in the south to Matunga in the north, a distance of ten miles calling upon all people to observe hartal.

People in European costume received special attention of the crowds and hats and ties were being snatched away. Repeated instances of stone throwing all over the city were reported. By 11 a. m., city's tram service was practically paralysed.

The situation was described as tense and serious.

The Police Commissioner issued an order to day prohibiting the carrying of weapons and banning assembly of five or more persons for a period of 15 days in Bombay City, because of the present disturbances. He also banned for a period of 15 days processions, meetings and assemblies in the whole of the Greater Bombay area.

The Fort area which was generally unaffected during the previous hartals and disturbances was the scene of a serious clash between the police and crowds leading to police opening fire. One person was injured as a result of police firing.

The cause of the trouble which occurred on Phirozshah Mehta Road, a prominent business centre, was the running over of two persons by a military lorry driven by a British soldier. This incident caused tension in the locality and crowds collected. A police party which arrived on the scene was attacked with stones. Thereupon one officer fired two revolver shots wounding one person. The police also made repeated lathi charges.

Students of all colleges and schools came out and went in processions asking people to join the hartal.

On Girgaum Road a wine shop was looted and set on fire. The premises of May & Baker on Sandhurst Bridge were severely stoned and glass panes smashed.

Fire Opened Twenty Times

A number of military lorries were attacked in various parts of the city and some of them set on fire. Road blocks were placed on a number of places.

In Fort area there was repeated firing by the police between 11 a. m. and noon, when crowds attacked military lorries and set fire to a post office at Bazargate Street. Police opened fire nearly 20 times at short intervals.

According to an unconfirmed report one British soldier driving a lorry was hit with a stone and fell out of the lorry while the lorry driver himself drove away.

The B.E.S.T. bus drivers and conductors who joined the strike were seen running about the Hornby Road attacking English soldiers and civilians. Bus and tram traffic along Hornby Road and other affected areas was completely suspended.

Casualties were stated to be steadily mounting. British troops were patrolling certain parts of Hornby Road.

Curfew Imposed

A curfew was imposed in the disturbed areas of the city between the hours of 9 p. m. and 6 a. m. with effect from to-night and would remain in force for 15 days. Platoons of British troops armed with tommyguns and rifles was stationed at a number of strategic points throughout the city. A large military contingent was also kept in reserve at the police head-quarters near Crawford market. Armoured cars with magistrates were touring most of the affected areas.

There were repeated firing by police in the Pydhonie and Thamba Kanta area at the end of Kalbadevi Road. Upto noon 30 cases were admitted in the hospital of which 22 were cases with bullet wounds.

A Muslim crowd in Bhendy Bazar blocked the Ibrahim Rahimtoola Road connecting Bhendy Bazar with Pydhonie.

Passing trains and G. I. P. lines were stoned near Parel workshop and a number of passengers were reported to have received injuries.

At Prarthana Samaj, which was the scene of serious disturbances in connection with the Netaji Birthday celebrations a month ago, a police chowkie was set on fire and burnt. Nine military lorries were burnt in the Fort ares. Fresh cass of looting were reported from different parts of the city.

Shop Attacked

The situation at the junction of Phirozeshah Mehta Road and Hornby Road became very serious round about midday. A huge mob attacked the glass show rooms of the European firm of Whiteaway Laidlaw and completely smashed all the glasses. Window-panes of the National Bank and one or two other places in the vicinity were also smashed up. The police opened fire in this locality repeatedly. The military were stationed in front of Whiteaway Laidlaw with fixed bayonets.

Round about mid-day it appeared as though it would be impossible to carry on work in the Associated Press of India office, a few yards away from the junction of Phirozeshah Mehta Road and Hornby Road.

With the arrival of the military, crowds melted and armed and lathi police

chased away idle crowds watching the 'tamasha' all along the Hornby Road. All bus and tram traffic in several parts of the city were suspended. Only stray motor cars and hackney victorias were running at intervals. Thousands of office-going public were thus stranded and were unable to return home unless they walked the entire distance.

Most of the offices and shops in the Fort area closed before mid-day as the situation became very menacing and the Government of Bombay promptly announced a half-day bank holiday to enable the banks to put their shutters and thus avoid an attack on them.

Bombay witnessed to-day for 12 hours a ceaseless and one of the fiercest mob furies in recent times, leading to repeated clashes between the police and military armed with rifles, machine-guns and armoured cars on the one side and furious mobs on the other. The police and the military resorted to repeated firing at frequent intervals. The disturbance became more and more widespread as the day advanced and affected the entire city from the Fort area to Dadar and Mahim, a distance of ten miles.

As evening advanced, mob violence increased in intensity and police and military resorted to repeated firing. On one or two occasions, they also machine-gunned. Total casualties according to unofficial estimates, were over 30 killed and 500 injured, of which 350 to 400 sustained bullet wounds.

Mrs. Kamal Donde, a member of the Communist Party, died of a bullet wound and Kusum Ranadive received a bullet on her leg when the military opened fire near the Elphinstone Bridge, in the northern part of the city this afternoon, according to the Communist Party office at Parel. These two ladies were going home from the party office when the incident occurred. The bullet hit Mrs. Donde on a rib. She was removed to hospital where she succumbed. About 15 persons were injured in this firing.

Situation in Calcutta—23 Feb.

The Calcutta situation was uneasy this morning.

Tram service which ran with breaks and interruptions yesterday, could not be resumed to-day. Buses were playing, but in South Calcutta very few buses could be seen'.

A few cases of small knots of demonstrators holding up vehicles and asking passengers to walk were reported.

No East Indian Railway trains could come into Howrah Terminus since 6 o'clock this morning owing to crowds holding them up on the track in the Serampore and Bally areas. This also affected the departure of trains from Howrah.

Later the situation on the E. I. Railway improved and trains could come to Howrah station. It was understood that the crowds on the track were persuaded to disperse.

Train services from Sealdha on the B. A. Railway was interrupted "because some of the staff not coming for work" according to an official of the railway.

Disturbance in Madura—22 Feb.

Tear gas was used this afternoon to disperse an unruly mob which had gathered in Pandyan Mills area, Ramnad Road and East Sandapetta in the eastern part of the city. A boy aged eight sustained a fracture in the leg when he was hit by a tear smoke shell. Five persons were arrested on charge of rioting.

The mob was calling out the workers of the mills to come out and join them in their demonstration against Mr. C. Rajagopalachari.

Shortly before three in the afternoon, a mob went to the Pandyan Mills and wanted the workers to come out. Stones were flung at the mills. A few panes of sheetglass of the mills were broken. The police were on the scene within a few minutes and the rioters dispersed. The mob, estimated to number about a thousand, soon collected again and flung a concentrated shower of brickbats at the police party. Thereupon the police dispersed them by using tear gas.

The District Superintendent of Police, who was present on the scene and two other police officers received stone hits.

Early this morning batches of people mostly urchins were seen going round the business localities of the city asking shop-keepers to close their shops in observance of what they called "Anti-Rajaji Day." Some of the shops which refused to close were pelted with stones. By noon about two-thirds of shops in the city's business localities were closed. The crowds, it was stated, were mainly composed of riff-raffs with a few khaddar-clad men.

Later a crowd went to the Rangaswamy Aiyar High School and asked the students to come out. On the boys' refusal, the mob threw stones at the school.

smashing glass windows and damaging other school property. The District Superintendent of Police, Madura, with a police party arrived on the scene and the crowd went away, At about 11-30 a. m., the crowd came to St. Mary's High School and demanded the closure of the school. Stones were thrown at the school premises. The school authorities, apprehending trouble, closed the school.

The crowd afterwards came to the Sethupathi High School and wanted the students to come out to join their demonstrations. The students here too refused to leave their classes. The crowd then resorted to throwing of brickbats. While the school authorities were remonstrating with the crowd, the police arrived on the scene and the crowd dispersed.

COMMUNIST ATTACKED

In the evening at about 5 o'clock a crowd raided the local Communist Party's office. The mob battered down the door of the office with a large block of stone. It also threw stones at the inmates injuring four of them. The Communist flag was pulled down and the flagstaff broken. The rioting ceased with the arrival of the police. The District Magistrate and the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, accompanied by the District Superintendent of Police, visited the scene.

The situation in the disturbed area was subsequently brought under control, Police patrolling the Pandyan Mills area.

2nd Day—Bombay—23rd February—1946

Bombay's streets were deserted and sullen this morning after yesterday's unprecedented disturbances in living memory. Only a few stray pedestrians and cyclists were seen straggling along the roads. No vehicular traffic of any kind was noticeable even on Hornby Road.

The morning's quiet, however, was short-lived in the city. Trouble broke out at different points in a wide-spread area in the heart of the city. Several cases of stone-throwing and attempt to loot banks and shops and set fire to buildings occurred in a number of localities along Sendhurst Road, Ripon Road, Northbrooke Gardens, Abdur Rehman Street and Kalbadevi Road. Upto 10-30 a. m., everything was quiet, but between 10-30 and 11-30 a. m., the police and the military opened fire several times. Fresh fires started by angry mobs were seen raging in the most thickly populated areas.

The worst mob violence of the morning was an organised effort to loot the branch of the Imperial Bank situated it the Abdur Rehman Street. A flying squad of steel-helmeted British troops was rushed to the scene from police headquarters on the receipt of an S. O. S. from a small police party, which was about to be overwhelmed. Military opened fire and dispersed the mob. A number of persons were injured.

300,000 MILL WORKERS ON STRIKE

Nearly 300,000 workers were again idle to-day having refused to go to work following yesterday's firings in the labour area. All the textile mills and other factories were, therefore, idle. One or two textile mills which made an attempt to resume work this morning were prevented from doing so. The situation in the mill area upto 11 a. m. was quiet.

Shivaji Park at Dadar was the scene of recrudescene of trouble after 11 'oclock this morning. A number of military lorries were reported to have been set on fire. A contingent of British troops has been rushed to this area.

The situation in the Shivaji Park area (Dadar) worsened at midday. An angry mob, several thousands strong, assembled in front of the Kohinoor textile mill and set fire to it. Black smoke and leaping flames could be seen from a long distance. Military opened fire and for a time the mob receded but renewed attacks again and military retaliated with more rifle fire. Several casualties occurred in this area.

Simultaneously another crowd attacked a police party near Mahim, about half a mile north of Shivaji Park and the police retaliated with rifle and revolver fire. The situation in this part of the city was described as very serious.

Since 10-30 a. m. upto 1 p. m, police and military opened fire in different localities over a dozen times. Recrudescence of trouble occured over a wide area extending from Crawford Market near police headquarters, upto Mahim, a distance of nearly ten miles.

At Ripon Road, an angry mob attacked the Salvation Army headquarters for the second time since trouble began. There was repeated firing by troops in this locality. Two persons were killed on the spot and several others injured as a result of the firing.

At Northbrooke Gardens, where a mob burnt a municipal stables yesterday, fresh attacks were made on the stables and a municipal health office. Military opened fire in this area twice and brought the situation under control.

The Mayer Sassoon mill at Parel which attempted to work was attacked by a crowd and the police dispersed the crowd by revolver fire. As a result of this firing, the workers came out and the mill was forced to close down.

Cases of Looting

An iron safe belonging to the Sandhurst Road branch of the Imperial Bank which was looted yesterday was attempted to be taken away by a crowd this morning and the military opened fire to drive away the crowd. Another iron safe belonging to the Lloyd's Bank branch at Sheikh Memon Street was also attempted to be taken away by miscreants and the military fired upon them. The crowd also attempted to break open the strong room of this bank but the arrival of a Military picket prevented any damage to the strong room.

At Prathana Samaj, a jeweller's shop was looted during the early hours of the morning and property worth over Rs. 100,000 was taken away. Police arrested a person on whose person was found currency notes to the tune of Rs. 3,000 and large quantities of valuable jewels.

The municipal sweepers did not turn for work to-day in many localities because of yesterday's disturbances and, therefore, the streets in these areas were full of rubbish, endangering the health of the city.

The story of how an angry mob attempted to burn alive a Police Inspector at Mahim was told to an Associated Press of India reporter to-day by a party who rescued the police officer. Inspector Thomas of the Mahim Police Station was caught by a mob, severely belaboured and tied to a tree with his hands and feet fastened. The mob brought kerosene and poured it over the Police officer and was about to set fire when a 'dada' (hooligan leader) with his followers, arrived on the scene and rescued him. The officer was removed to hospital later in a precarious condition.

Train Set on Fire

A local train on the B. B. and C. I. Railway was set on fire at Dadar station, which is very near Shivaji Park. There had been repeated firing in this locality from 11 a.m, and great commotion prevailed in this area. Following the burning of the train, local train service on the B. B. and C. I. Railway was temporarily suspended. The Matunga booking office of the B. B. and C. I. Railway was attacked by a mob and stones were hurled at the station booking staff. A railway official was manhandled.

The situation in the northern part of the city appeared to be graver than yesterday. Fresh police and military reinforcements were being rushed to this area.

Sardar Patel, accompanied by Mr. S. K. Patil and other local Congress leaders, visited the various hospitals and saw the victims of yesterday's firing.

Over 130 Killed and 600 Injured

According to information gathered from the four hospitals which the Sardar visited this morning, the total dead since trouble started was over 130 and injured over 700. These figures do not include police casualties of two constables dead and 127 policemen including 37 officers, injured.

According to an official announcement made by the Director of Information, Government of Bombay, the casualties from 9 a.m., on Friday to 9 a.m., to day as reported by hospitals were 777 injured (515 detained in hospitals) and 63 dead.

The Government of Bombay issued a warning to the public that any one found building barricades on the roads was liable to be shot at sight.

Orgy of Arson and Looting

Bombay witnessed a second day of unprecedented mass violence to-day. Unlike yesterday, while the Fort area was quiet to-day, the trouble enveloped the entire city from Crawford Market up to Khar Road, a suburb of Bombay, an area of about fifty square miles.

Disquieting features of to-day's disturbances were the shifting of the disturbances from the Southern part of the city to the working class area in the north and the concentrated attacks on textile mills, railway stations, trains, banks, post offices and barricading of trunk roads with heavy iron railings, lamp posts and huge boulders.

Burning of military lorries, looting and destruction of property were both on a larger scale than yesterday. Consequently the police and military resorted to firing on more occasions resulting in very heavy casualties.

Unofficial reports put the total number of dead since the beginning of the disturbances on Thursday in the neighbourhood of 250 and the total number of injured well over 1,300, of which about 700 were bullet cases.

The police also sustained heavy casualties. Four constables were killed and 175 injured of whom about forty were officers.

Those who could recall the Bombay riots on the occasion of the visit of Prince of Wales in 1921 declared that the present disturbances had no parallel in living memory.

Two trains on the B. B. and C. I. line between Dadar and Mahim were set on fire. The Mahim railway station was attacked and was fired. The military opened fire repeatedly in this area.

As the evening advanced, the situation in the northern part of the city deteriorated and rioting spread to Khar Road near Juhu, 15 miles from the city. Shivaji Park, the Dadar station of the B. B. and C. I. Railways, Cadell Road near Mahim causeways were the chief storm centres of the evening's disturbances.

Civil police assisted by troops rigorously enforced curfew from 7-30 p.m. since when streets and roads presented a deserted appearance except for military and police lorries.

There was a pitched battle lasting half an hour between the police and a mob at Kamatipura late in the evening. The military opened fire resulting in the death of ten persons and injuries to fifty persons.

In the mill area the police and military opened fire at different points at Ranade Road, Gokhale Road, Lady Jamshedjee Road, Lady Hardinge Road, Ripon Road, Delisle Road, and Kadell Road. This covered an area of ten to twelve square miles.

FIVE CONGRESS VOLUNTEERS DIE OF BULLET WOUNDS

Five Congress peace patrol volunteers who were hit by bullets died in hospitals.

After enforcement of curfew, the situation quitened down but tension in the disturbed areas continued. British troops with armoured cars, Bren-gun carriers and army tanks were patrolling all the disturbed areas. The mill area was particularly heavily guarded.

Third Day—Bombay—24th. February 1946

STEEL RING PLACED ROUND CITY

Looting, burning and destruction of public property continued for many hours after curfew came into force last night. The acts were done not by large crowds but a few persons stalking about the disturbed area. Many fires were burning, particularly in the northern part of the city, hours after midnight.

Police opened the fire twice to-day between 10-30 and 11 a.m. and four persons were injured as a result of the firing.

At 10-30 a.m., a crowd made a demonstration in front of the Spring Mills at Dadar which resumed work this morning. A police party which was guarding the mill was attacked, leading to the police opening fire. The mill continued work.

A fire brigade station situated at Memonwada was attacked during the early hours of the morning and set on fire.

The police rounded up so far over a thousend persons described as "bad characters."

A virtual steel ring was placed around Bombay since the morning. Large contingents of troops, both British and Indian, arrived in the city from outside and took up positions all over the city. Scores of lorries filled with steel-helmet British Tommies and Indian troops with drawn bayonets, accompanied by armoured cars and Bren-gun carriers were constantly patrolling the entire city.

A large section of the city's civilian police constables was provided with steel helmets and lathis.

Ninteen textile mills resumed work to-day of which four had full complements and fifteen others were working with considerably reduced number of workers.

The Congress Labour Union advised textile workers to resume normal work forthwith.

Several lorry loads of Congress peace patrols and Muslim League volunteers were moving about the disturbed areas appealing to the public to resume normal work and not to gather for idle work.

Local and main line train services were normal to-day.

250 KILLED AND OVER 13,000 INJURED

Official casualty figures released at 9 a.m. to-day gave the total dead 187 and

injured 1,002 since the commencement of the disturbances. Unofficial reports put the total number of dead in the region of 250 and injured over 1300.

The Station Master's Office, the Railway Booking Office and the public shelter at the Matunga Raiway Station on the B. B. and C. I. Railway line ceased to exist as a result of yesterday's organised attack by infuriated mobs on the railways.

After three days of rioting, looting, arson and destruction of property leading to repeated shooting by the police and military, Bombay had a comparatively quieter day to-day. Except for three or four minor incidents there were no acts of mass violence.

A tour round the affected areas by an A. P. I. reporter between five and seven p.m. showed definite signs of returning confidence and restoration of normal conditions. In Girgaum and Kalbadevi areas, which were worst affected during the past three days, people were moving about freely. Most of the barricades in the streets had been cleared.

The authorities were enforcing the curfew with the greatest rigour and by 8 p.m. the "all quiet" was signalled from all outposts in the disturbed areas.

"The situation is now completely under control in the city and only two minor incidents were reported during the course of the day," stated a joint communique issued from Advance Headquarters, Southern Command, at 19-00 hours. The communique adds: "All main roads out of Bombay are now open to normal traffic."

A third instance of police opening fire occurred at Thakurdwar on Girgaum Road at 4 p. m. A goldsmith's shop, which had been looted yesterday, was again attacked by a crowd. The police opened fire. One person was injured.

Firing by Troops

The first action was taken by troops to-day when they opened fire on a crowd near Shivaji Park (Dadar) round about 2 p.m. Two persons were wounded as a result of the firing and removed to hospital. It was reported that a detachment of British troops was salvaging some of the burnt out military lorries and trucks when an idle crowd collected in the vicinity. Troops thereupon opened fire. The crowd immediately dispersed.

The situation in the mill area deteriorated after the noon recess. Out of the fifteen mills working in the morning ten were forced to close down by mid-day owing to repeated stone-throwing.

The latest official casualty figures were: 210 dead and 1,017 injured upto noon to-day since the commencement of the disturbances

The Station Master's Office. the Railway Booking Office and the public shelter at the Matunga Railwa Station on the B. B. and C. I. Railway line ceased to exist as a result of yesterday's organised attack by infuriated mobs on the railways.

Service Casualties

The following service casualties were reported from the beginning of the disturbance upto 9 a. m. this morning, according to an Army communique: Killed —R. I. N.: 5 officers and 1 rating; wounded—Army: 2 officers, 11 B. O. R.'s and and 2 IOR's; RAF; 1 OR; RIAF—1 OR; RIN; 1 officer and 14 ratings; merchant navy, 2 officers. Two Indian Army drivers with their vehicles were reported missing. Civilian casualties so far known were: killed 167. and wounded 1,005

Sardar Patel's Call to Authorities—24 Feb.

Strong disapproval of any hartal by students to-morrow was expressed by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel in an appeal issued to-night. The Sardar hopes that the authorities will see the wisdom of withdrawing the military as "demonstration of such force works as a continual irritant, particularly at a time when it is wholly unnecessary."

Sardar Patel says: "At last the situation in Bombay has been showing signs of improvement since this afternoon and there has been no ugly incident since then. The demonstrations which led to the fearful havoc of the last three days were uncalled for. The ratings needed no sympathy of this sort, as their grievances, which were legitimate, were being attended to. If my advice not to observe any hartal had been allowed to be heeded on the first day, Bombay would have escaped the regrettable events which resulted in such heavy loss of life and property. But unfortunately people were misled by irresponsible advice that such demonstrations were necessary iu the interests of the ratings. The time for plain-speaking has not yet come, but at present I can only say that the city had little idea of the very serious consequences which would have followed, if they (the ratings) had not accepted my advice. The demonstrations, in any event, were unjustifiable after the ratings had gone to work and can only be attributed to mischievous and interested motives.

"The ugly hooliganism and the consequent military action, which, no doubt, has been indiscriminate, has cost many innocent lives, including those of four young members of the Peace Brigade who died of bullet wounds while on duty. This has also weakened the power and strength of organised public opinion in the city. Now that the situation is being restored to normal, the public should refuse to be misled by any irresponsible advice and discontinue the hartal. The mills should begin to work with their full complements and the people should resume their normal work.

"I understand that the Communist section of the students known as the Students' Federation, under the inspiration of the Communist Party, is trying to stage a hartal. This would naturally result in reviving trouble, which has just begun to subside. I would, therefore, appeal to the students, as well as to the public, to desist from staging any demonstration, which would prevent the early restoration of normal conditions. I hope that the authorities will also see the wisdom of withdrawing the military, as the demonstration of such force works as a continual irritant, particularly now when it is wholly unnecessary."

WORKERS ADVISED TO RESUME—24 FEB.

The Bombay Committee of the Communist Pary of India, which had asked the workers of mills and factories in Bombay to declare a general strike, issued an appeal to all the workers to resume work from to-morrow.

An allegation that the military opened fire on a crowd of workers returning home after day-shift from Morarji Gokuldas Textile Mill at Lalbaug this evening was made in a statement issued by the Committee to-night. The Committee declared that repetition of such incidents could not help the restoration of confidence among the workers.

MRS. HANSA MEHTA'S STATEMENT

Condemnation of "indiscriminate shooting" by the military and police and disapproval of an attack on a member of the WAC (I) ou Hornby Road by a mob was expressed by Mrs. Hansa Mehta, President of the All-India Women's Conference, in a statement to day.

Mrs. Mehta stated that at the K. E. M. Hospital, she learnt that some children were shot dead t one of the milk centres where they were waiting for their milk.

Situation Improves in Karachi—24 Feb.

Though a few stray cases of attempted arson were reported last night, the city remained comparatively quiet. At daybreak crowds again collected at Bunder Road but so far no incident or clash took place.

The military was withdrawn. All tram and bus services started and the situation was completely normal. For refusing to disperse, one person was arrested at Machi Mani to-day. The Sind Governor visited the affected areas in the city. All shops re-opened and normal business continued.

The total casualties in yesterday's incidents were four dead and 33 persons injured. The number of policemen injured was ten, including one Inspector seriously injured with brickbats.

After nightfall yesterday incidents occurred in thickly populated parts of the city. Government buildings, police chowkies and post offices were attacked and attempts at arson made. This necessitated military patrols being called out and thereafter very few instances were reported. The military had no occasion to open fire.

Three more persons died in hospital to-day bringing the total to six due to the police firing at the Idgah maidan yesterday. A member of the Royal Indian Auxiliary Corps who sustained serious injuries due to stone-throwing died last night in hospital.

In Calcutta—24th. Feb.

The Bengal-Assam railway staff at Sealdah station returned to work this morning after a one-day strike and train services on the railway were running normally. City trams also resumed service to-day after a one-day strike. All transport services were plying in the city to-day.

ANGLO-INDIAN LEADERS' APPEAL—22ND FEB.

Representatives of a number of organisations of the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European community in Bengal, issued an appeal to leaders of all political parties to foster among their followers a spirit of tolerance and goodwill towards them. During recent disturbances in the city, they stated, they were violently attacked by Hindus and Muslims alike, their women were stripped in the public streets, their defenceless homes invaded and their places of worship desecrated. Many Anglo-Indians were also helped and protected by Indians of all classes who risked consi-

derable danger in doing so. As a minority, the community expected from all, "consideration and justice and not oppression because our political views and activities do not coincide with theirs."

Denying that they are hostile to the Indian freedom movement, they say that they too have their grievances against the powers that be, though they do not ventilate them through processions. They conclude by an appeal to members of their own community to cultivate goodwill and friendship with fellow Indians and to instill in the community a spirit of patriotism towards "this, our country and home."

POLICE USE TEAR GAS IN DACCA—24TH. FEB.

Information was received here that the police made a lathi charge and used tear gas to disperse a crowd of cotton mill strikers at Narainganj yesterday.

Workers of the Dhakeswari Cotton Mills and the Luxmi Narayan Cotton Mills were on strike since February 17.

It was stated that efforts were being made to unload coal in the Dhakeswari Cotton Mill No. 2. when a large number of strikers assembled and obstructed the work. The police ultimately made a lathi charge and used tear gas to disperse them.

Nine arrests were made. The arrested persons were brought to Dacca and produced before the Additional District Magistrate, who ordered their release on bail of Rs. 300 each.

IMPROVEMENT IN BOMBAY—25th. FEB.

The city had peaceful night and was quiet this morning.

The Fort area which presented a deserted appearance during the last three days was humming with activity since morning to-day. Harbour Road which saw few cars since Friday morning was full with traffic of all kinds. All business markets and shops re-opened. Tram and bus services were still restricted to Fort area and Malabar Hill areas. Resumption of these services along other routes was delayed owing to roadlocks, debris and repairs to high-tensioned overhead tram wires. Train services on the B. B. and C. I. and G. I. P. Railways were regular. There had been no trouble so far in schools and colleges, a large number of which remained closed following the three days' disturbance. Some of the schools and colleges which re-opened to-day worked with small numbers of students,

CURFEW RELAXED

The Police Commissioner, Bombay, revised the Curfew order so as to exclude as many of the textile mills as possible, and also changed the hours of curfew. The period of curfew now was from 8 p.m. to 6 a.m.

Military patrol still continued though on a somewhat reduced scale.

By midday tram and bus services which upto now were running only in restricted areas were extended to the northern part of City. Trams were running from King's Circle Matunga, to Victoria Gardens and the bus service also commenced to operate from Colaba to Mahim along the Mohammedali Road, Parel Road and Dadar.

All Quiet in Bombay—26 Feb.

Pt. Nehru's visit

The situation in Bombay was completely quiet. A small force of military and police continued to patrol the city. Tram and bus services were further extended. All schools, colleges, markets, shops, mills and factories resumed normal work Pt Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel visited all the disturbed areas and the hospitals this morning. This enabled Pt. Nehru to get a first-hand impression of the extent of the damage and loss of life and injury to persons caused during the four days' disturbances in the city.

The curfew order issued by the Commissioner of Police was further amended and it was made applicable from 9 p. m. from to-night. The area affected by the order remained the same.

Following the improvement in the situation military pickets from many parts of the city was withdrawn. Troops were now stationed only at strategic points to meet any emergency.

OFFICIAL COMMUNIQUÉ

A joint communique issued from Advance Headquarters, Southern Command at 13-00 hours to-day says :

"Practically all arms and ammunition in R. I. N. ships and establishments, which are still guarded (both British and Indian) have been recovered intact and no damage has been reported. The conduct of the ratings on the whole is good.

"R. I. A. F. men in certain units are still refusing duty.

"In the city everything is normal and the curfew worked perfectly during the night. Mills worked night shifts. A certain number of troops were withdrawn."

GEN. LOCKHART VISITS TROOPS

Lt.-General R. M. M. Lockhart this afternoon made a four of the city and inspected detachments of troops on duty in various sections. He was accompanied by Major-General F. C. Beard, Commanding Bombay area.

Total civilian casualties admitted to hospitals upto 9 a. m. this morning were 223 dead and 1,037 injured.

DAMAGE TO MUNICIPAL PROPERTY AND POST OFFICES

Municipal property worth about seven lakhs of rupees was destroyed during the disturbances in the City. This was disclosed by the Mayor, Dr. Alban D'Souza, at a meeting of the Municipal Corporation to-day.

The Mayor said the whole "disgraceful episode" called for a searching enquiry into the causes of occurrences and the handling of the situation by the authorities responsible for it. He hoped that the Government would set up an impartial enquiry and bring to book those responsible for the heavy damage to property and loss of so many precious lives of innocent citizens.

Postal authorities in Bombay were faced with the problem of restoring normal working conditions in about 24 post offices scattered all over the City. Out of a total of 77 post offices, 17 offices were completely gutted during the disturbances. Thousands of postal parcels, insured articles, and telegraph instruments, furniture, electric lights and fans and safes were destroyed. The total loss was not ascertained but loss in cash and stamps alone amounted to several lakhs of rupees.

A postal official told an A. P. I. reporter to-day that it would take three to six months to put these post offices back in normal working order. Twenty-four post offices were closed down for the time being.

The postal authorities recovered four iron safes which had been removed by the mobs and abandoned on the roads as they could not open them. In one instance, a safe containing stamps, insured letters and cash valued at Rs. 15,000. was secured, although it bore marks of attempts by hooligans to open it.

CONGRESS PRESIDENT'S ASSURANCE

The assurance that the Congress would do everything possible to see that the just demands of the R.I.N. ratings were accepted was given by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President, in an interview at Lahore on the 25th. Feb. on his way to New Delhi from Peshawar.

PT. NEHRU'S APPEAL FOR DISCIPLINE—26 FEB.

Making his first speech after his arrival in Bombay on the happenings in the city during the last four days, Pt. Jawharlal Nehru deplored what had happened and said that unsocial elements had taken advantage of the situation and exploited the credulity of the innocent people.

Pt. Nehru made this speech at the conclusion of his visit this morning to J. J. Hospital where he saw scores of the injured. Addressing the students of the Grant Medical College, he said : "During the last four days many things have happened in this city which are bad. Many other things have also happened which are good. What has happened in Bombay clearly demonstrates how anti-social elements in a vast city like Bombay exploit a situation. In every free country there is this problem, but in our country this is complicated by our fight for independence. The time has come when we should direct our energies along the channel of constructive work. What happened in Bombay shows that constructive tendency is lacking."

Pt. Nehru said for the last 25 years the people of India have made tremendous sacrifices in the cause of winning our national independence. "Our freedom is near at hand to-day" he declared. "We have all the virtues for winning our freedom but I must confess that we lack the discipline which is essential for a free country."

Disturbances in Madras

First Day—Madras—25th. February 1946

Sympathy with R. I. N. Ratings

A hartal, involving the stoppage of tram cars and buses, closure of schools and colleges and suspension of work in several workshops was being observed in the City on the 25th. February, 1946.

On the 24th Feb. the District Committee of the Communist Party and the Secretary of the Madras Provincial Trade Union Congress and representatives of a number of of labour unions in the City, including the Madras Electric Supply Workers' Union, the Madras Press Labour Union, the Spencer and Company Labour Union, the S. I. Railway Labour Union, the Corporation Workers' Union and the Automobile Workers' Union resolved to call a one-day strike and observe hartal in the City on the 25th. February.

Leaflets were circulated over the signatures of Mr. T. R. Ganesan, Secretary, Madras Branch of the Communist Party of India and others calling upon the public to observe hartal to express sympathy with the demands of the R. I. N. personnel and against the respective policy of the Government.

The Madras Branch of the All-India Trade Union Congress, the Madras Students' Organisation, the Indian Students' Congress and other Trade Union organisations in the City, including the Tramway Workers' Union participated in the hartal. The Municipal workers also joined the hartal and a procession of these workers with a number of women, passed along Mount Road from Napier Park.

PUBLIC TAKEN UNAWARES

The hartal and the consequent stoppage of tram cars and buses took the public unawares, as there was only a vague talk of a general strike from the day before. The first sign of the hartal was a procession of tramway workers and slogans written overnight across the roads. A few buses which came out early in the morning later returned to the sheds.

The procession of tramway workers came along the Poonamalle High Road and proceeded towards Parry's Corner and then returned to the Peoples' Park. Consequent on exhortation made by the processionists, all shops in the George Town area closed their doors. Only banks and some public offices were working in the area with their front doors partially open.

Small parties of men continued to move throughout the City particularly in Mount Road and other areas where workshops, small factories and printing presses were located. Almost all the presses (except newspapers) and workshops on Mount Road, like Simpsons and Addisons, ceased work and the shops remained closed.

STUDENTS JOIN DEMONSTRATION

Later as the day advanced, school boys and college students joined the demonstration. Owing to the transport difficulties the attendance was poor in all schools and colleges in the morning; but before work commenced the students decided to observe a hartal. Procession of the school boys could be seen in every part of the City. They went about shouting slogans and asking people working in offices in the North Beach Road and other parts to join them.

Students from various colleges and schools in the City, numbering more than a thousand, started from the Royapettah Congress grounds in a procession and marched through Mount Road towards the High Court shouting slogans condemning the police firing in Bombay.

DEMONSTRATION AT CENTRAL STATION

At about 11-30 a.m. a crowd of several hundreds entered the Central Station platform and called on the workmen there to join them. A number of stones were also thrown from the crowd.

Rao Saheb E. Balasubramanian, Assistant Traffic Superintendent, Central Station, asked the crowd to leave, but they refused. In the meanwhile, Mr. M. Sirajuddin Sahib, Superintendent of the Government Railway Police, who was at the police station, came with a posse of men and dispersed the crowd. The entrance to the station was subsequently closed.

A crowd consisting of several hundreds, entered suburban railway stations between Madras Beach Section and Mambalam and called on the men to join them.

Attempts were made to stop the running of electric trains and for sometime these trains were held up. Subsequently they started running as usual.

A passenger train that left Egmore station was held up near the Saidapet level crossing gate for some time but was later allowed to proceed.

Between 10-30 a.m. and 12 noon, the situation was tense round about the Moore Market, Central Station and evening Bazaar. Processionists passing by the Central Station necessitated a traffic hold-up for over 15 minutes. There were also some stone-throwing. It is alleged that some military lorries parked before the Central Station and some passing cars were hit by stones. The incident was not, however, allowed to develop further. The police, who were kept in readiness, kept the crowds moving and the leaders of workers also asked the men to move out of the congested area to Peoples' Park. Later steel-helmeted policemen with lathis were posted to cordon off the Central Station.

SHOPS CLOSED IN GEORGE TOWN

All the shops in the Moore Market were closed.

The Buckingham and Carnatic Mills were working this morning. A procession of labourers went from Napier Park to the area to persuade the men to join the hartal. The men did not return to work after they came out of their mid-day meal. A strong police force was stationed in the vicinity.

About 600 workers of Messrs. Binny and Company's Beach Engineering Works, struck work shortly after entering the workshops and came away in a procession, which terminated with a meeting at Loane Square, Broadway.

Most of the printing presses in George Town area kept closed and the workers employed in many of them took out a procession through Broadway.

Throughout the morning, the Police adopted a policy of keeping the demonstrators moving on and preventing the collection of crowds.

Shops in Kotwal Bazar, China Bazar Road, Rattan Bazar, Devaraja Mudali Street, Govindapa Naick Street, Godown Street, Bunder Street and other places and firms in Broadway remained closed besides restaurants.

Crowds of people blocked traffic till about noon on the China Bazar Road and the police were continually at work in moving them away.

Many of the shops in the Pycrofts Road and the Triplicane High Road remained closed and groups of people could be seen here persuading the others to close down their shops.

Processions composed of school boys were noticed moving about the streets of George Town and the Harbour area. With them went street urchins who had no specific work. Congress slogans were being shouted by demonstrators together with cries of "Jai Hind." One or two mischief-makers were noticed throwing small stones at shop windows along office windows.

Particularly all shops and firms on Mount Road remained closed down. The authorities of the Government Ordnance Factory permitted the workers including the clerical staff to leave at 2 p.m. Excepting two or three hotels, restaurants were kept closed.

Messrs. Spencer and other European firms all closed their business.

CITY POLICE PRECAUTIONS

The officers of the City Police led by Mr. Wright, Deputy Commissioner (Law and Order). Mr. A V. Patro, Deputy Commissioner, (Traffic) and Mr. Devaraja Iyengar, Deputy Commissioner, and Messrs. Pinto and Munilal, Assistant Commissioners (Law and Order), were busy throughout the day dealing with the large number of processions and crowds congregating at different points and keeping the roads clear.

Parties of Reserve men and Malabar Special Police were kept ready at different police stations to deal with the situation, while armed police patrols moved about in protected police vans keeping the roads clear.

One officer of the City Police told Press Representatives that the crowds that pelted stones at several places consisted mostly of street urchins and small boys, and police were able to clear them without much difficulty.

Members of the clerical staff employed in the General Offices of the M. & S. M. Railway, Park Town, met in the office compound and adopted a resolution protesting against the police firing in Bombay and other places and expressing sympathy with the R. I. N. ratings. They abstained from their work after 12-30 p. m.

CORPORATION WORKERS STAY AWAY

All out-door workmen of the City Corporation excepting the conservancy staff

and workers, had to stay away from the work on the 25th. February. They included 300 workers employed in the Corporation Workshop.

A large group of workers went to the Napier Park and demaned that the Corporation Drainage Pumping Station should stop working. About a dozen employees working on shift duty there were forced to come out. The Mechanical Engineer of the Corporation tried to convince them that if the Pumping Station stopped working, the flush-out system in South Madras would be interfered with, thereby affecting the health of the people. In the meantime, a few in the crowd began to scale the walls and get into the Pumping Station. Fearing that the instalation might be tampered with, the Pumping Station was ordered to be closed. The gates of the General Hospital were closed to prevent crowds entering the premises.

In the morning, when a huge procession of workers passed along the General Hospital Road, military lorries passing along the route were pelted with stones, Four or five lorries were abandoned on the road-side near the Memorial Hall by the drivers. The window-screen of the lorries were smashed by stone-throwing. After the road was cleared of the demonstrators, it was found littered with granite stone and glass-pieces. A number of ill-clad urchins standing on the pavements on both sides of the road, continued to loot and stop motorists and cyclists till 2 p.m. A posse of reserve constables drove them out of from the place from time to time.

A couple of persons, one of whom belonged to the military personnel, was treated in the General Hospital for minor injuries caused by stone-throwing.

Workers employed in the Loco section of the Perambur Workshop struck work in the afternoon.

WORKERS' MEETINGS AND PROCESSIONS

Members of the Spencer and Company Workers' Union and the Automobile Workers' Union, nnmbering over 2,000 assembled in the Napier Park at about 10-30 a.m. and passed resolution of protest against police firing in Bombay and expressing sympathy with the demands of the naval ratings in and other ports. Similar meetings were held at the People's Park and near Mannasami Koil Mount Road and at Loane square.

A procession of workers from Napier Park and from the People's Park, totalling over 15,000 in strength marched through Vepery and Purasawalkam towards the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills area. As the procession neared the Mills area, the police, it was understood, tried to stop the procession but after the leader in the procession had intervened and agreed to let it pass unhindered. At the Mills gate Messrs. P. Jeevanandam and A. S. K. Iyengar addressed the workers.

Soon after the luncheon interval, about 3,000 mill workers came out of the mills to join the procession of workers.

The hartal which was complete and successful in the George Town area in the morning gradually spread to other parts of the City also as the day advanced and even tea shops and betel shops closed down.

TRANRPORT WORKERS' STRIKE IN TRICHINOPOLY—25 Feb.

Transport in Trichy-cum-Srirangam area was at a standstill to-day as the result of a strike by transport workers of all kinds. The workers went in procession along the main streets, shouting slogans in sympathy with the Bombay Naval strikers. The processions terminated at Vannadi Maidan where a public meeting was held this forenoon. The culture-diamond workers at Srirangam also joined the strike. A procession of students of the local schools and colleges was also being organised.

GOLDEN ROCK WOKERS GO ON STRIKE IN SYMPATHY

Five thousand workers of the Golden Rock Workshops struck work to-day in sympathy with the Bombay Naval workers and went in a mile long procession along the main streets of the town to the Vanniadi Maidan. Shops were closed and a hartal was observed. Processions from Srirangam Golden Rock and other suburban places were peacefully pouring in and the main streets were full with workers shouting slogans and moving forward in thorough discipline.

Second Day—Madras—26th. February 1946

Save for one or two untoward incidents this morning, the City practically returned to normal conditions. Near Saidapet, the incoming Indo-Ceylon Boat Mail was stoned and sought to be held up. The police cleared the crowds by opening fire in which three were injured. On the M. and S. M. section, similar crowds were dispersed by lathi-charge.

The S. I. R. suburban electric service was suspended owing to damage to signals. All trains were expected to run to schedule by the evening.

Police opened fire this morning to disperse a crowd which held up the incoming Indo-Ceylon Express and indulged in throwing stones at the train between Saidapet and Mambalam.

As a result of firing, three persons were known to have received serious bullet injuries and they were removed to the Madras General Hospital, after having been given first aid at the St. Thomas Mount Hospital.

The situation was brought under control by about 9 a. m. The police were patrolling the line and guarding the level-crossing gates.

A crowd had collected at the first level-crossing north of Saidapet and just out side Old Mambalam known as the Burial Ground Level-Crossing, blocking the path of the Indo-Ceylon Express due to arrive at the spot at about 6-30 a. m. Cement blocks were placed across the track.

When the train pulled up at the level-crossing, it was met with a hail of stones. The driver was forced to get down and stones were thrown particularly at the upper class carriages. The stone-throwing in the later stages became violent. Passengers got out of the train and ran for safety and they were helped by local residents or persons happening to pass that way.

Six Policemen Injured

Information reaching the Saidapet Police Station, a posse of constables came on the scene. Their arrival was the signal for a fresh outbreak of violence directed against the police and nearly half a dozen policemen were badly injured.

Meanwhile, the District Superintendent of Police, Rao Bahadur J. Devasahyam was apprised of the situation. He rushed to the spot directing an armed reserve reinforcement to follow him. With the first party of reserve police, Devashayam went to the spot. Meanwhile the crowd began to swell in number, and the appeals made by the police officer to the people to disperse quietly were of no avail. The police party were attacked with stones, the District Superintendent himself receiving hits. The rifles of some of these men were also reported to have been snatched away.

The situation began to deteriorate rapidly. In the meantime, an additional posse of armed police also arrived. The crowd, which by this time had swelled to 10,000 became more violent. Information was then sent to Mr. T. S. Ramachandran, Collector of the District, who also hastened to the spot. Finding that the situation was getting beyond control, the police after administering due warning opened fire. The crowd began to melt away. As far as could be ascertained, three persons received bullet injuries. They were sent in a police van to the St. Thomas Mount Police Hospital and from there removed to the General Hospital, Madras.

By about 9-30 a. m., the situation was under control and the Indo-Ceylon Express continued its journey from the spot under police escort. The train reached Egmore without further incident.

Enquiries made go to show that the mail bags carried by the train were safe and the R. M. S. personnel unhurt. The mail van did not suffer any damage.

The Trivandrum Express, which was waiting beyond Saidapet, was then escorted to Egmore. It passed through the "trouble" spot at about 11 a. m. Armed and steel-helmeted police pickets were posted along the line between the spot and the next level-crossing. As a matter of precaution, an electric train unit with a party of armed reserve was also patrolling the line.

The police took into custoday about half a dozen people in connection with the incident.

Electric Trains not Running

On the South Indian Railway, the electric train service was suspended. As the result of mobs throwing stones, a large number of signal post lamps were shattered to pieces and the railway authorities found it impossible to replace them. All the incoming trains to Egmore Station arrived several hours late.

Hold Up On the M. & S. M. Section

This morning a local train coming to Madras from Tiruvottiyur was held up by a crowd consisting of several hundreds. Stones were pelted at the train and the carriages were damaged.

Mr. M. Sirajuddin, Superintendent of the Government Railway Police, with a posse of armed men, immediately went to the spot and dispersed the crowd. The train was piloted to the Central Station with armed guards.

Another crowd obstructed a train near Tondiarpet and here too, the police had to use force to disperse it.

The M. and S. M. Railway authorities arranged for special armed guards to be posted in every suburban train with a view to see that passengers reach their destination without being interfered with. Special Reserve Police camped at the Central Station to meet any emergency.

All passenger and fast trains left Madras Central Station this morning in time and the incoming trains reached Central Station at almost the scheduled time.

Tram and Buses Resume Running

Tram and bus services were resumed this morning.

Shops and business houses in the George Town and other areas also resumed work to-day. Some sporadic attempts, it was reported, were made to force merchants in the Kotwal Bazaar to close their business. Shops in this centre had to suspend transactions for some time in the afternoon.

All the workers of the Corporation resumed work this morning. The Napier Park Drainge Pumping Station started working at 6. m. yesterday.

Shops in the Moore Market and in the Poonamallee. High Road which were opened as usual in the morning were closed again at about 1 p. m. to-day, following the circulation of a false rumour that hooligans were approaching the area.

The identity of the person who shot and injured three persons, one of them fatally, could not be established, nor the identity of the boy who was fatally shot yesterday. The police made enquiries.

It was understood that the police did not contemplate taking action against anyone, besides those who were arrested yesterday and were put up before the courts on a charge of disorderly behaviour.

The Buckingham and Carnatic Mill workers went to their work at the scheduled time this morning.

Workers employed in private printing presses, factories and engineering works also turned up at their respective places of work. The City's industrial life returned to normal to-day.

28 Persons Sentenced

Twenty-eight persons, who were arrested on the 25th Feb. in the Round Tana area during the disturbances, were put up before the Royapettah Bench Court, Egmore, this morning on charges of disorderly behaviour and for throwing stones at the public and the police. They were found guilty and sentenced to pay a fine of Rs. ten each, in default to simple imprisonment for a week. All of them were bound over to be of good behaviour for a period of three months on their own personal bonds for Rs. 50 each.

These persons were arrested by the Triplicane Police for taking part in the disturbances and were kept in the police lock-up till this morning. They pleaded not guilty.

Sub-Inspector Indra Mohan was examined in each case and he deposed to the fact that these persons were found in the crowd and participated in stone-throwing at the police and the passing vehicles. The Magistrate convicted them as stated above.

Four persons were arrested last evening in the beach opposite the Presidency College for alleged disorderly behaviour. They were Nagasubbarayudu, a student of the Government School of Indian Medicine. T. A. Mohanasundaram, T. A. Adinaravanan and G. Krishnakutti Nair. They were also put up before the Royapettah Bench Court. The first three pleaded "not guilty" to the charge and the case against them were adjourned to March 5. They were released on bail. G. Krishnakutti Nair was sentenced by the Court to pay a fine of Rs. ten or, in default to undergo simple imprisonment for one week. The accused was bound over to be of good behaviour for a period of three months on his own bond for Rs. 50.

Governor Deplores Incidents

H. E. Sir Arthur Hope, at a Press interview this morning, deplored yesterday's happenings in the City.

"I am told that the workers' strike was organised by the Communist Party," His Excellency observed. "But has there been an organisation behind the youth below 15 to pelt road metal at passing cars ?" he asked.

One of the Press representatives informed him it could not be said that there was any premeditated or organised plan to indulge in such acts of violence and that it must be characterised as malicious pranks of small urchins who were let loose in streets with nothing to restrain them.

His Excellency agreed it must be so. A reporter added that in years past, in the days of non-co-operation, when the Congress used to call for hartals, they always advised the workers and others to keep to their homes and not to crowd in streets

or thoroughfares. Further the Congress leaders took care to tour the areas and see to it that the hartal was observed peacefully.

When his attention was drawn to Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's statement against observing hartals, His Excellency said that he was very glad to read it in the papers yesterday.

His Excellency told the Press that he had heard the City was normal to-day, all the buses and trains having resumed service. He was glad to know that all mill hands also had gone back to work.

Mr. Kamaraj Nadar's Statement

"I should like the citizens of Madras in particular and of Tamil Nad in general to realise that yesterday's hartal was not called by the Congress", said Mr. K. Kamaraj Nadar, President of the Tamil Nad Congress Committee, in a statement to the Associated Press.

Mr. Kamaraj Nadar added : "Such indisciplined action will only lead to needless sufferings and dissipation of energy. I would like Tamil Nad and the City to show more restraint and never hurriedly start off on hartals unless called for by the Congress. I assure the public that the Congress will never hesitate to accept any challenge, but let them also remember that it has to be done in a disciplined manner if it should achieve any purpose at all."

Further Incidents on 25th Februay

The complete hartal observed in the City on the 25th February to express sympathy with the demands of the R.I.N. personnel and protest against the repressive policy of the Government was followed later in the day by acts of hooliganism at a number of places, railway trains, police stations, post offices, military lorries and private cars and vehicles coming in for stoning and other forms of attack by crowds.

At two places, recourse was had to firearms and on the second occasion, firing was resorted to by the police.

Three persons were injured in the first occurrence, one fatally.

The police made enquiries into this occurrence. In the police firing, there were no casualties.

Seven people were known to have received treatment at the Royapettah Hospipital for injuries alleged to have been caused by lathis. They were treated as outpatientts, their injuries being considered simple.

The entire police force of the City, from the Commissioner down to the constable, were busy right from the morning till near midnight.

A drive round the affected areas, particularly on Mount Road, Park Town, Royapuram, and George Town, showed that by midnight everything was quiet.

By arrangement with the Corporation authorities, street lights were not put out at the usual hour 10-30 p. m., but kept on throughout the night.

During the disturbances, a traffic a ccident occured in Royapuram resulting in the death of a boy and injuries to another. A military lorry which was proceeding at a high speed along the Ibrahim Sahib Road and was stoned by an unruly crowd, crashed over the pavement near the junction of the road with Thambu Chetti Street. The boy Srinivasaraghavan (14), was killed on the spot, his head being crushed by the lorry, while the other person whose leg was fractured, was taken to the Royapuram Hospital.

Dislocation of Train Services

The electric train service between Beach and Tambaram stations was considerably dislocated as crowds stopped every electric train and pelted stones at it. The entire service had to be suspended in the evening. Mr. Ranjit Singh, District Traffic Superintendent, Egmore, accompanied by Mr. Chida, Assistant Traffic Superintendent, and other officers, took out an electric train from Egmore station to Beach for the benefit of suburban passengers held up at various stations. Late in the evening the railway authorities managed to run a few electric trains with the help of the railway police.

The railway authorities detained the train due at Egmore station at Tambaram itself.

Due to the damage done to the signalling system of the railway line of the South Indian Railway, the outgoing and incoming trains were delayed by several hours. The Trivandrum Express left at 10-35 p. m., three hours after its scheduled time, the Indo-Ceylon Mail left at 12-45 a. m., nearly four hours late. The Shencottah Passenger, scheduled to arrive at 7 o'clock, which was held up at Tambaram in the evening, arrived at about 11 o'clock.

All mail and passanger trains left Central Station nearly according to sche-

dule but many passengers had cancelled their journey in view of the conditions in the City.

It was reported that there was some effort to interfere with the work in the General Post office. Parcels and valuables were not despatched from the Mount Road office to the addressees. Mail vans were unable to approach many of the post offices on account of crowds.

Police Open Fire at Royapuram

The police had to resort to firing to disperse an unruly crowd in Royapuram, following its attack on some policemen, and on the Kalmandapam police station.

The crowd mobbed a police van as it was driving to the station and heavily stoned it. The lorry, however, stood the stoning. As a police sergeant and his four men came up, the crowd turned its attention and threw stones at them. The sergeant and two of the men were injured.

The crowd had by this time reached the police station. It continued to shower stones all the time at the station and even at adjacent buildings. Only the Station Master and two police constables were present in the station at the time and they closed the doors of the station. The crowd indulged in stone-throwing for several minutes and then moved on to the police lines nearby.

The crowd which had swollen in numbers moved northwards. By this time, the Assistant Commissioner arrived on the scene with a posse of policemen and ordered the crowd to disperse. The crowd became more unruly and replied with a fresh volley of stones.

The police then fired twice into the air and the crowd at once began to thin. Dispersing in different directions, the men moved along by-lanes further away to the west, pelting stones indiscriminately at residential houses, the few shops that remained open still and at passing vehicles.

A section of the crowed moved towards the Royapuram level crossing and attempted to break the gates. Failing in their effort, they removed the key of the gates and stoned a train that was passing, destroying its windows and panes.

Another crowd collected near Korukupet railway station in the evening and threw stones at the Ponneri local as it was steaming in. Some of the passengers were injured by the stones. Mr. Sirajuddin, Superintendent of the Railway Police arrived on the scene with a posse of constables and the crowd melted away. As the officer was returning, he received a stone on his left hand and sustained an injury. The train was taken back to Central Station.

By about 9 p. m. things quietened down considerably and when a reporter of The Hindu visited the scene an hour past mid-night, everything was quiet. The Kalmandapam police station presented a battered appearance—its signboard pulled down, roofing tiles broken and the entire grounds strewn with brickbats and stones, many of them of a big size.

Some eight men were taken into custody in connection with the disturbances here and detained at the station.

Boy Dies of Bullet Wounds

A boy aged about 17, believed to be a Hindu, whose identity could not be established, died of bullet injuries near the Fort Railway station. Two others who received bullet injuries at the same place, was admitted as inpatients in the General Hospital.

It appeared the incident followed the pelting of stones by some urchins at pasaing motor cars. One of the motorists, believed to be a European, it was alleged, stopped his car and fired a few rounds from his rifle, as a result of which three persons were injured, one fatally.

As many as eleven persons were admitted into the General Hospital in the afternoon for treatment of grievous injuries sustained by being pelted with stones. These were Anthony Doss (12); Doraivelu (30) of Old Washermanpet; Abdul Wahab (35); Varadarajan (22) of Palmyra yard, Royapuram; Farzuddin (12) of Tazuddin Khan Bahadur Street, Triplicane; Govindarajula (24) of Ibrahim Sahib Street, Konditope ; Nallan (20) of Broadway; Karachippan (25) of Erode; Luke Martin of 16, Driver Street, Pudupet; C. V. Rao (25) of Mylapore Fire Station; Raphæl (28) of 26, Harris Road, Pudupet.

About ten other persons who received minor injuries in stone-throwing, were treated as out-patients.

Lathi Charges in Washermanpet

The area of the Tiruvottiyur High Road between Jutkapuram and the Washermanpet level-crossing was the scene of a disturbance caused by a crowd in the morn-

ing. The Police had to make a lathi charge to disperse them. As many as 65 persons were taken into custody. A number of persons sustained minor injuries.

Workers in the Jerrican Factory at Tondiarpet numbering about 400, and about 3,000 workers belonging to the Burma Shell installation, struck work in the morning and came out soon after they entered on their day shift. The Police had them cleared from their work-places immediately. At about 8-30 a.m., crowds of people began collecting near Jutkapuram and pelting stones at shops and on passing buses. The police rushed to the spot and made a lathi charge.

Five Constables were injured as a result of stone-throwing at a police food-van stationed at Wall-tax Road near the Elephant Gate police station last evening.

Army Huts Set on Fire

A serious situation developed in the evening at about 4 o'clock in front of the Presidency College, Triplicane, as a result of few hooligans setting fire to two huts erected at the Marina Swimming Pool for the use of the military. These huts were being used by the military personnel as dressing room. Two fire engines were rushed to the scene. While they tried to put down the fire, stones were thrown causing injuries to three fire-fighters. A van which brought the firemen to the spot was also pelted heavily as a result of which the glass screens both on its front and sides were smashed. A strong contingent of police force soon arrived on the spot and prevented the crowds from approaching the area by blocking the Marina Road near the Senate House on the north and at its junction with Pycrofts Road. All cars were diverted through other routes and the fire was soon brought under control.

Two cars which were proceeding along the Marina Road before the arrival of the police were stoned and the occcupants who were stated to be Europeans drove into the Presidency College compound. After the police arrived the crowd dispersed and the cars left the place.

Sir Norman Strathie and Mr. E. M. Gawne, Advisors to the Governor, visited the spot and made enquiries.

At about 1 p.m. the locality opposite the Meston Training College was the scene of some disturbance indulged by rowdy elements who broke into an Anglo-Indian house and fetched out the furniture, broke the glass, almyrahs, mirrors, etc., and set fire to the entire furniture. The incident took place at 1 o'oclock but the fire was mouldering till after sunset.

Stone-throwing in Round Tana

Opposite the Elphinstone Theatre a crowd pelted passing motor cars with stones and booed men in khaki and pants. A military policeman riding his motor cycle was pelted heavily with stones and his vehicle brought down. The man jumped clear and whipping out his revolver beat a safe retreat into a nearby building. The mob poured petrol on the vehicle and set fire to it. A posse of police constables arrived on the scene and dispersed the hooligans.

Some of these people took shelter in the Ellis Road and continued to pelt stones at lorries and other vehicles that came along. A squad of Malabar Special Police were brought on the scene and and posted in the Round Tana which was by this time cleared entirely of the crowd.

Lathi Charge on Crowd

Pelting of stones continued from the direction of Ellis Road and the police made a lathi charge to clear the crowd at this place.

Part of the crowd then moved towards the Wellington Cinema and posting themselves at the cross road began to harass passing military lorries and even private cars. A gentleman taking some ladies home had a rough experience. Some people on the road jumped on the running board of his car as he slowed down on seeing the crowd. He was made to shout the slogans "Jai Hind" and was then allowed to pass.

The crowd continued to indulge in stone-throwing at almost every passing vehicle, picking particularly military vans. The doors and windows of the "Drop In Club" of the Y. M. C. A., which remained closed, came in for a severe battering by stones by the crowd. Miscreants attempted to set fire to some of the buildings adjoining the Bosotto Hotel including the garages of the hotel, but the attempt was foiled by the arrival of the police.

Students Stay Away From Classes

Students and workers were main participants in the hartal and demonstrations. While all the schools in the George Town area were closed, schools in other

parts of the City, like the Hindu High School, the Kellett High School, the P. S. High School and the Ramkrishna High School, were working with partial strength. The Chintadripet High School was practically empty and students of that institution went in a procession along Mount Road.

Among the colleges, the students of the Presidency College abstained from their classes and marched in procession to the People's Park. On their way, they were joined by students of other schools who did not attend classes. The Queen Mary's College worked to-day, while the Loyola, Christian and Panchaiyappa's had only partial attendance, primarily caused by the dislocation in transport.

Over a thousand students assembled in the Congress House grounds, Royapettah, and carrying the flag of the Congress and the banners of the Indian Students' Congress marched in procession along Mount Road towards the High Court. A cycle squad of volunteers proceeded the processionists on foot. There were a number of girl students also among them. The processionists marched in perfect order keeping to the extreme of the road.

Reaching the High Court Beach grounds, they hoisted the Congress Flag and held a public meeting with Mr. Ramunni Menon in the chair.

Messrs. Dravyam, Krishnaswami and Kanniappan spoke condemning the police firing in Bombay, Calcutta and Karachi and also expressing the sympathy of the students with the Indian naval ratings. The gathering then dispersed peacefully.

Mill Workers' Strike

After the morning shift, the workers of the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills came out and the Mills remained closed for the rest of the day. These workers formed themselves into two processions. One procession went along Perambur High Road and another along DeMellows Road towards People's Park. They shouted slogans expressing sympathy with the men of the Royal Indian Navy and protesting against Government's policy of repression. After the meeting at People's Park, they dispersed.

The workers of the Perambur Railwaw Workshop joined the hartal and went in procession towards Perambur Barracks, and returned to Perambur and dispersed.

Meeting at Tilak Ghat

The hartal in the City yesterday concluded with a huge public meeting held on the 25th. evening at the Tilak Ghat, at which a resolution was passed recording 'appreciation of the unity shown by merchants, workers and students for conducting a peaceful and disciplined hartal in response to the patriotic call of the RIN.'

Long before the meeting commenced, a huge gathering began to collect on the sands in the beach.

Mr. V. Parameswaran, who presided, stated that the meeting had been convened under the auspices of the Madras Trade Union Congress, the Communist Party, the Students' Organisation and various labour associations in the City. He wished to congratulate them all on making the hartal a great success and appealed to the peole to preserve the unity they had shown that day for the succesful fight against Imperialism.

On behalf of the Indonesian Youth Association (Madras Branch), Mr. Tooi offered fraternal greetings to the youths of the City for making the hartal a complete success.

Messrs. R. Ramanathan, P. Ramachandran, Somasundaram and P. Jeevanandam next addressed the meeting emphasising that the demonstration of the day was a strong indication of the struggle they were prepared to put up for achieving freedom. They also stated that in this demonstration different parties—the Communists, the Congress and the Muslim League—had joined together and hoped that the unity achieved to-day would develop.

Resolutions were then passed. The meeting offered greetings to the R. I. N. personnel for their heroic struggle and unequivocally supported their demands. Another resolution demanded remission of the sentence passed on Captain Abdul Rashid, the release of all I. N. A. men and the withdrawal of the Indian toops from Indonesia.

A big procession carrying flags of all parties started from Loane Square, Broadway, in the evening and reached Triplicane beach. The volunteers who followed the procession maintained order and discipline when the procession wended its way through George Town, Mount Road and Triplicane.

At some of the places on the route which the processionists took, hooligan elements got the upper hand and indulged in an orgy of stone-throwing against

buildings, passing motor vehicles, particularly military lorries, and even individual cyclists and motor cyclists.

The procession had for its van a body of about 100 urchins, almost all under fifteen, who, however, seemed to be acting under the instruction of some half a dozen grown-ups accompanying them on bicycles. They rushed forward whenever a motor vehicle was sighted, shouting and yelling and compelled all the vehicles to turn back and drive away. One lorry driver who pluckily drove through the crowd received dozens of heavy road metal pieces on his car, if not on his person, but he drove away eventually. Another lorry driver got so unnerved that in turning round he drove the vehicle right on to the pavement and narrowly escaped dashing into the compound wall of the Government House. He however managed, after driving some fifty yards on the pavement, to get back to the road proper, and drove away.

MEETING AT NAPIER PARK

At 4 p.m. the members of the Madras Motor Drivers Union, the P. W. D. Motor Workers Union, the Corporation General Workers Union and the Glass Factory Workers' Union assembled at Napier Park and held a public meeting. The M. and S. M. Railway workers came marching in a procession from Perambur and joined the meeting.

The meeting passed a resolution condemning police firing in Calcutta, Bombay and Karachi, and requesting the Government to give adequate compensation to the families of those who were killed in the incidents.

A resolution condemning "the police beating of Mr. L. Ramchandran, labour leader," was also adopted.

The meeting requested the Congress Parliamentary Board to nominate Mr M. Sitarama Naidu in place of Mr. M. Kanniappan as Congress candidate for the non-Union Constituency of the Madras Legislative Assembly and to give a general seat to Mr. Kanniappan.

Messrs. M. Sitarama Naidu, T. Sankaran, L. Ramachandran and M. Kuppuswami spoke in support of the resolution.

MR. KAMRAJ NADAR'S APPEAL

Handbills over the singature of Mr. K. Kamaraj Nadar, President, Tamil Nad Congress Committee, appealing to the people to observe strict discipline and non-violence in their demonstrations were widely distributed.

The appeal of Mr Kamaraj stated :—"It is highly necessary that the hartal which workers and students of Madras have organised to condemn the recent shooting incident in Bombay and Calcutta, should be observed non-violently and without disturbing public tranquility. I, therefore, request them to conduct themselves in a disciplined and peaceful manner."

COMMUNIST OFFICIAL'S STATEMENT

Mr. M. R. Venkataraman, Secretary of Tamil Nad Committee of the Communist Party of India, wrote :

The workers, students and the public of Madras have demonstrated to-day their anger against the Imperialist rule of terror in Bombay and their sympathy with the Indian Naval Ratings fighting for their demands. The day has passed off peacefully except for minor incidents. It was a glorious sight to see thousands of people marching under Congress, League and Communist flags despite differences. Hindus and Muslims and others have shown they are one against the foreigner.

WORKERS' MEETING IN TRICHINOPOLY—25 FEB.

At a public meeting held in Vanniadi Maidan attended by nearly a lakh of workers, resolutions were passed supporting the demands of R. I. N. ratings and condemning the action of the police and the military in firing on the crowds in Bombay. The proceedings of the meeting were conducted peacefully and there was no interference by the police. Messrs. M. Kalyansundaram, K. Baladandayuthan and others spoke.

The conservancy staff in Srirangam, the bus-workers of Trichy, hackney-carriage drivers and cigar-workers were among those who struck work this morning. They took out processions, which terminated at Vanniadi Maidan, where the meeting was held. Almost all the students of the local educational institutions also participated in the meeting.

Jubbulpore Sepoys on Strike

Jubbulpore—27th February 1946

About two hundred Indian sepoys went on strike as a protest against the Commander-in-Chief's statement regarding the R. I. N. strikes, and the sentence passed on Captain Burhanuddin of the I.N.A. and in sympathy with R. I. N. personal.

The strikers included men from Indian Signal Corps and Indian Electrical and Mechanical Engineering Depots.

The strikers marched in orderly procession through the city's main thoroughfares. Taking this demonstration for a "sepoy's revolt", merchants closed their shops in panic.

The sepoys later held a meeting at which their leaders pointed out that they would remain faithfully pledged to non-violence till the last and would not call off the strike until their demands were conceded to and grievances redressed. They further alleged that when they left their barracks and were marching to the city peacefully, attempts were made by their officers to prevent them from marching to the city but they refused the orders of their superiors.

The demands formulated by the sepoys and submitted by them to their superior authorities, it was understood from the speeches made at the meeting, included increase in pay and rations, improvement of housing arrangements, withdrawal of demobilisation system, cancellation of Victory celebrations in view of the food crisis, release of all Indian National Army men who were in detention and withdrawal of prosecutions against them and discontinuance of sending Indian troops to Indonesia.

The leaders of the strikers also protested vehemently against the speeches made by Vice-Admiral Godfrey, Flag officer Comanding, RIN and Sir Claude Auchinleck, Commander-in-Chief, India. They appealed to the leaders of the Congress, the Muslim League and other political parties to sink their differences and stand united to liberate the country. One of the speakers amongst them said, "Although, we all were born as slaves we do not want to die as slaves and we will shed the last drop of our blood for our country's sake."

The sepoys saluted Subhas Chandra Bose's portrait and after taking food which was supplied by the public, they returned to their lines peacefully under the advice of local political leaders.

Sepoys on strike carried Congress, Communist and League flags. After their return they were confined to the new Signal barracks and addressed by the Brigadier, Area Headquarters.

Shop-keepers observed hartal to-day. All municipal schools and colleges were also closed.

OFFICIAL COMMUNIQUE

The following Press communique was issued by Mr. E. S. Hyde, District Magistrate in this connection :

"About two hundred men of the Indian Signal Corps, Jubbulpore, went on strike this mornig and took out a procession to the city where they held a meeting. Their complaints were inadequate rations, low rates of pay in comparison with British troops and low standard of accommodation. The first speaker demanded the release of all I.N.A. personnel and said that no Indian troops should be sent to Indonesia. They protested against the speeches made by Admiral Godfrey and the Commander-in-Chief. They were also addressed by some local political leaders who advised them to return to their lines. Proceedings were peaceful."

Firing in Delhi

As a Sequel to "Victory Day" Celebrations

Delhi—7th and 8th March 1946

Demonstrations against the Victory Week celebrations to-day 7th. turned into mob violence and incendiarism in Chandni Chowk, Delhi and the adjoining area which had suffered severely in the 1942 disturbances. Civil and Military Police opened fire many times and eleven persons in all were reported to have been killed.

Police to-day opened fire on three occasions to quell violent crowds. It was officially stated that six were injured as a result of the firings but unofficial reports placed casualties at a higher figure.

It was reported that in addition to the police, the military police fired on a crowd which threw stones at a military van near the Red Fort. Two boys from among the crowd were killed and their bodies were later taken in a procession through Chandni Chowk.

Enquiries at the Irwin Hospital showed that 13 persons were admitted for treatment during the day, and it was believed these included the six injured in the firings. One of the 13 injured later succumbed.

Among those who received minor injuries were six Congressm n who were endeavouring to pacify the crowds.

The Town Hall and the Clock Tower in front of it—two prominent landmarks of Old Delhi—were among buildings which were set on fire and suffered great damage.

A number of electric connections were cut, street light bulbs destroyed and substations burnt, with the result that a large part of Old Delhi was left in darkness to-night and a number of newspapers had their power supply cut off.

Curfew had been imposed from 9 p.m. to 5-30 a.m.

COMPLETE HARTAL

The day began with a complete hartal, shops, cinemas, educational institutions and mills being closed and tramway workers going on strike. A large meeting was held in Gandhi Gardens, behind the Town Hall, and from there a number of hunger marchers started in procession and passed through Chandni Chowk. Stones tied round their stomach were intended to emphasise speeches and slogans which said, "We have stones instead of food, and you are celebrating victory."

As the day wore on, mobs collected round the Town Hall. Inside it some 25 girls sat answering papers for the Punjab University Matriculation Examination. As the crowd outside made preparations to set fire to the building, a number of Congressmen appeared on the spot, entered the building and persuaded the girls to leave immediately. The Congressmen tried to persuade the crowd to desist from doing any damage to the building but within a few minutes of the departure of the girls, smoke was rising from the building.

About 5-30 p.m. crowds were noticed attempting to set fire to the gates of the Imperial Bank and the Reserve Bank situated at the Red Fort end of the Chandni Chowk. Police opened fire and three persons were reported to have been killed and a few injured.

Later, near the Red Fort, crowds were reported to have stoned a military Police van. They were fired upon and two boys were reported to have been killed.

The only occasion when demonstrators came face to face with the Victory Parade was at Connaught Place. Printed paper badges urging the boycott of the celebrations were thrown at the marching columns. Apart from this demonstration, New Delhi was unaffected by the happenings in the old city.

MR. ASAF ALI'S APPEAL TO PUBLIC

Mr. Asaf Ali issued the following statement :—

"It is too early to receive or comment on the regrettable happenings of to-day in Delhi but I must take the earliest opportunity to appeal to the people of Delhi to see to it that no hartal is observed to-morrow and normal and peaceful life is resumed. What has happened to-day is proof enough of the fact that certain elements in our political life have learnt nothing from the unfortunate happenings of the recent past in other parts of the country.

The destruction of property, acts of arson and assaults on people are subversive of the entire teaching of the Congress. Everyone must remember what the

President of the Congress said only three days ago. He appealed to all parties to abstain from strikes, hartals, demonstrations and processions, to avoid strife of all kinds and to maintain a peaceful atmosphere. I repeat and emphasise it and trust the people of Delhi will abide by the Congress President's instruction".

OFFICIAL VERSION OF INCIDENTS

The District Magistrate of Delhi, in a Press Note issued on the 7th. on the disturbances in the city, said: "Early this morning deliberate incendiarism, including an attempt to set fire to the Town Hall, started in Chandni Chowk. This was promptly stopped by the police. Continuous attempts of incendiarism by mobs hiding in gullies in Chandni Chowk were noticed. Tear gas was used to disperse people crowding in the gullies.

"Later after the crowd had been dispersed from Chandni Chowk, it gathered at the back to the Town Hall and set it on fire seriously. Simultaneously two terminal tax posts were also burnt near the railway station. The fire brigade quarters near the Queen's Road was surrounded by a crowd and the machines were wrecked. The fire brigade was thus prevented from reaching the Town Hall.

"Tear gas was repeatedly fired into gullies but the crowds continued their activities. Finally, after repeated warnings, two shots were fired near Pallimaran, resulting in one man being injured. Near the Town Hall also one revolver shot was fired and no one was injured.

"Later attempts were made to set fire to the Imperial Bank and firing had again to be resorted to, resulting in five being injured. Military help had been requisitioned. Curfew order has been enforced from 9 p. m. to 5-30 a. m. Similarly an order is in force preventing gathering of more than ten persons under Section 144, Cr. P. C."

The police authorities have announced that anybody found damaging public property is liable to be shot.

Second Day—New Delhi—8th. March 1946

Sixty-one arrests have so far been made, annouced the Deputy Commissioner, Delhi, in a Press note to-day. He added: 'The casualties amount to three killed—two by gun shot and one died of gun shot wounds in hospital—and twelve injured —eleven wounded with gun shots and one by lathi. The condition of one of the injured was reported to be serious, but he was expected to service."

"The situation remained entirely normal to-day. Shops were open in all parts of the city except in Chandi Chowk. Tramway workers remained on strike throughout the day."

"It has not been possible to repair the damage done to electric lighting in certain parts of the city owing to non-return to work of a section of the Electric Supply Company's employees.

"All municipal employees were at work to-day and though many records have been lost, the municipal services are functioning."

Censure Motion in Assembly

The Central Assembly to-day passed without a division Nawab Siddique Ali Khan's adjournment motion to censure the Government on "the shooting of innocent citizens and the use of tear gas and the lathi charges against them by the police yesterday in Delhi."

Nawab Siddique Ali Khan (League), commending his adjournment motion, said that the object of his party was to prove that the Government was entirely responsible for the unfortunate happenings and secondly to ask that in future no such incidents should take place. His party condemned hooliganism, rowdyism, looting of shops and burning of houses and was wholly opposed to such incidents which took place in the city yesterday. The House was aware, he said, that the detention and trial of I. N. A. personnel, the strike of the naval ratings and the recent happenings in Bombay, Karachi, Madras and elsewhere had infuriated the people to the extent of boycotting the Victory celebrations. Both the Congress and the League had decided to boycott the celebrations. Though they did not declare any hartal, traders of their own accord had closed their shops.

According to reports, it was clear that the police were not on the scene of disturbances for a long time and no precautions had been taken to stop untoward incidents though they knew there was the danger and likelihood of trouble. It was clear police 'bandobust' was insufficient and no precaution had been taken because the officials were busy celebrating the Victory Parade. Reports had it that two boys, aged 17 and 18, who were standing on the footpath near the Red Fort were

shot and killed. Their bodies were taken in a procession and when they passed near Chandi Chowk, the District Magistrate ordered the use of tear-smoke and a lathi charge on the processionists.

INDISCRIMINATE SHOOTING

Mr. Siddique Ali Khan said that he wished to censure the Government "for indiscriminate shooting and lathi charge on innocent people." The Victory Day ended in the loss of six precious lives and serious injuries to 14 people. "Our victory day" he said, "will be quite different. Our victory day, God willing, will be that glorious day when our masters will leave my country."

Mr. Balakrishna Sharma said that when he, Mr. Asaf Ali, Mr. Satyanarain Sinha and Mohanlal Saxena went to the scene of disturbances yesterday they found there was only one policman. Was it the intention to let disorderliness spread in order that it might be made a cloak for maintaining authority? Mr. Sharma said that the responsibility for giving an opportunity to the people to behave as they had done lay with the Government.

Mr. Mohammed Nauman complained of the Government's failure to take precaution when they knew that the Congress and the League were opposed to the Victory celebrations and there was a chance of trouble. He had heard from a doctor that the injuries of the victims in the firing were caused by bullets of the type used on the battlefield. Why were such bullets used to disperse civilans, he asked. The injured youths came from Bengal, U. P. and Bihar; obviously they could not have taken part in or caused disturbances here but were onlookers. How were they injured?

Pandit Govind Malaviya said he had visited the scene yesterday and did not come across any organised or systematic attempt to meet the situation. It was possible that the police authorities were not to blame, or they restrained themselves or the crowd were not able to control themselves: but one thing that was clear everywhere in Delhi was that those who were loud in protestations about their responsibility for law and order were not to be seen. Pandit Malaviya quoted the statement of a friend that the District Magistrate refused to lend responsible Congressmen the use of loudspeakers through which to ask people to disperse. It was stated that the Old Delhi fire brigade was burnt but why was not the fire brigade from New Delhi brought to deal with the outbreak in the Town Hall and elsewhere? The Victory Day celebrations held in the teeth of popular opposition were the cause of the trouble, he said. Poverty and dissatisfaction were evident and yet the Government persisted in holding these celebrations.

HOME MEMBER ON THE INCIDENTS

The Home Member said that there was evidence of concerted organisation in the regrettable occurrences in Delhi. The main evidence was the starting of fires in Chandi Chowk and the laying of road blocks and the attack on the fire brigade stations in order to prevent fire engines reaching Chandi Chowk and putting out the fire. Two companies of troops—one of British and the other of Indians—were called out at different times. One stood fast at the Railway Station and the other patrolled Chandi Chowk, and he had no doubt of the salutary effect of their presence on the spot.

The police, the Home Member said, showed great restraint: tear smoke was used about a dozen times to disperse crowds: and firing was resorted to only when tear smoke was not an effective deterrent. There was no instance of beating up with lathis. Firing was done by the police on three occasions. First, one round was fired by a Sub-Inspector with his revolver. No casualties were caused. Later, a senior Police Officer, trying to prevent people surging up the gulleys on either side of Chandi Chowk from making road blocks and preparing for arson, fired two shots One person was injured. The District Magistrate was with this officer.

Later, when a determined attack was made on the Reserve Bank, the same police officer fired six rounds and four people were injured. Thirteen people had been admitted to hospital of whom twelve had bullet wounds. One died and one was seriously iniured. The total fatal casualties were three. One was accounted for by the police firing, as he had stated. As regards the other, he could not speak with certainty but there was an incident in which an Officer of the military Police was attacked in a car and in self-defence he opened fire and two people were killed. A court of enquiry would be held on this incident. He wanted to make clear that there was no firing by troops under the orders of civil authorities.

He was glad, the Home Member went on, to-day there had been no allegations of brutality on the part of the police. In fact the charge was not that the police behaved improperly but there were not enough of the police. He had no doubt the Delhi police behaved with great restraint and that showed that not only were they in a state of excellent discipline but were men of courage (Hear, hear)

As regards the causes of the occurrence, he said, the seeds were sown during the last six months and a state of turbulence had been engendered by months of incitement to disorder and contempt of authority (hear, hear).

A voice: Why are you not quitting India?

The Home Member: Because nobody will take our place.

"I wish to make it quite clear to the House and to people outside that the Central and Provincial Governments, in an agreed policy, have deliberately and of set purpose observed in these past months a policy of patience and restraint" observed the Home Member. The reasons are, first, in order to ensure that the elections should be held with the greatest possible freedom of expression and secondly to refrain from anything which would prejudice a permanent settlement of India's difficulties.

"In that permanent settlement of India's difficulties we, who are responsible for public order, believe that we have the greatest assurance that public order will be maintained and preserved and handed on from our generation to the next. If in the meanwhile we do not exercise the restraint that has been exercised—and the temptations have very often been strong—then the danger would be that in order to make quite certain of some immediate settlement of a disturbance we should prejudice the policy which in the long run according to our belief, offers the greatest hope of peace and tranquillity in India."

The Home Member urged the mover to withdraw his motion which, he said, would if passed be an encouragement to those forces which were on the look out for occasions to break the peace.

Discrepancy in Casualty Figures

Mr. Asaf Ali, Deputy Leader of the Congress Party, suggested that there was an unexplained discrepancy between the Home Member's figure of five injured in the police firing and thirteen admitted to hospital, twelve of them with bullet wounds. It was evident the Home Member had not been given full and accurate information. Mr. Asaf Ali gave the figure of killed as five or six and adding to it the thirteen injured, he thought that at least nineteen rounds must have been fired as against the nine rounds mentioned by the Home Member.

Mr. Asaf Ali suggested that the Military Police, whether out of panic, anger or brutality fired on people who were dispersing after the police firing near the Reserve Bank. It was this firing which caused the greatest possible resentment. He asked the Government to investigate this report.

One thing which struck him, was the absence of adequate police arrangements. Mr. Asaf Ali went on to say that it was his impression that the District Magistrate, who was overburdened with a sense of responsibility, had become unsuitable to Delhi and could with advantage be sent elsewhere.

The troubles, said Mr. Asaf Ali, were but symptoms of a disease which was deeper down, namely, the impatience of the people with foreign rule. When dealing with the crowds, he heard whispers here and there. "Here we are hungry and starving and we see this *tamasha* going on—fires in Old Delhi and fire-works in New Delhi." These things were too obvious to be overlooked. He recognised to a certain extent what the Home Member said to-day about the new attitude which the Government had tried to reflect. If they wished to show proof that spirit was there, then the sooner they took note of the fact that they had to yield to common demands the better. After all this was the essence of democracy. If it was a democratic India to which power was going to be transferred, let them begin to act in a manner that the people might recognise that the Government respected their feelings.

The motion was adopted without a division.

The A. I. Newspaper Editors' Conference

Fifth Session—Allahabad—16th & 17th February 1946

Pt. Nehrus' Inaugural Address

"The Press in India should devote more time and space to village and rural life and conditions in the rural areas. It should guard itself against big combines starting a chain of papers and dictating policies detrimental to the interests of the country. The Press must also do everything in its power to prevent distortion and total suppression of news and the Indian Press should have a foreign news service of its own, not as a competitive service, but as a supplementary one purveying news from world countries and cities such as Washington, London, Paris and Moscow, the Middle East countries, and countries of East Asia."

These were the highlights of an address delivered by *Pandit Jawharlal Nehru* inaugurating the fifth session of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference at Allahabad on the 16th February 1946.

Pandit Nehru, inaugurating the Conference, reminded the editors of the heavy responsiblities that lay before them in purveying to the country and the world the news which contained the truth and the whole truth. He lamented that much of the social and economic conditions that prevailed in the villages and rural areas and many other problems that faced the common man in India were ignored by the Press while only statements and speeches delivered by political leaders were featured by it. The Press in India, by ignoring the conditions and needs of the masses in India was not depicting a picture of the whole of India.

Pandit Nehru recalled his recent tours of several villages in the country and appealed to the several editors assembled in the Conference to devote more time and space to village and rural life and conditions in the rural areas.

Truth Must be Maintained

Pandit Nehru warned the Press in India to guard against big combines starting a chain of papers and dictating policies detrimental to the interests of the country. He said that under these big combines, a newspaper lost its individuality and the sanctity which every paper so zealously guarded. He also warned the editors to avoid distortion and suppression of news. He said that every news which had a news value, irrespective of politics or party, should be given in a truthful manner. He deprecated the idea of a sense of fear prevailing in any newspaper office to tell the truth. Pandit Nehru recalled in this connection the suppression of news of the Nazi Party in the German Press and the Bengal Famine in the Indian Press. He said the result of the suppression of news was that whenever it came out after the suppression, it did not give the truth or if it gave the truth, it was bound to be either exaggerated or minimised or even not to be believed by the public. A paper suppressing the news or distorting the news also fell in the estimation and value of the public, he added

Mr. Nehru exhorted the editors not to be carried "away" in giving 'true and nothing but true news' by outside influence or Governmental authority. He also asked the Government in this connection to give complete freedom as regards news to the Press in India so that they may be able to maintain a high standard of integrity.

Pandit Nehru also appealed for more careful reporting of the economic and social condition of the masses of people. He said it took good reporters, but the newspapers should undertake such work and must not limit themselves to reporting the activities of important people and of big events only. News of riots got into the papers, he said, but conditions which led to riots were often ignored.

Pandit Nehru added it should be the desire of editors to preserve high standards for newspaper employees and that their pay should be increased.

Transmission of News in Vernacular

Urging the transmission of news in Hindusthani, as well as in English, Pandit Nehru said that most of his own speeches made in Indian languages were translated into English by reporters. Indian language newspapers then translated these reports back out of English into their own languages, with results not altogether satisfactory.

While the English language newspapers were strong and important and would continue to be important, the future of journalism in India lay with the Indian

language papers, said Mr. Nehru. For that reason especially, there was need for improving them.

In conclusion, Pandit Nehru urged the Editors to form their own foreign service with special emphasis upon coverage of Asian and Middle East news. He said India was "fed largely by *Reuters*" although recently American agencies also had begun opperations here. We should think in terms of building up our foreign service to cover news of particular interest to India, he declared.

Working Conditions of Journalists

Pandit Nehru referred to the complaints of working Journalists about their wages and emoluments and said that the Press in India should do something to them. He said that the difference between the top and bottom in the profession was very big and he was not prepared to accept that any man was thousand times better than the other or that such differences should exist. He also stressed on the efficiency of the men in the profession and appealed to the editors assembled to raise the standards of working journalists and their efficiency.

Pandit Nehru pointed out that a great difference existed between English-owned and Indian-owned newspapers in India. He felt that even Indian-owned papers were not rightly balanced. While they devoted too much space to national and anti-Governmental news they altogether ignored the social and various cultural and economic problems, problem of the masses in India.

Referring to various advertisements appearing in the newspaper, Pandit, Nehru said that the quality of advertisements that appeared in them pained him. He appealed to the editors to keep a stricter censorship on advertisements appearing in the Press. When there is popular Government in India, it would come down with a heavy hand on the choice of advertisements in newspapers, added Pandit Nehru.

Concluding Pandit Nehru again appealed to the editors to devote more space to village and rural life and conditions in rural areas and of the common man.

Mr. Subramanyam's Welcome Address

"Our demand is a simple one. We want a free Press. But we claim no special privileges for ourselves. The freedom of the Press, we are told, is nothing more, and it should also be nothing less, than the freedom of the citizen", said *Mr. Subramanyam*, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcoming the delegates.

One of the fundamental principles of British jurisprudence, as practised in the home country but not in the less fortunate Empire beyond Suez, was, Mr. Subramanyam continued, that every man is presumed to be innocent until he is found guilty, in a court of law. But in India, the presumption is one of guilt and not of innocence. The basis of the Indian Press Emergency Powers Act is the right to ask for security even when an edition comes forward to make the declaration that he is bringing out a paper.

Now that the war was over and the restrictions under the Defence Rules would soon disappear, it was time that the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference took upon itself the task of securing the repeal of vexatious Press laws like the Indian Press Emergency Powers Act and the Princes Protection Act. It was impossible for a free Press to function so long as the Government reserved to themselves powers to demand and forfeit securities without recourse to due process of law. Apart from such legislation limiting the right of freedom of expression, it was a clear usurpation of the functions of the judiciary by the executive. The assumption of such extraordinary powers may, perhaps, be justified in times of emergency, but cannot become part of the law of the land in normal times.

"We may not be a well-organised profession", Mr. Subramanyam continued, "But in this Conference, we have the means by which we can resist the onslaughts on the Press by the Government. Rightly or wrongly, the law places the responsibility for publication on the editor and so long as we accept that responsibility, the discretion as to what should or should not be published must be left to us. No attempt should be made to influence that discretion by threats of coercive action.

Power For Country's Regeneration

Mr. Subramanyam felt that the attitude of the public towards their profession was not that it provided them with their daily newspaper, but that they were a power in the regeneration of their country. Almost all of them had experience of the loyalty of the Indian reader to their favourite newspaper. It was loyalty which could not be easily shaken. The nationalist Press had deserved this love

and affection by the part it had played and was playing in the fight for the country's freedom, but this very love had cast on them the duty of discharging their responsibilities to the public to the fullest extent of which they were capable.

One of the objects for which the Conference had been established, the speaker continued, was the preservation of the high traditions and standards of journalism. "As the profession becomes better organised", Mr. Subramanyam said, "the greater will be our responsibility to see that not only do we maintain our high traditions and standards, but improve upon them. That is a duty cast on us, not merely in the interests of the profession, but in the interests of the country. I have no desire to be dogmatic but it seems to me, there are innumerable questions waiting to be taken up by a body such as ours."

Referring to the economic condition of journalists, Mr. Subramanyam felt, there lay an infinite variety of questions which the Conference could take up in attempting to raise the standard of journalism and the profession as a whole. The conference and the Indian and Eastern Newspapers' Society had done something to improve the economic condition of working journalists. A great deal more remained to be done and he was sure that neither the conference nor the Society would shirk their responsibilities in the matter. But side by side with improvement in the salaries paid to working journalists, it must be their aim to raise their efficiency as workers.

CONFERENCE WORK REVIEWED

Mr. *S. A. Brelvi*, the outgoing President, after a short narrative of the work done by the Conference during his tenure of office and the various problems which still faced the Conference, asked Mr. Tushar Kanti Ghosh, President-Elect for the ensuing session, to take the chair. Mr. K. Srinivasan, Editor, THE HINDU. Madras Mr. Wordsworth, Editor, *Statesman*, and Mr. Devadas Gandhi, Editor, *Hindusthan Times*, seconded the request of Mr. Brelvi, and Mr. Tushar Kanti Ghosh was then installed in the Chair.

Presidential Address

Mr. *Tushar Kanti Ghosh* then delivered his presidential Address :—

You know the circumstances under which the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference and the various Provincial Press Advisory Committees came into existence There was, and I believe there is, a feeling in some quarters that the A.I.N.E.C. and the Advisory Committees should go into liquidation now that the war is over. I think you will agree with me that that would be taking a much too narrow view of the position. The A.I N.E.C. and the Provincial Committees, which did a lot of useful service in difficult times, may, if properly conducted, play a very important part in helping the Press in a variety of ways. You must have been pleased to learn that the Government of India have accepted the general view that they should continue to function. I believe you share my feeling that it is not mere love of office that has influenced us to stick to our job. We all know how thankless that job is. I do not propose to recall at any length how some of the Provincial Governments behaved with ill-concealed hostility to the Advisory Committee whose existence was at times ignored and whose recommendations were not unoften disregarded. The Central Government, we must acknowledge, had been less hostile, but even that Government did not always observe, in letter and in spirits, the Delhi Agreement and the Bombay Agreement.

I do not wish to trouble you with details as to the success we achieved in not a few instances in restraining the bureaucracy and in mitigating the rigours of some of the totalitarian methods. We of the Indian Press claim that our share in the struggle for freedom and in suffering is of no mean importance. The work of rehabilitation and restoration of the Press will have to be undertaken by our organisation and there is nobody more competent to do its work than the A.I.N.E.C. which has made the freedom and the welfare of the Press its special concern. The task of building peace, it has been said, is no less arduous than the conduct of war. To the building of world peace the contribution of the Press will not be insignificant, and I am sure that the Press in India will play an honourable role in the task that lies ahead.

LATE KALINATH ROY

Speaking of the building of peace in which the Press in India will take its due share, I am reminded of one who might have been a tower of strength to us, but who, alas, is no longer with us. I mean Babu Kalinath Roy than whom we had hardly any more interpid a warrior in the cause of the democracy and the freedom of the Press. A man whose integrity of character, whose selflessness,

whose lofty ideal as a journalist, whose broad outlook and unprejudiced criticism of men and things elicited the admiration and respect of all, has passed away, leaving a void which it will take long to fill. He has left his own memorial in 'The Tribune', the paper he edited for over a quarter of century, and to the building of whose reputation as a fearless and honest journal he had made the most remarkable contribution. On behalf of you all and on my behalf, I offer my homage to his memory.

Freedom of Press

Let not there be another war—this is the fervent prayer of us all. But are our minds at ease? Power-seeking, guile, secrecy and suspicion are said to be the germs of war. Are we not faced to-day, and so soon after the end of hostilities, with those ominous signs that disturbed the peace of the world in the past? The United Nations Organisation has been at work and we are almost daily told of differences, more or less serious, of suspicions, not unoften openly expressed, of charges and counter-charges publicly levelled by one powerful nation against another. We do not know if the statesmen at these International Conferences adequately realise that the causes of war are more psychological than ethical or physical. If you can prepare men's minds for peace, there will be peace. And what can be a more potent instrument for educating the human mind in the right way and along the right channel than the Press? A free Press, and not a regimented Press, can be that instrument. Freedom of the Press does not mean its freedom in this or that country only, but in all countries. Freedom of the Press, in the larger context, means freedom of information, freedom in the matter of seeking news and having access to all sources of news. It is amazing how subtly men and women all over the would have been influenced or prejudiced against men and women of other nations by reading innocent-looking but really cooked news. If the world is to be saved from another war, regimentation of the Press in any shape or form should be totally done away with.

Publicity to Indian News

India has always been handicapped by news about her getting scanty publicity in the British and the American Press. The heavy reduction of newsprint has no doubt been a serious obstacle to the British Press giving anything like adequate publicity to Indian news. But there is hardly any excuse for the almost complete black-out of Indian news in the British Press. So far as the American Press is concerned it is all the more inexcusable, as has been alleged by Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit in some of her recent statements. I suggest that there should be an Indian national news service functioning in as many important centres in the U.S.A. and Britain as possible, and it sould be their special task to induce leading American and British newspapers to publish important Indian news. The British people are no doubt much more concerned with their domestic affairs than the affairs of other people, even of the Empire. But I believe, it will be to the good of Indo-British relations and to the cause of India's freedom itself if the British public could be made to take a more enlightened interest in Indian affairs. The Indian Press collectively will have to "beard the lion in his own den" and there could be no better agency for this purpose than such a national news service.

As many as 113 war-time Ordinances have been repealed in whole or in part by Ordinance No. 1 of 1946. One of these is the Press Emergency Powers (Amendment) Ordinance. This may appear as very re-assuring. And when we see that war-time control over the Press has been withdrawn to a large extent we are tempted to feel that the irritating shackles on the Press have at last been removed. But a close examination of the clauses of the repealing Ordinance will reveal that it is not all gold even though it gitters. The fact is that in most caaes the substantive Ordinances have been allowed to remain intact, though with certain amendments. It validates all and every act done under the Ordinances. And what is more, it does not propose to afford relief to the sufferers from the previous Ordinances. It does not propose to heal but promises that further inflictions will not be so numerous or deadly in their effect as the Ordinances it has amended. I need quote only one clause to support my contention.

Nor shall the repeal by this Ordinance by which text of any law was amended by the express omission, insertion or substitution of any matter, affect the continuance of any such amendment in operation at the commencement of this Ordinance, unless a different intention was expressly stated in the Ordinance by which the amendment was made.

To take away with one hand what has been given with the other has been the

traditional policy of the powers that be in this country. We find the same spirit of niggardliness in the so-called Repealing Ordinance.

GOVT. CONTROL OVER PRESS

In the ordinary laws and in their peculiar ways, the Government in this country have enough opportunity to black out news and punish newspapers. The .Second World War came to an end in August, 1945, but the warlike spirit of the authorities did not desert them, as will appear from the action taken by them against certain newspapers in U. P., Bombay, Bihar, and C. P. Security was demanded under the Press Emergency Powers Act from the "National Herald" of Lucknow, "Sansar" of Benares, "Searchlight" of Patna, "Forum" of Bombay and from "Swadhinata" of Calcutta. The security deposit of "Nagpur Times" was forfeited in October, 1945, and the Editor of 'Forum", in addition to having to deposit a security, was prosecuted on a charge of sedition. In all these cases the Press Emergency Powers Act was brought into requisition. The Government are as unwilling to resort to the ordinary law and procedure to punish an alleged offender as they were during the war. Their reluctance to rely on judicial procedure is as acute as ever. Even now the flow of news is not free. The U. P. Press Conference recently brought to the notice of the Government instances of interference by district and telegraphic authorities with the despath of news reports.

BENGAL FAMINE

We all know how these methods were responsible for the suppression under the D. I. Rules of news of the Bengal famine. The news could not long be suppressed and soon the world came to know the horror of it. If this belated knowledge did not affect the war effort, earlier knowledge could not have made much of a difference. You are aware of the numberless instances of suppression of important reports simply for the reason that the mugwumps of the Secretariat took into their heads that these would somehow prejudice the "good reputation" they enjoyed or do some harm somehow or somwhere of which they themselves had little or no idea. This leads me to think that nothing short of a radical change of the Government and their policy will assure anything like the freedom of the Press or freedom of information, which is necessary for peace in India, no less than world peace.

PROTECTION OF RIGHTS

It is true that internal press censorship has been largely removed and external press censorship, in so far as it seeks to protect military secrets, has also been considerably relaxed. I confess, however, that my mind is not easy. A burnt child dreads the fire, as the saying goes. If, as a result of the elections, the political deadlock is resolved and a National Government established, the Press may breathe freely. But one does not know. If there is another struggle, the Press will be the first victim in the same way as truth becomes the first casualty of war. We have seen that the quantum of freedom the Press is allowed to enjoy is in inverse ratio to the strength of the national struggle. Now that the Congress and the country are not involved in a 'struggle', the Press is being allowed a certain amount of latitude. During the war, the Government had, in the name of defence of India, ruthlessly suppressed publication of news and views that had not the remotest connection with any information that might be useful to the enemy or might in any way have precipitated a civil commotion. The great usefulness of the Press, not only to the people bnt to the Government as well, has been finely expressed in the saying that the Press is the "people's parliament always in session". Even when a struggle between the people and the Government is on, it is to the interest of the Government that excesses are not committed by their servants by way of reprisal or in the name of restoring law and order. For about, a year or two following the wholesale arrest of Congress leaders in August, 1942, inhuman atrocities were committed on a mass scale at many places. The Government did not allow even factual news of these incidents to be published, and the orders passed on some of the newspapers clearly directed that no news of the excesses committed by the police or the military were to be published. The Government were apparently so ashamed of the monstrosity of such orders that they required that the orders, in their text and substance, were not only not to be published, but not even to be referred to, directly or indirectly. The stories of those atrocities are now being published and they are terribly shocking. There has been no contradiction from the Government of the reports of these outrages committed by the agents of law and order in villages, in the prisons or in concentration camps. It is for you, gentlemen of the Press, to devise ways and means for the protection of your legitimate rights even when there is a struggle on, although I think that upon a long view there

can be no freedom of the Press without a people's government at the helm of affairs.

Our Demands

We do not ask for a Royal Charter for the Press. We do not ask for licence in the name of liberty. We are, and have always, prepared to suffer the consequences like any ordinary citizen of having violated any of the laws of the land. We do, however, demand that the Press be not subjected to extraordinary pains and penalties, and that too at the whims and caprices of the Government and their officials. In other words, we demand that the Indian Press should be as free as the British Press is. To that end I would venture to place the following suggestions on your behalf for acceptance by the Government:

(1) Even before the war officially comes to an end on April 1, 1946, the Defence of India Rules as affecting the Press should be withdrawn without any reservation whatsoever.

(2) The Government of India should take the initiative, as early as possible, in getting the Legislature to repeal the wartime Ordinances or whatever may remain of those Ordinances following upon the operation of Ordinance No. 1, 1946.

(3) The Government of India should take the initiative in getting the Press Emergency Powers Act, the Princes Protection Act and similar other Acts repealed by the Legislature.

(4) The Government of India should take the initiative in having the laws relating to sedition, contempt of court and the Criminal Procedure Code suitably amended so that the laws affecting the Indian Press may be on a par with similar laws in the U. S. A., the U. K. and all other democratically organised countries.

(5) Security deposits taken from newspapers and periodicals under the wartime Ordinances or the Press Emergency Powers Act should be returned at once. All operations of the wartime Ordinances should be declared null and void.

(6) The ban, wherever it may exist, on the publication of newspapers, articles books or political writings should be lifted.

(7) All leaflets, pamphlets, etc., concerning India, sponsored by the British Government in India, without the knowledge or approval of the Indian Legislature, published or distributed in the U. S. A. and the U. K. should be withdrawn forthwith and be no longer circulated till a National Government has been established in this country.

(8) Until the wartime Ordinances affecting the Press have been completely abrogated or the ordinary laws of the land suitably modified, prosecutions against any newspapers or periodicals should be launched only after the matter has been placed before the relevant Press Advisory Committee and the paper concerned given an opportunity to explain matters. The same procedure should invariably be followed before a security deposit is demanded of any newspaper or its security deposit is forfeited.

So far I have looked at our problems in relation to the Government and the world press. Now let us look within ourselves. The Indian Press to-day does not compare unfavourably with the world press, either in the matter of the presentation of news or of expression of views. But we have to strive for further advancement, and I am not one of those who pretend that there is no scope for improvement in discharging the main functions of a newspaper, namely, the publication of news and items of information, and the offering of criticisms and comments on current topics. We have to avoid giving a twist to news and suppression of news altogether under the mistaken belief that we are thereby serving a particular political party or advancing a certain political purpose. It cannot be too often or too much emphasised that if a newspaper is to be honest, it should see to it that the news published by it is not only faithful, but accurate, at once untainted by prejudice and free from exaggeration. Strict regard for truth is an indispensable qualification for the gatherer and disseminator of news. Every newspaper must be free to express its opinion without being influenced by fear not only of the Government but of any section of the public as well. Above all, journalists who have a great hand in the moulding of public opinion must have their minds free from prejudice and must be in a position to claim a measure of independence which is proof against temptation. In other words, absolute incorruptibility must be the indispensable quality of a journalist.

I welcome with all my heart the almost phenomenal development of the newspaper industry, both English and Indian that has taken place in recent times. Our countrymen have given striking evidence of their business capacity in almost every branch of industry. This has meant not only prosperity for the country but increa-

sing opportunity for honourable and useful employment of many of our countrymen who, otherwise, would be out of work. I know that the development of the newspaper industry has been viewed with misgivings by some of my esteemed fellow working journalists. They have expressed their apprehension that with the growth of capitalism in the newspaper industry, journalism will cease to be a mission and that it will take the character more and more of a profession. I am aware of this but I do believe that if we take timely action all together and in a team spirit, we can save Indian journalism from the fate that has overtaken American journalism which has come to be largely controlled by newspaper trusts and cartels.

Expansion of Circle of Reading Public

The War has enormously expanded the circle of the reading public. The benefit has been shared by the English-language newspapers along with their Indian language contemporaries. Now that the War is over, the question of questions for us is how to maintain and quicken the thirst for news which the War has created. Compared with the great newspapers of U. K., U. S. A., Soviet Russia, Japan and China, the figures of circulation of the most widely read newspapers in India do not appear to be an impressive show. Owing to economic reasons, each copy of a newspaper is read by many persons in this country. The other great reason is the vast illiteracy of the population. The progress of literacy will be followed by increasing circulation of newspapers. It will take a long time for the masses to be literate enough to read newspapers. Must we therefore, bide our time or do something on our own account to spread education among the masses? A newspaper has aptly been described as the cheapest of libraries always in motion. There are many people even among the English educated, who can read English newspapers but do not buy them. There are other reasons, too. The present quota system, for example, is an important factor which goes severely to limit the circulation of newspapers. It may not be possible for us, so long as the quota system continues, or the news print position does not improve, to take fully effective steps of increasing the circulation of our papers.

Working Journalists

It is the working journalists who make a newspaper what it is. It is also true that without prosperity, a newspaper cannot do proper justice to its workers and workers who are not adequately remunerated cannot contribute to the prosperity of a paper. The question of the investment of capital and more capital come here. I do not say, nor do I think it desirable, that big newspapers or periodicals should swallow up the smaller fry. Independent journalism would suffer if it were so. Nevertheless, journals that have to employ a pretty large number of workers must have the financial resources to pay proper wages to their workers. Much of the difficulty that the A. I. N. E. C. has experienced in recommending a fairly uniform standard of remuneration for working journalists may be obviated if the suggestions I have ventured to make as one having some experience in the management of newspapers are considered for what they are worth. The Standing Committee of the A.I. N.E.C. at its Lahore session on October 26, 1944, adopted a scheme of emoluments and terms of service for journalists for being given effect to by the newspaper proprietors. The scheme covered apprenticeship, hours of work, leave, provident fund, salary and allowances and termination of service. It was considered inadequate by Journalists' Associations all over the country. I do not know how many newspapers have implemented this scheme in full or in part, or improved upon it.

Journalists' Lot

Much has been written and spoken on the journalists' lot. I find that very little is left for me to say about their conditions of service which in many cases are far from satisfactory. I shall consider myself very fortunate if during my tenure of office, I can do something to improve their lot. I know of instances of journalists who, having done long and useful service, have found nothing to fall back upon in their old age or protracted illness. An increasing number of highly educated men have been taking up journalism as their sole occupation. Much as we appreciate journalism as a mission, we must not forget that even missionaries have to live, and nobody should grudge them if they want to live fairly comfortably. As I was reading the other day Britain's "great Social Insurance Charter" for every person in that country that was laid before Parliament on January 24 last by the Government in the form of National Insurance Bill, I was wondering if we also could not have such a scheme for our working journalists. That scheme provides benefit for everyone, rich or poor, young or old, in sickness and in unemployment. Is it not possible for us to assure a journalists who has seriously

taken up the profession as the means of his livelihood that so long as he works he will be in the enjoyment of an adequate, graded salary, will have leave and sickness benefits, provident fund or pension in old age? A journalist's life is full of anxieties and he has often to work at high pressure, I cannot in this connection resist the temptation of quoting below the words of Mr. John Walter of the London 'Times' depicting the life of a journalist:

"Such a man is a slave to his work more than other men. He is kept working at high pressure. Day and night he is never safe from the telephone. His nerves are always on the stretch. Such a man is sure to have something of the artist in him; and like other artists, he is often so absorbed in the pride and interests of his work that he takes no thought for the morrow. Only too often he may have neglected the obvious duty of insuring his life. And then one day the blow may fall. A serious illness, a nervous break-down, an accident or it may be the loss of employment owing to the amalgamation of his newspaper with another with the consequent reduction of staff—something may suddenly deprive him of the income upon which he had come to reckon."

These words will find an echo in the heart of every working journalist. The A. I. N. E. C. will earn the undying gratitude of working journalists if it can do something to allay the fears and anxieties of this class of workers whose badge, paradoxically enough, is self-effacement. I have, however, no doubt that the working journalists themselves realise that the profession depends for its success and as an instrument of public education on their devotion and efficiency.

In 1935, the Indian Journalists' Association (Calcutta) placed before the University of Calcutta a scheme for training of journalists. Since then some of the Indian Universities have provided for courses in journalism. A fresh scheme based on practical training was submitted by the Indian Journalists' Association in 1944 and as a result of deliberations lasting for about a year the University of Calcutta has decided to open a Diploma Course for journalistic training from July next. It is nobody's case that theoretical instruction is enough. As a matter of fact, the Punjab University and other Indian universities that have adopted similar scheme have arranged as a supplement to the theoretical instruction a practical course of training in newspaper offices. The university of Calcutta too, has aranged for such practical training. As journalism is going to have a definite professional calling, its importance cannot be exaggerated.

I have pleaded for the liberty of the Press and for the minimum social amenities for those who serve it. When we fight for the liberty of the Press, we are fighting for the liberty of speech and of every other kind of liberty, political, social, religious and economic. It is only by our united efforts that we can protect the Press from the assaults of power-intoxicated bureacracy. Even when the country will be free, I do not believe that all its problems will be automatically solved or that the press in particular will have no more difficulties to overcome. Party spirit and intolerance born out of it, even totalitarianism in another form, may emerge as a danger to the Press. We will, therefore, have to exercise constant vigilance as the price of liberty. The team spirit that was evident among Indian newspapers as a whole has been our great asset. Let us not incontinently dissipate that asset in the false belief that now that the War is over, it will be all smooth sailing for us. I plead for unity now and unity for ever.

Sir T. B. Sapru Explains Press Laws

"A free India cannot afford an unfree press", said the Rt. Hon. *Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru* addressing the Conference in the afternoon session on "Press Laws in India" in the course of an interesting address.

He said he had been interested in the subject for 25 years when he was called upon to serve the Government of India in 1920.

Sir Tej referred to the law of sedition, the law of libel and the law of contempt which directly affected the press. The law of sedition was based on the English law, though the English law did not have sedition as a substance offence. The difficulty about the law of sedition in India was not that the law was bad, but the difficulty was that it was our sedition for exercising the I. C. S. because, it was frankly said, the civil service really formed the Government of India.

Sir Tej continued, that if they looked to the case of law of any country which was governed by its own people, ceases on sedition were very few.

Question of Sedition

It was in the peculiar circumstances in India that arguments arose between the people and the Government. However careful the editor might be, if he tried to

represent the feelings of the people, he had to use strong language which a judge might equally honestly hold to be seditious. If the new constitution came into the force and if India got freedom the question of sedition would become of minor importance. Whatever they might say they would like to overthrow the Government established by law in India. He did not think he need worry much about the amendment of the law of sedition as far as the constitution was concerned. It was a question of interpretation and what Government was in power.

"If your own Government is in power," added Sir Tej, "I do not think that your attitude will be same as it is to-day, or that your attitude will be interpreted at the present moment.

A vote of thanks to Mr. S. A. Brelvi, the outgoing president of the A. I. N. E. C. was moved by Mr. C. R. Srinivasan of "Swadeshamitram", Madras and seconded by Sir Francis Low, "Times of India"] and Sir Ushanath Sen. Mr. Tushar Kanti Ghosh, the president also associated himsel.

SUBJECTS COMMITTEE

Later the House discussed the bye-law approved by the Standing Committee on Friday in connection with the formation of the Subjects Committee. After a heated discussion the President ruled that the by-law be stayed till next year and the whole House must form the Subjects Committee. The House then adjourned for tea given by the Allahabad Journalists' Association.

After tea the Subjects Committee of the Conference met for over two hours to discuss the various resolutions. Nominations for the Standing Committee were also made.

The President and members of the Conference were later entertained to a dinner by Sri Maharaj Kumar of Vizianagram.

FOOD SHORTAGE

Sir Akbar Hydari, Member for Information in Viceroy's Cabinet, told the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference on the 17th. that India was faced with a possible seven million tons of food shortage unless remedial steps can be taken.

His statement was made in the course of an address in which he urged Editors to avoid stories which might create a panic among the people and to avoid criticism of the efforts of the Government to meet the crisis.

Sir Akbar Hydari's statement drew considerable praise and some criticism from the editors, several of whom arose to declare that officials themselves were some of the most flagrant violators of food saving campaigns.

Mr. *J. N. Sahni*, Editor of the "Evening Call" in New Delhi declared that most of the costly parties given in New Delhi were to "please public officials". He said if public officials would refuse to attend parties offered in their honour then the bulk of parties would be cancelled.

In his speech, *Sir Akbar Hydari* declared that "a tragic situation" might emerge when many would face starvation unless "we take corrective steps."

"This cannot be called a man-made famine," Sir Akbar Hydari declared, referring to charges "freely" made in public that the famine in Calcutta two years ago was caused by mal-administration and black-marketing.

Sir Akbar Hydari said that there was already a shortage of three millon tons of foodgrains in India and that current crop prospects showed that a deficiency of another four miltion tons may show up.

"In the next ten months," Sir Akbar Hydari said, "we may have to deal with a deficit of something in the order of seven million tons of foodgrains."

RELIEF PROGRAMME

Sir Akbar Hydari said that reports already available indicated that it was "not desirable to rely on our getting much aid from imports." Instead he urged the editors to join in a three-point programme of relief.

First was to advocate giving up bread and reducing daily consumption on the part of the population now well fed. He urged also an end of wastage of food on ceremonials. Secondly, he urged the press "not to make it patriotic but to make it the fashion to give up some thing." Finally, he asked editors to "keep food out of politics."

RATIONS OF TROOPS

In response to suggestions from the editors that rations of troops be reduced, Mr. *B. R. Sen*, Secretary of the Food Department, told editors that the Government was considering levelling out rations of the armed forces more in keeping with heavy workers in other industries. He urged the press to campaign against increasing food prices.

In his concluding appeal, Sir Akbar Hydari reminded the editorial audience that change of Government was coming and that they should lend assistance now.

"If you want to give the new deal that is coming in April or May or June a fair deal," he said, "then you must help to keep the people from famine. If we can pass the next six to ten months without mishap, I believe by next year we will be in fairly easy street."

EXPORTS OF GRAIN

Mr. B. R. Sen then answered a number of questions. He pointed out that all exports of grain had ceased since August, 1943. Army ration had never been more than one and a half pounds a day, that is, the equivalent of manual labourer. Ration and the question of reduction in the scale was now under the consideration of the Commander in Chief.

He added that the Food Department was in complete accord with the suggestion of discouraging lavish entertainments and favoured the conversion of private lawns and flower gardens into vegetable plots. In this connection he disclosed that existing military vegetable farms would be utilised for providing vegetable for civilian use.

The Food Secretary continued that while 400,000 tons of wheat had been allocated for the first half of the current year, no final allocations had yet been made of rice.

In conclusion, Mr. Sen suggested that the line taken by a section of the Press advocating higher prices of foodgrains was inopportune and commended to the conference the Food Department's policy of securing a price fair both to the producer and the consumer.

EDITORS' CRITICISM

An interesting debate followed in which a number of editors criticised the Food Department for not giving proper statistics to the press and the public and a suggestion was made to Sir Akbar Hydari by Sir Usbanath Sen that at frequent intervals the Food Department should hold press conferences and acquaint the Editors with the food situation in the country.

Mr. *K. Srinivasan* emphatically pointed out that there was no point in asking the Editors to co-operate when the Food Department gave evasive replies to the enquiries made by the press and the public. He narrated one or two instances in this connection.

Mr. Tushar Kanti Ghosh, President thanked the Information Member and the Food Secretary for having enlightened the Editors on certain questions regarding the food problems and assured that no doubt Editors would fully co-operate with them if that could save millions of countrymen from starvation and death. He pointed out that the situation could improve to a considerable extent if the Government of India could obtain the active support of various political parties in the country.

Resolutions—2nd. Day—18th February, 1946

Resolutions urging the removal of Press restrictions, demanding the incorporation in the new Constitution of India of a declaration safeguarding freedom of the Press and welcoming the Government's decision to continue the consultative machinery were passed at the All-India Newspaper Editors Conference which met at Allahabad on February 16 and 17. The following are some of the resolutions adopted—

"This Conference approves of the decision to continue the consultative machinary and desires that Provincial Press Advisory Committees should function in all provinces in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution. This Conference further welcomes Government's willingness to enlarge the scope and functions of those Committees."

"This Conference is of opinion that in the interests of world peace and freedom of news, there should be closer co-operation among the Press in all countries and as a preliminary step for the achievement of this object, it authorises the Standing Committee to invite the Editors of newspapers in all Asiatic countries for a conference in India at an early date."

This Conference notes with regret and disappointment Government's reply to the resolution passed at the last session asking for the repeal of ordinary and special laws restricting the freedom of the Press and urges upon the Government the need for appointing a committee, including representatives of the Press, to review the enactments and to recommend their repeal, amendment or alteration, so as to bring the permanent law of the country in line with the laws of other free and democratic countries."

"The A.I.N.E.C. deplores the wanton hooligan attack on the *People's Age* printing press in Bombay and the destruction of machinery, books etc. It is emphatically of the opinion that such attacks constitute a big menace to the freedom of the Press and the democratic rights of the people."

"Tha All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference is of opinion that, in the future constitution of India, a specific declaration for the freedom of the Press capable of being enforced in courts of law should be included in the Declaration of Fundamental Rights."

"The Conference deplores the attitude of the authorities in denying facilities to Mr. H. N. Ghoshal of *People's Age* and Mr. Benoy Roy of *New Orissa*, to proceed to Burma for reporting political and economic conditions there. The Conference holds that Press correspondents should be entitled, irrespective of their political, views to full facilities to proceed abroad for such assignments. The Conference authorises the President to take up the matter further with the Government of India with a view to preventing such discrimination in future."

"The All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference is of opinion that steps should be taken to evolve a code of professional conduct for journalists. It appoints for this purpose a Sub-Committee consisting of Sir Francis Low, Mr. S. A. Brelvi, Mr. Amritlal Sheth, Mr. K. Srinivasan, Mr. Y. K. Khadilkar and Mr. A. D. Mani to go into the matter and ascertain opinion on the subject from the provincial branches of the Conference. It instructs the Sub-Committee to submit its recommendations to the Standing Committee for necessary action."

"The All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference is of opinion that there should be no discrimination between correspondents accredited to the Government of India and requests the Standing Committee to take necessary steps to secure the application of an uniform standard in regard to extension of facilities to correspondents accredited to the Government of India."

"The Conference of the A.I.N.E.C. views with grave concern the prosecution and conviction for sedition or Mr. Vidyarthi, Editor of the *Colonial Times* of Nairobi, arising out of Mr. Sohand's article entitled 'British Belsen' enumerating the excesses committed by the police in India. It requests the Government of India to intervene in the matter and see that the sentence is remitted."

"As the war emergency has practically ceased, this Conference is of the view that the continuance of the controls in regard to publication of newspapers, supply of newsprint, import of machinery and grant of foreign exchange constitute an unnecessary interference with the rights of the Press and the administration of these controls gives room for serious complaints of discrimination, favouritism and corruption. The Conference, therefore, urges the Government to remove these controls and give full scope to the Press for its legitimate growth."

A condolence resolution on the death of Babu Kalinath Roy, Mr. Ogale and Mr. M. Krishna Rao was also passed.

NEW COMMITTEE FORMED

The new Standing Committee of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference met on February 18th. at the President's residence.

The President nominated the following members to the Standing Committee. Sir Ushanath Sen and Messrs. B. Shivo Rao, Lingraj Misra of Cuttack, Murali Manohar Prasad of Patna, Abdul Rahiman Siddiqui of Calcutta, Hazi Naziruddin of Karachi and T. P. Chandra of Lahore.

Messrs. J. N. Sahni and K. Srinivasan of Bombay were re-elected Joint Secretaries and Mr. P. K. Sen of *Amrita Bazar Patrika* was elected Additional Secretary.

The Chamber of Princes

Annual Session—New Delhi—17th & 18th January 1946

H. E the Viceroy's Address

Meeting after an interval of nealy two years at New Delhi on the 17th January 1946 the annual session of the Chamber of Princes to-day heard the Viceroy, *Lord Wavell*, give an assurauce on one of the main points of difference which led to the crisis of 1944, namely treaty rights and relationship with the Crown. "I can assure you," said the Viceroy, "that there is no intention on our part to initiate any change in this relationship or these rights without your consent."

I take particular pleasure in welcoming your Highnesses to the 20th session of the Chamber of Princes since this is the first occasion on which I have the honour to preside over your deliberations.

Since Your Highness last met, there have been changes in the offices of the Chancellor and Pro-Chancellor of the Chamber. It is now nearly two years since His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal was elected Chancellor and during that period he has never rested from his activities on behalf of the States. Your Highnesses have recognised this by indicating your desire that His Highness should continue in office for a second term and I am confident that event will prove the wisdom of your action. I must also pay tribute to the great service rendered to this Chamber and to the country by His Highness the Maharaja Jam Sahib of Nawanagar, whose period of office as Pro-Chancellor will shortly terminate and who has felt unable to agree to continue in office for a further period. For more tnan eight years—throughout the whole length of the war—His Highness has held continuously the office of Chancellor or Pro-Chancellor. I am sure that we are indeed grateful to him for his long term of work on behalf of the States and of India.

Death has occasioned several changes in Your Highness' Chamber since it last met; and we have to mourn the loss of their late Highnesses the Maharaja of Dewas (Junior), the Maharaja of Gondal, the Maharaja of Banswara, the Nawab of Balasinor, the Raja of Bundi, the Raja of Talcher and the Raja of Sarangarh, in addition to these members of the Chamber, a member of its representative electorate—the Rana of Kumharsain—has also died.

The successions of several members of the Chamber have been recognised since the last session—those of Their Highnesses the Maharaja of Cochin, the Maharaja of Dewas (Junior), the Maharaja of Gondal, the Maharawal of Banswara, the Nawab of Balasinor and the Maharao Raja of Bundi, while the Raja of Kanker, the Raja of Gangpur and the Raja of Chamba have been invested with ruling powers during the period. Your Highnesses will, I know, join with me in welcoming these Rulers to the Chamber.

There has come no more eventful period in history than the two years which have passed since the last Chamber met. At that time, the war was still being waged both in the East and the West with unparalleled fury. In the East, although the Allied armies and navies were beginning to make headway against the Japanese. Japanese forces were in possession of Burma and even a part of Indian territorry; in Italy a determined opposition was being put up by the German armies and very heavy fighting was in progress; the landings of Allied troops in France had yet to take place and the country was still in the occupation of the enemy. Yet within two years, the enemies were routed, their navies surrendered or sunk, their air fleets destroyed, and their countries occupied by Allied forces. The most powerful factors in these splendid achievements have been the stead fastness of the Allied nations and the prowess of their figting forces. In that steadifastness and prowess, the Indian States have a proud share. Throughout those difficult years when we were exposed, unprepared, to the first furious onslaught of the ememy, and during the dark days of 1942, when it seemed that India herself might be invaded and the faith of some began to fail and kept their loyalty to the causes for which we fought "unmoved, unshaken, unseduced, unterified" a circumstance of which Your Highnesses and your peoples have every reason to be proud.

Record of State Forces in the War

The record of Indian States forces and the many State subjects who joined the Royal Indian Navy, the Indian Army and the Indian Air Force was equally worthy of admiration. I wish that I could speak in detail of played by individual units of the States forces in the various theatres of wars; but the time at my

disposal makes this impossible, and I can only say that in the fighting in Africa, in Italy, in the Mediterranean and on the eastern frontier of India they distinguish themselves by their valour and endurance. In the Indian Army, five V.C.'s were won by subjects of Indian States. Your Highnesses yourselves set a worthy example to your peoples. Three of your number—His Highness of Bundi, His Highness of Dewas (Senior) and His Highness of Cooch-Behar—took part in the active operations against the enemy, and I congratulate His Highness of Bundi on being awarded the Military Cross for gallantry. Other Rulers paid visit to the troops at the front, who received much encouragement from their presence amongst them. One State, Manipur was actually invaded and heavy fighting took place within its boundaries. During that trying ordeal, the people of the State, under His Highness the Maharaja, who remained in his capital even when it was seriously threatened by the enemy, behaved with examplary steadfastness. The States were associated with the planning and organisation of the war since the Chamber last met. His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir was one of India's two representatives in the War Cabinet at an important period; and during an early period of the war, His Highness the Maharaja Jam Sahib occupied a similar position. Needless to say both filled these posts with distinction and with advantage to India.

States and Future Constitution

The part played by the States during the war not only does them great credit but should also be an inspiration to meet the many and great difficulties with which we shall have to contend in the early years of peace. Most important of the problems with which India is faced is her future constitution, on the satisfactory solution of which will depend the happiness and prosperity of her people for many future years. With this problem, the States are no less concerned than is British India.

Your Highnesses, this leads me to a subject to which I know well you all attach the greatest importance—that of your relationship with the Crown and the rights guaranteed by your treaties and engagements. I can assure you that there is no intention on our part to initiate any change in this relationship or these rights without your consent. I am confident that Your Highnesses will through your accredited representatives take your full share in the preliminary discussions, which were announced in my broadcast of the 19th September, as well as in the intended constitution-making body; and that your consent to any changes which emerge as a result of these negotiations will not unreasonably be withheld. I am also confident that in your approach to these problems you will have no intention or desire to stand in the way of growth of India to its stature or to hinder the political, economic or social progress and advancement of your subjects. It will rather be natural and in accordance with your traditions that you should become leaders in peace, as you have formerly been in war.

Attachment Scheme

The record of some States in the art of civil government is already most distinguished. In no part of India is administration more efficient, are industries better organised and the welfare of the people better secured than in some of the States. That such a claim cannot be made on behalf of all States, Your Highnesses will doubtless not contest: that it cannot be made on behalf of the small States is largely due to the fact that their resources are insufficient to meet the cost of a modern administration. Although inadequate finance is a misfortune for which, in itself, the Darbars concerned are not responsible, it is, I suggest, incumbent upon them so to modify the constitutional position of their States as to ensure the welfare of their subjects for the future. To achieve this, three conditions are necessary. Every State should possess political stability, adequate financial resources and effective association of the people with the administration.

If a State cannot fulfil these conditions, I strongly urge that it should arrange to do so either by joining or combining with other small States to form a political entity of a sufficient size. I am convinced that only by this means will the small States be able to keep abreast of progress in other parts of India, and I therefore, trust that they will not withhold their consent to such modifications of their relations with the Crown as present circumstances and future requirements demand with any expectation that, by so doing, they may be able to perpetuate conditions which are out of date.

Although these suggestions primarly concern the small States, they are, I believe, of importance to all Your Highnesses who must naturally be concerned to assist the smaller States to solve their particular problems with success.

Post-War Problems

Though constitutional problems are the most important with which India is at present confronted, there are others which demand the most careful consideration. Some of these—such as the control of prices and of the distribution of consumer goods—have been created by war conditions and will pass away with those conditions: others—such as the resettlement of demobilised soldiers, sailors and airmen and the planning of the country's food supply—though occasioned by the war, will continue to exercise considerable influence in the future: others again, such as the reconstruction of industry and the development of electric power and of the means of transport, are of permanent importance. I should like to say a few words about the financial background against which these problems must be viewed. The war involved a vast expenditure of rupee currency in India and a great reduction in the supply of goods available for civil consumption. To check the inflationary effect of these conditions it was necessary to take various measures in which, as Your Highnesses know, the States were asked to co-operate. Some of these measures, such as high taxation and an intensified savings campaign, were designed to secure a reduction in purchasing power; the purpose of others was to increase the quantity of goods for sale. Control over capital issues and forward contracting was introduced as a check on speculation: and finally, the distribution of essential commodities was made as equitable as possible by price and similar controls. With the end of the war the situation has somewhat changed, for, though there is still the possible danger of inflation a period of temporary deflation may be caused by the rapid release of service personnel and the war workers. To guard against these conflicting dangers, action is being taken in British India, on the one hand, to embark on an urgent programme of public works, particularly those which give employment to large numbers and add to the national wealth; and on the other, to maintain a relatively high level of taxation and to encourge public saving. I commend to Your Highnesses the adoption of similar measures in the States.

Your Highnesses, I do not think it necessary that I should deal at any length with all the economic problems which face India at the moment. They are well-known to Your Highnesses, and I have spoken on them elsewhere. The main point which I wish to make is this: that it is my earnest aim and will be my constant endeavour that the interests of the States should receive the same attention and sympathy from the Government of India in the process of development as the provinces of British India. I am also sure that the States will afford that same measure of cordial co-operation in controls and in planning as they have given in the past.

Co-operation With British India

Your Highnesses are aware that I have discussed with your representatives on more than one occasion the best means of improving consultation between the Government of India and the States on matter of common economic interest, and of seeing that the interests of the States are not overlooked. I hope that we have been able to do something towards establishing closer relations: but I am by no means content with what has been done, and have under consideration further machinery to improve economic touch between British India and the States. I welcome the steps Your Highnesses have taken to strengthen the secretariat of the Chamber: and the appointment of Sir Sultan Ahmed as Adviser is, I am sure, a wise one. I shall always be ready to consult with the Chancellor and his advisers on this question of economic progress.

I invite your attention to two particular examples of the need for close co-operation—one short-term, one-long term. The short-term instance is that o foodgrains; for some time to come world allocations will continue to be made by the Combined Food Board in Washington, and India will have to justify her demand for share in the world surpluses by showing that she is making the best possible distribution of her own resources. In this the produce of British India and the States must be treated as one.

The long-term instance I will give you is the management of India's water supplies, in which direction lies India's best way to progress. In many of the schemes now under consideration, for flood control, for irrigation, for navigation, for hydro-electric power, provinces of British India and States are closely concerned and it is essential that they should work in close co-operation, so that unified development can take place.

I have no doubt that your Highnesses are aware of the importance of building up your revenue resources with a view to financing the large expenditure which will inevitably be necessary not only for further economic development but also for the

provision of expanding services in the social sphere such as education, medical relief and public health. The latter forms of development must necessarily depend on revenue resources and not on borrowings. In this connection, I need not emphasise the importance of gradually approximating your taxation policies and systems with those of British India. I am glad to learn that this matter is already engaging Your Highnesses' attention.

Your Highnesses, I have briefly reviewd some of the constitutional, political and economic problems with which we are confronted at this time when the war is but recently over and peace barely established. Those problems form part of the complex and difficult situation in which Your Highnesses will shortly be called upon to make decisions, upon the wisdom of which will depend the prosperity of yourselves and your peoples for many years to come. Indian States have had an honourable past: many of them have histories extending over centuries. If your Highnesses make such adjustments as are necessary to meet the changing circumstannces of the present day, there is every reason to believe that they will play a leading part in the future of India. For myself I have no doubt that this will be so, for I am confident that Your Highnesses will bring to the solution of the problems which confront you that same courage and determination which distinguished your conduct during the war.

Resolutions—WELCOME TO LORD WAVELL

After the Viceroy's address, the Chancellor, the *Nawab of Bhopal*, wearing the uniform of an Air Vice-Marshal, moved a resolution welcoming Lord Wavell to the session of the Chamber, at which he was presiding for the first time.

From the dawn of India's history, said His Highness, almost every Indian Prince had been an actual or potential soldier and it was particularly appropriate that they should greet and welcome as President a world-renowned soldier who had made history by his achievements on many battlefields.

Indian Princes, he went on, had in their war effort never wavered, never faltered nor counted the cost. "But, now that peace has come, we ask ourselves what future is in store for us now that the alarms and anxieties of war are of the past, when the danger from enemies has receded and the need for friends is no longer insistent. We believe we see the answer to this question in Your Excellency's appointment as the Crown Representative in India."

"We feel sure", said the Chancellor, "that in taking decisions on issues great and small, you will never allow the case of Princes to go by default and that in you we shall always have a stalwart champion of our just rights and interests. When we talk of our rights, we wish to assure you that we are not oblivious to our duties and obligations. We are resolved so to act that we earn our rightful and legitimate place in the India of to-morrow. I beg to assure Your Excellency of our fullest support and co-operation in your efforts to help our country to the immediate attainment of its full stature and ensure the happiness and prosperity of our fellow-countrymen".

The Nawab assured Lord Wavell that he would have the whole-hearted co-operation of the members of the Chamber in all matters pertaining to the welfare of their States and themselves and the happiness of their people.

The resolution was seconded by the *Raja of Bilaspur* and passed.

The Chamber adopted resolutions of condolence on the deaths of a number of Princes mentioned in the Viceroy's and Chancellor's speeches and congratulated the new Rulers. The Chamber expressed appreciation of the services rendered by the Maharaja of Kashmir at the meetings of the British War Cabinet and the Dominion Premiers' Conference. The resolution on this was moved by the Chancellor and seconded by the Maharaja of Bikaner.

Moving a resolution conveying congratulations to the King Emperor and the heads of the Allied Governments on the victory of the Allied arms, the *Nawab of Bhopal* said: "The sacrifices and the horrors of the last six years cannot be allowed to go in vain. We must all make whatever contribution we can towards building up the world structure, which is required for the future. The first test will be the manner in which high principles of justice, freedom, sanctity of covenants and respect for the rights of small nations, for which Allied Nations fought and sacrificed so much, are applied in the post-war adjustments. I am confident that God willing we of the Indian States will make our full contribution towards the winning of the peace as we have been privileged to make towards the winning of the war".

The resolution was seconded by the Maharaja of Kapurthala and supported by the Maharaja of Rajpipla and was passed.

TRIBUTE TO STATE FORCES

The Chamber passed a resolution paying a tribute to the Indian States Forces on their "glorious achievements in every theatre of the world war."

Moving the resolution, the *Nawab of Bhopal* said that nearly half a million of the State forces went out on war service. The first among the troops to set foot in Italy," said the Chancellor, "were the infantry unit from an Indian State. Our forces fought with distinction in the East as well as in the West. They formed part of the famous 4th and 5th Indian Division, which fought with distinction and gallantry in Central, East and North Africa; they shared in the glories of the victories of Amba Alagi. Keren and Asmara as well as in the strenuous, bitter battles round Sidi Barrani, Badia, Tobruk, Tripoli and Tunisia. They were among the victorious forces in Sicily and the grim battles of Salehno. Five of the coveted Victoria Crosses have been won by subjects of the Indian States. The other awards to men of the State forces include so far three DSOs, five IOMs, 28 MCs, 20 IDSMs and 36 military medals.

"The welfare of our soldiers whom we are happy to welcome back home is a trust which we shall honour. There are many who have not come back. Their memory will be cherished and it will be a point of honour with us to look after their families."

The resolution was seconded by the *Maharaja of Bundi* and supported by the *Maharaja of Dewas* (Senior) and the *Raja of Mandi*. The *Maharaja of Dewas*, a former Emergency Commissioned Officer, said: "I can speak from personal experience that our soldiers were no mercenary hand. They included many of our kith and kin, the pick of our society, the most promising of our youth. Many of them had independent means and could have found other vocations, but with their traditions they preferred to join the forces with all the hazards involved".

The Chamber recorded its whole-hearted support to the United Nations Organisation. It earnestly prayed that the "United Nations Organisation might be enabled to earn increasing confidence by the impartial, timely and courageous discharge of its essential functions in furtherance of the noble purposes and principles embodied in the Charter".

Moving the resolution, the *Nawab of Bhopal* said:—"This Chamber, I feel sure, will specially welcome and endorse the re-affirmation in the Charter of the faith in the equal rights of nations—large and small. I am confident that the Indian States will render every possible assistance so that India, which is an original signatory to this Charter, may be able to make an effective contribution worthy of its highest traditions".

Seconding the resolution, the *Raja of Mandi* said: "I earnestly hope that with the whole-hearted support and goodwill of a free India in the British Commonwealth of Nations, the United Nations Organisation will prove of real benefit to mankind".

Among the visitors at the afternoon session were four members of the Parliamentary Delegation including Mr. Richards, the Leader.

2nd. Day—Resolutions—New Delhi—18th January 1946.

REFORMS IN STATES

The Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, the *Nawab of Bhopal* made to-day a declaration on constitutional developments in States, in the course of his speech on a resolution reiterating that Indian States fully shared the general desire in the country for the immediate attainment by India of her full stature and would make every possible contribution towards the settlement of the Indian constitutinal problem.

The Chancellor referred to differences and disagreements which, he said, weakened India and added: "It is to the spirit of justice, tolerance and co-operation that I look to bring us to the goal which every thinking Indian, be he prince or peasant must long to reach. Is there one among us who does not wish to see this land of our birth free, great and respected, making its worthy contribution to the uplifting of humanity as it did in ages long ago?"

Referring to the intention recorded in the resolution to make every possible contribution to the settlement of the Indian constitutional problem, the Chancellor said: "The character and extent of that contribution, it is not yet possible for us to specify, for we have no idea of what the final picture is to be. We can, however, promise our fullest contribution to any attempt to settle India's constitutional problem on a just and reasonable basis."

"As an earnest of that spirit and to enable the States to play their full part in the India of the future," the Chancellor made the following declaration :

"The Chamber of Princes, in consultation with the Committee of ministers, have given anxious consideration to the question of the development of constitutional reforms in Indian States, and without prejudice to the correct constitutional position, which has been reaffirmed by the declaration made in Parliament on behalf of His Majesty's Government and repeated by H. E. the Viceroy, that the 'decision as to the constitution best suited to the needs of his people and his State rests with the Ruler himself to take', they recommend an immediate declaration by the Chamber of Princes of the policy in this matter which should be taken immediately where this had not already been done, to implement it.

"The Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes is accordingly authorised to make the following declaration on behalf of and with the full authority of the Chamber of Princes :

"The object is to set up forthwith constitutions in the States in which the sovereign powers of the Rulers are exercised through regular constitutional channels without in any way affecting or impairing the continuance of the reigning dynasty in, and the integrity of each State. There shall be popular institutions with elected majorities to ensure close and effective association of the people with the governance of the States. It is understood that in framing the detailed constitution of individual States on the above lines regard shall be had to the special circumstances in each State.

"Most States have already adopted statutory provisions guaranteeing the rule of law and the security and protection of person and property within their territories. In order to lay down and declare the position in this matter in precise and clear terms the following essential rights should be guaranteed in States where this has not already been done with powers vested in the Courts of the States to redress any infringement of these rights :

1. No person should be deprived of his liberty, nor should his dwelling or property be entered, sequestered or confiscated save in accordance with the law.
2. Such right may be suspended as may be prescribed in case of war, rebellion or serious internal disorder.
3. Every person should enjoy the right of free expression of opinion, the right of free association and combination and the right to assemble peacefully without arms and without military formation for purposes not opposed to law or morality.
4. Every person should enjoy freedom of conscience and the right of freely to profess and practise his religion subject to public order and morality.
5. All persons should be equal before the law irrespective of religion, caste or creed.
6. No disability should attach to any person merely by reason of his religion, caste or creed, in regard to public employment, office of power or honour or in the exercise of any trade or calling.
7. There should be no "begar" (forced labour).

ADMINISTRATION

"It is reaffirmed that the administration shall be based on the following essential principles which would be strictly enforced where they do not obtain at present :

1. The administration of justice must vest in an impartial and competent judiciary independent of the executive, and there must be suitable provision for the impartial adjudication of disputes between individuals and the State.
2. The Rulers in their own States should clearly demarcate administrative budgets from civil lists and fix the latter at a reasonable percentage of the ordinary revenue.
3. The incidence of taxation must be fair and equitable and a definite and substantial portion of the revenue must be allocated for the benefit of the people, particularly in the nation-building departments.

"It is strongly recommended that the essential measures recommended in this declaration should, where they are not in force, be adopted without delay.

"This declaration made spontaneously and earnestly is inspired, by faith in the peoples of Indian States and in the future destiny of the States. It represents the will of the Rulers to implement these decisions without reservation or delay. May it lead to increasing freedom from want and fear, and freedom of the mind and its expression. May it grow on the sure foundation of mutual love, tolerance, service and responsibility".

Replying to the Crown Representative's opening address, the Nawab of Bhopal said on behalf of the Princess: "We are grateful to Your Excellency for the reassurance that there is no intention to initiate any change in our relationship with the Crown or the rights guaranteed by our treaties and engagements without our consent. We have already declared that we have no intention of withholding our consent to any adjustments which may be required under the future constitutional arrangements in India and which we consider reasonable in the wider interests of India.

"We desire our Motherland to occupy her due place among the great nations of the world. The higher the status of an Indian the greater must be his sense of humiliation at the continuance of the present political deadlock in the country."

Attachment Scheme

Referring to the Attachment Scheme, the Chancellor said: "We take it as understood that the arrangements envisaged under this suggestion are intended to proceed on the basis of mutual consent and do not exclude suitable schemes of joint services between some bigger and some smaller States, where these may be evolved by mutual agreement. In fact some of the smaller States have admittedly efficient administrations and are willing to do all they can, individually where necessary or through suitable voluntary schemes of joint services, to effect such further improvements as may be possible and required to meet local conditions. The Chamber of Princes has already stated its view that, where individual States cannot themselves afford the agreed standards of efficiency required in modern times, they should do so by making suitable arrangements with some other State or States. We are convinced that it is possible to ensure the objective in view without impairing the continuance of the ruling dynasty, or the integrity and autonomy of the State concerned."

The Chancellor said that the Rulers concerned were entitled to be assured that their agreeing to work out suitable schemes of joint services for the further improvement of their administration would not be used as justification for undue interference by local officers in their internal affairs. "We feel sure," he continued, "that in asking the smaller States which cannot themselves afford to provide the requisite standard of a modern administration to form 'political entities' of sufficient size. Your Excellency has no intention of suggesting any arrangement which may affect the continuance of the ruling dynasties or the integrity or autonomy of the States concerned. We deem it our duty to bring to Your Excellency's notice the serious misgivings which prevail generally amongst the Rulers of so-called smaller States and we invite Your Excellency's particular sympathy and consideration in approaching the problems of these States."

Development of Industries

As regards the Viceroy's remarks on the economic problems facing India, the Nawab of Bhopal said: "In fostering their nascent industries, the States are actuated by no feeling of rivalry, much less hostility, towards British India. Recent happenings, however, have made it necessary for the States to claim that there should be no discrimination against them and their people, that no impediments should be placed in the way of the natural development of their resources, and that they should be associated in the formulation and implementation of All-India policies in which their co-operation may be desired. Moreover, while the States have taken effective measures to check inflation, they have urged that in the name of inflation, measures should not be adopted which are likely to impede the natural progress of the States or the reasonable and legitimate flow of capital into their territories.

"These are matters of vital concern to the States and their peoples and we welcome in particular Your Excellency's assurance, that it is your earnest aim and will be your constant endeavour that the interests of the States should receive the same attention and sympathy from the Government of India in the process of development as those of the Provinces of British India. If this is implemented, as we hope it will be, by the Departments concerned, we feel sure that the States will be enabled to render cordial co-operation in the formulation of policy in such matters of All-India concern and in implementing them in the best interests of the country and its component units."

The Chancellor said that the States would be ready to co-ordinate their policy with that of the rest of India in regard to food-grains, as they had done in the recent past.

RAISING OF TAXATION LEVELS

Referring to the Crown Representative's remarks on the importance of gradually approximating the taxation policies and systems in the States with those of British India, the Nawab of Bhopal said that the question of raising taxation levels in the States and of agreeing to approximate their systems and levels of taxation to those obtaining in British India were delicate matters which vitally concerned the interests and welfare of our peoples and which called for most anxious consideration, particularly as at present the States had no voice in shaping All-India taxation policies. Moreover, these matter were the subject of active negotiation at the moment between our representatives and those of the Government of India. We can assure Your Excellency, however, that we fully realise the importance of this question and that our approach will be reasonable, fair and patriotic."

Earlier the Nawab of Bhopal referred to the three conditions which the Crown Representative said he considered necessary for a State to conform to the requirements of the time, namely, political stability, adequate financial resources and effective association of the people with the administration. "We are not quite sure," said the Nawab, "as to what is intended by the term 'political stability' in this text but this term, as we understand it, must take into account the historic background and geographical position of the States and as such it can be inherent in a unit even of a small size." Many Indian States, he added, were awaiting development and therefore, their existing revenues alone should not be the criterion of assessing their financial position.

PRINCES INTERESTED IN INDIA'S FREEDOM.

The *Maharaja of Bikaner*, seconding, said that such a resolution should have to be moved at all. But, he added, calumny died hard and the idea, for which there had never been any real justification, had persisted that the Indian Princes or some mysterious persons were less interested in the freedom and greatness of India than their brethren across the borders. His Highness recalled that a similar cry was raised during the Montagu-Chelmsford discussions and his father the late Maharaja of Bikaner gave the lie direct to that allegation and it was received with enthusiasm all over India. His late Highness reiterated the Princes' stand in 1930.

The speaker declared: "We the Princes of India, are no less patriotic than others, and we, no less than others, recognise the obligation that every son of the Mother-land has in working towards the achievement of her destiny. We shall indeed be worthy of no sympathy or consideration at the hands of any one if we denied our obligations to her, or remained backward in pressing her claims. The princes, along with the rest of India's sons in every walk of life, wish to see this beloved land of our birth great and respected in the world, attain her full stature in the family of nations and fulfil the great responsibility that falls to her by her history, tradition and culture in the affairs of the new world."

The *Maharaja of Bikaner* gave whole-hearted support to the declaration made by the Chancellor and said that the cause both of the States and of India as a whole would be strengthened and the interests of the Princes served by implementing without delay the principles enunciated in that declaration. His Highness appealed to his brother Princes to give effect to the declaration wherever existing conditions required adjustment.

The *Raja of Bilaspur and Mandi* supported the resolution. The Raja of Mandi said: "Rulership need not be identified with unmitigated autocracy. The Rulers of Indian States have always been appreciative of the desirability of associating their people with the Government. I have no doubt that where such measures have so far fallen short of the general standard, which has now been declared by our Chancellor on behalf of Indian States, the leeyway will be made up by us. It would, however, be unfortunate if this were to give the impression that what has been stated to-day embodies the last word on the subject. Nature demands change and anything which becomes static must cease to exist.

Referring to the political situation in India, the Raja said that the good of the country lay in its unity based on justice and fairplay for every community and interest comprising the social structure of India. He thought that the differences of ideology among the major political parties of British India were based on a struggle for political power. If the struggle unfortunately resulted in breaking up the unity of India, which had been achieved through strenuous efforts extending over a century and a half the Indian States would have to take such appropriate action as the

situation demanded, keeping always in view the good of their people and the country as a whole.

The resolution was passed.

India Govt.'s Industrial Policy—A Review

The Indian States' attitude to the Government of India's industrial policy is explained in a review of the Chamber of Prices' activities since its last session. The *Nawab of Bhopal*, Chancellor, read the review at to-day's session.

The review says that the States are prepared to co-operate to the fullest extent possible with the plan requiring All-India co-ordination. This must, however, be on the definite understanding that there is no discrimination against the States and their peoples; the States are assured due quota of whatever machinery may be available to India, if required by them, and this must take into account the industrial backwardness of the States in general which entitles them to special treatment; no impediments are placed in the way of the legitimate development of the resources and industries, and they should be free to give legitimate encouragement to their nascent industries; that in view of the diversity of conditions in British India and the States, co-operation in this matter could not necessarily imply uniformity in regard to details of the plan.

Referring to misunderstandings about the alleged migration of British Indian capital or industries into Indian States, the review says that the capital invested in the States is out of the capital invested in industries in India, a very small proportion of what the States may claim on any equitable basis, such as population and natural resources. Moreover it is a well known fact that in the past the flow of capital has been manifestly from the States into British India.

The review gives figures and says that out of the total issue of capital, Rs. 162 crores has been sanctioned for British Indian Companies and only Rs. 22 crores for Companies in the States. A substantial portion of this 22 crores must have been contributed by the shareholders in the States. Against this Rs. 22 crores Investments from the States in war loans alone exceed Rs. 50 crores.

Pointing out that the U. S. A. and Canada have not adopted the principle of parity of taxation and there is wide divergence in their levels of industrial taxation the review says. "Nevertheless, we have, in a spirit of co-operation and goodwill, expressed our willingness to examine proposals which would enable us gradually to approximate our level of taxation to that of British India. It must, however, be borne in mind that the States find it difficult in the interest of their people and their nascent industries to accept British Indian taxation policies without having a voice in the framing of these policies. British India itself has reached the present level by a process of gradual and slow increase in its taxation. The States may find it extremely difficult to accept a level which took British India sixty years to reach."

The review says that negotiations on all these matters are proceeding in a very friendly atmosphere and discussions so far held have revealed that there is no incompatibility between the interests of British India and Indian States.

The A. I. States' People's Conference

Udaipur—31st Dec. 1945 to 2nd Januury 1946

Welcome Address

"The States' people are not satisfied with assemblies of the nature of college debating societies. They desire assemblies such as would enable them to effect real transfer of power in the hands of popular Ministries in place of the present Ministries nominated by Government", said Mr. *Maniklal Verma*, Chairman of the Reception Committee of the All-India States' People's Conference, which commenced at Udaipur (Rajputana) on the *31st. December 1946* under the presidentship of Mr. *Jawharlal Nehru.*

Mr. Verma said that States like Jaipur and Bharatpur had Legislative Assemblies but these assemblies were more in the nature of advisory bodies and were not invested with any effective powers. A tussle was going on between the Ruler of Bharatpur and the local Prajamandal on the Maharaja's failure to fulfil his promise to give two seats to people's representatives on his Ministry. Mr. Verma added that no effective steps had yet been taken either in Mewar or Jodpur in regard to constitutional advance. In 1941, the Mewar Government circulated for public opinion a scheme for establishing a Legislative Assembly in the State but the Government thereafter put off the issue of the plea that elections could not be held on account of the war and later on account of the 1942 movement.

Speaking of the economic problems of the people of Rajputana, Mr. Verma said that people outside looked upon Rajputana as a land of the rich but this belief did not hold good for all classes. The merchants of Jaipur and Bikaner trading outside Rajputana were no doubt rich but it was not the riches of the few that counted. The peasants of Rajputana were so poor that they could hardly maintain themselves.

Concluding Mr. Verma said, "the people of Rajputana have now risen, and know that it is impossible to end exploitation and to attain Responsible Government in the States without ending British Imperialism in India. In 1942, Mewar and several other States gave proofs of their conviction and determination." He assured Mr. Nehru that Rajputana would not fail to rise to the occasion when the call came again.

Sheik Abdullah's Speech

"Neither the Secretary of State for India, nor the Viceroy nor even the Indian National Congress will give the people of the States independence", said *Sheikh Abdullah* of Kashmir, opening an exhibition before a gathering of several thousand people. He added: "For achieving independence which is essential for removing the present poverty and hunger of the people, in the States, they will have to organise themselves against the Princes' clique. The Princes do not allow caste distinctions in their organisation, the Chamber of Princes which is composed of Hindu, Muslim and Sikh Princes, jointly trying to check the people's uprising against the traditional autocracy of the rulers. Under this autocracy, the people's money which represents their blood and toil, is being spent on horses, dogs, continental pleasure trips and self-indulgence in palaces. Ten crores of people belonging to 562 States will not remain in their present condition for long. The States' People's Conference stand for them." Concluding, Sheikh Abdullah said: "Pakistan and other such cries are thousands of miles away from independence. The people's unconquerable will will crush these cries and achieve independence of the whole India, including Indian States.

Mr. Nehru on Significance of National Flag

"The National Flag does not belong to one State, one province, one caste or any one section of our people. It is representative of the nation's will to achieve independence. It is representative of the national honour", said Mr. Jawharlal Nehru, hoisting the National Flag at Azad Nagar. Mr. Nehru added: "We respect the Udaipur flag, but historically and otherwise, only the National Flag represents the nation as a whole"

Subjects Committee—Udaipur—1st January 1946

States' Role in Future India

The Subjects Committee of the States' People's Conference, met this morning. Pandit Jawharlal Nehru presiding. The Committee adopted a new Constitution for the Conference.

The revised Constitution, which was moved by Mr. *Banwantrai Mehta*, differsed in certain fundamental respects from the previous Constitution. Article I of the new Constitution said : "The object of the All-India States' People's Conference is the attainment, by peaceful and legitimate means, of full responsible government, by the people of the States, as integral parts of a free and federated India," For the purposes of organisational administration, the States in India have been divided into fourteen Zones or Regions.

"No persons shall be entitled to hold any elective post in the States' People's Organisation, the objects and programme of which involve political activities which in the opinion of the Standing Committee, are in conflict with those of the Conference."

Pandit Nehru, explaining the new Constitution, said that it was originally drafted by the Standing Committee and it had been subject to repeated examination. Finally, it was considered afresh here. He said : "We have proceeded with the matter unconstitutionally, in the sense that we have applied this new Constitution to this very Conference, even before it had been adopted. Otherwise we could not function properly. The new Constitution is logically imperfect, because the conditions we have to deal with are conflicting. The size of States and developments in various States differ and the new Constitution we have evolved may be logically criticised. This is merely an experiment and as far as possible, we must have a flexible Constitution which will not prevent growth."

A delegate who wanted the Standing Committee to be called as "Working Committee" was taken to task by Pandit Nehru. Pandit Nehru said it was wrong to use the word "Working Committee". While there was no virtue in calling a Committee Working Committee, there was and could be only one such committee, the Congress Working Committee.

Responsible Govt. in States

The political resolution which the Committee adopted reiterated the resolution passed by the Standing Committee at Jaipur in October last in regard to proposals for changes in the Constitution of India The Committee declared afresh that constitutional changes can only be acceptable, if they are based on full responsible government in States as integral parts of free India. Further that any Constitution-making body should have as its member States' representatives of people elected on a wide franchise which should at least approximate to the franchise at present prevailing for legislative assemblies in provinces. The resolution added : "Such representatives will represent people's wishes and will have the same status and representative character as members from Provinces. Any other method of representation in the Constituent Assembly will necessarily mean a lower status for members from States and will be a travesty of democratic procedure and is likely to lead to deadlocks. It is essential, therefore, that States' people should be represented on a fully democratic basis."

The Committee welcomed statements made by some ruling Princes that they are desirous of enlarging the liberties of their people and do not wish to come in the way of India's freedom. Any change in the policy of States' Government, the resolution added, must begin with full recognition of civil liberties without which it is impossible to have free elections or to make any substantial progress in the direction of freedom and representative institutions.

The Committee also adopted a resolution on small federating States, emphasing the subjects' welfare and progress.

Resolutions—3rd Day—2nd January 1946

The third day and the final session of the All-India States' People's Conference commenced this afternoon, Pandit Nehru presiding. There was a large attendance.

The conference passed a condolence resolution on the death of prominent States' people workers since the Ludhiana session, including Kasturba Gandhi, Messrs Jamnalal Bajaj, S. Satyamurti, R. S. Pandit and Shankerappa of Mysore.

Another resolution moved from the chair paid homage to those martyrs who have lost their lives in the struggle for freedom in States in the course of last three and half years. The resolution paid tributes to Sri Ved Suman who died in Tehri Garhwal Jail and added that, "he set an example of courage and sacrifice for the cause which will be long remembered and will inspire the people of the States."

Representation in Constituent Assembly

The main political resolution was moved by Mr. Siddalingappa of Mysore and seconded by Mr. Dwarkanath Kachru.

Mr. Lalsingh Gil of Faridkot moved an amendment that States' representatives to the Constituent Assembly should be elected on the basis of adult franchise.

Mr. Phillipose (Travancore) opposed the amendment on the ground that it was impracticable. The resolution itself made moderate demands and the Conference should see to it that it was implemented by the States. Mr. Shakirali of Bhopal, supporting the amendment, said that the Bhopal Praja Mandal had been urging for responsible government and adult franchise. They could not now demand a lesser franchise. Mr. Mohamed Khaliq of Kalat State (Baluchistan) opposing the amendment said that the States' people's struggle to-day was to bring them up to the level of British India. They could not therefore pitch their demands higher than those of British India.

Mr. Mathradas Mathur of the Jodhpur Praja Mandal said that many Indian States to-day had a wider franchise than that in British India, even though British India had more civil liberties. The Conference could not pass a resolution demanding a lesser franchise than what some States' people already enjoyed.

Pandit Nehru, explaining the resolution, said that adult franchise was a worthy ideal and the goal of the Congress was adult franchise. But it was not practical politics at the present juncture to demand representation to the Constituent Assembly based on adult franchise. Between now and the next twelve months, the Standing Committee should have a positive mandate from the Conference to act upon and negotiate with the Rulers. At present, adult franchise was not practicable even in British provinces. It would be inadvisable to demand adult franchise just now in the hope of securing the maximum franchise from the rulers. Nobody could say what problems would come up during 1946 and the Standing Committee could not be fettered in dealing with those problems.

The amendment was lost by 260 votes to 75 and the original resolution was passed.

CONGRESS ELECTION MANIFESTO WELCOMED

Sheikh Abdulla of Kashmir, moving the resolution welcoming the Congress election manifesto, declared that the slogan of Pakistan represented the quintessence of mutual fears and suspicions. Economically, socially and even on religious grounds, Pakistan would be an utter futility. It would be impossible for the Pakistan State of Punjab to dominate 46 per cent of Hindus and Sikhs who form Punjab population.

The creation of small independent States, Sheikh Abdulla said, was the pastime of Imperialist Powers. The plight of small Arab States to-day was well known. Pakistan would be a disaster. The suspicion of minorities, none the less, must be removed by a practical gesture. The Congress election manifesto completely answered the minorities' alleged fears.

Referring to the Azad Hind Fouj, Sheikh Abdulla said that they had set a great example in unity, which every one should emulate. He stressed that more than political freedom, economic freedom was needed at once and Pakistan retarded the economic progress of the country.

Mr. Gopikrishna Vijjayaverghe of Gwalior supported the resolution.

Mr. Hukumraj Jain of Jodhpur moved an amendment stating that the proposed federation "must be a willing union with unrestricted right of secession". Such concession, he said, would remove fears and foster unity.

Mr. Ahmed Ali Khan of Bhopal supported the amendment.

Swami Ramanand Tirth of Hyderabad, opposing the amendment, said that the question might be asked whether the Princes, if they so desire, would be given freedom to remain outside the Indian Union. The future of States should be decided by the people of the States. Millions of States' subjects could not be disposed of as cattles either by the rulers or by the British. The Congress election manifesto represented a programme which should be supported by all.

Sheikh Abdulla, replying to the debate, said the Congress did not want a forced federation. That was explicit in the resolution. The amendment, he said, was born of inferiority complex. If Muslims had fears, Hindus also had fears. The Communists, while propagating the secession idea, had completely ignored the opposite point of view. The Conference, he urged, should not encourage disintegration.

MR. NEHRU CLARIFIES ATTITUDE TO PAKISTAN

Speaking on the resolution welcoming the Congress election manifesto, Pandit Nehru reiterated the Congress stand *vis-a-vis* Pakistan. Pandit Nehru said that a free India Government could never function if the federating units refused to own

allegiance to the Centre or wanted to form a separate State of their own. The Congress did not want to compel any unit to join the Federation against its will. At the same time, the Congress was not prepared to make concessions to fissiparous tendencies and to demands which would disintegrate and ruin India.

It was comparatively easy, Pandit Nehru said, to unmake things but it was difficult to construct things. Judged in the context of the world situation, Pakistan and similar slogans appeared very petty. Once the Congress started conceding Pakistan, ten other reactionary and disintegrating forces backed up by certain vested interests would prop up. Economic betterment and raising of the standard of living of millions in India would be an impossibility with a divided India. If certain units wanted and voted for separation, it would then be a different proposition. A Bengali, whether he was a Hindu or Muslim, if he wanted separation, none could compel him to remain in the Indian Union.

While conceding the rights of separation to individual units in the sense that he would not compel or force unwilling units to federate, he was against the granting of a restricted right to separate, with freedom for a unit to secede. It would be impossible for a Federal or Unitary Government to carry on. The constant threat of separation would demoralise that atmosphere and no planning would be possible. The claims that were made on behalf of Pakistan had no parallel in history The problem was no doubt complicated but as he had said, it was a very petty one, especially when one visualised the future of Free India.

The Soviet example of granting complete autonomy—even to separate—was often cited. But, Pandit Nehru said, the Soviet had given only complete cultural independence to its unit but politically, they were not separate and in fact, it would be impossible for any unit, for instance Bokara or Kazakastan, to lead an independent life. But what was demanded in India was quite different. By granting an unrestricted right of separation, neither the separated units nor the rest of India would be strong. All would be weaklings and reactionaries would hold sway. He would not oppose Muslims in the Punjab or Bengal, if they voted for separation but none would allow them to drag the members of other communities with them. Certain interests, he said, ever interested in spreading confusion, were sowing the seeds of disintegration. All progressive forces must oppose them.

The resolution was passed.

THE I. N. A.

The Conference adopted a resolution moved from the Chair about the I.N.A. The resolution stated: "In view of the fact that a large number of people in Indian States joined the Azad Hind Fouj, this Conference is specially interested in the future of men and women who have set an example not only of courage and sacrifice for Indian freedom but also of forging unity among the different groups and communities. The Conference trusts that both the States' Governments and the States' people will help in every way in rehabilitating these trained disciplined people and in utilising them for work of national advantage."

Another resolution moved from the Chair appreciated and welcomed the action of the Maharaja of Rewa in declaring his desire to establish full responsible government in Rewa State immediately.

Complete abolition of Jagirdari system was urged in a resolution which the Conference adopted on the subject.

The Conference also adopted a new constitution for the States' People's Conference.

SESSION CONCLUDES

The Conference concluded its session to-night. Winding up the proceedings, Pandit Nehru asked the States' subjects to rally under the banner of the Conference and carry out the programme chalked out for them.