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U. S. A.—corner-stone of anti-Axis forces 62
Controversy between Atlantic & Pacific strategy ... 63
Chinese & Dutch anger at British strategy 63
Australia's independence of British help 64
Under-estimation of Japan 64
"Singapore spirit"—the spirit of ... ...
"Effete, tired, hyper-civilized society" 64
Under-estimation of British character 65
The spirit & appearance of Japan's soldiery 66
Jungle war & Japanese adaptibility 66
The technique of "undeclared war" 67
Why did Japan choose this particular time 67
International pressure—Anglo-American pressure ... 68
"Axis Reunion in the Near East" 69
Japan's place in German dominated world 70
The Tanaka Memorandum 70
Token occupation of Iran by British & Russia 71
To open supply roads to Russia 72
Difficulties of transport of supply to Russia 73
Japanese attack—panic & demoralization in India ... 73
They spread like a contagious disease 74
The Responsibility of Government 74
Mr. Amery answers U. S. A. questioners 75
His replies a mixture of half truths 76
Expansion of Governor-General's Executive Council .. 77
India's appreciation of these changes are eye-wash ... 79
"Individual Competence" of new members—not their representative character 80
"There is no India" 80
The Times realizes the inadequacy of the July changes ... 81
The "Evening Standard" mere out-spoken ... 81
The "Atlantic Charter"—Its "8 Points" 81
"Atlantic Charter"—"universal" in application ... 82
"Glorious opportunity" for an English-speaking leadership 83
"Too full of pious platitudes" 83
Mr. Churchill takes India out of the "Joint Declaration" 84
It applies only to Nazi-dominated countries ... 84
Indian Central Legislature condemns Churchill's interpretation 85
Linlithgow Government's helplessness & Mr. Aney's cynicism 85
Lovers' quarrel between Mr. Jinnah & Lord Linlithgow ... 86
Amery-Linlithgow plan will only "embarrass" the Muslim League 86
Mr. Jinnah's threat of disciplinary action given effect to ... 86
"Basis of appointment" to Defence Council—two versions 87
Muslim League "family fund"—what is it due to ... 88
Hindu Mahasabha maintains its dignity ... ... 88(a)
The Mahasabha stand a part of all-India development ... 88(b)
Even during crisis there was racial discrimination ... 88(b)
Safety of Indians in Jap-infested areas ... ... 88(c)
Jap war & Political India ... ... 88(d)
Congress position re-stated ... ... 88(d)
Reversion to Bombay resolution of Sept, 1940 ... 88(e)
Gandhiji's interpretation of these various changes ... 88(e)

Rabindra Nath Tagore ... ... 88(f)

THE COUNCIL OF STATE 89

AUTUMN SESSION—NEW DELHI—10TH. TO 22ND. DECEMBER 1941 89

Indian Troops in Action 89
Storming of Keren 89
Conquest of Eritrea 90
To the Rescue of Greece 90
Syrian Campaign 91
Action against Iran 91
"An Impressive Record" 91
Defence Consultative Committee 92
Muslim Leaguers' Walk-out 92
Purchase of Railways 93
Architect's Profession 94
International Labour Conference 94
Mines Maternity Benefit Bill 95
Woman's College for Aligarh 96
Madras Port Trust Bill 96
Indianisation of Royal Indian Navy 96
Condition of Political Prisoners 97
Resolution Re : Atlantic Charter 98
Passage of three Bills 100
Income-Tax Amend Bill 100
Bill To Amend Excess Profits Tax 101
Passage of Other Bills 102
Indian Police Service 102
Indian Nationals in Malaya 103
Indo-Ceylon Joint Report 105

THE CENTRAL LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY 106

AUTUMN SESSION—NEW DELHI—20th Oct. to 18th Nov. 1941 106

Defence Consultative Committee 106
Relief To Cotton Growers 107
Muslim League Walk-out 108
Professions Taxation Bill 109
Hindu Women's Rights Bill 110
Hindu Women's Maintenance Bill 110
Two Other Bills 110
Adjournment Motion on Khaksars 111
India And The Atlantic Charter 111
Deoli Hunger-Strike 113
Railway Property Taxation Bill 115
Excess Profits Tax Bill 115
Madras Port Trust Reconstitution Bill 115
Other Official Business 116
Debate on Indo-Burma Agreement 116
Women Workers in Mines Bill 120
Bill To Amend Aligarh University Act 121
Sir A. H. Ghuznavi's Adjournment Motion 121
Bill to Amend Civil Procedure Code 121

Tax on Professions Bill 122
Bill to Amend Special Marriage Act 122
The Shariat Law 122
Introduction of Other Bills 122
Income-Tax Amend Bill 123
Madras Port Trust Bill 124
Excess Profits Tax Amendment Bill 124
India And The Atlantic Charter 125
Repartriation of Sterling Debt 125
Excess Profits Tax Amend Bill 127
Local Taxation of Railway Property 127
Industrial Research Fund 128
Debate on Indo-Ceylon Delegations' Report 130
Release of Political Prisoners 132

THE BENGAL LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

MONSOON SESSION—CALCUTTA—28TH JULY. TO 18TH. SEPTEMBER 1941 136

Debate on Floud Commission's Report 136
Commission's Main Recommendations 136
Raw Jute Taxation Bill 137
Release of Terrorist Prisoners 138
Uproarious Scenes—Municipal Bill Debate 139
Tributes to Dr. Tagore 140
Markets Regulation Bill 140
Prevention of Embankment Breaches 140
Propaganda Against Pakistan 140
Raw Jute Taxation Bill (Contd.) 141
Markets Regulation Bill (Contd.) 141
Secondary Education Bill 141
Tributes to Maharajadhiraj of Burdwan 142
Secondary Education Bill (Contd.) 142
Motion of No-confidence 143

WINTER SESSION—CALCUTTA—27TH. NOV. TO 18TH. DECEMBER 1941 144

The Secondary Education Bill (Contd.) 144
Resignation of ministers 144
Genesis of the Crisis 145
Bengal Muslim League's Resolution 146
Mr. Suhrawardy's Statement 147
Mr. Huq. Accepts Leadership 147
Strength of New Alliance 148
Progressive Coalition Party Formed 148
Old Coalition Party Dissolved 148
Mr. Jinnah's Statement 149
League Ministers' Statement 149
Mr. Jinnah's Telegram to Mr. Huq. 150
Mr. Huq's Reply to Mr. Jinnah 151
Assembly Meets and Adjourns 151
New Ministry Formed 151
Assembly Urges Release of Mr. Bose 151
Speakers Attitude to No-confidence Motion 152
Detention of Mr. Sarat Bose 152

Release of Khaksar Leaders 152

THE BENGAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL 153

MONSOON SESSION—CALCUTTA—28TH. JULY TO 12TH. SEPT. 1941 153

Adjournment Motions Ruled Out 153
Agricultural Debtors Bill 153
Promotion of Communal Harmony 153
Agricultural Debtors Bill 154
Official Bills Passed 154
Immigration into Burma 154
Rationing of Petrol 155
Land Revenue Commission Report 155
Bus Drivers' & Conductors' Bill 156
Workmen's Compensation Bill 156
State Aid to Industries Bill 156
Fight Against Tuberculosis 156
Educational Improvement 156
Bill for Control of Police 157
St. Thomas' School Amend. Bill 157
Raw Jute Taxation Bill 157
Bengal & Defence Measures 157
The Atlantic Charter & Pakistan 158
The Maternity Benefit Bill 158
Raw Jute Taxation Bill (contd.) 158
Abolition of Local Boards Bill 159

THE SIND LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY 159

WINTER SESSION—KARACHI—15TH. TO 23RD. DECEMBER 1941 159

Adjournment Motions Ruled out 159
Official Business 159
Soldiers' visit to village 160
Taxation Policy of Government 160
Secretary to Govt. for Civil Defence 160
Special Power for Governor 161
Congress Motion Dropped 162

THE ASSAM LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY 162

WINTER SESSION—SHILLONG—1ST. TO 13TH. DECEMBER 1941 162

Supplementary Demands Presented 162
The Census in Assam 163
Resignation of Education Minister 163
Resignation of Cabinet 163
Vote of "No-Confidence" passed 164
Suspension of the Constitution 164
Mr. Bardoloi's Statement 165

THE PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY 166

WINTER SESSION—LAHORE—1ST. TO 5TH. DECEMBER 1941 166

Viceroy's Council Expansion 166
Control of Electric Supply Companies 167
Preservation of Communal Harmony 167

Control of Wheat prices 168
Supplementary Demands 168

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS 170

WORKING COMMITTEE—WARDHA—3RD. TO 6TH. NOVEMBER 1940 170

The Civil Disobedience Movement 170

GANDHIJI'S STATEMENTS 170

1. First Step in the Campaign of Individual Civil Disobedience 170
2. "Harijan" and the Notice of the Press Adviser ... 172
3. Valedictory Statement ("Harijan") 173
4. The Contemplated Fast 174
5. Payment of Fines by Satyagrahis 175
6. Independence Day 175
7. Arrest of the Congress President 176
8. National Flag and Khadi 177
9. Letter to all Editors 178
10. Reply to the "Times of India's" Criticisms Regarding the Policy of Non-violence ... 178
11. Jail Interview with the Congress President ... 180
12. National Week. April 6—13, 1941 181
13. Talk with the "Times of India" Special Correspondent 181
14. Communal Riots 184
15. Correspondence with Shri K. M. Munshi 185
    The Poona Resolution 185
    The Mahatma's Reply 186
    Statement of Shri Munshi 186
17. Punjab Affairs 187
18. "Khadi Jagat" 188
19. Talk Between Mahatma Gandhi And The President of The Maharashtra P. C. C. 189
20 Letter To The "Times of India" 191
21. Statement Regarding Interview To 'Look' ... 191
22. Order On Shri Khurshed Behn 191
23. Non-violence And Dacoities 193
24. Blankets For Soldiers 193
25 Our Struggle—A Review 194

PANDIT JAWHARLAL'S STATEMENT BEFORE THE COURT 198

STATEMENT OF THE SECRETARY, WOMEN'S DEPARTMENT, A. I. C. C. 200

Shri Sucheta Devi's Statement Before the Court ... 200

ARREST AND CONVICTIONS OF SHRI VINOVA BHAVE. PANDIT JAWHARLAL AND BALLABHBHAI 201

Sri Vinoba Bhave's Arrest 201

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU'S ARREST AND CONVICTION 201

SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL'S ARREST 201

ARREST AND CONVICTION OF THE PRESIDENT 202

DR. RABINDRANATH TAGORE'S REPLY TO MISS EATHBONE, WOMAN M.P'S. APPEAL 202

SHRI BHULABHAI DESAI'S SPEECH IN THE ASSEMBLY 203

THE ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE 212

WORKING COMMITTEE MEETING—BOMBAY—24th. AUGUST 1941 212

RESOLUTION—SECOND DAY—BOMBAY 25th. AUGUST 1941 212
League Premiers Called to Resign 212
RESOLUTION—THIRD DAY—BOMBAY—26th. AUGUST 1941 212
Viceroy's Council "Canvassing" Objected To 212
Communal Riots incited By Hindus 213
Indo-Burma Agreement Condemned 213
Objection To Mr. Amery's Statement 213
Demand For Assurance From Br. Govt. 215
Fiat To Sir Sultan Ahmed 215
Nawab of Chattari's Case 215
Begum Shah Nawaz's Case 215
WORKING COMMITTEE—NEW DELHI—26TH. OCTOBER 1941 216
Policy To Be Adopted in Assembly 216
RESOLUTIONS—COUNCIL MEETING—NEW DELHI—26TH. OCTOBER 1941 216
Venue of The Next Session 216
British Action in Iran 217
RESOLUTIONS—2ND. DAY—NEW DELHI—27TH. OCTOBER 1941 217
Expansion of Viceroy's Council 217
Communal Tension Condemned 218
British Action in Iran 218
Mr. Fazlul Huq's Case 219
RESOLUTIONS—WORKING COMMITTEE—NEW DELHI—16TH. NOVEMBER 1941 220
Mr. Fazlul Huq's Explanation Accepted 220
Expansion of Executive Council 220
Allama Mashiriqi's Release 221
RESOLUTIONS—WORKING COMMITTEE—NAGPUR—26TH. DECEMBER 1941 221
Resolution on Political Situation 221
League Attitude To War Effort 222
Action Against Mr. Huq Approved 223
THE LYALLPUR PAKISTAN CONFERENCE 223
PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS—LYALLPUR—20TH. JULY 1941 223
Cabinet Expansion 224
Pakistan Historical Restropect 225
Muslims Stand For United India 225
Dream of United India Shattered 227
Why did League Leaders change 228
Charge of inconsistency refuted 228
Objections to Pakistan answered 231
Political unity endangered 231
Design behind Pakistan—tyrrany over others 231
Lever for political bargaining 232
Which Pakistan 232
Minority question still remains 233
RESOLUTIONS 234
THE LUCKNOW PAKISTAN CONFERENCE 235
PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS—LUCKNOW—29TH. NOVEMBER 1941 235

Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan's Plea 235
RESOLUTIONS—LUCKNOW—1ST. DECEMBER 1941 236
THE ALL INDIA HINDU MAHASABHA 236
WORKING COMM.—RESOLUTIONS—NEW DELHI—11TH. TO 12TH. OCTOBER '41 236
Ban on Bhagalpur Hindu Mahasabha 236
The Atlantic Charter 237
Detention without trial of Hindu Sabhaites 237
Prohibition of immersion processions 237
Nellore Hindus felicitated 238
THE TWENTY-THIRD SESSION—BHAGALPUR—25TH. DECEMBER 1941 238
OFFICIAL ACCOUNT—RESOLUTIONS—1ST. DAY—25TH DECEMBER 238
OFFICIAL ACCOUNT—RESOLUTIONS—2ND. DAY—26TH. DECEMBER 239
Civil Resistance called off 240
THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS 240
Discrimination and anti-Hindu policy 241
Legality of Ban 241
Assertion on Civic rights 241
Growth of Hindu movement 242
Muslim League foiled 243
Mahasabha and the Legislature 243
Militarization of Hindus 244
THE ASSAM HINDU SABHA CONFERENCE 245
SPECIAL SESSION—GAUHATI—21ST. NOVEMBER 1941 245
The Welcome Address 245
The Presidential Address 245
THE BENGAL PROVINCIAL HINDU CONFERENCE 246
TENTH SESSION—BURDWAN—29TH. NOVEMBER 1941 246
The Presidential Address 246
2ND DAY—RESOLUTIONS—BURDWAN—30TH. NOV. 1941 247
Fresh Census For Assam 247
Other Resolutions 247
THE AKHAND BHARAT CONFERENCE 248
PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS—LAHORE—30TH. NOVEMBER 1942 248
Resolutions 248
THE NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION OF INDIA 249
TWENTY-THIRD SESSION—MADRAS—26TH. DECEMBER 1941 249
THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS 249
A Constitutional Convention 250
Failure of Reforms 250
Vague Conditions 251
The Viceroy's Council 251
Principle of Functional Representation 252
A National Army 252
Transfer of Power 253

RESOLUTION—2ND. DAY—MADRAS—27TH. DECEMBER 1941 253
Ban of Mahasabha Condemned 253
Pakistan Condemned 255
Opposition To Communal Electorates 255
RESOLUTION—3RD. DAY—MADRAS—28TH. DECEMBER 1941 256
Resolution on The War 256
India and the Atlantic Charter 257
Transfer of Defence Portfolios 258
Other Resolutions 259
Election of Office-Bearers 259
THE NON-PARTY POLITICAL LEADERS' CONFERENCE 260
PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS—POONA—26TH. JULY 1941 260
Task Before the New Members 260
The Bombay Conference 261
Progress Should not be Hindered 261
Indianization of Executive Council 262
Equality of Status 262
Transfer of Powers 263
RESOLUTION—SECOND DAY—POONA—27TH. JULY 1941 263
Reconstruction of Cabinet 263
Why Time-Limit is Demanded 265
Preserving India's Unity 269
INDIA'S STATUS AFTER WAR 270
Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's Statement 270
August Declaration Non-Committal 270
Clear Declaration of Policy Needed 271
Non-Official Public Men for Viceroy's Council ... 271
THE U. P. NON-PARTY LEADERS' CONFERENCE 272
PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS—LUCKNOW—14TH DECEMBER 1941 272
Resolutions 273
Fascism & Nazism Condemned 274
Indianisation of Executive Council 275
THE ALL INDIA WOMEN'S CONFERENCE 275
SIXTEENTH SESSION—COCANADA—29TH. DECEMBER 275
WELCOME ADDRESS 275
Annual Report 276
PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS 276
Principle of Non-Violence 276
Work before the Conference 277
Promotion of Communal Harmony 278
RESOLUTIONS—SECOND DAY—COCANADA—30TH DECEMBER 1941 278
War and the Peace Aims 278
Women's Volunteer Crops 278
RESOLUTIONS—THIRD DAY—COCANADA—31ST DECEMBER 1941 278
Resolution on Civil Liberties 278
THE RAU COMMITTEE REPORT ON HINDU WOMEN'S RIGHTS 279

THE ALL INDIA MEDICAL CONFERENCE 281
EIGHTEENTH SESSION—HYDERABAD—26TH. DECEMBER 1941 281
The Presidential Address 281
RESOLUTION—SECOND DAY—HYDERABAD—28TH. DECEMBER 1941 282
Abolition of Racial Distinction 282
Demand for a Nutrition Commission 282
Protest Against Recalling of Retired Officers 283
THE ASSOCIATED CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE 283
ANNUAL SESSION—CALCUTTA—15TH. DECEMBER 1941 283
THE VICEROY'S ADDRESS 283
War Developments 383
Valour of Indian Troops 284
War Effort 285
Organisation of Supply 285
Production of Armaments 286
Skilled Labour 286
Post-War Economy 287
Problem of Inflation 288
Constitutional Issue 289
Joint Responsibility in Executive Council ... 290
National Defence Council 290
Position in Provinces 291
Federal Scheme 291
PROCEEDINGS & RESOLUTIONS 292
Depreciation on Buildings 292
Commercial Litigation in Punjab 292
Amendment to Sec. 10 (4) of Income Tax Act ... 292
Compulsory Insurance of Immovable Property ... 292
Compensation for Injury by Army Drivers ... 292
Workmen's Compensation Act 292
Third Party Insurance of Motor Vehicles ... 292
Coal Transportation 292
THE SCINDIA STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY 293
22ND. GENERAL MEETING—BOMBAY—1ST. DECEMBER 1941 293
THE CHAIRMAN'S SPEECH 293
Allowance for Depreciation 293
Heavy Tax Burden in Industries 294
An Unwarranted Charge 294
Discrimination in Coastal Trade 295
Haulage of Salt 295
Why Freight Rates Were Raised 295
The Shipbuilding Yard 296
Rice Export Trade and Burma Control Scheme ... 296
THE INDIAN ECONOMIC CONFERENCE 297
TWENTYFIFTH SESSION—BOMBAY—31ST. DECEMBER 1941 297
PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS 297
Statistical Data 298
Provincial Institutes of Economic Research ... 298

THE POLITICAL SCIENCE CONFERENCE 299

FOURTH SESSION—BOMBAY—31ST. DECEMBER 1941 299

Presidential Address 299
Welcome Address 299

EXPANSION OF THE VICEROY'S COUNCIL 300

GOVERNMENT COMMUNIQUE—NEW DELHI—21ST. JULY 1941 300

The National Defence Council 300
Object underlying Expansion 301
Civil Defence Portfolio 301
Indian States' Representatives in Defence Council ... 301
Mr. Jinnah's Statement on the Announcement ... 302
Mr. Savarkar's Statement on the Announcement ... 302
Mr. Amery on the Expanded Council 303
House of Commons—22nd. July 1941 303
Wite Paper on the Changes 304

BRITISH POLICY IN INDIA 305

HOUSE OF COMMONS—LONDON—1ST AUGUST 1941 305

Secretary of State's Defence 305
Major Issue To-day 306
"Pakistan A Council of Despair" 306
Viceroy's Declaration 307
Civil Disobedience 307
August Offer 308
Bombay Leaders' Conference 308
Viceroy's Council Expansion 309
National Defence Council 309
"Change in Spirit" 310

THE NATIONAL DEFENCE COUNCIL 316

Secretary of State's Statement 316
The Government of India Communique 316
Mr. Jinnah's Statement on the Communique ... 317

LUMLEY JINNAH CORRESPONDENCE 318

Bombay Governor's Letter 318
Mr. Jinnah's Reply 318

THE NATIONAL DEFENCE COUNCIL 319

FIRST SESSION—SIMLA—6TH OCTOBER 1941 319

The Viceroy's Opening Speech 319
H. H. The Jam Sahib's Speech 321
British Premier's Message 322

SECOND DAY—SIMLA—7TH. OCTOBER 1941 322

THIRD DAY—SIMLA—8TH. OCTOBER 1941 322

SECOND SESSION—NEW DELHI—1ST. DECEMBER 1941 322

Air and Naval position reviewed ... 322

SECOND DAY—NEW DELHI—2ND. DECEMBER 1941 323

Supply position reviewed 323

THIRD DAY—NEW DELHI—3RD. DECEMBER 1941 323
Military position discussed 323
INDIA AND THE ATLANTIC CHARTER 324
Premier's Speech—H. of Commons—9th. September 1941 324
THE INDUS COMMISSION ENQUIRY 324
OPENING DAY—SIMLA—22ND. SEPTEMBER 1941 324
Chairman Enunciates General Principles 324
Is the state a party ? 324
"Decision not binding on States" 325
Suggestion to examine data 325
SECOND DAY—SIMLA—26TH. SEPTEMBER 1941 326
Position of States under Govt. of India Act 326
THIRD DAY—SIMLA—27TH. SEPTEMBER 1941 327
Body of irrigation experts suggested 327
FOURTH DAY—SIMLA—29TH. SEPTEMBER 1941 327
Chairman formulates final issues 327
FIFTH DAY—SIMLA—1ST. OCTOBER 1941 328
Preliminary issues framed 328
SIXTH DAY—SIMLA—2ND. OCTOBER 1941 328
Sind case presented 328
SEVENTH DAY—SIMLA—3RD. OCTOBER 1941 329
EIGHTH DAY—SIMLA—6TH. OCTOBER 1941. 330
Commission's Plan of Work 330
NINTH DAY—SIMLA—7TH. OCTOBER 1941 330
Arguments by Sir Nripen Sarcar 330
TENTH DAY—SIMLA—8TH. OCTOBER 1941 331
TWELVTH DAY—SIMLA—10TH. OCTOBER 1941 331
Ruling of the Commission 331
THIRTEENTH DAY—SIMLA—11TH. OCTOBER 1941 332
Additional Issues Framed 332
BRITISH INDIA & INDIAN STATES 333
EASTERN STATES RULERS' COUNCIL 333
Resolutions—Calcutta—12th. & 13th. July 1941 ... 333
STANDING COMMITTEE OF THE PRINCES' CHAMBER 333
Jam Saheb's Address—Bombay—4th August 1941 ... 333
Future of the Indian States 333
STATES AND INDIA'S EVOLUTION 335
Sir Akbar Hydari's Speech 335
The States and the Future Reforms 336
Evolution of India 336
EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS IN INDIA—July—(December 1941) 337
THE CONVOCATION ADDRESSES 338
THE MYSORE UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION 338
THE TRAVANCORE UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION 340

THE OSMANIA UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION 343
THE ALLAHÀBAD UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION 344
Nalanda 344
The Importance of Sanskrit 345
And of Ancient Indian History 346
Present-day Responsibilities of Universities ... 346
Science 346
The University and Careers 348
Military Careers and Kshattriya virtues 349
THE AGRA UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION 350
THE DACCA UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION 350
H. E. The Governor's Address 354
THE PATNA UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION 356
THE NAGPUR UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION 358
Unity in Democracy 359
Toleration and Compromise 359
Insistence on Discipline 359
Democratic Relief 360
Equality—What it means 360
Atlantic Charter 360
Benediction 361
THE BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION 361
THE ANDHRA UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION 372
THE LUCKNOW UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION 377
THE MUSLIM UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION 381
University Life 382
Education and Civilisation 382
Scientific Education 383
Industrialisation 384
The War 384
India and The War 385
Communal Problem 387
THE PUNJAB UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION 388
THE ALL INDIA EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE 389
ANNUAL SESSION—SRINAGAR—29TH. SEPTEMBER 1941 399
Mr. John Sargeant's Speech 399
Resolutions 399
THE ALL INDIA STUDENTS' FEDERATION 399
SEVENTH SESSION—PATNA—27TH. AND 28TH. DECEMBER 1941 399
Mr. A. N. Sinha's Opening Address 399
Mr. Sri Krishna Sinha's Message 400
Mr. Meherally's Address 400
Students and Politics 401
Hindu-Muslim Unity 401
RESOLUTIONS—SECOND DAY—PATNA—28TH. DECEMBER 1941 402
National Struggle 402
National Unity 402

Unity among Students 402
The War Resolution 402
Students' Demands 402

THE BIHAR STUDENTS' CONFERENCE 403

ANNUAL SESSION—PATNA—22ND. & 23RD. AUGUST 1941 403

Sir Radhakrishnan's opening Speech 403
Presidential Address 403
Confusion at 2nd. Day's Meeting 403

THE A. I. MUSLIM STUDENTS' FEDERATION 403

FIFTH SESSION—NAGPUR—26TH. AND 27TH. DECEMBER 1941 403

The Welcome Address 403
The Presidential Address 403
"Govt. of India Act—A dismal Failure" 404
Resolutions 405

THE INDIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES 406

ANNUAL SESSION—NAGPUR—24TH. DECEMBER 1941 406

The Presidential Address 406
Crystal Dynamics 406

THE INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS 407

FIFTH SESSION—HYDERABAD (DN)—21ST. DECEMBER 1941 407

Presidential Address 407
Need for correct evaluation 407
Scheme for Comprehensive History 408
Reception Committee Chairman's Speech 408
Nawab Ali Yavar Jung's Address 408
Hindu-Muslim Relations in Hyderabad 409

THE ALL INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE 409

ELEVENTH SESSION—HYDERABAD (DN.)—20TH. DECEMBER 1941 409

Sir Akbar Hydari's Message 409
H. E. H. The Nizam's Message 409
The Presidential Address 410
Nawab of Chhatari's Speech 411

THE INDIAN PHILOSOPHICAL CONGRESS 411

ANNUAL SESSION—ALIGARH—21ST. DECEMBER 1941 411

The Presidential Address 411
Problem of Philosophy 412
The Gospel of Non-Violence 412

Chronicle of Events

AND

India in Home Polity

JULY—DECEMBER 1941

Chronicle of Events

July 1941

The principal item of interest of the month was the announcement of the Viceroy's Executive Council and the Constitution of a National Defence Council.—The communique announced seven new appointments to the Executive Council and that the National Defence Council would consist of about 30 members. Both Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, reacted unfavourably to the Simla announcement regarding the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council.

The Indo-Burma Agreement to regulate and restrict Indian immigration into Burma was published from Simla, together with a joint statement on it by both Governments explaining the principles of the Agreement.

The news of General Wavell's appointment as Commander-in-chief in India, in succession to General Auchinleck was announced from No. 10 Downing Street.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President, All-India Hindu Mahasabha in a statement explained the implications of the resolution re : "direct action", passed in Calcutta.

Sir Claude Auchinleck, the retiring Commander-in-Chief, before his departure for the Middle East gave a message of farewell from Simla.

His Majesty the King Emperor, approved of the posthumous award of the Victoria Cross to Subadar Richpal Ram, 6th. Rajput Rifles for outstanding gallantry in action.

Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, strongly criticized the communal note in the speeches of some students at the Conference of the Lyallpur District Moslem Students' Federation.

Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, said in the House of Commons that he could not accept Mr. Sorenson's inference with regard to the effect of the altered international situation upon the political deadlock in India.

His Highness the Maharaja of Tripura presided over the Council of Rulers of the Eastern States in Calcutta —The Council adopted a resolution viewing with increasing concern the rapid expansion of the theatre of war.

Mr. C. W. Gurner advised the Bengal Government, in his report on the Floud Commission, to make their first move with utmost caution.

Mr. L. S. Amery presented a White Paper to the House of Commons repeating the Simla announcement re : the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council and the creation of the National Defence Council for India.

The Non-Party Political Leaders' Conference met at Poona, severely criticized Mr. Amery and the British Government for their attitude toward India and particularly the announcement of the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council "to meet the pressure of work created by the war."

1st. The news of General Wavell's appointment as Commander-in-Chief in India, the transfer of General Auchinleck from India to the Middle East Command, and the appointment of Captain Oliver Lyttleon to represent the war Cabinet in the Middle East was given in two announcements, from No. 10, Downing Street.

Sir Chirravoori Yajneswara Chintamoni, editor of the *Leader*, Allahabad, died at Allahabad.—He had been connected with the *Leader* from 1909, having been its chief editor since 1921.

His Excellency Sir John Herbert, Governor of Bengal, in addressing the Darjeeling War Committee referred to Bengal's growing war effort as regards the purchase of War Bonds and Certificates as well as developments on the technical side. His Excellency said that a number of technical schools and colleges in Calcutta and the Districts had been enlarged under the Government of India's scheme, and some 750 young men were under training.—In the supply of man power, the province had provided a Coastal Defence Battery; it had supplied a number of pilots trained at the Dum Dum aerodrome; it had sent a considerable number of men to the technical services. Besides Bengal had a regular battalion.

Khawaja Sir Nazimuddin, Home Minister, Bengal, met the editors of newspapers and representatives at a Conference in Calcutta and made a statement on the measures taken by the Government to deal with the recrudescence of disturbances at Dacca.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President, All-India Hindu Mahasabha, issued a statement explaining the implications of the resolution regarding "direct action" passed by the All-India Committee of the Mahasabha at its meeting in Calcutta. He said: "The resolution passed at Calcutta has not conceded the resolution passed at Madura. It only postpones an actual resort to "direct action" with regard to those issues only which refer to the fundamental changes in the Indian Constitution".

A Government resolution on the Report on the working of Co-operative Societies in the C. P. and Berar for the year ended June 30, 1940, was issued.

The Government of India arranged with His Majesty's Government for the services of 100 technical training instructors from the United Kingdom to be placed at the disposal of the Department of Labour for work in connexion with the Technical Training Scheme (New Delhi).

2nd. His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, President, King George's Fund for Sailors sent the following message to His Excellency the Governor of Bengal: "As President of King George's Fund for Sailors, I want to express my gratitude at the wonderful support the War Fund has received in answer to the Council's appeal from the peoples of India, the Dominions, the Colonies and from those living overseas."

Sir George Wilkinson, Lord Mayor of London, sent the following message to the treasurer to the Bengal War Purposes Fund: "I should like to state that I am deeply stirred by the continued support my Fund has received from your organization."

Sir Claude Auchinleck, before his departure for the Middle East gave a message of farewell from Simla. He said: "In bidding farewell to the officers and men of defence services and to that great army of Civilians in India, who guided by the calm wisdom and foresight of the Viceroy, are working shoulder to shoulder in a co-ordinated effort the like of which this country has never seen. I feel that they are shaping for India a new future full of hope and promise which will be worthy of the sacrifices her sons have made and are making on the field of battle. Good luck to you all".

Sir M. Zafrullah's appointment to the Federal Court was announced from Simla.

H. E. Sir Arthur Hope, Governor of Madras in the course of a speech at Anantapur, made an appeal to the people to present a United front against the Nazi menace.

3rd. Mr. M. N. Roy expressed the opinion, in the course of a letter addressed to the Executive Committee of the All-India Kisbansabha, from Dehra Dun, "Indian workers and peasants must join the Anti-Fascist Front if they are to contribute anything to the defence of the Soviet Union."

His Majesty the King Emperor, stated a communique from Simla, approved of the posthumous award of the Victoria Cross to Subadar Richpal Ram, 6th. Rajput Rifles, for outstanding gallantry in action in the fighting in the Middle East.

4th. The conference of Hindu leaders which was held in Benares, considered the riots situation in India, and came to the conclusion that Hindus should organize volunteer defence associations in their wards, or groups of villages for the purpose of warding off deliberate organized attacks upon them—Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya addressed the conference, and among others, Dr. Shyama Prosad Mukherjee, Master Tara Singh, and Dr. B. S. Moonje were present.

In the Mysore Legislative Council, the Government suffered a defeat when the Council passed by 33 votes aganist 29, the resolution moved by Mr. T. Maruyappa, Leader of the Congress Party, urging the Government to take immediate steps for the gradual introduction of Prohibition throughout the State and to appoint a Committee to suggest suitable measures for making good the loss in excise revenue caused thereby.

The Sind Government, by a Gazette Extraordinary, bound the Muslim League Conference at Sakrand, scheduled to commence on July 6, under the presidentship of Maulana Zaffar Ali Khan, M. L. A. (Central) as the locality was declared a Cholera infected area.

5th. Dr. B. S. Moonje, presiding over the second session of Tamil Nadu Hindu Mahasabha Conference held at Tiruvannamalai, made a strong plea that the Congress should merge itself in the Hindu Mahasabha and carry on the struggle for independence.

The Muslim Chamber of Commerce (Madras) communicating to the Government of India, their views on the Profession Tax Limitation Bill, to fill the maximum limit of Profession Tax leviable by Municipalities at Rs. 50, stated that the measure would prove beneficial to mercantile interests and promote the economic well-being of the country.

Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, the Punjab Premier, strongly criticized the speeches made earlier by students at the Conference of the Lyallpur District Moslem Students Federation held under his presidentship.—Criticizing the ultra communal tone of the speeches Sir Sikander Hyat Khat said that Islam had brought to mankind a message of peace, Good will and tolerance. The idea of tyrannizing or securing domination over others was foreign to Islamic teachings.

Dr. B. S. Moonje, in the course of his presidential address to the second session of the Tamil Nadu Hindu Mahasabha Conference at Tiruvannamalai, said: "The Presidency of Madras has always been a benighted province. It is steeped in the ideals of universal brotherhood, which is a speciality of the teaching of vedanta philosophy in all its various sects. But times have now so changed and are still changing that in spite of the cult of universal brothehood, Hindus are now being compelled to look at the politics of India, primarily from the point of view of the Hindu Mahasabha."

6th. Mr. K. M. Munshi, in the course of a statement to the press (from Bombay) appealing for an "Akhand (undivided) Hindustan front" said, "At a time like the present unless the country as a whole takes immediate steps to put the house in order it may find itself in the gravest danger."

The dislocation in railway traffic seriously affected Bombay's vegetable supply.

Mahatma Gandhi issued a statement to the press from Wardhaganj, restating the position as regards the Satyagraha movement that it was not intended to embarrass authority in any way.

Khan Bahadur Alla Baksh, Premier of Sind, in an interview at Lahore, while appealing for communal unity and advocating that party propaganda should cease for the duration of the war, said that "any gesture from the British Government towards Indian aspirations would be in the interest of Britain herself at this juncture.

Dr. B. S. Moonje, winding up the second session of the Tamil Nadu Hindu Mahasabha Conference, criticized the "conglomerated nationalism of the Indian National Congress" and expressed the view "that the only nationalism, which existed in the world, was the nationalism of the dominant community in a country."

7th. H. M. I. S. Travancore, the first war vessel of her size, was launched by Lady Fitzherbert from a ship yard on an Indian river.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, in a telegram from Bombay, to the Bengal Finance Minister, the hon. Mr. Hassan Suhrawardy, expressed his deep concern at the havoc caused by the cyclonic tidal wave

in four districts of Bengal and made a fervent appeal to the Government, to give every assistance and help to those who lost their properties and had been rendered homeless.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, who arrived at Lahore from Peshawar on his way to Wardha, was met at the railway station by Miah Iftikar-ud-Din, President of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee, and Khan Bahadur Allah Baksh, Premier of Sind.

8th. In the Bengal Legislative Council, the Government of Bengal intended to introduce five bills including the Bengal Criminal Law (Industrial Areas) Amendment Bill, 1941, the Bengal Maternity Bill (Tea Estates), 1941, the Bengal Patni Taluks Regulation (Amendment) Bill, 1941, and the Calcutta Sheriff's Bill, 1941. The Bills referred from the Lower House to the Council were the Bengal Touts Bill, the Eastern Frontiers Rifles (Bengal Battalion) Amendment Bill, 1941, and the Bengal Agricultural Debtors (Second Amendment) Bill, 1941.

In the Finance Accounts of C. P. and Berar for the year 1939-40, a net surplus of Rs. 32,90,000 as against the anticipated surplus of Rs. 1,38,000, was revealed.

9th. The Committee of the Indian Chamber of Commerce met Mr. M. S. A. Hydari, Government of India's representative on the Eastern Group Supply Council, in Calcutta, when questions relating to the working of the Council were discussed.

The Universities Reorganisation Committee (U. P.) in its draft report submitted to Government, recommended more hostel accommodation, scholarship and stipends for poor, deserving women students and adequate provision for their health and physical instruction.

10th. Mr. A. D. Gordon, Inspector General of Police, Bengal, explained at a Press Conference some new measures adopted by the Government of Bengal to cope with the riot situation at Dacca.

Mr. M. S. A. Hydari, representative of the Government of India on the Eastern Group Supply Council, met the Committee of the Muslim Chamber of Commerce in Calcutta.

In the House of Commons, Mr. Amery, in the course of a reply to Mr. Sorenson, said that he could not accept Mr. Sorenson's inference with regard to the effect of the altered international situation upon the political deadlock in India. In any case, he was not in a position to make any fresh statement on the subject.

11th. His Excellency the Governor of Bengal met the members of the Central Peace Committee and other prominent citizens of Dacca at Government House, and discussed with them, ways and means of restoring normal condition.

Sir Ramaswamy Mudaliar, Commerce Member, Government of India, visited the Southern India Chamber of Commerce and heard representatives from the members on questions relating to India's trade and commerce with particular reference to Madras.

12th. Mr. M. S. A. Hydari, representative of the Government of India on the Eastern Group Supply Council, at a luncheon in Calcutta, declared : "Indian supply effort is massive. In its range, variety and punctuality of delivery it is not surpassed by any country of the Eastern Group."

His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, in the course of his address at the special convocation of the Mysore University, observed : "we have vast resources to develop. We have an ambitious agricultural and industrial policy and programme. We have a great and growing stream of ardent youth asking to be shown how to take their part in the development. What we have to do is to train and direct that stream into the places where it will yield the greatest result."

Mr. T. Austin, Adviser to H. E. the Governor of Madras, opened the 14th. Session of the Government Press Workers' Conference in Madras. Rao Bahadur M. Venkataramayya presided over the Conference.

13th. The Council of Rulers of the Eastern States concluded its Session in Calcutta.—His Highness the Maharaja of Tripura presided. The Council adopted a resolution, moved from the chair, viewing with increasing concern the rapid expansion of the theatre of war and the threat to the security of India that it implied, and calling upon the Rulers to intensify their efforts in the defence of the Empire and in maintaining the integrity of their States.

An Anti-Pakistan Rally was held in Madras under the auspices of the 18th Division Hindu Mahasabha. Rao Bahadur T. Raghaba of Bellary presided over the Rally.

14th. Under the auspices of the Calcutta Committee of the Free French in India and Burma, members of the movement met to observe France's National Day in Calcutta.

Sir Jeremy Raisman, Finance Member, speaking at the inaugural meeting in New Delhi of the Advisory Panel of Accountants of the Government of India, said : "I have great pleasure this morning in welcoming you on behalf of the Government of India and in opening this first meeting of the Accountancy Panel consisting as it does of distinguished representatives of a great profession."

Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, presiding at a meeting of senior students and teachers of all Government Schools in Calcutta and Howrah, under the auspices of the Public Relations Committee, observed : "It is not the war of Britain alone but of India as well, for the safety of India is bound up with that of the British Commonwealth of Nations. And as the cause is right and just, I have no doubt Britain will win in the end."

15th. Khan Bahadur Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani. Parliamentary Secretary to the Punjab Government, replying to "misleading interpretations given to the speeches of the Punjab Premier by Malik Barkat Ali, in order to exaggerate imaginary differences between Sir Sikandar and Mr. Jinnah and thus endanger the solidarity of the League", said at Lahore : "There could be no doubt that the Punjab Premier's conception of the future constitution of India is in full accord with the principle ennunciated in the Lahore Resolution of the All-India Muslim League."

16th. Sir Mahomed Zafrullah Khan, Supply Member, in a broadcast talk from Simla, gave figures illustrative of the immensity of India's war production and indicated the lines along which an expansion of it was soon likely to take place.

The Mysore Congress Working Committee, which met under the presidency of Mr. H. Siddaiya at Bangalore, considered the political situation in the State and adopted three official resolutions for being placed at the open session of the All-Mysore Congress Committee.

17th. Mr. C. W. Gurner, who was placed on deputation as special officer, Revenue Department, for the examination of the Floud commission's proposals and preparation of the case for consideration of the main proposals of the Commission, (in his report on the proposals of the Land Revenue (Floud), Commission) advised the Bengal Government that whatever might be the advantages of State purchase of all interests in lands, the Government should make their first move in this matter with utmost caution.

His Excellency the Commander-in-chief General Sir Archibald Wavell at a Press conference at Simla, announced that the following members of the Central Legislature had agreed to be members of the Defence Advisory Committee. 4 Members from the Council of State :—Lala Ramsarandas, Mr. V. V. Kalikar, Sir Mohamed Yakub and Sardar Buta Singh. 6 Members from the Assembly :—Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, Sir Henry Gidney, Mr. L. C. Buss, Lt. Col. M. A. Rahman, Sir Cowasji Jehangir and Captain Dalpat Singh.

In the House of Commons both Mr. Milner and Mr. Sorenson questioned Mr. Amery, secretary of state for India, on the prospects of a statement with a view to ending the political deadlock in India. Mr. Amery referred to his reply on July 10, to which he had nothing to add.

18th. Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chetty, President of the Indian War Purchase Mission to America, arrived in Calcutta from Madras—Speaking at a reception given in his honour in Madras, he said he felt that the mission on which he was going was not a mere prosaic purchase mission. It would also result in establishing cultural contact with the American people.

General Sir Archibald Wavell, in an "Order of the Day" from Simla, said : "On assuming the appointment of Commander-in-Chief in India, I desire to make known to all ranks of the Royal Indian Navy, the Army and Air Forces in India my sense of the high honour conferred on me by His Majesty the King Emperor in placing in my hands the grat responsibility of the defence of India."

Mr. M. S. A. Hydari, Representative in India on the Eastern Group Supply Council, met the representatives of the Upper India Chamber of Commerce, the

United Provinces Chamber of Commerce and the Merchants' Chamber of United Provinces at Cawnpore, when questions relating to the working of the Council were discussed.

19th. His Excellency Sir Henry Twynham, addressing the Provincial War Committee and reviewing the war effort of the province at Nagpur, said : "It is quite impossible to make the Executive Council representative and responsible in view of the attitude of the two major political parties on the one hand and the preoccupation of His Majesty's Government on the other hand."

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, addressing the Senate of the Travancore University, stressed the importance of work being done by the Engineering Section of the University in view of the possibilities open to it and the opportunities afforded on account of the war needs.

The Government of Mysore passed orders directing the Chairman of the Mysore Paper Mills to arrange for the supply of news print at a favourable rate for a specific period and to stock a required quantity in a central place like Bangalore so that local newspapers might draw upon it from time to time to meet their needs.

The Government of Bengal decided to amend the Bengal Moneylenders Act, the object of which was to contral moneylending in the province.

20th. His Excellency the Governor General of India appointed Sir Girija Shankar Bajpai, a Member of his Executive Council, as Agent-General for India in the United States of America.

21st. The expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council and the Constitution of a National Defence Council for India were announced in a Communique from Simla. The Communique announced seven new appointments to the Executive Council—five for new seats created and two to fill vacancies which would occur when Sir Zafrullah Khan and Sir Girija Shankar Bajpai would take up their new posts of Judge, Federal Court, and Agent-General to the Government of India in the United States, respectively. The National Defence Council would consist of about 30 members and the communique gave the names of representatives for British India. The following were the newly appointed members of the Viceroy's Executive Council and their portfolios. Sir H. P. Mody—Supply. Sir Akbar Hydari—Information (new portfolio) Mr. Raghabendra Rao—civil defence (new portfolio) Sir Firoz Khan Noon—labour. Mr. M. S. Aney—Indians overseas. For the vacancies which would occur shortly, Sir Sultan Ahmed—Law. Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarkar—Education, Health & Lands.

The Indo-Burma Agreement to regulate and restrict Indian immigration into Burma was published from Simla, together with a joint statement on it by both Governments explaining the two main principles of the Agreement and expressing the earnest desire that the Agreement would remove any causes of misapprehension and strengthen ties of friendship and good will.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan and President of the Travancore Legislature, addressed the joint session of the Legislature after the presentation of the Budget estimates. He referred to the Government's policy of industrialization and the measures taken to promote the welfare of the people and urged the need for their co-operation in the Government's efforts.

Dr. Satyapal, former President of the Punjab Congress, in the course of a statement to the Press at Lahore, made a suggestion to Mahatma Gandhi to reconsider the situation and to devise a really useful course instead of the satyagraha movement which was doing good to no one.

Mr. R. M. Statham, Director of Public Instruction, Madras, explained the Madras Government's elementary education policy, while declaring open the Conference of Teacher-Managers of aided elementary schools of Guntur District.

22nd. A White Paper on "India and the War" was presented to the House of Commons by Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India.—The White Paper repeated the Simla announcement regarding the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council and the creation of the National Defence Council for India.

Mr. Amery described those who had joined the Viceroy's Executive Council as a "team of ability and experience which it would be difficult to rival in India or indeed elsewhere."

Both Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, reacted unfavourably to the Simla announcement regarding the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council. In an interview at Wardha,

Mahatma Gandhi declared : "The announcement does not affect the stand taken by the Congress, nor does it meet the Congress demand."

Mr. Jinnah in a statement at Bombay said : "The communique announcing the decison regarding the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council and the so-called National Defence Council is to be most deeply regretted. It will not secure the whole hearted, willing and genuine support, if that is what is honestly required, of Moslem India."

23rd. At a meeting of the Indian Central Jute Committee in Calcutta, the suggestions and recommendations contained in the Meek Gregory Report on the prospects of the trade in raw jute and jute manufactures in the U. S. A. was further considered.

Mr. Savarkar in a letter to the President of the Provincial Hindusabha at Patna, appealed to the Hindus in Behar to subordinate personal, factional and petty jealousies and unite in the task of discharging their representatives of making the Bihar session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha a success.

24th. Sir. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan President of the Travancore Legislative Assembly said in the Assembly : "The Government have no idea of establishing an Executive Council in Travancore."

The Standing Committee of the All-India Newspaper Editor's Conference concluded its two-day session in Bombay, after passing a number of resolutions and accepting the resignation of Mr. Mahadev Desai from the Committee.

25th. Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Premier of Bengal, in a statement to the Press in reply to criticisms on his appointment as a member of the National Defence Council, observed : I emphatically deny that I entered into any negotiations with the Viceroy or that I was tempted in any way to accept nomination on the War Council. I was offered a seat and I accepted it because I felt quite convinced that in doing so I did nothing in violation of the policy of the League, or detrimental to the interests of the Moslem Community."

26th. The Non-Party Political Leaders' Conference met at Poona. Sir Tej Bahadur, in his presidential speech, out-lined the attitude the conference should adopt on the problems facing them and severely criticized Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India and the British Government for their attitude towards India and particularly the announcement of the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council "to meet the pressure of work created by the war."

Mahatma Gandhi, in the first issue of the Khadi Jagat, published by the All India Spinners' Association at Wardha, wrote : 'This bloody war indicates that the world will ultimately be destroyed by machinery (yantra wada) and it is only handicrafts that will sustain or save the world. The charka provide work for over two lakhs of Hindus and Muslims and represents the Khadi wearers and through them all India."

Maulana Nazir Ahmad Chowdhury, Vice-President of the Calcutta Muslim League, in a statement from Calcutta, said : "Muslim Bengal solidly stands by the All-India Muslim League, and there is no Mussalman of note in Bengal who supports the Simla communique."

27th. The Non-Party Political Leaders' Conference, under the Chairmanship of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru concluded its session at Poona, after passing two resolutions. The first resolution demanded complete reconstruction of the Viceroy's Executive Council and urged a declaration specifying a time limit after the war within which the new constitution for India should be inaugurated and according India the status as Britain and the Dominions. The second resolution demanded that immediate steps be taken to examine the main lines of the future constitutional changes in India with a view to ensuring the unity and integrity of the country.

The Nizam's Government issued a Gazette Extraordinary announcing the appointment of Capt. Sir Muhammad Ahmad Said Khan, Nawab of Chhattari, as President of the Nizam's Council.

Dr. H. C. Mookerjee, Organising Secretary, All-India Conference of Indian Christians at a lecture on "The minorities and the Communal Award" at Nagpur said : "Our immediate duty is to strain every nerve either to have the Communal Award set aside or at least to have it modified in such a way as to get rid of its most objectionable features."

28th. The Report of the Land Revenue (Floud) Commission was discussed in the Bengal Legislative Assembly. Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh, Revenue Minister, moving the discussion of the Report said that the object of the

motion was to ascertain the views of members on "the far reaching recommendations of the Land Revenue Commission affecting the life of over 80 percent of the people of the province, so as to enable the Government to frame their policy in the light of the opinions expressed in the House with due regard to the financial, administrative, social and economic implications of the Commission's proposals."

His Excellency Sir John Herbert, Governor of Bengal, replying to addresses at Rajsahi, stressed the need for unity among various communities in India, especially during the war.

At a public meeting of the citizens of Madras, a resolution expressing the view that the operation of the Indo-Burma Immigration Agreement "should be stayed until it is suitably modified in the light of public opinion and that no Order-in-Council should be passed giving effect to the Agreement"—Sir Mahomed Usman, Vice-Chancellor, Madras University, presided.

29th. In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the debate on the Land Revenue (Floud) Commission's Report proceeded. At the close of the discussion, the Revenue Minister, (Sir B. P. Singh Roy), replying to certain allegations against the Government, by Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, the Leader of the opposition, made certain remarks with reference to Mr. Bose which drew protests from members of the House, including Mr. Santosh Kumar Bose.

Mr. J. B. Kripalani, General Secretary of the Congress, laid emphasis on the aspect of constructive work by Satyagrahis as well as by those Congressmen, who did not sign the pledge, in the course of a circular issued to the several Congress Committees in the country.

In the Cochin Legislative Council, replying to a question on fisheries Research, the Government stated that the research officer was asked to make a complete survey of the marine resources of the State.

30th. In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the Raw Jute Taxation Bill introduced by Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, Finance Minister, was referred to a Select Committee with instructions to submit their report by August 8—The Bill proposed to levy a tax of two annas per maund on raw jute in order to finance the carrying out of measures for the stabilization of jute prices, improvement of marketing and generally to further the interests of jute growers and of the industry as a whole.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in a statement issued to the Press from Hyderabad (Dn) threatened disciplinary action against three members of the All-India Muslim League who joined the Viceroy's Expanded Council and the National Defence Council.

31st. The Government of India, under the terms of the Motor Spirit Rationing Order issued from Simla, notified that petrol was to be rationed in India beginning from August 15.

Madras War Fund reached a total of £ 1,000,000.

August 1941

The two principal incidents of the month were the death of the world famous poet Rabindra Nath Tagore in Calcutta and the initiation of a debate in the House of Commons by the Secretary of State (Mr. L. S. Amery) on the administrative changes in India.

The poet's death was universally mourned by all sections of people and huge meetings were held throughout India to pay their respectful homage to the great departed.

Mr. Amery in initiating the debate in the House of Commons re: expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council, remarked that the Viceroy had selected men whom he believed to be best fitted for the work in hand and concluded by saying that the development marked a change not indeed in the form of the constitution but in its spirit.

The Government of Bengal issued a communique severely warning the profiteers.

The Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes met in Bombay to consider questions relating to the war internal security and the political situation as far as they affected the States.

The Hindu Law Committee completed the task of codification of law.

The Committee of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce sent a telegram to the Viceroy's Private Secretary re: some objectionable features in the Indo-Burma Immigration Agreement.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, the Report of the Land Revenue Commission (Floud Commission) was considered, so that the views expressed by the popular representatives might help the Government in framing their policy.

The Rt. Hon. Mr. M. R. Jayakar, expressed the view on 'Pakistan' that the remedy for India was not vivisection but greater fraternization.

Mr. Amery in a statement in the House of Commons re: invitations to the Indian Provincial Premiers to join Indian National Defence Council, said that they were invited in their capacity as Prime Minister and regardless of their personal, party or communal affiliations.

The All India Ahrar Tabliq Conference reviewed the political situation in the country.

The Working Committee of the All-India Moslem League concluded its session in Bombay after passing resolutions on the question of the inclusion of Moslems in the expanded Viceroy's Council and the National Defence Council, the political and communal situation and other items.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, advised the British Government to take a lesson from the policy of the Moslem League and suggested that the Hindu Sangathanists could be relied on in defending the unity, integrity and freedom of India.

1st. Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India and Burma, initiated a debate in the House of Commons, on the administrative changes in India. Mr. Amery said that for what were undoubtedly key positions the Viceroy had selected men whom he believed to be individually best fitted for the work in hand. To attempt to make so small a body as an Executive Council representative of all different elements of India's national life, would obviously have been impossible. The important thing was to find a team of individual competence and willing to share collective responsibility of the Council, and he ventured to say that the Viceroy had definitely succeeded. The old Executive contained, apart from the Viceroy, four European and three Indian Members. In the new Executive, the eight Indian members would be in a majority of two to one, "the development making a change not indeed in the form of the constitution but in its spirit."

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, on an adjournment motion by Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal, Chief Whip of the official Congress Party, the action of the Government in withdrawing the concession of conditional release of terrorist prisoners was criticised.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, a stirring appeal for unity and harmony in view of the danger threatening Bengal as a result of the trend of events in the war, was made by Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin, Home Minister.

The Government of Bengal issued a communique stating in connexion with the rise in the prices of piecegoods : "The Government are not prepared to tolerate manipulation of prices by the Fatka market and are determined to use all the powers at their disposal to put down profiteering with a firm hand."

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, addressing a meeting in Bombay, expressed the hope that the day might come when Mr. Jinnah would sit with Mahatma Gandhi and settle differences.

The Travancore Assembly discussed the demands under Police, Ports and University.

2nd. Bengal paid homage to one of her illustrious sons, Sir P. C. Ray, the occasion being the celebration of his 81st birthday.

Dr. S. N. A. Jafri, a member of the All-India Muslim League, interviewed at Lucknow, said: "The five year planning Committee of the All-India Muslim League is not dormant."—At the Madras session of the All-India Muslim League, a Committee consisting of 6 members was formed for the constitutional, economic and educational planning of the Mussalmans of India.

Sardar Sardul Singh Cavesheer, acting President of the India Forward Bloc, in pursuance of the decision of the Working Committee of the Forward Bloc, wrote to the General Secretary of the All-India Congress Committee, requesting him to convene a meeting of the A. I. C. C. at an early date.

In the Cochin Legislative Council, Mr. A. Madhava Prabhu, Dewan Peishkar and Member for Land Revenue, moved for a grant of Rs. 2,82,610 for Land Revenue.

3rd. Mr. M. R. Jayakar, speaking at the Tilak Anniversary celebrations at Poona, made a plea that in the interests of all the political deadlock in India should be resolved and that the Congress and Mahatma Gandhi be persuaded to call off the Satyagraha movement and restore popular Governments.

Mahatma Gandhi, opening the Khadi Vidyalaya at Wardha, declared: "we want to achieve the welfare of the world by truth and non-violence."

The Working Committee of the Bihar Muslim League at a meeting held at Patna, rescinded its earlier decision to observe the "Bihar Sharif Day" on August 15, in view of the Government Communique banning meeting, to be held in connection with the communal rioting in Bihar Sharif.—The Committee referred the matter to Mr. M. A. Jinnah, for advice and guidance.

The financial results of the C. P. and Berar Government for 1940-41, shewed that receipts amounted to Rs. 5,26,35 lakhs and the expenditure on revenue account amounted Rs. 4,76,41 lakhs leaving a closing balance Rs. 1,45,84 lakhs.

4th. At a meeting of the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes in Bombay questions relating to the war, internal security and the political situation as far as they affected the States were discussed.—His Highness the Jam Saheb addressed the meeting.

The Hindu Law Committee completed the task of codification of law.—They concluded a general review of the law of succession and prepared four memoranda on the subject.

Acharya Kripalani, General Secretary of the Congress, observed at Wardhaganj ; "Mr. Amery has spoken again. He seems to support that if he repeats himself often enough he will carry convictions."

5th. The Bengal Agricultural Debtors (Second Amendment) Bill, as it emerged from the Legislative Assembly, was passed by the Bengal Legislative Council.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, consideration of the Calcutta Municipal (Amendment) Bill was held up.

6th. In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, as a result of a compromise arrived at between the Government and the Opposition, the Calcutta Municipal (Amendment) Bill was recommended to the same Select Committee. The Committee was directed to submit their report by November 18, 1941.

7th. Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore, the poet, died at the age of 81 in his ancestral home, in Calcutta.

Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Bengal Premier, issued a statement in connexion with the settlement arrived at in the Bengal Assembly over the Calcutta Municipal Act (Amendment) Bill.

The Rt. Hon. Dr. M. R. Jayakar, addressing the Independent Group of the Indian Merchants Chamber in Bombay, made an appeal to influential merchants to persuade Mahatma Gandhi to call off his satyagraha movement in order to resolve the political deadlock.

8th. In the Bengal Legislative Council, all parties united in paying homage to the memory of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore. The House recorded its deep sense of sorrow and irreparable loss and adjourned as a mark of respect to Dr. Tagore's memory.

Sir Homy Mody, Member, Viceroy's Executive Council, speaking in Bombay, expressed the belief that there was great scope for industrial expansion under the new opportunities which India had, and that there would be a tremendous

leap forward in our industrial expansion provided there was fair dealing on all sides."

9th. H. E. Sir Maurice Hallett, Governor of the United Provinces replying to an address presented to him by the District Soldiers Board at Allahabad, said : "The position is incomparably better than a year or even a few months ago, but we are scarcely within sight of the dawn of victory. There are signs of storm in the Far Eastern Sky and the mighty German War Machine is still largely unimpaired though it has received some damage from the sturdy Russian Army".

At a meeting of the South Indian National Association in Madras, the subject of discussion was "The Expansion of the Viceroy's Council". Mr. T. Krishnamachari was in the Chair. Representatives of different political parties participated in the debate and the Chairman in winding up the proceedings pleaded that the time had come when people should impress on Gandhiji that he had got to review the political situation in India and that the Congress must once again import realism into Indian Politics.

10th. A meeting of the Committee of the Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry was held in New Delhi under the Chairmanship of Mr. Chimanlal B. Mehta.—The Committee confirmed the action taken by the President in sending telegrams to the Private Secretary to the Viceroy and Sir Girija Shankar Bajpai, suggesting that, in view of some objectionable features in the Indo-Burma Immigration Agreement there was absence of proper atmosphere for unbiassed and fair consideration of the Indo-Ceylonese relations.

The all parties Sikh Conference held at Amritsar, passed a resolution condemning the policy of the Government for not including a Sikh in the expanded Executive Council of the Viceroy and the "extremely meagre" representation of the community in the National Defence Council.

Mr. Chandravarkar, President of the National Liberal Federation, addressing a public meeting at Nagpur, declared : "If the British Government are really anxious to part with power in India, they must declare a time-limit within which they would confer Dominion Status on her and leave the onus of presenting an agreed constitution on Indians themselves."

11th. Sir James B. Taylor, Governor, Reserve Bank of India, addressing the seventh annual general meeting of the shareholders of the Reserve Bank of India, in New Delhi, observed : "Our net profits during the year have increased very largely, amounting to Rs. 2,79 lakhs as compared with Rs. 29 lakhs for the half year ended June 30, 1940 and Rs. 23 lakhs for the previous 12 months."

In the Bengal Legislative Council, the Report of the Land Revenue Commission was discussed. Moving that the report be taken into consideration, the Revenue Minister (Sir B. P. Singh Roy) explained that the object of the motion tabled by Government was to afford an opportunity to the House to express its opinion on the far reaching recommendations of the Land Revenue Commission affecting the life of over 80 p.c. of the people of Bengal, so that Government might in framing their policy take into consideration the views expressed by the popular representatives.

12th. In the Bengal Legislative Council, the Workmens' Compensation (Bengal Amendment) Bill and the Maternity Benefit (Tea Estates) Bill, sponsored by Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, Finance and Labour Minister, were referred to Select Committees. Two other short Bills, one of them the Eastern Frontier Rifles Bengal Battalion (Amendment) Bill, as passed by the Assembly, were passed.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, Bengal's grief and sorrow at the death of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore found expression when different Party Leaders paid tributes to his life and work.

Maulana Mohamed Akram Khan, Vice-President of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League and member of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, in the course of a statement in Calcutta, said : "The Muslim League was not ready to join a Defence Council in which the Muslims were to be in a minority and thus commit national suicide by practically recognizing and establishing in fact the principle of majority rule at the Centre."

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, in a statement from Benares, recommended the holding of public meetings on August 17, to repeat the condemnation of the Communal Award and Separate Communal Electorates.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi, Deputy Leader of the Independent Party in the Central Legislative Assembly resigned his membership of the Party.

13th. In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, Sir Azizul Haque, the speaker, referred to the death of the Marquess of Willingdon.

Sir P. C. Ray, replying to an address presented to him on behalf of the Indian Chemical Manufacturers' Association in Calcutta, expressed the view that a liberal state policy to render all assistance to chemical and pharmaceutical industries as also sincere su port from the public were needed for the growth of such enterprises.

Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung Bahadur, President of the All-India States Muslim League, in a statement to the Press, contradicted the report published in some newspapers that the members of the Standing Committee of the All-India States Muslim League decided to make vigorous efforts for enrolment of at least a hundred thousand recruits from the States of Rajputana, Rohilkhand and the Southern part of the Punjab and the U. P.

14th. Sheikh Abdul Majid, ex-Minister and General Secretary of the Sind Provincial Muslim Legue, in a statement from Karachi, observed : "So long as the Muslim League does not call upon its members to withdraw from Provincial Legislatures and Provincial Cabinets, the Muslim League Premiers have to go and perform the duties devolving upon them in their official capacities."

Mr. Jinnah did not accept the resignation of the membership of the Council of the All-India Muslim League tendered by the Nawab of Chhatari.

Mr. M. H. Ismail, who was appointed the Government of India's trade representative in Iran, left for Teharan by the land route via Quetta.

His Excellency Sir Arthur Hope, Governor of Madras, observed in declaring open the Madras Science Association, "This war has got to be fought to a finish because if it is not we will have another war in a few years."

The Rt. Hon'ble Dr. M. R. Jayakar, addressing a meeting of the South Indian residents in Bombay on Pakistan, expressed the view that the remedy for India was not vivisection but greater fraternisation and mutual understanding.

15th. In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the first resolution on the agenda urged the Government to frame a comprehensive scheme to prevent breaches in the embankment of a river in East Bengal. The resolution was negatived by the House.

The Bengal Legislative Council, gave the unanimons verdict, in the form of a non-official resolution on the agreement between the Governments of India and Burma on the question of Indian immigration in Burma.—"Various terms of the Indo-Burma Immigration Agreement, such as the literacy test, the payment of high entrance and residential fees, and registration of Indians are highly objectionable and discriminatory."

16th. His Excellency the Viceroy addressing the workers of General Motors in Bombay made an appeal to give the armies in the field all the weapons needed for victory.

The Government of Bengal appointed a committee consisting of officials and non-officials to consider the position in regard to the preservation of game and fish in Bengal particularly in the reserved forests, and to recommend such measures as may appear feasible for their better preservation.

17th. The inmates of Santiniketan and Sriniketan paid their homage to the memory of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore on the occasion of the Sradh ceremony of the poet.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the Moslem League in a statement issued from Bombay replied to the charges made against him by Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, the Bengal Premier.

At a meeting of the Working Committee of the Punjab Moslem League held at Lahore, a resolution reiterating full confidence in the leadership of Mr. Jinnah as President of the All India Moslem League and of Sir Sikander Hyat Khan as the Premier of the Punjab was passed.

The Working Committee of the All-India Hindu League which began its two day session at Lucknow under the presidentship of Sir J. P. Srivastava, Vice President of the League, adopted the recommendation of the Constitution Sub-Committee, according to which the League was to be called "The National League of Hindusthan."

Mr. M. S. Aney, Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, said at Yeotmal: "The scheme of the expanded Council of H. E. the Viceroy is avowedly not a measure of constitutional advance but designed only as a war measure".

18th. The Bengal Legislative Assembly passed the Raw Jute Taxation Bill, which provided for the levy of a tax on raw jute purchased by the occupiers of jute mills and by shippers of jute, for the purpose of carrying out measures for the stabilization of jute prices, and for furthering the interests of the growers of jute in the province and of the jute industry generally.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, the rise in the prices of rice and cloth formed the subject of a question.

19th. Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, the Bengal Premier, made an appeal to the people of Bengal to contribute the whole or part of their day's income to War Funds on September 3.

Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India, made a statement re: invitation to the Indian Provincial Premiers to join India's National Defence Council.

The Prime Ministers of all the provinces in which working of the constitution has been uninterupted were invited by the Viceroy to join the National Defence Council in their capacity as Prime Minister and regardless of their provincial party or communal affiliations. Not only were they invited in their capacity as Prime Minister, but they accepted the invitations in that capacity and in the light of their constitutional responsibility and obligation to the peoples and the provinces as a whole.

20th. The Bengal Legislative Assembly passed the Markets Regulation Bill which provided for the licensing and regulation of markets in Bengal.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, the debate on the Land Revenue Commission report was talked out.

21st. Mr. K. M. Munshi, former Home Minister in the Congress Government of Bombay when he spoke on Akhand Hindusthan (undivided India) observed in Calcutta, "India is one and indivisible and those who believe in its integrity should resist by all possible means any attempt to divide her into Hindu India and Moslem India.

22nd. In the Bengal Legislative Council, an account of the relief measures taken by the Government in connexion with the cyclone in certain parts of Bengal was given by Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy, Revenue Minister.

The deputation on behalf of the Muslim members of the Punjab Legislative Assembly, led by Sir Mahomed Shah Nawaz Khan of Mamdot saw Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, at his residence in Bombay. The deputationists had a long discussion with Mr. Jinnah on the proposed disciplinary action against three members of the League who formed the Viceroy's Expanded Executive Council and the National Defence Council.

23rd. Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Bengal Premier, in a telegram sent to the Secretary, All-India Moslem League, stated: "We maintain that there has been no breach of discipline on our part and therefore no question of disciplinary action can arise.

Mr. O. M. Martin, Commissioner of the Chittagong Division opened an agricultural research Sub-station of the Indian Central Jute Committee in Konda village, Tipperah district.

A new Defence of India Rule (published from Simla) enabled the Government to take or to require people to take, such measures in respect of any premises as might be necessary to make the premises less readily recognizable in the event of an enemy attack.

The All-India Ahrar Tabliq Conference concluded its session in New Delhi. Maulana Azarali Mazhar, speaking at the Conference, reviewed the political situation in the country and the efforts made by the different organizations to come to an understanding acceptable to all communities and how these had proved a failure. He added that the time had arrived for the Ahrars to take a definite decision in order to achieve their goal.

24th. Mahatma Gandhi, in a statement from Wardha expressed the opinion that the Indo-Burma agreement was an undeserved slur both on India and Burma and that he refused to believe that it was made in response to a vital cry from the great Burmese nation.

Maulana Mohamed Zafar Ali Khan, addressing a public meeting held

under the auspices of the Madras District Muslim League, observed: "India would not attain independence unless the Hindus and the Muslims arrived at an agreed solution of their problem and the only way by which such an agreed solution could be reached was the acceptance of the Pakistan scheme by the Hindus."

The Working Committee of the All-India Moslem League met in Bombay at Mr. Jinnah's residence. At the outset Mr. Jinnah acquainted the Committee about his interview with the Viceroy on the constitution of the National Defence Council and the expansion of the Executive Council. Mr. Jinnah criticized some of the members of the Moslem League including the three Premiers (Sir Sikander Hyat Khan of Punjab, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq of Bengal and Sir Maulavi Saiyed Muhammed Saadulla of Assam, who joined the Defence Council).

Speeches condemning the communal award were delivered at a largely attended public meeting held in Calcutta. Dr. Shyama Prosad Mookerjee presided.

25th. Sir Sikander Hyat Khan and Sir Mohammed Saadulla, Premiers of the Punjab and Assam, following the demand of the Muslim League, decided to resign from the National Defence Council.

Sir John Herbert, Governor of Bengal, in his reply to addresses at Krishnagar, referred to problems of public health, roads, waterways, education and Co-operative credit in Nadia District.

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League resumed its session in Bombay and passed a resolution calling upon Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Sir Mahomed Saadulla and Mr. Fazlul Huq, Premiers of the Punjab, Assam and Bengal respectively, to resign from the National Defence Council.—The resolution also announced that Sir Sikander Hyat Khan and Sir Mahomed Saadulla already expressed their willingness to resign from the National Defence Council.—Mr. Fazlul Huq was given 10 days' time to resign from the National Defence Council.

26th. The Working Committee of the All-India Moslem League concluded its session after passing resolutions on the question of the inclusion of the Moslems in the expanded Viceroy's Executive Council and the National Defence Council, the political and communal situation in the country, the Indo-Burma Agreement and the Bihar-Sharif riots.—The Committee called upon Sir Sultan Ahmed, member-designate of the Viceroy's Executive Council, the Nawab of Chhatari and Begum Shah Nawaz, members of the National Defence Council, to resign from their respective bodies within ten days.

Sir Sikander Hyat Khan in a statement from Bombay, said: "I have decided to tender my resignation of the membership of the National Defence Council.

Sir Sultan Ahmed in an interview at Patna, said: "I have no statement to make at present. I shall await the formal receipt of the resolution of the Working Committee from the League authorities."

Khan Bahadur Allah Baksh, the Sind Premier declared at Karachi: "In view of the grave responsibility and also in view of the international situation and the vulnerable position of Sind in general and Karachi in particular, I felt in the interest of the province that I should accept a seat on the National Defence Council."

Acharya Kripalani, in an interview at Lucknow, declared: "If any struggle in the world is going on according to plan, it is the present Satyagraha movement of the Congress."

27th. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Moslem League, explained at a Press Conference in Bombay, the implication of some of the resolutions adopted by the Working Committee of the League.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, in a statement issued from Bombay, observed interalia: "I hope that the lessons to be learnt from the policy of the Muslim League will not be lost on the British Government too. So far as the defence of India against any invasions from outside or from anarchy within is concerned, it is the Hindu Sangathanists alone who are sure to prove the pillars of strength, the Hindu Sangathanists alone can be depended upon as the most trusted reserve force who will never spare the last drop of blood in their veins to defend the unity, integrity and freedom of India as a nation and a State."

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, by agreement between the Government

and the Opposition, the consideration of the Secondary Education Bill, which was to have been resumed, was postponed.

Mr. S. Satyamurti, addressing a public meeting at Mylapore, expressed the opinion that Congress should resume office in the provinces.

A Communique from Simla stated: "Attention has been drawn to the recent proceedings of the Working Committee of the Muslim League and to the statement which has been issued by the Premier of the Punjab, consequent on his resignation from the National Defence Council."

28th. Mr. Jinnah issued a statement from Bombay restating his position. He observed *inter alia*: "The explanation that has been given, presumably, on behalf of Lord Linlithgow, in the communique dated August 27, 1941 from Simla, regarding the recent decision of the Working Committee of the All-India Moslem League, and the statement which has been issued by Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, consequent on his resignation from the National Defence Council, is a lengthy and wordy explanation of points other than the real and vital one which forms the basis of the resignation of Sir Sikander Hyat Khan viz, that according to the text of the message of His Excellency the Viceroy, Sir Sikander Hyat Khan was appointed as a representative of the great Moslem Community."

In the Bengal Legislative Council, two official Bills were disposed of. They were the Workmen's Compensation (Amendment) Bill sponsored by Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, Finance Minister, and the Bengal State Aid to Industries (Amendment) Bill, introduced by Mr. Tamizuddin Khan, Minister in charge of Agriculture and Industries.

Mr. Jamnadas Mehta made an appeal to Hindus, at a meeting at Poona, to join in large number the Hindu Mahasabha which was the only body which taught them to defend themselves aud assert their rights to full citizenship in the country, thus assuring the future of democracy in India. Mr. N. C. Kelkar presided.

Dewan Bahadur K. S. Ramaswami Sasrti, Vice-President, All-India Hindu Mahasabha in a statement from Madras, observed: "The Hindu Mahasabha is out for achieving immediate Dominion Status and for nation-wide industrialisation and militarisation as the immediate step to that immediate goal. We cannot take part in the Congress Anti-war Satyagraha or in the Muslim League's Anti-united India Satyagraha."

29th. The Maharajadhiraj Sir Bijay Chand Mahtab Bahadur of Burdwan died of heart failure at Burdwan.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, a resolution that the Government should take steps for the immediate provision of two free beds in the Jadabpur Tuberculosis Hospital, was passed.

Dr. H. C. Mukherji, addressing a meeting in Bombay on "How far does the Congress represent political India, asserted that the charge of communalism brought against the Congress by such different organizations as the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha was sufficient proof that the Congress was above any weakness of that kind. If it had, the Congress would have won the approval of one or the other of those two organizations".

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, President of the Indian National Congress wired to Mr. P. Tahilramani: "I consider it inadvisable on the part of the Sind Congress to demand Khan Bahadur Allah Baksh's resignation from the Defence Council."

30th. People of every community were represented at a meeting called by the Sheriff of Calcutta to pay homage to the memory of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore.

The Bengal Chamber of Commerce strongly recommended that the proposal to alter normal Calcutta business hours from 10 A. M.—5-30 P. M. to 9 or 9-30 A. M. to 4-30 P. M. should be put into operation from October 1.

Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-Chancellor of the Benares Hindu University, in a statement appealed to the generous-minded Princes, merchants and other well-wisher of the Benares University to help it to wipe off the debt of nearly Rs. 20 lakhs and to enable it to work in a fitting manner.

31st. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, in a speech in Calcutta, laid stress on India's duty in the war, appreciation of the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council and the need to solve the communal question.

A bronze statue of Sir Surendranath Bannerjee was unveiled by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, in Calcutta.

The Council of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League by a resolution adopted at Patna, directed all those members of the League serving on the various war Committees in Bihar to resign forthwith from those committees.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, speaking at a reception given to him in Bombay, declared: "When the Muslim League demands more than the pound of flesh on behalf of the Muslims, the Congress as a national organization will not be able to speak on behalf of the Hindus and therefore a separate organization of the Hindus is very essential."

Sir Sita Ram, President of the U. P. Legislative Council, declared at Lucknow: "The suspension gives us no chance of offering a considered or organized opinion on anything concerning the provincial administration. Direction, association and influence are the three stages of political evolution vis-a-vis the people and the government."

September 1941

The main item of interest of the month is Mr. Winston Churchill's reference to India in the House of Commons. Speaking on the Atlantic Charter and its implications, the Premier said that the Joint Declaration did not qualify in any way the various statements of policy which had been made from time to time about the development of constitutional government in India, Burma and other parts of the British Empire, statements which will be found to be entirely in harmony with the conception of freedom and justice which inspired the joint declaration.

Acharya Kripalani, General Secretary of the Congress, presiding over a Khadi Parishad in Bombay, discussed the question of centralisation of industry as it affected the country.

His Majesty the King-Emperor desired that the 7th. would be observed as a Day of Prayer and Thanks-giving all over India.—it was observed accordingly.

The Government of India convened the Textile Conference.

Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, the Bengal Premier, resigned his membership of the National Defence Council constituted by the Viceroy.

The India and Burma Postponement of Elections Bill passed its third reading in the House of Commons.

Mr. Jinnah expelled Sir Sultan Ahmed and Begum Shah Nawaz from the Moslem League Organisation. He did so in pursuance of the resolution of the Working Committee of the All-India Moslem League.

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai and Acharya Narendra Dev were released unconditionally.

The Bengal Assembly was prorogued till November.

Khan Bahadur Alla Bux assured his audience in Bombay that the Congress Party in Sind would continue to lend its support to the Sind Ministry.

The Indus Commission, presided over by Sir B. N. Rau to investigate the Sind Government's complaint against the Punjab Government in respect of the waters of the Indus, began its session at Simla.

Mahatma Gandhi writing in the Khadi Jagat, expressed the opinion that it was not wrong in any way to sell blankets to the soldiers and that it was unavoidable to help the war indirectly.

The Bihar Government decided to issue an order under the Defence of India Rules prohibiting the holding of the All India Conference of the Hindu Mahasabha in many of the districts of Bihar.

It was officially announced that the first meeting of the National Defence Council would take place at Simla on October 6.

1st. Mr. C. R. Srinivasan, addressing a public meeting at Salem, on "the present political situation," appealed to the people to request Gandhiji to review and reconsider the Satyagraha programme of the Congress in the light of the happenings of the past one year. He urged that either a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee should be called or a special session of the Congress held for reviewing the situation."

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, addressing a meeting of Congressmen of Bengal on the ideals and evolution of the Congress at the office of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee in Calcutta, expressed her admiration for the English people from Mr. Winston Churchill down to the youngest child of Britain who did not hesitate to stake their lives to let England be free. Mrs. Naidu further observed that by the weapon of non-violent resistance they could achieve more than what armed forces could perform.

In a telegram to the Government of India, the Committee of the Indian Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta protested against the decision of the government to proceed with the Indo-Ceylonese negotiations.

2nd. In the Bengal Legislative Council, two official Bills were dealt with. Khawaja Sir Nazimuddin, Home Minister moved that the Calcutta and the Suburban Police (Amendment) Bill, 1941, be taken into consideration. The St. Thomas' School (Amendment) Bill, 1941, was also taken into consideration.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, strong protests against the Indo-Burma Immigration Agreement were voiced, when a resolution was passed condemning the Agreement and urging the Bengal Government to impress upon the Government of India the necessity of taking early steps for its modification.

Mr. Geoffry W. Tyson, speaking on the 2nd anniversary of the war in Calcutta, observed: "As regards supply, inspite of the quite extraordinary output of the Dominions, India stands in the lead of the countries east of Suez both in point of volume and efficiency."

3rd. His Excellency Lord Linlithgow in a broadcast from Simla, on the occasion of the "2nd anniversary of the war declared: "India is awake ; she is mighty and formidable ; and she shall, if you so determine, be mightier yet."

Sir Archibald Wavell, Commander-in-Chief in India, in a broadcast from Simla, gave a balance-sheet of the military profits and losses.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, about a dozen members, mostly belonging to the opposition participated in the debate on the Secondary Education Bill.

Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, Commerce Member, Government of India, observed at Karachi : "I am revealing no secret when I say that the members of the Government of India, most of all the Viceroy, have spent day and night in continuous thought and in continuous anxiety over the political situation in the country. Nobody is more sorry than the Viceroy about the political deadlock and I can speak with personal knowledge and full sense of responsibility when I say that the fact will be revealed sooner or later to the public that the Viceroy has spared no pains and no trouble in striving to resolve that deadlock."

4th. In the Bengal Legislative Council, the Raw Jute Taxation Bill was taken into consideration as passed by the Bengal Legislative Assembly.

The Government of Bengal issued a Press Note, saying that there was a provision of Rs. 45,000 as a recurring grant for a tiffin scheme for boys and girls of aided high schools and senior madrashas in the budget for the year.

The Bengal Legislative Assembly rejected by 124 to 59 votes the opposition proposal for recommending the Secondary Education Bill to the same Select Committee to consider certain amendments put forward by them. The Coalition Party and the Europeans as well as most of the members of the Krishak Proja Party voted with the Government in turning down the proposal.

Sir Sultan Ahmed in a statement on the eve of his assuming the office of the Law Member of the Government of India, said : "In accepting the offer of His

Excellency the Viceroy to succeed Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan, I did nothing that was at all in contravention of the decision of the League, nor am I even now convinced that I have done anything which will be in the least prejudicial to the best interests of the Mussalmans of India.

The determination of the members of the Ministerialist Party in the Punjab, as elected and constitutional representatives of the electorate of the province, to make every possible contribution to the safety of India and the vindication of the world cause at stake, was reiterated in a resolution unanimously adopted at a meeting of the Party held at Lahore.

5th. In the Bengal Legislative Council, a non-official resolution welcoming the eight point joint declaration made by President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill as a "veritable charter of liberty for all peoples and nations of the world" was adopted.

6th. By an amendment of the Defence of India Rules, power was taken to require local authorities to take precautionary measures.

Attempts at bringing about a compromise between the Government and the Opposition in regard to the provisions of the Bengal Secondary Education Bill were continued.

Acharya Kripalani, General Secretary of the Congress, presiding over a Khadi and Village Industries Parishad in Bombay, discussed the question of centralisation of industry as it affected the country at the present and in the future when India would be politically free.

7th. In accordance with the wish of His Majesty the King-Emperor, the day was observed as a Day of National Prayer and Thanks-giving all over India.

His Highness the Maharaja of Cooch Behar, in furtherance of a policy of associating himself increasingly with the administration of the State, assumed charge of the Public Works Department and the audit section of the Audit and Finance Department in addition to his normal functions in the Council.

8th The question of the Congress Assembly Party's attitude to the Premier, Khan Bahadur Alla Bux, in view of his having joined the National Defence Council, was considered at a meeting of the Council of the said Provincial Congress.

The Bengal Legislative Assembly proceeded with the consideration of the Secondary Education Bill, clause by clause.

The Textile Conference convened by the Government of India met in the Bombay Mill-owners' Association premises, with Sir Homy Mody, Supply Member in the chair.

His Excellency Sir Maurice Hallett, Governor of U. P. replying to addresses of welcome during his visit to Barabanki, Lucknow, made a reference to the political situtation in India.

9th. In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, consideration of the Secondary Education Bill was resumed.

Acharya Kripalani, General Secretary of the All-India Congress Committee, said in Bombay, "People to-day may not recognize it, but history will record that Mahatma Gandhi's action was the greatest stroke of genius." He added, "We certainly cannot be charged with deserting the country and we have not committed any error of judgment.

Mr. Churchill, in his speech in the House of Commons declared: "Britain was pledged by the Declaration of August 1940, to help India to obtain free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth."

10th. Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, the Bengal Premier, in the course of a letter addressed to Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Secretary of the All-India Muslim League communicating the former's decision to resign his membership of the Working Committee and Council of the All-India Muslim League, while resigning also his membership of the National Defence Council observed: "As a mark of protest against the arbitrary use of power vested in its President, I beg to tender my resignation from the membership of the Working Committee and the Council of the All-India Muslim League." Mr. Huq also resigned his membership of the National Defence Council, constituted by the Viceroy.

Begum Shah Nawaz, Parliamentary Secretary, Punjab, announced her decision of not resigning from the National Defence Council. She was called upon

by the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League to do so wit hi ten days.

11th. Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State for India, made the following statement in reply to a question:—"There have been no resignations from the Viceroy's Executive Council. As regards the newly created National Defence Council, its main purpose was, as I made clear at the time, to bring the war effort in the Provinces and States, as well as in the ranks of Commerce, Industry and Labour into more effective touch with the Central Government."

The Working Committee of the Moslem League, convened by Mr. Jinnah, has since called upon the members of the League, including the Premier of Bengal, the Punjab and Assam, to resign both from the Viceroy's Executive and National Defence Councils on the grounds that they had associated themselves with the step taken without reference to and against the wish of Mr. Jinnah as President of the League. These three Premiers have complied with the request of the Working Committee.

The Nawab of Chhatari had previously resigned from the Defence Council, Begum Shah Nawaz remained a member of the Council. There have been no other resignations.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah issued a statement to the Press in reply to Mr. Fazlul Huq. He said that as Mr. Huq had complied with the resolution of the Working Committee no further action was necessary in his case. Regarding Mr. Huq's letter to the Secretary, All-India Moslem League, he said that the letter would be considered at the proper time and place.

Seven members of the Orissa Congress Assembly Party seceded from the party and formed a separate group of their own with Pandit Godavaris Misra as their leader.

The India and Burma Postponement of Elections Bill passed its third reading in the House of Commons. The Bill extended for the duration of the war and 12 months afterwards the maximum life of the House of Representatives in Burma and the Legislative Assembly in the eleven provinces in India.

12th. The Government of India decided to create a new Department, to be called the Department of Information and Broadcasting in the portfolio of the Rt. Hon. Sir Akbar Hydari.

In pursuance of the resolution passed by the Working Committee of the All-India Moslem League, Mr. Jinnah expelled Sir Sultan Ahmed and Begam Shah Nawaz from the Moslem League organization. They were also debarred from becoming members of the League for five years.

Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Chief Minister of Bengal, in a statement to the Press, observed: "The genius of the Bengali race revolts against autocracy and I could not, therefore, help protesting against the autocracy of a single individual when I discussed the political situation in my letter to the Secretary of the All India Moslem League."

In the Bengal Legislative Council, non-official Bills were discussed. The Bengal Local Self-Government (Amendment) Bill was passed.

13th. His Excellency Sir John Herbert paid a tribute to the part being played by Calcutta in the war effort when he addressed a meeting of Vice-Presidents and Members of the Calcutta National Defence and Saving's Week Committee.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, amendments with regard to the most controversial provision of the Secondary Education Bill, namely, clause 4, which set forth the communal ratio in the composition of the proposed Secondary Education Board, were discussed.

14th. Mr. Churchill's reference to India in the House of Commons when explaining the implications of the Atlantic Charter was the subject of a statement issued by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.

Khan Bahadur Alla Bux, Premier of Sind and Mr. R. K. Sidhwa, Leader of the Sind Congress Assembly Party, discussed the Sind situation in all its aspects with Mahatma Gandhi, Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Acharya Kripalani.

15th. Sir H. P. Modi, Member for Supply in the Viceroy's expanded Executive Council, in an interview to the Associated Press in Calcutta, said: "From that little I have seen, India's effort has truly been amazing."

16th. A Press note from Bombay stated: "The Government of Bombay has advised that the health of Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai is likely to suffer from

enquire about the caste of my customer while selling my wares to him, and therefore I must sell my wares to all, including soldiers. Theoretically speaking, this amounts to helping the war ; but we can not live in India or for that matter in any part of the world without rendering such theoretical help to the war, because everything we do or say helps the war."

Mr. A. K. Shah, presiding over the 64th. annual session of the Bengal Christian Conference, in Calcutta, described how Indian Christians were helping forward the Government's war effort.

A Press communique from Ranchi stated : 'The Bihar Government have decided to issue an order under the Defence of India Rules prohibiting the holding of the All-India Conference of the Hindu Mahasabha in the District of Bhagalpur, Monghyr, Patna, Gaya, Sahabad, Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga between December 1941, and January 10, 1942."

The position of Indian States in the proceedings of the Indus Commission on the distribution of the water of the Indus was again raised and a final ruling was given by the Chairman, Sir B. N. Rau, at the Commission's resumed sitting.

27th. At the meeting of the Indus Commission at Simla, Sir B. N. Rau, the Chairman. suggested the setting up of a body of irrigation experts and representatives of the Punjab and Sind to examine the effect of any irrigation projects which either side might contemplate and was generally welcomed by a number of representatives appearing before the commission,

Dr. Syed Husain, Registrar, Osmania University, speaking on "Technical Education and Industry" at the All-India Educational Conference (Vocation Section) at Sreenagar. declared that the war had proved an additional stimulus to India's industrialization and she was now expected to produce articles not only to meet her own requirements but also of other countries.

Dr. H. C. Mukherjee, organising secretary of the All-India Council of Indian Christians, at a meeting in Bombay, said that India was one and indivisible. Indians formed one nation.

28th. It was officially announced that the first meeting of the National Defence Council would take place at Viceregal Lodge, Simla, on Monday October 6. The Council would meet both in the morning and in the afternoon under the Presidency of His Excellency the Viceroy.

Mr. M. S. Aney, Member Designate of the Viceroy's Executive Council, speaking at a public reception at Wardha, said : "When it is a fact that Swaraj is attainable not at once but by instalments, there is no alternative but to avail ourselves of whatever is offered by the Viceroy's Expanded Council and utilize it for the next constitutional advance."

Some of the Hindu Sabha leaders, on behalf of the provincial Hindu Sabha, requested Mr. V. D. Savarkar to hold the meeting of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha Executive at Patna instead of in Delhi as they held that the sitting of the Executive in Patna would facilitate compliance with the Behar Government's order prohibiting the holding of the All-India Mahasabha session in certain districts of the province.

29th. At the meeting of the Indus Commission at Simla, both sides suggested issues subsidiary to those tentatively framed by the Chairman on the opening day.

Dr. M. R. Jayakar, presiding over the Founder's Day celebrations at Annamalai University made an appeal to the University authorities and the professors to concentrate their activities so as to inculcate in their students a spirit of patriotism devoid of all sectional and communal feelings, and based on the absolute truth that historically and geographically "India is one, was one and will always remain one."

30th. The Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes appointed two Sub-Committees, both under the Chairmanship of Sir V. T. Krishnamachariar, Chairman of the Ministers' Committee, to examine legislative and financial proposals introduced in the Central Legislature which were likely to affect Indian States.

Mr. S. Satyamurti, M.L.A. (central) addressing the Y. M. I. A. Parliament in Madras, made an earnest appeal to all Indians to give up their intellectual inaction and laziness and to apply their minds to the problems confronting the country.

Khan Bahadur Khuhro, Leader of the Muslin League Party in the Sind Assembly invited the Hindu and Muslim Leaders at Karachi in connection with the Dasara celebrations. Speeches about Hindu Muslim unity were made on the occasion. It was proposed to form a Hindu Muslim Settlement Board which should bring Gandhiji and Mr. Jinnah together to decide the communal problem.

October 1941

His Excellency the Viceroy inaugurated the first session of the National Defence Council at Simla. His Excellency remarked : "She (India) is today the base of operations for great campaigns and great strategic movements".

The Central Assembly opened its autumn session for the consideration of some important Bills. The Moslem League Party and the Congress Party refrained from attending the Assembly.

The Indus Commission framed preliminary issues re : the claims of the Sind and Punjab Governments in the light of the orders of the Government of India.

The 73rd birthday of Mahatma Gandhi was celebrated in all the different parts of India.

In the House of Lords, the King's assent to the India and Burma Postponement of Elections Act was signified by Royal Commission.

Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, the Punjab Premier, observed at Lahore that if the British Prime Minister could make a declaration satisfactory to the Indians, then they would not hesitate to offer their whole-hearted support to the war efforts.

A Conference of the leading Indian rice merchants in India, Burma and Ceylon was held in Bombay to consider the rice control scheme of the Burma Government.

Dr. M. R. Jayakar, in a meeting at Dharwar, regretted that inspite of the close proximity of the war, there was a good deal of misunderstanding between England and India for which he held England primarily responsible.

The 30th anniversary of the Chinese Republic was celebrated in Calcutta by the Chinese Community.

The Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha under the presidentship of Mr. V. D. Savarkar, emphatically protested against the Government of Bihar's ban on the session of the All-India Mahasabha, announced to be held at Bhagalpur.

The Government of India issued a Communique to the effect that some papers were seized from Mr. Jai Prakash Narain, security prisoner containing "plans to consolidate the position of the Congress Socialist Party by winning important members of the terrorist organizations."

Mahatma Gandhi issued a statement strongly recommending that the Deoli Camp should be disbanded and the prisoners should be sent nearer their homes.

The 'Dawn', a Muslim weekly journal founded by Mr. M. A. Jinnah, began publication from Delhi.

Mr. M. A Jinnah strongly advised his followers to stand for Pakistan, faith, unity and discipline.

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League commenced its session in New Delhi,—Mr. Jinnah presided. The Committee decided to boycott the autumn session of the Central Assembly.

The Committee of the Marwari Association, Calcutta, addressed a communication to the Defence Department, Government of India, drawing their attention to the question of recruitment of Indians to the Royal Indian Navy.

Mr. Churchill's interpretation of the Atlantic Charter with reference to India was condemned by the All-India Nationalist League, New Delhi, under the presidentship of Mr. Jamnadas Mehta.

1st. Bengal time which was an hour in advance of the Indian Standard Time and 36 minutes ahead of Calcutta Time, came into force. Work in commercial houses and trade firms would start at 9-30 A. M. and in Government offices throughout the province at 10 A. M.

Dr. M. R Jayakar, at a meeting in Madras, made an appeal to the British Government to transfer important portfolios like Defence, Finance and Communications to the hands of Indians and to the Congress to reconsider its position in the light of changed circumstances.

The Indus Commission framed preliminary issues at Simla and adjourned.—The issues framed were: (1) (A.) "what is the law governing the rights of the several provinces and States concerned in the present dispute with respect to the water of the Indus and its tributaries?" (1) (13) "How far do the orders of the Government of India annexed to and explained in their letter of March 30, 1937, themselves, constitute the law by which the rights in question are to be determined?" (1) (C.) "Is Sind entitled to object to the Punjab Government proceeding with the Bhakra dam project as described in the Sind case or as described in the Nicholson-French report.?"

Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab, in an interview at Simla, criticized Mr. Churchill's reference to India in relation to the Atlantic Charter, and in order to remove the impression created by it proposed that a fresh announcement should be made in "simple and unambiguous terms and without being hedged in by avoidable qualifications."

Mahatma Gandhi in a message to the Indian States' Peoples, said: "I am convinced that in the new world order which is bound to follow the insensate butchery dignified by the name of war, the Princes will have a place only if they become true servants of the people, deriving their power not from the sword but from the love and consent of the people."

2nd. The 73rd birthday of Mahatma Gandhi was celebrated in the different parts of India.

A Press Communique from Simla announced the names of the Indian States' representatives for the first meeting of the National Defence Council. The States which accepted the invitations addressed to the respective Rulers by His Excellency the Viceroy in this connection were Bahawalpur, Baroda, Bhopal, Bikaner, Cooch Behar, Dholpur, Faridkot, Gwalior, Hyderabad, Indore, Jaipur, Jodhpur, Junagadh, Kapurthala, Kotha, Mysore, Nawanagar, Palanpur, Patiala, Rampur, Rewa, Travancore and Udaipur."

3rd. In the House of Lords, the King's assent to the India and Burma Postponement of Election Act was signified by Royal Commission.

Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab, in an interview at Lahore, said: "If the British have any sense of statesmanship left in them, they should at once make the declaration I have suggested (that India shall have the status of full and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth within a reasonable time after the war) in the absence of which India should present a united front."

Describing Mr. Churchill's statement as 'the biggest rebuff India has ever received', Sir Sikander Hyat Khan considered that this was the most opportune time for all the parties in the country to unite, if the British were not prepared to make an unambiguous declaration which should clear the confusion created in the Indian mind. Mr Amery's reply to American questioneers, added the Premier, had made confusion worse confounded."

When the Indus Commission met at Simla, Sir B. N. Rau, chairman, suggested for the consideration of the parties that Sind's objections regarding

the Bhakra dam be withdrawn or modified and the dam be allowed to be erected, provided expressed stipulations were laid down that the quantities of water authorized to be withdrawn would be subject to modification if and when Sind's apprehensions turned out to be true. Both the parties agreed to the suggestion.

The annual conference of the Ahmadiya Moslems of Bengal was held at Brahmanbaria, Maulavi Abdul Mughani Khan presided.

4th. Sir Bertram Stevens, K. C M. G. delivering the Convocation Address to the University of Mysore, observed, "In India, the employment of the trained intellectual is a particularly difficult problem. But I believe that this great prospect of Indian industrialisation and Eastern group development should hearten you. Whenever you start, sooner or later, the opportunity to play a part, perhaps a leading part, in this new enterprise will come to you."

Members of the Central Assembly were informed of the changes necessitated by the expansion of the Governor-General's Executive Council in regard to subjects for which each member of the Council would be responsible and of the time allotted for questions concerning the various departments.

5th. The Bombay Provincial Conference of local bodies which met under the presidentship of Mr. L. M. Patel, former Minister for Local self-Government, Bombay, urged upon local self-governing institutions, proper education of citizens as regards their responsibilities and rights with a view to ensuring efficient and popular administration of the villages and towns.

6th. Sir Feroz Khan Noon, Member-designate, Viceroy's Executive Council, and formerly High Commissioner for India in London, in a Press interview at Lahore, made the categorical assertion that Britain could not lose the war.

Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, the Punjab Premier, in a Press interview at Lahore, observed: "If the British Prime Minister could see his way to make a declaration to the satisfaction of Indians, I visualise that practically the whole of India would come forward to help in one war effort, and consequently all the elements that matter will be represented on the body constituted to frame a constitution for India."

His Excellency the Viceroy inaugurated the first session of the National Defence Council at Simla. His Excellency remarked: "As the war goes on every day reveals more clearly the place which India has for herself in the world. She is today the base of operations for great campaigns and great strategic movements."

At the meeting of the Indus Commission, it was announced after some discussion that the commissioners would give their ruling on the legal issues within a day or two of the conclusion of arguments on them, and that they would then settle issues of fact.

The Mysore Representative Assembly met at Mysore, Mr. Vedavyasachar, Secretary to Government moved the Mysore Coffee Market Expansion Bill.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan of Travancore, opening the Sri Chitralaya Nartakalam at Trivandrum, outlined the Government's policy of encouraging the Fine Arts, particularly fresco painting.

7th. The Federal Court reassembled in New Delhi, after the summer vacation.

The Technical Education Sub-Committee of the Bengal Industrial Survey Committee submitted its interview report to the Government.

A special meeting of the members of the Indian Jute Mills Association, held at the Royal Exchange, Calcutta, ratified the decision of the committee of the Association to increase the number of working hours of the member mills from fifty fifty-four per week.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, in the course of a statement in Bombay, on the question of Hindu militarisation, made a call to the Hindus to come forward in their thousands and join the Army, Navy and Air Forces.

8th. A Conference of leading Indian rice merchants in India, Burma and Ceylon was held in Bombay to consider the rice control scheme of the Burma Government. Over 35 delegates, including four from Burma attended the meeting.

The Standing Emigratiom Committee concluded its meeting at Simla. It was announced that the negotiations with Ceylon were discussed as also the Indo-Burma Agreement and the criticisms which were directed against

it. The recommendation of the committee would be reported to the government of India.

In the Representative Assembly, Mysore, the Congress Group, numbering 104, headed by Mr. K. C. Reddi, and several Independents, led by Mr. Bhupalam Chandrasekharia, staged a walk-out as a protest against the ruling given by the Dewan-President disallowing the two identical adjournment motions tabed by Mr. K. C. Reddi and Mr. B. Chandrasekharia.

Rev. D. R. Bazely, speaking on the occasion of the 62nd. anniversary of the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association, observed : "We want to see Anglo-Indians taking their places in the Councils of the land, becoming thinkers and leaders not only of their own community but, having cultivated a sane Indian outlook, throwing their best for them."

9th. Dr. M. R. Jayakar, addressing a public meeting at Dharawar, declared : "War is daily drawing closer to India. It would be difficult to say what might happen to us if Russia were completely defeated. It is unfortunate that India should not still realize the seriousness of the war situation and the war is as much India's as it is Britain's, though, for different reasons, the British Government is mainly responsible for this state of affairs."

Khan Bahadur Allabux, Sind Premier, speaking at Simla emphasized that the main problem in India, and the one problem with which as an administrator, he was primarily interested was that of internal peace. This problem, he said, must gain importance and urgency as the war moved nearer to India and if communal unity was not establised all his emphasis would, therefore, be on an earnest plea that all parties in the country, without prejudice to their rights in the future constitution, should now bury the hatchet, and come to terms for the period of the war.

At the Representative Assembly, Mysore, a number of representations urging reduction of assessment and the grant of free lands for cultivation purposes for the Depressed Classes were discussed. The Dewan-President was in the Chair.

10th. The Indus Commission briefly expressed their views on the preliminary issues. The Commission held that the rights of the several units concerned in the dispute must be determined by applying neither the doctrine of sovereignty nor the doctrine of riparian rights but the rule of "equitable apportionment", each unit being entitled to a fair share of the water of the Indus and its tributaries.

The 30th. anniversary of the Chinese Republic was celebrated by the Chinese community in Calcutta. Advantage was also taken of the occasion to celebrate the victory of the Chinese Army over the Japanese Forces at Changsha.

11th. The twenty-fourth Conference of the Madras Provincial Co-operative Union commenced its session in Madras. Dr. B. V. N. Nayudu, Professor of Economics, Annamalai University, who presided, reviewed the progress of the Co-operative movement in the Presidency and the recommendations of the Enquiry Committee appointed by the Government to study the working of the movement and make suggestions for its future development.

The Indus Commission adjourned after framing additional issues following upon the views expressed by them.

When Mr. J. H. F. Raper, Member, Transportion, Railway Board met the members of the Marwari Association, in Calcutta, they urged improved wagon supply for civil requirements and increased amenities for railway passengers, particularly lower class travellers.

Mr. Mohamed Yunus, former Premier of Bihar, inaugurating the Bombay Provincial Conference, of the National Democratic Union, said : "Broad based national ministries or all party Governments in the provinces are the need of the hour".

The Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha which met in New Delhi, under the presidentship of Mr. V. D. Savarkar, passed a resolution emphatically protesting against the action of the Government of Bihar in imposing a ban on the session of the All-India Mahasabha, announced to be held at Bhagalpur during the Christmas vacation. The Committee urged the Bihar Government to reconsider and withdraw the ban, so as to enable the Mahasabha to exercise its legitimate rights of free association undisturbed.

12th. The Bombay Presidency National Democratic Union Conference concluded its session in Bombay, after passing four resolutions which were adopted by the All-India Committee of the Union. The first resolution was on the future

constitution of India and the second resolution was on agitation for an early reconstruction of the Viceroy's Council through the inclusion of more popular public men.

At the sitting of the Co-operative Conference in Madras, a resolution dissociating itself from the views expressed by Mr. F. A. R. Chettiar, about "official interference", in their working of the co-operative movement, was passed by a majority.

13th. The Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha at their meeting in New Delhi, passed a number of resolutions.—The first appreciated the action of Mr. Savarkar in cabling to President Roosevelt in respect of India's future.

The Indo-Burma Immigration Agreement, the Atlantic Charter and its applicability to India, price control and control of forward trading in fooodstuffs were some of the subjects proposed to be discussed in the Central Assembly.

Mr. Satyamurti in a talk to the journalists in Bombay made the declaration that his demand for a revision of the Congress programme did not in any way mean that Mahatma Gandhi should call off his Satyagraha movement.

A Gazette of India Extraordinary announced that Mr. M. S. Aney and Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker assumed office as members of the Viceroy's Executive Council.

14th. It was announced that one of the Maharaja of Mysore's contributions to the Viceroy's War Purposes Fund was a gift of Rs. 5 lakhs for the welfare of Indian troops.

Mr. Walchand Hirachand, in the course of a statement in Bombay, said: "It is much to be regretted that the Government of India are still dilly-dallying as regards the scheme for manufacturing automobiles."

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari declared open the "Nanda Mandir" a rest house for Harijans at Palni.—The Mandir was a gift of Seth Jugal Kishore Birla at a cost of Rs. 13,500.

16th. The status and rights of Indians in Ceylon, which were threatened by the proposed Ceylon Governments Immigration Ordinance, were sought to be safeguarded and in some respects improved in the joint report, published in New Delhi, by the Indian and Ceylonese delegations to the exploratory conference held in September in Ceylon.

His Excellency the Governor-General assented to the Bengal Court of Wards (Amendment) Bill, 1941.

Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, Commerce Member, opening the third Price Control Conference in New Delhi, mentioned the possibility of putting on the market one or two varieties of "standard cloth" to be sold at controlled prices to the poorer classes.

Three main changes in the Indian Income Tax were proposed in the amending Bill.

A Communique issued by the Government of India from New Delhi, said: "Plans to consolidate the position of the Congress Socialist Party by winning over important members of the terrorist organizations known as the Revolutionary Socialist Party and the Hindustan Republican Socialist Association and by isolating the Communist Party were seized from Mr. Jai Prakash Narain, security prisoner, Deoli Camp, when he attempted to pass them to his wife, Prabhabati Devi, at an interview"

The appointment of Lt. Col. C. G. Prior, Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, as a member of the Middle East War Council to serve as liaison between the Government of India and the Minister of State in Cairo, Capt. Lyttleton, was announced in a communique published from New Delhi.

17th. Mr. Purushottam Trikamdas, General Secretary, Congress Socialist Party issued a statement from Bombay on the Government of India Communique: "The publication by the Government of India of the letters alleged to be written by Mr. Jaiprakash Narain, who was the General Secretary of the Congress Socialist Party till his arrest, is perhaps intended to create a misunderstanding, if not a scare, among the public mind regarding the party's activities and a word of explanation therefore becomes necessary".

18th. An account of the activities of the Press Institute Organization in India, revealed the great advance made in anti-malarial and other public health work on estates and other industrial organizations, which took advantage of the advice and help from the Indian branch during 11 years.

The activities of the women's setion, Bengal Joint War Committee, were revealed on the monthly report for September—October which stated that no new work parties were formed in September but it was hoped that there would be an increase after the Puja holidays.

19th. Nominated non-official members of the Central Assembly were not to be allotted seats in the bloc meant for Executive Councillors and officials who filled the Seats reserved for Government.

A Government Press Note from New Delhi, said: "The suggestion has been made that the documents seized from Mr. Jai Prakash Narain were carefully edited before publication and that only "Snippets" or such parts as might have been thought convenient to Government were published. The Goverument of India point out that the documents were issued in full without the alterations or deletion of award ; they were accompanied, as is the usual practice with long documents, by a summary.

20th. The Working Committee of the Bengal Moslem League at its meeting in Calcutta, requested the members of the Council of the All-India Moslem League from Bengal to make every possible effort to attend the meeting of the Council in Delhi on October 26, in view of the special importance of the issues that will be discussed at the meeting. Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq was in the chair.

Regarding the attendance of the Congress Party at the session of the Central Assembly, the Congress Parliamentary Sub-Committee decided that the Party should attend for only one day. The date was to be decided by Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, Leader of the Party, in consultations with Messrs Satyamurti and Asraf Ali.

21st. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Moslem League, in a statement from Bombay, delivering his message of "Id" stated inter alia : "I feel confident that you all will at this moment reaffirm your resolve to do everything in your power and to make every contribution in the shape of time and money, and make every sacrifice that is possible to consolidate, harness and make Moslem India really a great nation, specially by building up all departments of national and individual life such as educational, economic and social uplift, and thus help further its onward progress in the realization of our political goal, namely Pakistan."

Mahatma Gandhi issued a statement from Wardha, regarding the Government Communique containing the alleged correspondence and statement by Jai Prakash Narain—In his statement Mahatma Gandhi strongly criticised the Government particularly with reference to the Deoli camp. He said : "I have learnt enough about it (the Deoli camp) to enable me to say in the name of humanity that the camp should be disbanded and the prisoners should be sent nearer their homes."

22nd. Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, leader of the Congress Party in the Central Assembly announced the decision of the Congress Party, to enable its members to continue their membership of the Assembly by attending the session for a day.

The proposal to place a million acres under improved varieties of rice was adopted by the Advisory Board of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, after taking into consideration the facts revealed in the marketing survey of rice.

The Atlantic Charter and the expansion of the Viceroy's Council formed the subject-matter of three adjournment motions for the Central Assembly Session of which notice was given by Mr. Deshmukh of the Congress Nationalist Party.

Sir George Schuster, M. P. addressing Oxford University conservatives, suggested that there was a danger of the Indian situation deteriorating. We might be faced with a position analogous to that of Ireland but immensely more difficult.

23rd. An evacuee ship, with 205 Indians and about 30 Europeans and other evacuees from Japan on board, arrived in Calcutta.

A Government Resolution on the report of the Director of Public Health, Bengal, stated that the year 1939 was comparatively a better year for public health in Bengal.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, at a public meeting in New Delhi, emphasized the greatness and the spiritual character of the month Ramzan.—"Today," Said Mr. Jinnah,

"I want to reaffirm with all the emphasis at my command that we stand for Pakistan, and for faith, unity and discipline."

Sir Alfred Watson, in the course of an article in Great Britain and the East, entitled, "Churchill's attitude to India," suggested that in view of the Premier's past record, he ought to address India to make his personal position clear.

24th. Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, Chairman, opening the first meeting of the Consultative Committee of Economists on post-war reconstructions, in New Delhi, emphasized that the meeting would have mainly to advise the Government on the best methods, by which, after the war, trade, manufacture and industries could be promoted and a better standard of living for the people of the country attained.

A Press Note from New Delhi said : "The Government of India are giving their careful consideration to Mr. N. M. Joshi's suggestions in regard to the rules, amenities and conditions in the Deoli Detention camp. Some time is bound to elapse before a decision can be taken owing to the fact that several Provincial Governments are also concerned and have to be consulted".

25th. Members of the Independent Party in the Central Assembly held an informal meeting in New Delhi, with Sir Henry Gidney, leader, in the chair. A majority of the members were present.

The police had to fire twice on riotous mobs at Dacca.—One person was killed and three others were injured as the result of the firing.

26th. The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League commenced its session in New Delhi, Mr. M. A. Jinnah presiding.—The meeting considered how best to demonstrate in the Central Assembly session, Muslim India's resentment and disapproval of the manner in which the expansion of the Governor-General's Executive Council was carried out, the National Defence Council was constituted and the attitude of the Viceroy and His Majesty's Government revealed by these acts.

Founded by Mr. M. A. Jinnah and edited under the supervision of Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Secretary of the Muslim League, "The Dawn", a Muslim weekly journal began publication from Delhi.

The Bombay Free Press Journal, in an article on Congress Policy, entitled "Govern or abdicate", wrote : "The Congress High Command has become a coterie of war weary veterans, who were weighed by their commitments to poses and policies, that they are unable or are unwilling to disentangle the tangled web of Indian politics."

Two Indian seamen, Toraboola and Abdul Latif of the *City of Nagpur*, which was torpedoed in the Atlantic on April 29, returned to Calcutta, after being decorated by the King, for acts of bravery.

27th. The Central Assembly began its autumn session and discussed Sir Gurunath Bewoor's motion for the election of six non-official members to the Defence Consultative Committee.

The Muslim League Party in the Central Legislature, at a meeting, with Mr. M. A. Jinnah in the chair, unanimously decided to boycott the session of the Central Assembly.

Sir Homi Mody, in answer to Sir Ziauddin Ahmed in the Central Assembly, said that the final decision regarding the acceptance of any requisition from any Empire country under the Lease and Lend Act rested with the American Administration.

The creation of the Department of Information and Broadcasting from October 24, was announced in a Gazette of India Extraordinary. The Department would deal with the following heads of business :—Bureau of Public Information, Broadcasting, Film Publicity, office of the Chief Press Adviser and Directorate of Counter-Propaganda.

The Council of the All-India Moslem League concluded its session after passing two non-official resolutions and after confirming two other resolutions of the working committee including one relating to Mr. Fazlul Huq.

28th. The Moslem League Party walked out of the Central Assembly after a statement was made by Mr. Jinnah declaring that they were doing so in order to register their protest against the way in which the Moslem offer of Co-operation in the war effort had been completely ignored by the Government.

Mr. M. S Aney, Leader of the House, had to answer a number of questions

and supplementaries in the Council and Assembly, on the Atlantic Charter and Mr. Churchill's statement on the question of its application to India.

Mr. B. G. Kher, ex-Prime Minister of Bombay, and Mr. Morarji Desai, ex-Revenue Minister were released.

29th. In the Central Assembly, Sir A. H. Ghuznavi moved his resolution on the Indo-Burma Immigration Agreement and Mr. M. S. Aney, Overseas Member sought an adjournment of the debate on the ground that he would allot an official day for it.

Petrol rationing was referred to in a question in the name of Sir Ziauddin Ahmed in the Central Assembly.

Mr. N. M. Joshi's adjournment motion on the Deoli Camp hunger-strike was rejected without a division.

Mr. S. Satyamurti, M. L. A., (Central) addressing the Delhi Provincial Students' Federation, emphasized the impracticability of the Pakisthan Scheme.

Pandit Godavaris Misra, M. L. A. issued a joint manifesto on behalf of himself and the Maharaja of Parlakimedi over the question of forming a Coalition Ministry in Orissa.

The Central Assembly took up for discussion Maulavi Abdur Rasheed Choudhuri's resolution recommending immediate steps to give effect in the case of India also, to the joint decision of the British Premier and the President of the United States of America, commonly known as the Atlantic Charter, for creating a new world order.

30th. The Central Assembly considered several official Bills. Sir Andrew Clow's Bill under the provisions of which railway property might be subjected to new taxation by local bodies was referred to a Select Committee,

The House agreed to send to a Select Committee Sir Jeremy Raisman's Bill further to amend the Excess Profits Tax Act, the main object of which was to meet the wide-spread objection to the discrimination, as regards the treatment of borrowed money as capital, between money borrowed from a person carrying on a bonafide banking business and money borrowed from any other person.

The Assembly referred to a Select Committee Sir Andrew Clow's Bill to alter the constitution of the port of Madras.

A report of the working of Bengal Legislative Assembly for the period from May 1940 to April 1941, stated that about ten lakhs of rupees had to be spent by the Government of Bengal towards the maintenance of the Legislative Assembly.

Mahatma Gandhi issued a long statement from Wardha on Satyagraha. He said *inter alia* : "I have been incharge of issuing statements for the guidance of Satyagrahis. The deciding reason has been to have them to be self-guided where they are not guided by local leader.....The public should know that those who were not whole-heartedly with the Bombay resolution have come out with their doubts confirmed. Similarly those who had never any doubt have become firmer than ever before in their opinion. As for me, I never had any doubt as to the correctness of the Bombay resolution and have none about the correctness of the steps hitherto taken in pursuance there-of."

The appointment of Sir G. S. Bajpai, as Agent General of the Government of India in the United States was the subject of a question in the Central Legislative Assembly.

Mr. Churchill's interpretation of the Atlantic Charter with reference to India was condemned by the All-India Nationalist League which concluded its session in New Delhi under the presidentship of Mr. Jamnadas Mehta. The League characterised the interpretation as 'nothing short of repudiation of the plighted word of His Majesty's government'. The League appealed to President Roosevelt and the British Government to make a further declaration reiterating the promise of complete freedom to India."

31st. The Committee of the Marwari Association, Calcutta, addressed a communication to the Defence Department, Government of India drawing their attention to the question of recruitment of Indians to the Royal Indian Navy.— It was pointed out in this connexion, that notwithstanding the assurances given from time to time in the past about the intentions of the Government to Indianize the personnel of the Royal Indian Navy, the progress of admission of Indians were very slow.

Mr. Purushottomdas Tricumdas, General Secretary, All-India Socialist

Party in the course of his presidential address at the Provincial Socialist Conference at Patna, observed: "We supported the Bombay Resolution of the Congress and we have implemented it to the best of our ability and about 90 p. c. of the members are in jail today. The question which is asked of me is, do we still support the programme of individual Satyagraha and my answer is, we are not at all satisfied with it inspite of Gandhiji's assurances to the contrary. We want it to be intensified into a mass struggle for freedom to which every Indian could make his contribution."

November 1941

Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India made two speeches, one at Manchester and the other in the House of Commons, in both of which he discussed the political situation in India. He said that "We should be proud of our contribution to India. But above all there is goodwill between Indians themselves. "He characterized the extension of the Viceroy's Council as a great step in advance, consisting as it did a majority of Indian members.

The Bihar Provincial Congress Socialist Conference at Patna passed a resolution expressing concern at the hunger-strike in the Deoli Detention Camp.

The Ceylon delegation strongly recommended the adoption of the agreed conclusions reached at the Indo-Ceylon Exploratory Conference.

Mr K. M. Munshi addressing the Sikhs at Lahore strongly advised them to keep India one and indivisible.

The Central Assembly discussed the Indo-Burma Immigration movement. Sir A. H. Ghuznavi moved a resolution for the revision of the terms of the Agreement.

In the Central Assembly, in reply to Mr. Joshi, Sir Reginald Maxwell assured the House that the case of the detenus was receiving proper attention by the Provincial Governments and the detenus' demands were being carefully considered.

The Society of Friends (London) in a memorandum to Mr. Churchill suggested the acceptance of the three point policy submitted by them by the Premier.

The provisional figures of the Central Government's receipts and disbursements during the year 1940-41 were published from New Delhi : Total revenue, Rs. 108¼ crores and the total expenditure, Rs. 115 crores. The net revenue deficit was Rs. 6 3/4 crores.

In the Council of State, Mr. Conran Smith, Home Secretary made a statement re: the whereabouts of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, on the basis of some leaflets which were in possession of the Government. But he had no information how Mr. Bose managed to go over to Rome or Berlin.

Mr Hemanta Kumar Bose, Acting Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Forward Block, in a statement to the Press, re : Mr. Subhas Bose, regretted that the Government "had found rumour a worthy auxiliary of the Intelligence Department."

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League accepted the explanation of Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq and decided not to take any further action in the matter.

A new Ministry was formed in Orissa, with the Maharaja of

Parlakimedi, Pandit Godavaris Misra and Maulavi Abdus Sobhan Khan as Ministers.

Mahatma Gandhi commenting on Mr. Amery's speech at Manchester said : "His repeating the same untruths would not convert untruth to truth."

The ban imposed on the All-India Hindu Mahasabha against holding its annual session at Bhagalpur and some other districts of Bihar, was partially modified.

1st. In the Central Assembly, Mr. A. C. Dutt and Sir Henry Gidney tabled amendments to Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi's resolution on the Indo-Burma Immigration.

The political situation in India (before the formation of the new government in India and before the entry of Russia into the war) was discussed at a meeting of the East India Association held in London with Lord Hailey in the chair.

At the first sitting of the Bihar Provincial Congress Socialist Conference at Patna, under the presidentship of Mr. Purushottam Tricumdas, a resolution expressing deep concern at the hunger-strike in the Deoli Detention Camp and viewing with regret the attitude adopted by the Government of India in this connection, was passed.

Mr. J. B. Kripalani, General Secretary of the Congress declaring open the "Ahimsa Vyam Sangh" near Malad in Bombay, said : "Non-violence may or may not solve the many problems facing the world today, but it has been proved to the hilt that war and violence have not solved them and are incapable of solving them. Therefore even as an experiment non-violence is worth a trial. It has at least solved the many individual family and social problems without bloodshed and breaking of heads."

2nd. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Chairman, Non-Party Leaders' Conference issued a statement on the political situation in India on behalf of the Standing Committee of the Conference which concluded its two-day session at Allahabad.

The report of the Ceylon Delegation to the Board of Ministers on the Indo-Ceylon Exploratory Conference was published.—The Delegation strongly recommended the adoption of the agreed conclusion reached in the Conference.

At the Second Madras Students' Conference, a resolution was moved, stating that students should launch a country-wide mass struggle with an anti-imperialistic basis and a democratic programme, which must include the right of sections to separate existence in a voluntary federation.

3rd. Strong disapproval of the action of the Government of India in concluding the Indo-Burma Immigration Agreement without first publishing the Banter Committee's report on the subject, was expressed by the Committee of the Bombay Provincial Moslem League in a resolution.

Mr. K. M. Munshi, addressing a gathering of Sikhs at Nankana Sahib, Lahore, declared : "If we keep India one and indivisible in the midst of this international crisis and despite the movement which threatens internal disruption, by a supreme effort of resistance, India will emerge great and free, the mistress of her destiny".

A Press Note, announcing the decision of the Government of Bengal, stated that the working hours of cotton spinning and weaving mills and factories in the province were increased to a maximum of sixty hours a week from fifty four hours permissible under the Factories Act.

At a public meeting in Calcutta, great concern was expressed for the political prisoners at the Deoli Camp who had gone on hunger strike. Mr. Santosh Kumar Basu, M.L.A. presided.

4th. The Central Assembly discussed the Indo-Burma Immigration Agreement. Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi move the following resolution :—"This Assembly being of the opinion that the Indo-Burma Immigration Agreement should not have been concluded without consulting the Legislature and public opinion in India, and being further of the opinion that the said Agreement ignores the fundamental rights of Indians settled in or having connections with Burma, violates the assurances and pledges given at the time of the passage of the Government of Burma Act in regard to the right of free

entry of Indians into Burma, and discriminatory and humiliating in its provisions and detrimental to the interest of India, recommends to the Governor-General-in Council not to implement the Agreement as it stands, and to revise it satisfactorily in consultation with the interests concerned.

The decision to expand the Indian Air Force to ten squadrons was announced by Sir Gurunath Bewoor in the Central Assembly.

5th. In the Central Assembly, Sir Reginald Maxwell, in reply to Mr. N. M Joshi, gave the latest information regarding the hunger-strike in Deoli Jail. He said : "The Government took every possible step to persuade the security prisoners not to embark on a hunger-strike and informed them that their demands were being carefully considered and that any attempt to force the issue on their part would serve no useful purpose and might prejudice the consideration of their demands.

Mr. H. C. Prior, Secretary for Labour, moved a Bill regarding maternity benefits for women workers in mines.

Mr. N. R. Sarkar introduced a Bill to amend the Aligarh University Act, so that the University might be enabled to admit to its privileges a degree college for women which, it was proposed to organize at Aligarh and to confer degrees on students passing the degree examinations from that college.

In a memorandum on India to Mr. Churchill, the Society of Friends (London) suggested that the Premier should support the three point policy submitted by them as the policy of the British Government. The Society believed that this would ease the existing political tension between Britain and India. The points mentioned by them were : First, a time limit for the attainment by India of full Self-Government after the war ; secondly, means to be found meanwhile by which further responsibility for the Government will be transferred to Indians ; and thirdly, a decision that political prisoners shall be released in order that consultations could be carried on in a free atmosphere.

Replying to the memorandum, the Prime Minister's Secretary invited the Society's attention to Mr. Churchill's speech in the House of Commons on Sept. 9, an extract of which ran as follows : "We are pledged by the declaration of August 1940, to help India obtain a free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth with ourselves, subject, of course, to the fulfilment of the obligations arising from our long connexion with India and our responsibilities to its many creeds, races and interests."

6th. At a special meeting of member mills of the Indian Jute Mills Association in Calcutta, Mr. W. A. M. Walker, Chairman, spoke on the circumstances which necessitated the mills working 60 hours per week.

Mr. K. M. Munshi in a statement to the Press in Bombay, said : "I am not surprised at the comments made by Mr. Jinnah at Aligarh on my visit to the Punjab. He is fast becoming an adept in trying to overawe those who disagree with him by methods with which the world has by now become pretty familiar".

Under the auspices of the Presidency College Tamil Association (Madras), the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivas Sastri addressed a meeting of students, the subject being "Indians abroad". Mr. Sastri said that for various reasons Indian nationals went and settled in British Dominions and Colonies. But the White settlers there, who had governmental power in their hands, looked down upon them and treated them as slaves. The thought that Indians were entitled to a treatment equal to themselves never entered their minds even for a moment.

Mr. S. Satyamurti, addressing the students of the Hindu College, Delhi on "Students and Politics" declared : "I am of the clear and emphatic opinion that it is neither good for politics nor for themselves nor for the country, for students to take active part in politics".

His Excellency Sir John Herbert, Governor ot Bengal addressing a mass meeting at Bogra, said : "If the scene of battle is not to creep nearer to India as it threatens to do, our war effort must not only be maintained at its present level but considerably increased".

7th. A meeting of the Madras Provincial War Committee was held at the Government House, Madras, Sir George Boag presided. The Chairman of the various sub-committees presented reports of the working of the committees since July 1941.

8th. A statement was published from New Delhi, showing the provisional figures of the Central Government's receipts and disbursements during the year 1940-41.

The total revenue during the year amounted to Rs. 108¼ crores (including Rs. 12 crores as the contribution from Railways and Rs. 2 crores as the net surplus of the Posts and Telegraphs Department as well as 7¾ crores transferred from the Revenue Reserve Fund) and the total expenditure to Rs. 115 crores of which Rs. 73¾ crores was on Defence Services.

The net revenue deficit was Rs. 6¾ crores against 8½ crores according to revised estimates.

His Excellency Sir John Herbert, Governor of Bengal paid a tribute to the contribution of the Eastern Bengal Railway to the war effort when he opened a fete and Christmas bazar in aid of the East India Fund at Kanchrapara.

A Press Communique from New Delhi stated that the Government of India received information that 184 of the security prisoners who were on hunger strike at Deoli, called off their strike unconditionally and broke their fast.

Mr. Vijay Laxmi Pandit, opening the Patna District Political Conference at Patna, made an appeal for strenghening the Congress Constructive and other programmes outlined by Mahatma Gandhi.

9th. A meeting of the Working Committee of the National Liberal Federation of India was held in New Delhi under the chairmanship of Sir Vithal Chandravarkar.—The political situation was discussed and the following among other resolutions was passed : "The Working Committee protests against the exclusion of India from the purview of the Atlantic Charter by the Prime Minister of England. His speech is inconsistent with the appeals made to India to regard the war as a struggle for the enlargement of the bounds of freedom and democracy."

Sir John Herbert, Governor of Bengal, opened the first camp in connexion with the "Study Centre for International Affairs" started by the Bengal Government in Calcutta.

Under the auspices of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, in observance of the "Detenue Day", satisfaction was expressed that a majority of the detenues in the Deoli Camp had given up their hunger strike, at a public meeting held in Bombay.

10th. In the Council of State (New Delhi), on the question of Raja Yuveraj Singh, re : whereabouts of Mr. Subhas Bose, Mr. Conran Smith, Home Secretary, referred to certain leaflets which had fallen into the hands of Government and said that he had no doubt that Mr. Bose had gone over to the enemy. He, however, had no information as to how Mr. Bose had managed to transport himself to Europe.

In the Central Assembly, the President ruled out an adjournment motion tabled by Sardar Sant Singh to discuss "the grave situation in Calcutta leading to the closing of markets to protest against the methods of assessing income tax and racial discrimination in the application thereof."

The proposal to tax a man's income in British India at a rate applicable to the total of his income both in British India and in Indian States was the main subject of criticism when the House took up discussion of Sir Jeremy Raisman's Bill to amend the Income-tax Act as reported by the Select Committee.

11th. In the Council of State, the members of the Moslem League staged a formal walk-out after their leader, Mr. Husain Imam had made a brief statement.

Mr. Williams (Defence Secretary) in reply to a question said : "The Scindia Steam Navigation Company, Bombay, have been granted a lease for 99 years of about 2 78,000 square yards of land at Vizagapatam for the construction of a ship-building yard subject to a rental of Rs. 70 per 1000 square yards per annum for the first ten years, subject to a decennial increase of Rs. 15 per one thousand square yards, there-after."

In the Central Assembly the house took into consideration Sir Jeremy Raisman's Bill to amend the Excess Profits Tax Act as reported upon by the Select Committee.

12th. In the Central Assembly Mr. M. S. Aney, Leader of the House, stated that the Government would be in a better position to deal with Mr. N. M. Joshi's resolution recommending the release of political prisoners if it was not moved till the 17th. November. Mr. Joshi said that the subject matter of the resolution was urgent, but as he was anxious that not only the resolution should be

discussed but that it should result in substantial action, he was willing to take it up on the 17th.

In the Central Assembly, the debate on Mr. Abdur Rashid Choudhury's resolution recommending the application of the Atlantic Charter to India was passed without a division, Government members not opposing.

The House, there-after, passed without a division, the Government not objecting, Mr. Jamnadas Mehta's resolution recommending that in any fresh scheme of repatriation of India's sterling debt, care should be taken to see that the cost of such repatriation on Indian revenues was not unduly heavy.

13th. In the Council of State, the contributions paid by India to the League of Nations, the attitude of the Sinkiang Government towards British Indian residents there, the application of the Atlantic Charter to India and the granting of commissions in the Royal Indian Navy and the Royal Indian Naval Reserve were among the variety of subjects raised at question-time.

The Central Legislative Assembly passed Sir Jeremy Raisman's Bill to amend the Excess Profits Tax Act as reported upon by the Select Committee.

Four Bills passed by the Central Legislative Assembly were passed by the Council of State. They were two Bills further to amend the Code of Criminal Procedure, the Bill to amend the Factories Act and the Bill to regulate the employment of women in mines for a certain period.

Mahatma Gandhi addressed a meeting of the Standing Committee of the States' peoples' Conference at Wardha, which was presided over by Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya.

14th. In the Central Assembly, Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar in reply to Sardar Sant Singh stated that the number of enemy firms in Bombay, Karachi, Madras, Calcutta taken over by the custodian of enemy property were in Bombay 50, Karachi 3, Madras 2, and in Calcutta 19.

Sir A. Mudaliar moved his resolution that a fund called the Industrial Research Fund, for the purpose of fostering industrial development in India be constituted and that provision be made into the budget for an annual grant of Rs. 10 lakhs to the Fund for a period of five years. The resolution was passed without a division.

Mr. Hemanta Kumar Bose, acting secretary of the Bengal Provincial Forward Bloc, in a communication to the press on the statement of the Home Member re: Mr. Subhas Ch Bose in the Council of State on November 10, said: "The Government of India have failed in the elementary duty of vouching for the safety of one of the foremost citizens of India. Instead, they have formed 'rumour' a worthy auxiliary of the Intelligence Department".

15th. Mr. Mungturam, presiding at the annual meeting of the Marwari Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta, suggested the formulation of a national policy at the centre which would help in the development of trade and industry in the country.

A Press Communique was issued from New Delhi, re: Deoli detenues: "According to the latest reports received from Deoli, the health of the security prisoners who are still in hunger strike is satisfactory, with the exception of one security prisoner whose release on November 14 has already been reported in the press. As soon as the large majority of Security Prisoners abandoned the strike, the Government of India resumed their consultation with Provincial Governments regarding the grievances put forward. The matter will be considered further without delay as soon as the replies of Provincial Governments are received".

16th. The All-India Anti-Fascist Students' Conference in New Delhi decided to form in India a section of the international Anti-Fascist Peoples Front, established on the basis of the Anglo-Soviet Alliance, so that the Indian masses "may reinforce that front and qualify for a place of honour in a new world of freedom to follow upon the destruction of the forces of international reaction represented by fascism."

The working committee of the All-India Muslim League concluded in New Delhi after passing many resolutions. The Committee accepted the explanation of Mr. Huq, in regard to his letter to the Secretary of the League, dated Sept. 8 and resolved that no further action was necessary.

17th. In the Central Assembly the joint report of the delegations from India and Ceylon was discussed. Mr. M. S. Aney, Over-seas Member, moving consi-

deration of the report, briefly traced the circumstances in which the negotiations, which broke down in Delhi in February 1940 were resumed in Ceylon in June 1941, and pointed out that the Government of India had published the report drawn up as a result of these resumed conversations and placed before the House for discussion in order to ascertain the views of the House as well as of the different public organisations concerned.

The Council of State pased two Bills, one further to amend the Aligarh Moslem University Act 1920 and the other to alter the constitution of the Board of Trustees of the Port of Madras, both as passed by the Central Legislative Assembly.

18th. In the Central Assembly, Sir Reginald Maxwell, Home Member, intervening in the debate on Mr. N. M. Joshi's resolution urging the release of political prisoners, said that the matter raised by the resolution was one in which Provincial Governments were closely concerned and the resolution itself recognized the fact when it asked to take steps in agreement with the Provincial Government. In these circumstances, the Home Member added, the Government were not in a position, as an immediate result of this debate, to anticipate the outcome of these consultations or to commit themselves or the provinces to any particular course of action.

After the debate Mr. Joshi withdrew his motion stating that he had no other course but to give more time for the Government to come to a decision as the Home Member had wanted. The Assembly then adjourned *sine die*.

Mr. S. Satyamurti, Deputy Leader of the Congress Party in the Central Assembly, on the approval of Mahatma Gandhi, released the full correspondance that passed between him and Gandhiji on the question of giving him freedom to carry on propaganda to convert the country and the Congress to his views.

The Council of State accepted a resolution moved by Pandit H. N. Kunzru recommending that full use be made of the material available in India for the recruitment of officers for the Royal Indian Navy with a view to its Indianization.

19th. In the Council of State, Mr. C. E. Jones, Finance Secretary in reply to a question by Raja Yuveraja Dutt Sing disclosed that India's expenditure on defence services was mounting and for 1941-42 the daily average might amount to as much Rs. 25 lakhs as against the pre-war figures of Rs. 12 lakhs.

According to the All-India Census figures published from New Delhi, India's population on March 1, 1941 was 388.8 millions of whom 47,322,000 were literate persons.

A special communication issued by the All-India States Muslim League, from Bhopal, said : "The British Premier showed characteristic statesmanship in not announcing application of the Atlantic Charter to India, as this could not be done except with the abrogation and annulment of existing treaties of friendship and co operation with Indian States which are determined to shape their honourable course through the Chamber of Princes as independent units of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, discussed the political situation in India in a speech at Manchester. He said: "We can be proud of Britain's contribution to India. What the Magna Carta won for us in the rights of the individual under the law, that we have given to India. We have now set ourselves to achieve, in cooperation with Indian statesmanship the far greater miracle of building up within the space of a few years that superstructure of responsible freedom which we have took centuties to complete. Inspite of suspicion we still retain the underlying goodwill and confidence in India. But above all there is need for goodwill between Indians themselves."

Mr. L. A. Buss, Leader of the European group in the Central Assembly and manager of the Burma-Shell Company in Delhi died of heart-failure.

20th. In the Council of State, Mr. P. N. Sapru moved a resolution demanding the stoppage of recruitment of Europeans to the Indian Police in order to accelerate the pace of Indianization.

The Council of State discussed non-official resolutions and passed one non-official Bill of Mr. M. C. Chettiar, which amended the Indian limitations Act.

Mr. S. Satyamurti, Deputy Leader of the Congress Party in the Central Assembly sent the following telegram to Mahatma Gandhi, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel & Dr. Rajendra Prasad.—"Congress Party in Central Assembly practically unanimous favouring functioning actively as main opposition. Our electorates

support us. Our case is as strong as Bengal, Assam, Punjab and Sind. Please accept opinion."

21st. Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant opened the All-India Khadi and industrial Swadeshi Exhibition at Lucknow. Addressing the students of the National High School, he advised them not to take education as a means of earning money or to gain their selfish ends, but for the service of their country and humanity.

22nd. The 22nd Session of the Andhra Mahasabha met at Vizag. Sir Vijaya, Maharaja Kumar of Vizianagram presided.

In the Council of State, the debate on the Indo-Ceylon report was continued, at the end of which the session concluded.

Mr. H. S Suhrawardy, Bengal's Labour Minister in inaugurating the seventh session of the Bengal Labour Conference in Calcutta, made a call to industrial workers to do everything in their power to supply "our troops" with war materials and assist them in winning victory.

Faith in the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi was expressed in the first conference of the Madras Fifth Circle Congress.

23rd. A Press communique issued by the Secretary to the Governor at Cuttack, stated : "With the concurrence of His Excellency the Governor-General, His Excellency the Governor of Orissa has this morning by a proclamation under section 93 of the Government of India Act, 1935, revoked the proclamation under that section hitherto enforced in Orissa". It added :—'On being invited by the Governor to form a Ministry, the Maharaja of Parlakimedi has named as his colleagues Pandit Godavaris Misra and Maulavi Abdus Sobhan Khan. His Excellency has summoned these three gentlemen to be sworn in as Ministers to-morrow morning."

The Bengal Labour Conference in Calcutta, passed a resolution calling upon Indian workers to support to the best of their ability and power the war effort in this country.

Three volleys of tear smoke were used to disperse a meeting of Sikhs which had gathered in Gandhi grounds, Old Delhi, in contravention of the District Magistrates order under sec 144 Cr. P. C.

The Andhra Mahasabha was occupied with one main resolution relating to the Andhra Province. Mr. T. Prakasham explained the Congress Ministry's efforts for securing a separate province for the Andhras.

24th. The Maharaja of Parlakimedi, Pandit Godavaris Misra and Moulavi Abdus Sobhan Khan, who were appointed members of the Council of Ministers by His Excellency the Governor of Orissa, took their oaths of office in the forenoon at Cuttack.—A Gazette Extraordinary notification said that the Maharaja of Parlakimedi would hold the portfolios of Home Affairs (excluding publicity), Local Self-Government and P. W. D. Pandit Misra would hold the port-folios of finance, Home Affairs (publicity), Development and Education and Mr. Sobhan Khan those of Law, Commerce, Revenue and Health.

25th. Sir S. Radha Krishnan, addressing the Annual Convocation of the Dacca University, observed : "The principal cause of the great struggle now on is exaltation of the national ideal at the expense of the human. If war as the nemesis of nationalism gone mad, it is because nations adopt the ideal of the absolute state.

Mr. T. Prakasham, President of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee, issued a circular to all Agents of District Congress Committees, and leaders of Congress Parties in District Boards and Municipalities calling upon Congress Presidents and members of District Boards and Congress Chairmen and members of Municipal Councils to resign and withdraw from these bodies before December 15.

26th. M. Litvinov, Russian Ambassador in Washington accompanied by Mrs. Litvinov and his private secretary, arrived in Calcutta, enroute to America.

Sir S. Radha Krishnan, addressing the students of the Salimulla Muslim Hall, Dacca University, said that the true sign of culture was to behave in such a way as not to wound the susceptibilities of any body. He asked the students not to be carried away by street slogans and not to yield to instincts and emotions.

27th. Sir Badridas Goenka, President, Indian Chamber of Commerce, reviewing the position of Indian industry in relation to war at the quarterly general meeting in Calcutta, stressed that the vital gaps in Indian industrial structure if not filled in time, might result in the course of a prolonged war in paralysing the country's industrial activity.

The Bengal Legislative Assembly met and immediately adjourned till December 8, following a statement by the Premier Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq.

The Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery, in the House of Commons told Mr. Ammon (Labour) that he had not yet seen the official report of the proceedings in the Indian Legislative Assembly on the motion regarding the release of political prisoners.—Answering a question as to what action the British Government and the Viceroy were taking to bring about a more satisfactory state of affairs throughout India to improve the war effort, Mr. Amery said that new administrative measures announced in India for furthering the association of India with the war effort had been successfully initiated The Executive Council had been expanded and now contained a majority of non-official Indians. Ministarial Government had been established in Orissa. While confident that the success of these measures would naturally assist the war effort, the Government of India remained anxious to foster the growth of goodwill throughout India and the association of all sections of the community in the common endeavour.

28th. Sir C. V. Raman, addressing the Patna University Convocation, observed: "We in India are the inheritors of a great civilization, we are rightly proud of our forefathers who possessed this country, who reared the highest intelligence, the highest civilization, when the rest of the world was steeped in darkness and ignorance. Let us not forget that we are not mere learners of all that the western science has to teach. Let us feel that we are descendants of great progenitors".

Mr. A. R. Siddiqi, M. L. A, President of the Muslim Chamber of Commerce, in a statement to the press in Calcutta observed: "Burma has added insult to the injury inflicted on India by ordering the Government of India to supply not less than 35,000 unskilled labourers to work in the agricultural fields of Akyab."

Mahatma Gandhi commenting on Mr Amery's speech at Manchester, said *inter alia*: "Mr. Amery has said nothing new. He does not know India as well as I do. Therefore, I see that by repeating his statement he is doing no good either to his own country or to India. His repeating the same untruths would not convert untruth to truth."

29th. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, scrutinising Mr. Amery's objections to Congress suggestion for a constituent assembly, based on adult franchise with separate electorates for Muslims, for deciding India's future constitution, said: "I cannot imagine what possible objections could be raised by Muslims particularly when it is conceded that no solution of any communal problem which is not acceptable to Muslims will be forced on them.....Mr. Amery's objection to decision by majority vote of the constituent assembly contains the implied admission that Congress will have a majority on it when the suspicion of minorities is put out of the way by providing a complete safeguard, indicated above, what possible objection can Mr. Amery have to the decision of the majority."

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherji, Working President, All-India Hindu Mahasabha, presiding over the annual session of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Conference at Burdwan, said: "The Mahasabha is not an organization directed against the interest of any Non-Hindu community. In fact, its objects lay down that every branch of the Mahasabha must concern itself with the establishment of sound and harmonious inter-communal relationship."

Mr. Pran Krishna Padhiary, President of the Provincial Congress Committee (Orissa) in a statement at Cuttack, made a strong criticism of Pandit Godavaris Misra and his group in forming a Ministry.

The ban imposed on the All-India Hindu Mahasabha against holding its annual session in Bhagalpur and certain of the Districts of Bihar between December and Janaury 10, 1942 was modified by the Government of Bihar to the extent that the ban would remain in force only up to January 4 instead up to January 10.

30th. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru addressing the Convocation of the Benares Hindu University observed : "Whatever be the evils of nationalism in Europe, I think nationalism is a necessity with us (in India), and before we think of Internationalism or the New Order or Federation of the world, I think we must allow nationalism a fair chance in our own country."

At the session of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Conference, at Burdwan, a resolution urging on fresh census for Bengal "under the exclusive control of the Central Government free from all interference by the Provincial Government" was passed. Dr. Shyma Prasad Mukherji presided.

December 1941

The declaration of War on Japan by Great Britain and the United States created a great sensation all throughout India ; as with the entry of Japan into the World conflict, the war reached a dangerous proximity to the shores of India.

The Bengal Ministers tendered their resignation to the Governor of Bengal, which was subsequently followed by the formation of a new Ministry with Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq as the Premier and the representatives of the different parties in the Bengal Assembly.

The Assam Cabinet also resigned and by a proclamation by the Governor of Assam, the constitution was suspended.

At the Pakistan Conference at Lucknow, a resolution was passed demanding 'Pakistan'.

The Government of India issued a communique from New Delhi, announcing the release of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Pandit Jawhar Lal Nehru and other "Civil Disobedience" prisoners.

Mr. L. S. Amery, secretary of state for India, when he was asked regarding India's future constitution, referred to a statement made by the Governor General of India on August, 1940.

Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, M. L. A. (Bengal) was arrested and detained under the Defence of India Rules.

Master Tara Singh advised the Sikh community not to resort to 'civil disobedience' but urged the Government to accelerate the pace of peaceful solution in view of the international situation.

The Non-Party Conference at Lucknow passed a resolution calling upon the British Government to declare unequivocally that India would have the same freedom and equality of status as Great Britain and the Dominions.

His Excellency the Viceroy made an appeal for political unity in India in the face of the common danger when he addressed the annual meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce in Calcutta.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad declared in Bombay that unless there was a change in the British Government's attitude, there could not be a change in the Indian attitude.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha instructed the workers not to interfere with the authorities before the date of the actual session of the Mahasabha at Bhagalpore. Subsequently Mr Savarkar was arrested along with a large number of Mahasabha leaders and workers.

Mr. M. A Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League reminded

the British Government that with him and his followers, Pakistan was sacred and an article of faith.

Mahatma Gandhi issued a statement asking the Bihar Government to lift the ban on the Hindu Mahasabha and Mr. M. R. Jayakar appealed to the Viceroy to the same effect. In an interview with Sir Manmatha Nath Mukherjee on the subject in Calcutta, His Excellency the Viceroy said that as it was a provincial issue, he did not find his way to interview.

Mr. Savarkar, in his presidential speech at the Hindu Mahasabha, insisted on the militarization and industrialization of the Hindus.

The Congress Working Committee passed a resolution relieving Mahatma Gandhi of his leadership of the Congress.

1st. A Government House (Bengal) communique stated : "It is announced that the Bengal Ministers have today tendered to His Excellency the Governor their resignation as members of the Council of Ministers. They will continue to remain in charge of their respective portfolios until His Excellency the Governor has decided whether or not to accept their resignations."

The second session of the National Defence Council opened at the Viceroy's House, New Delhi. His Excellency the Viceroy presided at both the meetings, in the morning and in the afternoon.

The *Daily Herald*, in an editorial declared : "India is wholly with us, India is wholly working with us, India has fully recruited to our cause and is capable of material and moral contribution to war, which will do immense harm to Japan, military and political."

Acharya Kripalani, General Secretary of the Congress, in an interview at Karachi observed : "The Congress bides its time and waits for a favourable opportunity. If however, Mr. Jinnah is desirous to establish contact with the Congress, nothing stands in the way of his doing so, and Gandhiji who has never had any false idea of dignity, would meet him even at Mr. Jinnah's own place."

The Punjab Assembly commenced its winter session. An unsuccessful attempt to raise a discussion on the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council, through an adjournment motion was made in the Assembly ; Sir Shahabuddin presided.

A resolution reiterating the demand for Pakistan and expressing readiness to sacrifice everything to achieve it was adopted at the Pakistan Conference which concluded its session at Lucknow.

2nd. The National Defence Council met again in New Delhi under the presidency of the Viceroy—A Communique giving an account of the proceedings of the meeting said that the Master General of Ordnance made a statement on the supply position in its military aspect from all points of view and put the Council in possession of the latest developments in regard to it. Thereafter, Sir Andrew Clow, Member in charge of Communications addressed the the Council on the work of the railways in relation to war effort. The proceedings concluded with a statement made by Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, Commerce Member, on the developments in industrial research.

3rd. The Government of India issued a Communique from New Delhi announcing the release of Pandit Jawharlal Nehru and Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad. The Communique stated : "The Government of India, confident in the determination of all responsible opinion in India to support the war effort until victory is secured, have reached the conclusion that these civil disobedience prisoners, whose offences have been formal or symbolic in character, can be set free. Effect will be given to this cause as soon as possible.—"There are provinces in which local conditions may mean delay ; but before the end of the year the Government of India hope that throughout India practically all such persons will have been set free. With them there will be released also Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Pandit Jawharlal Nehru."

The final session of the second meeting of the National Defence Council took place in New Delhi. The morning was devoted to a review by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief of the general military position, both as immediately

affecting India and in its more general aspects. Sir Akbar Hydari, Member-in-Charge, Information and Broadcasting explained to the Council the various developments that had taken place in connexion with the work of his department, the organization of propaganda and publicity in connexion with war effort.

Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq accepted the leadership of the Progressive Coalition Party of the Bengal Assembly. In announcing this decision, Mr. Huq expressed the hope that the formation of the party was "an augury not only for the cessation of communal strife, but also for the carrying out of a programme for the good of all sections of the people in this country."

4th. Mahatma Gandhi, in an interview on the Government's decision to release Satyagraha prisoners, said: "As I have said before the event, I repeat after the event, that so far as I am concerned the Government of India's decision cannot evoke a single responsive or appreciative chord in me."

Questions on the devising of India's future constitution were asked in the House of Commons by Mr. R. W. Sorenson (Lab.)—Replying, Mr. Amery said: The intentions of His Majesty's Government with regard to the constitutional issue in India were set forth in a statement made by the Governor-General on August 8, 1940, which invited Indians to reach a basis of friendly agreement first upon the form which shall be taken by the post-war representative body which is to devise the framework of India's future constitution" and on the methods by which it shall arrive at its conclusions as well as upon the principles and outlines of the constitution itself."

A joint statement was issued by Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin, the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca and Mr. Tamizuddin Khan, explaining the circumstances which, according to them, led to the resignation of the Huq Ministry in Bengal.

A Press Note from New Delhi said: "With a view to maintaining uniformity in the standard of candidates selected for the Indian Defence Services, recruitment to the Indian Army, the Royal Indian Navy, and the Indian Air Force, which hitherto has been carried out by separate organizations, will now be co-ordinated under a Directorate controlled by the Adjutant General's branch at the General Head-quarters."

5th. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in a statement issued from, New Delhi, welcomed the formation of the Moslem League party in the Bengal Assembly and appealed to all Moslem members of the Assembly to join the party.

It was announced from New Delhi that the Government of India decided to control wholesale wheat prices at Rs. 4-6 a maund and to remove the import duty on wheat.

Pandit Jawhar Lal Nehru in a statement from Lucknow, after his release observed: "The call of India continues to resound in our ears and tingle the blood in our veins. So let us go forward along the path of our choice and take all trials and tribulations with serenity and confidence and with smiling countenance."

Mr. V. D. Savarkar proposed that there should be no change in the venue nor in the dates already fixed for the annual session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha.

6th. At a Conference held in Calcutta, under the auspices of the Conciliation Group, the most Rev. Metropolitan of India presiding, the following resolution was passed: "This meeting welcomes the foundation in Great Britain of the society of Argonauts in connexion with the youth movement, and its interest in the promotion of closer cultural relations with India, based on recognition of the necessity of complete equality, and in the political sphere for full and equal status."

Mr. M. A. Jinnah sent a telegram to Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq: "Prima facie your action and conduct are highly improper and wrong in joining the miscellaneous groups in Bengal Assembly, whose only object is to break the Moslem League and Moslem solidarity in Bengal.

Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq in a statement in reply to the joint statement made by the four ex-Ministers of Bengal, observed: "I had no other option but to tender the resignation of both myself and the cabinet, but the reasons, assigned

by the signatories, are entirely a travesty of truth. The position created by the signatories in combination with one or two erstwhile colleagues was such that no self-respecting premier could continue in office as a premier any longer than I did."

The Senate of the Calcutta University appointed Mr. Jawhar Lal Nehru, Sir Akbar Hydari and Sir Jogendra Singh as the Kamala Lecturers of the University for three consecutive years. The subject of Mr. Nehru's lecture would be "The "Discovery of India", while those of Sir Akbar and Sir Jogendra would be "Indian Unity—Historical and Cultural" and "Rise of Sikhism and its contributions to Indian Nationhood" respectively.

7th. His Excellency the Governor of Bengal accepted the resignations tendered on December 1st. by the Council of Ministers headed by Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq.

Mr. Fazlul Huq in his reply to Mr. Jinnah, observed : "Interested persons are invoking the League for personal ends. Request you as president to judge the situation impartially and postpone action until I have been given a full hearing."

Mahatma Gandhi in a statement from Wardha said : "The Working Committee and A. I. C. C. members must not offer Satyagraha nor should those interested in revising the Bombay decision. Apart from these, civil disobedience should continue without interruption."

At a meeting of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League, a resolution was passed expressing disappointment at the "most unfortunate situation" which arose in Bengal, and urging upon Mr. Fazlul Huq to abstain from leading a party which consisted of anti-Muslim League groups.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, addressing a public meeting at Wardha, expressed the view that it was futile to speak of changing the Congress policy as long as the Government stuck to their August Declaration and remained adamant, as was reflected in the remarks of Mr. Churchill and Mr. Amery.

8th. Britain and the United States declared war on Japan.

His Excellency the Governor of Bengal gave interviews to leaders of the different parties and groups in the Bengal Assembly with a view to assessing the situation relating to the formation of a cabinet.

Mr. M. Ashraf Ali, Deputy Speaker, Bengal Assembly, died at his Calcutta residence.

Mr. Jinnah sent a telegram to Mr. Huq criticizing his action. He said : "You have defied the provincial League and its decision of which you happen to be president without reference to the Working Committee of the All-India Moslem League or me. You have formed a coalition. It is not open to individual members of the League to form a clique or coalition without the approval of the provincial or All-India Moslem League.

Sir Sultan Ahmed, Member of the Viceroy's Council, speaking at a reception given to him by Sir Rahimutulla Chinoy in Bombay, made an analysis of the political situation in India and put in a plea for an agreement between Hindus and Muslims.

9th. Mr. Jawharlal Nehru, at a Press Conference at Lucknow, discussing the international situation, declared : "I should like India to use her strength and resources in favour of possible good causes. In the grouping of powers struggling for mastery of the world, on either side there seems to be dreams entertained by government of world domination. Undoubtedly this is so on the part of Hitler. It is not proclaimed as such by the other party."

The decision of the Government of India to repatriate security prisoners in Deoli detention camp was announced in a Press communique. The Communique said : "Now that the hunger-strike at Deoli has been unconditionally abandoned, the position reverts to what it was before the strike started, when the security prisoners were informed that the Government of India were prepared, in consultation with provincial governments, to give full and early consideration to the recommendations made by Mr. N. M. Joshi on their behalf".

Mr. Rohini Kumar Choudhury, Minister for Education, Assam Assembly, submitted his resignation from the cabinet to the Premier, Sir Mohammed Saadulla.

The Premier made a statement in the Assam Legislative Assembly to the effect that in view of the resignation of Mr. R. K. Choudhuri, the cabinet would resign on December 12.

10th. The Bengal Legislative Council adjourned on the ground that as the resignation of the Ministers had been accepted there was no proper executive Government in Bengal and, therefore, the Council was unable to transact any business.

Dr. Kalidas Nag, Professor of the University of Calcutta and Mr. Debapriya Balisingha, Secretary of the Mahabodhi Society, Calcutta were taken into custody by the special branch of the Calcutta Police under the Defence of India Rules.

11th. A communique from New Delhi said : "The Government of India are satisfied that there have been contacts of such a nature between Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose and the Japanese, as to render his immediate apprehension necessary. They have, therefore, issued orders for his detention under the Defence of India Rules and he was arrested in Calcutta."

Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, ex-Prime Minister and leader of the Progressive Party formed a cabinet in Bengal.—Mr. Huq stated that he had formed a cabinet with himself as Prime Minister and Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherji and the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca, ex-Minister, as members.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President, All-India Moslem League, expelled Mr. Fazlul Huq from membership of the Working Committee and the Council of the Moslem League and Provincial, District and Primary Leagues of Bengal and ordered that Mr. Huq should not be eligible for membership of the Moslem League organization.

Master Tara Singh, addressing a Sikh Conference in New Delhi, said that he would advise them against resorting to civil disobedience in view of the international situation but he warned the government that, if no peaceful solution was made, the Sikh community would not hesitate to take any action they thought fit to keep the prestige of the Panth.

12th. Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, in a statement to the *Daily Herald* of London, said : "The entry of Japan into the war has now made it world-wide and it approaches India's border. That is of vast interest to us but it will note make us panicky. Our sympathies must inevitably be with the non-Fascist nations and such help as we can give them, consistently with our principles, would flow to them if we functioned as a free people."

His Excellency Lord Linlithgow paid a tribute to the war production of the Tata Iron and Steel Company at Jamshedpur.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the question of Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose's arrest was raised in the House on a motion requesting Government to take steps to secure his release.

13th. When the Assam Legislative Assembly met, Sir M. Saadulla, the Premier announced that he had tendered the resignation of his cabinet. He further stated that the resignation was submitted to the Chief Secretary, in the absence of the Governor.

A Calcutta Gazette Extraordinary notified that the Government of Bengal made an order restricting lighting inside and outside buildings and in the streets. The order applied to municipal areas or other specified zones in the following localities : Burdwan, Darjeeling, Kharagpur, Chandpur, Mymensingh, Asansol, Raniganj and Dacca.

14th. The first U. P. Non-party Conference which met at Lucknow, under the presidentship of Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh, passed a resolution calling upon the British Government to make an unequivocal declaration that India would have the same freedom and equality of status as Great Britain and the Dominions after the war.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, addressing the Law Society at the Lucknow University made an appeal to students to work for communal concord.

15th. His Excellency the Viceroy made a fervent appeal for political unity in India in the face of the common danger, when he addressed the annual meeting of the Associated Chamber of Commerce in Calcutta.—

Lord Linlithgow referred to the valuable work being done by his expanded Executive Council and said that it was a body of great authority and great distinction, representing wide experience, political and administrative.—His Excellency added: "I can hope that we may yet see the day when in the Provinces which are still without a ministerial government, we shall see in power governments set on the winning of the war and ready to use the immense power and opportunities at their disposal."

At the winter session of the Mysore Legislative Council, an adjournment motion tabled by Mr. T. Mariyappa (leader of the Congress Party) was discussed. The motion related to the adjournment of the House to discuss a matter of urgent public importance, viz, the labour situation at the Mysore Iron and Steel Works, Bhadravati, and the prohibitory and externment order promulgated in that connection.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru in a message to the Non-Party Provincial Political Conference held at Lucknow, said: "It cannot be agreeable to any one of us to think that in the year 1942, we find ourselves relegated to the position which we occupied some fifty or sixty years ago."

16th. A Government House (Bengal) Communique stated: "It is announced that His Excellency the Governor, after consultation with the Chief Minister, has been pleased to appoint Mr. Santosh Kumar Basu, M.L.A., Khan Bahadur M. Abdul Kasim M.L.C., Mr. P. N. Banerjee, M.L.A., Khan Bahadur M. Hashem Ali Khan, M.L.A., Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmed, M.L.A., and Mr. Upendra Nath Barman M.L.A., to be members of the Council of Ministers."

Her Excellency the Marchioness of Linlithgow at a meeting at the Y. W. C. A., Calcutta, made an appeal to women to do their utmost to raise money to enable the Y. W. C. A. to carry on their work.

The Standing Finance Committee of the Central Legislative Assembly approved proposals for the continuance of grants-in-aid for the development of the handloom industry and cottage and small scale woollen industries.

Sir Ardesher Dalal, presiding over the ninth annual general meeting of the Employers' Federation of India, in Calcutta, urged that a well thought out long range plan of industrial development of the country must be taken in hand so that no future emergency might find them unprepared.

Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, speaking at a luncheon given by the Overseas League to the officers of the Indian Fighting Forces, said: "The fact, namely, that India today is fighting east and west for her own immediate defence, is one great difference between her participation in this and in any other previous imperial war."

17th. In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the only business transacted being the answering of a short notice question by the Moslem League Party relating to the detention of Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose.

At a meeting of the Committee of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference in Calcutta, resolutions convening the Newspaper Press in India were adopted.

18th. Mr. M. S. Aney, Overseas Member, Viceroy's Executive Council, in a speech in Bombay, made an appeal to the various political parties in the country, particularly the Congress which had been in power in seven provinces, to consider the political situation in all its aspects and come to an understanding and define their attitude towards the war.

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, addressing a mass meeting in Bombay, paid a tribute to the heroic resistance of China, Russia, Britain and America against aggression. Pandit Nehru referred to the war and said that it was a matter of great sorrow to witness so much of suffering all round. All the nations in the world to-day were cast in an ocean as it were and they were asked to sink or swim as they chose. Only courage and stout-heartedness could save them from doom.

The Rt. Hon'ble Sir Akbar Hydari, Member-in-Charge of the Information and Broadcasting Department of the Government of India, when he met the Standing Committee of the Newspaper Editors' Conference in Calcutta, laid stress on the responsibility of the Press in India, when the enemy was at the threshold of the country, in steadying public morale and maintaining balanced judgment by sober unbiassed presentation of news, good or bad.

Mr. K. Srinivasan, President of the Standing Committee of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference in Calcutta, made an appeal for a "gesture which will provide the psychological back ground for getting Government and the people together in a common endeavour to serve and safeguard the best interests of the country."

The following Communique was issued by the Secretary to His Excellency the Governor of Assam. "On his return from tour on December 15, the letter which Sir Muhammad Saadulla, Prime Minister of Assam, who submitted his resignation, and that of his whole cabinet, was placed before the Governor and His Excellency had an interview with Sir Muhammad on the same day. On his advice the Governor has requested Mr. Gopinath Bardoloi to come for an interview and this will shortly take place. Meanwhile the Assam Ministry are carrying on their duties until other arrangements have been made. There is one exception to this and that is that the hon. Mr. Rohini Kumar Chauduri, who placed his resignation as an individual Minister in the hands of the Prime Minister on December 9 last, is no longer a member of the cabinet. His resignation has been accepted by His Excellency."

19th. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad addressing a mass meeting in Bombay, said: "The issue before the Congress today is not of violence versus non-violence. The main obstacle is the British Government's attitude towards India: unless that attitude is changed there can be no change in our attitude."

In the Bengal Legislative Council, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, in reply to a question by Mr. Nur Ahmed (Moslem League) made a statement on the situation created in Calcutta following the announcement that the city was about to be declared an emergency area.

In the Sind Assembly, Khan Bahadur Allah Bux, the Premier, made an important statement concerning the constitutional implications of the exercise of special powers by the Governor in the day to day administration of Government.

20th. Kumar Ganganand Sinha, M L.C., President of the Bihar Provincial Hindu Sabha and Chairman of the Reception Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha session was directed by the Superintendent of Police, Darbhanga, not to proceed to Bhagalpur.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha instructed the workers at Bhagalpur, not to interfere with the authorities or precipitate any action before the date fixed for the commencement of the session *i.e.* December 24.

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, in a statement to the *"News Chronicle,"* London said: "The first essential is the recognition of Indian independence, and the consignment to the dustbin of the infamous August declaration and all other similar declarations of the British Government."

21st. Mr. M. S. Aney, Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, in unveiling the bust of the late Lokamanya Tilak at Poona, said: "The late Lokamanya Tilak held definite principles in politics. They had a definite objective. He stood for absolute Democracy by which he meant a Government of the people, by the people. His model was a parliamentary constitution where the Government would be responsible to the people, and not a Government of a particular class or party."

Dr. Pattabhi Sitharamayya, in an interview in Bombay, said: "No deadlock can be solved by each party sticking to its position.

22nd. Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President-elect of the Bhagalpur session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, left Bombay for Bhagalpur. He was accompanied by over 400 delegates and volunteers from Bombay and Poona.

23rd. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, President and twelve members of the Congress Working Committee assembled at Swaraj Ashram, Bardoli.

The Orissa Congress Assembly Party was instructed to attend the Assembly session in January 1942 and oppose the Parlakimedi Ministry.

The Congress Working Committee deliberated for nearly nine hours on the political situation in India.

Pandit Bharath Misra, General Secretary of the Bihar Provincial Hindu Sabha was arrested for alleged breach of peace.—Mr. Satyanarayan Prasad, Secretary of the Reception Committee was taken into custody under the Defence of India Rules.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, Mr. N. C. Chatterjee and Dr. B. S. Moonje were arrested. About a hundred delegates as well as workers of the Hindu Mahasabha were arrested at Bhagalpur.

24th. Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, in his presidential address to the Bhagalpur session of the Hindu Mahasabha, said : "Militarisation and industrialisation of our Hindu nation ought to be the first two immediate objectives which we must pursue and secure to the best of our power, if we want to utilise the war situation in the world as effectively as posible, to defend the Hindu interests."

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in a statement to the *News Chronicle*, London, said : "I want the British public and statesmen to understand that the stand of the Muslim League is vitally different from that of the Congress and other Hindu organizations. I want the British Government not to force Muslim India to fill Indian jails to convince them or demonstrate that Pakistan is now our sacred creed, an article of faith and any declaration by the British Government or Prime Minister which will in any way militate against it, Muslim India will resist with all the power it can command."

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, Bengal Minister and Working President, All-India Hindu Mahasabha issued a statement announcing his decision to go to Bhagalpur to attend the annual session of the Mahasabha.

Mr. Satyamurti at a meeting in Madras, emphasised the need for a reorientation of Congress policy. He had become convinced, he said, that at the earnest possible moment a national Government should function at the centre and popular Government in the provinces.

25th. Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee was detained at Colgong. Mr. Padam Raj Jain was arrested. Dr. Mukherjee was served with an order under Sec. 26 Sub. sec. (1)c of the Defence of India Rules prohibiting his entry into Bhagalpur.

The Congress Working Committee accepted the Nagpur Provincial Congress Committee's invitation to hold the next meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at Wardha. Mahatma Gandhi attended the session.

Following the Government's decision to repatriate detenues in Deoli, to their own home provinces, six detenues from Bombay province were brought to Bombay and sent to Yerwada Jail.

By a proclamation His Excellency the Governor of Assam suspended the constitution in Assam and took upon himself the administration of the province under sec. 93 of the Government of India Act, 1935.

26th. The Government of Madras, in a Press Note, warned merchants and others against profiteering and advised the retailers to conform to "fair" prices fixed by the Press Advisory Committees, lest they should force the Government to take drastic control measures.

Sir Manmatha Nath Mukherji, President of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha, interviewed the Viceroy in Calcutta for about half an hour and discussed with him matters relating to the Bhagalpur session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha. His Excellency found no substantial grounds for interference in a matter which "was essentially a provincial one."

Mr. Jinnah in his presidential address to the fifth session of the All-India Moslem Students' Federation at Nagpur, criticized the attitude adopted by the Conress and the Hindu Mahasabha.

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and other Congress leaders addressed a public meeting at Bardoli and spoke on the political situation.

The twenty-third annual session of the National Liberal Federation of India commenced at Mylapore, Madras. Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy, ex-Minister of Bengal presided. Sir Bijoy in his presidential address said : "This is not the time to bargain on the doctrinal plane, although we should not stop impressing the British Government that for fuller utilization of the willing co-operation of

India the settling of political account is urgent. As realists, we cannot remain indifferent to the need for co-operation in war efforts."

27th. Mahatma Gandhi issued a statement asking the Bihar Government to lift the ban on the Hindu Mahasabha and the Rt. Hon'ble Mr. M. R. Jayakar condemned the action of the Bihar Government against the Hindu Mahasabha and appealed to H. E. the Viceroy to intervene.

A resolution condemning the action of the Bihar Government in banning the Hindu Mahasabha session at Bhagalpur was adopted at the session of the National Liberal Federation.—Two other resolutions were passed, one condemning the Pakistan scheme and the other the separate electorates.

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League passed a resolution at Nagpur stating that "in view of the fact that the entry of Japan in the war on the side of the Axis Powers has brought danger much closer to India, and has forced into greater prominence the question of the defence of India, the Working Committee consider it necessary to reiterate that the Muslim League from the very beginning has expressed their willingness to share the responsibility of the defence of the country."

28th. At the meeting of the National Liberal Federation in Madras, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad moved a resolution relating to the war. It ran as follows:—"The National Liberal Federation of India feels that the war of aggression started by Nazi Germany, supported by Fascist Italy and Imperial Japan has proved to be a great menace to the freedom, peace and tranquillity of the world. The Federation is of the opinion that the forces of progress and justice in this conflict are represented by the Allied Power, such as Great Britain, America, Soviet Russia and China.

"The Federation feels that the present Far East War situation has brought India into the front line of the conflict and therefore, both to the Government and the people to view the situation realistically and to mobilize the resources of the country in men and material to protect the lives of India's teeming millions, from the imminent danger which threatens the country. At the same time, it feels that the unity between the Government and the people required for the necessary effort will not be possible unless a new psychological atmosphere is created by a change in the policy of His Majesty's Government towards India, which is urgently called for."

29th. The Congress Working Committee at Bardoli arrived at tentative conclusions regarding the political situation and on the question of the future policy and programme of the Congress.

Mr. Vijaylakshmi Pandit presiding at the annual session of the All-India Women's Conference at Cocanada, said: "Women's organizations should throw all their weight in favour of world disarmament and peacefully labour for the establishment of a juster political and economic order."

Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, M.L.A., (Bengal) was taken to Trichinpoly from Madras.

30th. The Congress Working Committee which concluded its session at Bardoli, passed a resolution relieving Mahatma Gandhi of his leadership of the Congress. Another resolution reiterated the Congress demand for independence and restated the Congress position and attitude in regard to the war. The resolution stated *interalia*: "While there has been no change in the British policy towards India, the Working Committee must, nevertheless, take into consideration the new world situation that has arisen by the development of the war into a world conflict and its approach to India."

Dr. Kalidas Nag of the Calcutta University, who was arrested on December 9 under the Defence of India Rules was released.—Dr. Nag was arrested following the Japanese declaration of war on Britain.

31st. The Government of India decided to reduce the consumption of petrol by the civil population to 60% of the 1940 total.

Inaugurating the Silver Jubilee session of the Indian Economic Conference and the fourth session of the Indian Political Science Conference at Bombay, Sir Purushothamdas Thakurdas said: "The pace of Industrial producton in India since the war broke out should be regarded more as a matter for admiration than for criticism."

At the 2nd day's sitting of the All-India Women's Conference at Cocanada a resolution on civil liberties was passed.

Presiding over the 25th, session of the Indian Economic Conference at Bombay, Mr. J. P. Niyogi, University Professor of Economics, Calcutta, stressed that it was not the storing of information that was valuable in the study of Economics but the training of the mind. Emphasising the value of co-operation between Academic Economists and Industrialists and Financiers he suggested the establishment of Provincial Institutes of Economic Research.

India in Home Polity

Introduction

For two years and more the public man and the publicist in India have been reacting to the war in Europe, in North Africa, with a certain amount of detachment. They have known that the success or failure of Germany in Russia will create conditions of unsettlement in their own lives, in the life of their neighbours, just as the success or failure of Germany during 1914-18 had threatened to have far-reaching effects in the world's life. But the war in Europe, in North Africa, was far away during almost the whole period of July—December, 1941—the developments of which would form the subject of study in the present volume of the *Indian Annual Register*. And people in many a country in Asia and in the Americas could afford to be a little complacent with regard to Russia's heroic fight, contenting themselves with the expression of good wishes for the Soviet Republic. In our immediate neighbourhood towards the east, for four years and more, China has been remaining unbroken in spirit amidst all the attacks and terrorizations of Japan's efficient army, navy and air force. During these years we have been able to maintain an equable temper in spite of our detestation of the ways of war practised by the soldiery of the island empire of the Pacific. We have discussed even in these pages the movements of the expanding forces of Japan that in the fulness of time would be challenging the supremacy of the "established master races" in this region of the earth. We did this in the cold light of historic developments ; we had no reason to take sides ; we rather enjoyed watching this competition between the new and the old imperialisms out of which honest men might come by their own.

War in Europe & Africa—battles far away from us

But on the 7th of December, 1941, occurred an event which shook and disturbed the complacence of India, of the United States of America, of Australia, and confounded the wisdom of the ruling classes of Britain which for a century has been the dictator of conduct in this part of the Pacific. For about six months since Japanese forces moved into Indo-China, were allowed to do so by the "Vichy" Administration of France, the U. S. A., the Netherlands East Indies, Australia, and the British possessions in the mid-west Pacific, had been preparing themselves to meet Japan's southward expansion. On the 24th of July, 1941, negotiations for the conclusion of an agreement between Japan and "Vichy France" for the "Joint Defence of Indo-China" started and were concluded on the same day. The agreement was signed by Major-General Sumita, Head of the Japanese Military Mission and Vice-Admiral Decroux, Governor General of Indo-China. On July 28, Japanese forces began disembarking in southern Indo-China, and occupying eight air bases at Saigon, at Siemreap near Angkor at the new Thai border, at Nah Trang just north of Camranh Bay, Touranne in the middle of the Annamite coast line, at Bien Hoa near Saigon, Soc Trang at the mouth of the Mekong, at Kompongtong near the great lake of Cambodia, and at Pnom Penh,

The shock of December 7, 1941—and what went immediately before

the capital of Cambodia. The Allied nations have denounced this "Vichy" step as a "sell-out in the Pacific." The "leader" in the daily newspaper, *La Volonte Indo-Chinoile*, dated the 25th July, adduced arguments in favour of this step. Published from Indo-China's capital the paper opined that the step did not affect "French authority in Indo-China", stated that it was "only temporary", that the local French authorities had hardly any say in the matter; it was "reached direct between Vichy and Tokyo" and accepted with a view to saving the colony from being a battle-ground; the paper confessed, however, that the concessions "may appear momentarily painful." The article recognized at the same time that the geographical position of Indo-China has made it the first victim to "Japan's southern expansion" which could not be continued from "such distant bases as Hainan, Formosa, occupied China, or Japan.

The "veiled possession" of Indo-China

The Allied Powers understood the significance of this step as a threat to their possessions; the Hanoi paper also hinted openly at "action against Singapore and Netherlands East Indies." A look at the map enables one to see and understand that the naval bases at Cam-ranh Bay and Saigon and the air bases in southern Indo-China are far nearer Burma, Malaya and Borneo than the former Japanese southern-most bases in Tonkin and Hainan island; the flying distance from Saigon to Singapore is 600 miles, to north Borneo 750 miles, to Rangoon 900 miles. On the 28th of July these bases went under Japanese control and possession, and their possession enabled Japan to launch the attack on British and U. S. and Dutch possessions on the 7th of December. Just as the Russo-German Pact on August 22, 1939 had started the war in Europe a week after, on the first day of September, so the "Vichy Jap" agreement—"Joint Defence of Indo-China", made on 24th July, 1941, started the war in Asia seventeen weeks later, in the first week of December. The world does not know what the Soviet's reasons were for that fatal step. The 'Vichy' arguments are more 'realistic.' The 'Vichy News Agency' broadcasted certain of these on July 24. In August, 1940, "Vichy France" had recognized "Japan's special rights as guardian of order in eastern Asia." On the present occasion prudential considerations dictated the acceptance of Japan's demands. These were two—"Vichy France" had "very insufficient means in Indo-China to assure defence of that territory"; this weakness and insufficiency of means of defence were due to German pressure on "Vichy". The "Armistice Department" of "Vichy Ministry" in successive instructions to General Dentz in Syria informed him that "the German Armistice Commission has informed us of its final decision to forbid all re-inforcements to Indo-China....." There were also "foreign threats" directed against this particular territory detected and "denounced by Tokyo," because it could be used as a base of operations against Japan's far-flung lines in China and its coast. The Government of the United States comdemned more in sorrow than in anger this "Vichy" surrender in a statement made by the Assistant Secretary of State (for Foreign Affairs), Sumner Wells. It called attention to Japan's concern expressed in June, 1940, over any developments

that might disturb "the *status quo* of the Netherland Indies," and its desire that "conditions of disturbance should not spread to the region of the Pacific." The present Japanese step can only be understood as a step towards the "further and more obvious movements of conquest in the adjacent territories." Chinese circles who ought to know as they have had for four years taken the measure of Japanese tactics, issued a warning from their war-time capital, Chungking, that the Japanese forces were now poised for a push towards Thailand and Burma, "thus threatening to take Singapore from the rear." How prophetic this warning was !

The democracies were not ready

It may be well asked—why did not the interested Powers listen to this warning, take steps to forestal the Japanese move just as Britain and the United States had by occupying Iceland disregarding the captive Danish Government, as Russia and Britain did occupy Iran and drove away Reza Shah Pelhavi from the throne of that country ? The experiences of the war even in December, 1941, during the twenty five days of December, proved that they were unready, that they could not spare forces and equipments, new ships and aeroplanes for the new front, taken up as they were with German threats to Russia's nerve centres, to Iraq, Iran and India through a pincer movement from the Caucasus and Egypt. Owing to the same causes they showed an "appeasing mood" to Japan. President Roosevelt speaking on July 25, 1941 to members of the Volunteer Participation Committee of the Office of Civil Defence, discussed the reasons that had influenced his Administration to allow oil to Japan. There was a "method" in letting this oil go to that country. It was done with the hope—and it had worked for "two years"—of keeping war out of the southern Pacific. This "method"

"was for our good, for the good of the defence of Britain and the freedom of the seas..... we had to help to get Australian surplus meat, wheat and corn for England. It was most essential for our selfish view-point of defence to prevent war from breaking out at our door there."

Economic appeasement of Japan

The President was as frank in describing what would have happened if they had not "appeased" Japan in this manner. If "American oils" had been cut off from Japan, she would "probably have gone down to the Dutch East Indies a year ago, and you would have had war." The British, who had greater stake in the area and who could not think of anything else than the Hitler threat to their island home in north-east Atlantic, were as accommodating, though Air Marshal Sir Robert Popham-Brooke, Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in the Pacific area, might be boldly declaring in those July days : "We were fully prepared come what may." The *News Chronicle* of London was a better witness of the state of things. Writing on July 24, it said :

".....sometimes British avoidance of provocation has gone so far as to assist Japan in her aggression. Even to-day Britain is allowing part of her own scanty stores of aluminium ore to go to Japan, just as, on the eve of the European war, Britain allowed Nazi Germany to stock her war chest with new materials."

This may be called "economic appeasement." In the arts of peace also Japan was dependent on outside sources for the needs of her life. We have in the last volume of the *Annual Register* shown how dependent Japan was. We have seen another estimate which revealed that the British Empire controlled more than 30 per cent of the raw materials which Japan bought; the U. S. A., including Hawaii and the Phillippines, about 32 per cent; China, excluding Manchuria, 5·6 per cent; Holland, including her possessions in the East Indies, 4·27 per cent; France, including Indo-China 1·45 per cent. This dependence has been galling to the sensitive Japanese, and since they opened their eyes on the significance of modern economic and financial imperialism, of "capitalist imperialism", more than seventy years back, they have been striving to break this strangle-hold.

In peace & war Japan was dependent on outside supply

One of the makers of modern Japan, the late Marquis Ito, indicated for the world, in about 1900, when Japan had just begun to stir her wings for the imperialistic flight, the lines of his country's necessities and the way of meeting these. Speaking to members of the leading industrialist organisation of his country, he said:

An old dream coming to be true

"I look to China as the field which our business enterprise should aspire to harvest. Gergraphy has decreed that Japan shall be a commercial nation. We cross a ribbon of a sea and tread a vast empire, boundless in extent, its hidden treasures intact, its millions and millions of people ready to absorb the produce of world and yet want more.....It is in China that the merchants and manufacturers of the world will fight their future battles for commercial supremacy. Should **we**—should the merchants and manufactures of this country—fail to plant, to root themselves in the soil of China before the field is usurped by their rivals, not only will a death-blow be struck at our trade and commerce, but our national existence itself may be menaced." *Quoted in "Japan—Aspects and Destinies"—by W. Petrie Watson, (1904).*

Those who are aware that the border-line between economics and politics has been erased in the modern world, that "the fight for raw materials plays the most important part in politics", to quote Dr Hjalmar Schacht, President of the German Reichbank, will find in the words of Marquis Ito the history of the evolution that has led to the life-and-death-struggle between China and Japan, between Japan and the Allied Powers. It is this fight for raw materials and markets that is one of the contributing causes of the present war in the Pacific. There have been other influences, personal and impersonal, material and non-material, that have been working to build the forces and resources of Japan for the supreme test that has come into her life, that has caught her in its cruel grasp. In previous volumes of the *Annual Register*, specially those of 1938, 1940 and Vol. I of 1941, we have attempted to trace their rise and growth. In the present volume we propose to confine our attention to the economic developments that have since the beginning of the Meiji era, 1868, been slowly but surely making Japan into one of the Great Powers of the world, capable of beating Britain and the United States of America in a war and of maintaining her victorious position for more than six months in 1942. As we send these pages to the press (July, 1942) we find Britain losing Burma, Malaya

Two "capitalist imperialisms" at death grip

and Borneo, the United States losing the Philliphines, Guam and Wake, the Dutch their East Indies Empire consisting of Java, Sumatra, Borneo, Bali and the Celebes. The base of Singapore is lost ; the Bay of Bengal almost as well. And Japan rides the waves from North Pacific to the Indian Ocean, and from Sumatra to Ceylon.

Non-economic influences in Japan's evolution

The story of this startling victory, and of its causes and consequences, will be engaging the attention of historians and sociologists for years to come. Some will trace it to *Shinto* and the social and individual virtues inculcated by it. The generally accepted meaning of this word is ancestor worship. Through various transformations it has reached its present form—made up of "three major elements—politics, religion and morality" ; it is "the peculiar religious patriotism of the Japanese people in glorifying their Emperor as the centre of the faith" ; it is "a mighty political machine called upon to render service to the national life in the safeguarding of the existing organizations of the State" ; it is "always, inseparably and intimately, the Japanese race ; hence the reluctance of the Government to permit its classification as a religion." There is a vast amount of mysticism behind these words, as respectable as the mysticism in Hinduism, and in no way less inspiring than what is found in Anglo-Saxonism, in Teutonism and in Slavism. "Japan is a race of Gods and can do no wrong. The rest of the world is made up of barbarians and it is Japan's right to rule the world." In the literature of every aspiring nation and people mysticism such as these can be easily found. It is neither any credit nor any discredit to Japan that her rulers should be teaching their people this alphabet of imperialism. Japan, a late comer into international conflicts and competitions, does but follow the bad example shown by the modern Great Powers in their relation with China, with East Asia, with the non-white races and peoples in Asia, in Africa, in Oceania and in the Americas. It is this example that has supplied arguments to Japanese expansionists in support of their various schemes of "new order" in eastern Asia, as a step towards their extension over all the lands washed by the Pacific and the Indian Oceans. Their propagandists have been saying :

"Spreading over Korea, Manchuria and Mongolia, we have 'picked' Asiatics numbering 13,00,00,000. This mass is what constitutes the essential element of Japan's military power and the root and stem of her economic strength".

Great East Asia Bloc

In a special issue of the Japanese Cabinet Information Bureau publication, *Shuho*, is made the statement more authoritatively :

"Japan must in any case establish the Greater East Asia Bloc centering about Japan, Manchukuo and China, and including the southern quarters. To do this it is necessary that we strengthen our decision to tie up with the countries with which we should tie up, and we should by no means fear friction with the Old Order."—"Japan's New Order in the Pacific"—*Pacific Affairs (Quarterly), New York, June, 1941.*

"Kokka no tame" —for the State and by it

This is the picture as it has been taking shape through "blood and iron" during the last seven months. It is necessary now to trace the first lineaments during the years when the foundation of the new State was being laid after the abolition of the Shogunate in 1868. The Feudal Age during which the *Samurai*, the *Kshatriyas* of Japan, were dominant, was breaking down under its own weight of maladjustment. The "revolution"

was merely "a shift of power" between groups of the *Samurai*. Some took up the duties of administration; some went into banking, industry, shipping and commerce, retaining their grip on State power. They were only 10 or 20 per cent of the population; the rest remained rural and could only work up "a feeble demand for either the goods or the services" handled in the urban centres like Osaka and Yokahama. The State has played the greatest part in organizing and developing arsenals, chemical works, iron and steel plants, cotton spinning, power loom weaving, silk filatures, ship building, railways, paper mills, glass works, type casting, the manufacture of safety matches, coke gas, etc. It imported foreign technicians and advisers—as many as 500 and more—as early as 1875. It loaned mechanical equipment or capital to private enterpreneurs or granted outright large subsidies for mills and factories, for foundries and dockyards. "*Kokka no tame*—'for the State'—was the term used to encourage industrialism." This was, we are told in an article in the *Pacific Affairs*, March, 1941, in pursuance of the principle of *Kakutai*—"the State body corporate." This development made it easy for the political and military bureaucrats to identify themselves with the feudal and patriarchal-minded hierarchs of business The writer of the article illustrates the naturalness of this development by quoting from the "Family Constitution" of the "House of Mitsu" drawn up in 1772 by the third "Mitsu" and revised and brought up to date in 1900.

Initial capital come from conquest & indemnities

Interpreters of these economic and industrial measures in Japan have told us that "the initial capital accumulations for its rapid capitalist and imperialistic development" came out of territorial conquests and handsome indemnities. One of these estimated what Japan had got out of the Sino-Japanese war (1894—'95). 20,00,00,000 *taels*—about 20 crores of rupees indemnity was forced on China, and the Manchu Court had to borrow 28,00,00,000 *taels* within forty months. An additional 3,00,00,000 *taels* were paid to the Japanese to hasten their evacuation of southern Manchuria. According to the general estimate at that time the total expenditure of the war on both sides was not very much more than 15,00,00,000 *taels*. In other words, as a consequence of the defeat in this war, China was forced to pay 8,00,00,000 *taels* more than the total expenditure of both the combatant sides. This story, however, is not peculiar. Britain and Germany are the two outstanding examples in modern times of having made victories in wars the corner-stones of their industrial development. To quote Dean Inge from his *Outspoken Essays* in support of this thesis :

"The first impetus (to industrial revolution in Britain) was given by the plunder of Bengal which, after the victories of Clive, flowed into the country in a broad stream for about thirty years. The ill-gotten wealth played the same part in stimulating English industries as the 'five milliards' extorted from France did for Germany after 1870."

Japan's industrial development unbalanced

We have traced above the history of the evolution of modern capitalism in Japan. We have seen that the predominantly rural character of the country's life does not enable her to sell amongst her own people the products of her mills and factories. According to Dr. Shirosi Nasu the indebtedness of the people is colossal, the agriculturists faring the worst; they are the majority of the people, the potential

buyers of industrial products. "The total agricultural debt rose from 750 million *yen* in 1911 to 4,600 million *yen* in 1929" when approximately 30 per cent of all Japanese farmers were insolvent. We are further told that "the various price, marketing, and agricultural control laws seem not to have liquidated agricultural indebtedness, but rather to have pressed the poverty-stricken peasant layers into a rigid pattern like that created by the German law...of compulsory entailment." This domestic economic stringency compels industrial Japan to seek and find markets for its products in other countries, in countries which have currencies other than the *yen*.

Tariff walls in front of "cheap goods" from Japan

This process has not not been found to be a free one; confronted by the "cheap goods" of Japan almost every country set up tariff barriers. The on-set of the depression period that started in 1929 made these more rigid and higher. The intensity and success of Japanese competition, the threat to the industries of other countries was almost formidable. The first World War had allowed Japan a free hand to consolidate her position in Asiatic countries. To illustrate. In 1929 India's cotton goods imports from Japan were 30 per cent while Britain supplied 66 per cent; in 1932 the tables have been completely turned—Japan sent to us 50 per cent of these while Britain came with 48 per cent. Then began the tariff war. In 1932 import duties on non-British cotton goods to India was raised from 31 per cent to 50 per cent, while British goods had to pay 25 per cent; 1933 the duty on Japanese cotton goods was raised to 75 per cent. In 1933 Egypt raised an extra duty of 35 per cent on Japanese cotton goods. The Straits Settlements and British East Africa followed suit, and Australia adopted anti-dumping laws against Japan. This campaign created bitterness. And Japanese public men and publicists fought it with vigour; the language of war was introduced into this economic fight. In an article in *Foreign Affairs* (New York Quarterly, April, 1934) entitled "Britain's Trade War with Japan the injustice of this fight was sought to be emphasized by contrasting India's gain from trade with Japan as against that with Britain. It was stated that during the 20 years from 1914—'34 Japan had bought from India materials worth 260 crores *yen* more than she had sold to her while Britain had sold to India goods worth 230 crores *yen* more than she had bought of her: Japan had poured into India 13 crores *yen* every year while Britain took away every year from India 11 crores *yen*.

Unwisdom and danger of this tactics

This story of restrictions put on Japan's trade expansion ought to prepare us for the storm that we have been witnessing in the Pacific. As far back as 1934 Mr. Arnold Toynbee, one of the greatest of the world's publicists, in an article entitled—*The Next War—Europe or Asia?* discussed the problems raised by the dead set made against Japan. He pleaded for giving this "congested" nation with a nett increase of 9 lakhs of persons every year "breathing space by re-opening the markets" of the English-speaking world. Otherwise, difficulty of "finding provision for them by the civilized means of expanding her exports and so increasing her power to purchase foreign

food-stuff" will drive her to the desperate remedy adopted by all nations placed in similar circumstances—"to seize additional territory from their neighbours by force." This has been called the logic of circumstances which should be accepted "collectively" by the English-speaking peoples controlling and possessing as they do the major portion of the Pacific area. This reasoning appears to justify the many adventures in high politics and imperialism that Japan has been indulging in since 1894.

British imperialists as pleading for Japan

Many amongst British imperialists were found justifying in 1933 the Manchurian affair on this reasoning based as it was, we are told, on "fundamental realities." The present Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery, went much further. Speaking in the House of Commons when in 1933 the Lytton Commission's Report was being discussed, he asked his fellow-members to beware of the dangerous position they would be putting their empire if they condemned Japan. The words are so illuminating that they deserve full quotation.

> When you look at the fact that Japan needs markets and that it is imperative for her in the world in which she lives, that there should be some sort of peace and order, then who is there amongst us to cast the first stone and to say that Japan ought not to have acted with the object of creating peace and order, in Manchuria and defending herself against the continued aggression of vigorous Chinese nationalism? Our whole policy in India, our whole policy in Egypt, stand condemned if we condemn Japan."

For concessions at others' expense

This dialectic of imperialism, this fellow-feeling for a fellow-imperialist, has not, however, continued long in their pristine vigour. For, we have not known of any instance of the ruling classes of Mr. Amery's country doing anything but maintaining the *status quo* in the distribution of the earth's surface and of its riches, however unjust and unnatural the arrangement might be. If they had been as sweetly reasonable or shown themselves so in the matter of concessions to Japan in their own territories as Mr. Amery asked them to be at China's expense the world would have been spared the two World Wars to which we have been witnesses.

A futile game in modern politics

Since the days of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance (1902) which precipitated the Russo-Japan War two years later, Japan has grown from strength to strength. This growth has stirred fears in hearts far and near. By her conduct Japan appears to have lost caste even with those who had befriended her in 1933 against drastic measures recommended by the Government of the United States. Her "China Incident" has entailed unspeakable insults on British men and women exposing a side of Japanese character verging on barbarism; her methods of war in China have sent a thrill of horror through civilized humanity. These horrors do not, however, appear to have moved the arbiters of world politics to effective protest that would have halted the inhumanity of the Japanese soldiery in the various fields spread over China. But when Japan moved into Indo-China quietly and without shedding a drop of blood, the "democracies" of the West raised a cry of the end of the world—a world, it is true, in which they had for a century been skimming the cream

off China, India and other countries of East Asia. The accusing finger was pointed at her for daring to desire "mastery over the vast Pacific area, stretching from Singapore.....to Australia," to quote the *Yorkshire Post*—(British). The occupation of bases in Indo-China could not have any other than the evil purpose imputed to Japanese strategy, disturbing to every body concerned, alike to the ruling classes and the ruled.

Indo-China "Incident" and concert of democracies

This disturbance would spread the war from the mainland of China to the islands and archipelagoes of mid-West-Pacific. The British, the United States and the Dutch Government did not desire it. Japan wanted it as well as China. The former as a step towards the fulfilment of her ambition; the latter has been praying for it for four years with a view to defeat this ambition with the help of Britain and the United States. On July 6, 1941, almost on the eve of the invasion of Indo-China, the *Central Daily News* of Chungking urged that a conference of all the democratic Powers be held in America "to work out military and economic agreements in the fight against the Axis Powers." The purposes of the conference should be: (i) to conclude an "agreement on all-front co-operation" among China, the U. S. A., Britain and the Soviet Republic against the Axis; (ii) to work out a military agreement and a joint General Staff; (iii) to formulate "economic co-operation, including an embargo against the Axis as well as tariff co-operation, and establishing a bank for financial settlements and co-operation." The five months that intervened between this suggestion and the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour, Malaya, the Phillipines and Singapore did not, however, show any disposition to accept this heroic remedy; the leading democracies appeared to be in a negotiating mood. And Washington became the venue of these negotiations where the U. S A. Foreign Secretary Cordell Hull and the Japanese Ambassador Admiral Namura kept themselves engaged trying to straighten out the tangle. The difficulties of working out the Chinese suggestion were obvious. The Soviet Republic was engaged in a life-and-death struggle with the Axis Powers of Europe and their satellites; she had a Neutrality Pact with Japan which it would be imprudent to break before accounts had been settled with Germany, before Germany had been driven out of Russia's soil. Russia's preoccupation has not eased since then, and though Japan has forged ahead with her offensive and gained startling success in the mainland of Asia and the islands further south, Russia cannot afford to divert her energies to this area or anywhere else. Britain could not spare men and materials from Europe and the Middle East. The United States were merely diddling with their function as "the arsenal of the democracies." These difficulties left no choice but negotiations. And the strangling of imports from the democracies to Japan, and the mutual "freezing" of assets.

Negotiations between the United States & Japan

The details of these negotiations being secret, hints and speculations from Washington and Tokyo kept the world informed of their trends. We were told that before July the U. S. A. authorities had suggested the neutralization of Indo-China and Thailand. Japan's "veiled possession" of Indo-China killed this scheme. In August another offer was

made—Japan should withdraw from Indo-China, and the democracies would withdraw the "freezing" orders on Japanese assets and lift the embargoes on the movement of essential raw materials to Japan. This was reported to have displeased China ; it was not acceptable to Japan as well. From the side of Japan came two proposals—that the arming of Singapore, in the Phillippines, in the Dutch East Indies, and in Australia be halted ; that the U. S. A. Government and people use their influence to achieve a Sino-Japanese settlement. These failed to accomplish results. In the third week of October there was a change of Government in Japan ; Prince Konoye resigned and Lieutenant-General Hideki Tojo became Premier and War Minister. Interpretations of this change have been various. Some said that Cabinet resignations in Japan have been frequently employed by the politicians to relieve "internal political pressure" without telling us what particular internal difficulty was solved by the resignation of the Konoye Ministry. A Washington despatch told us that this Ministry was felt to have shown weakness in negotiations then being carried on Others told us that the change indicated the possibility of Japan coming to the help of her Axis partners now that they appeared to be on the way to Moscow, and Russia appeared to be fighting with her back to the wall. Light was sought to be thrown on the new Premier's character and disposition ; *Reuter's* Far Eastern "expert" told us that he was "one of the most ardent leaders of the Japanese imperialist aggressive party ;" Singapore "experts" told us that he was "regarded as one of the firebrands in the Japanese military clique," and as "having a profound dislike of foreigners" ; it was also recalled that it was he "who directed the Tientsin blockade three years ago when Britons and other foreigners were stripped naked, and otherwise humiliated by the Japanese military in China." The bad certificate given to General Tojo did not, however, erupt into action immediately.

Japan sends special peace mission

For, about two weeks later, on the 4th of November, 1941, the Japanese Information Bureau announced from Tokyo that Mr. Saburu Kurusu, formerly Ambassador to Germany, was being sent to Washington as "special adviser to Admiral Nomura" to make a "final effort to break the deadlock" that had been reached in the negotiations ; it was "Tokyo's final diplomatic effort to lessen the tension between the two countries," opined the *Domei Tsushiu Sha*—the Allied News Agency—the Government-controlled News Agency. Mr. Kurusu reached Washington on about the 10th November flying all the way from Tokyo. At Manila he met General MacArthur, Commander-in-Chief of the American and Phillippine forces in the Phillippines ; and in course of conversation he is reported to have said that the purpose of his mission was to keep the General idle. On his arrival at the capital of the U. S. A., the Press of the world became busy with speculation on the issues that required to be resolved if peace was to be restored to East Asia, if war was not to spread all over this area. On the 17th November a London message said that Mr. Kurusu had been entrusted by General Tojo with "definite instructions"

"to pull a sensational political deal on the follwing lines: Japan is prepared to pledge to maintain peace in the Pacific, not to invade Russia or Thai (Siam), if the United States undertake not to supply China with war materials, planes and money. The Burma Road, now vital for China, should be closed, and normal trade relations between the U. S. A. and Japan must be resumed."

In explanation it was said that these demands did "in no way" infringe on American and British interests in China; and the assurance was forthcoming that Japan was prepared "to guarantee and protect these interests." In place of these the U. S. A. Foreign Secretary, Mr. Cordell Hull, put forward the following: (i) that Japan withdraw from the Axis; (ii) get out of China and French Indo-China; (iii) renounce aggression; (iv) observe the principle of equal trade opportunity in the Pacific. It was also rumoured at the time that

U. S. A. Foreign Secretary's offer

"if Japan would play ball, the U. S. would put up 10,00,00,000 dollars to help Japan to switch from a war to a peace economy; that Japanese war supplies to Russia would keep Japan's factories going."—(*Time*, New York weekly).

The obvious questions that suggested themselves even to American journalists were—can Japan who has spent a million lives in trying to persuade China into her "co-prosperity" sphere do this trick; can any Japanese Government dare "withdraw on the map" and hope to function a day longer? There appeared to be a tie-up here woven by destiny which men's hands were incapable of handling properly, of unravelling successfully. For about half-a-century dreamers of dreams and seers of vision in Japan have been dreaming of the flag of *Dai Nippon*—Great Japan—fluttering over the countries far and near, their little island in the heart of the Pacific sending out new "lords of the human kind" to rule the world and to set a better example of State life. The hour for the realization of such a dream has drawn near, and the democracies of the West, the purveyors of "corrupt materialistic ideas", want the people of the "divine country in the Eastern seas" and "the senior nation of Asia" to turn back on this historic destiny, and expect them to do so! Thus ran the angry comment in the Japanese Press. While the "special" missionary of peace, Mr. Saburu Kurusu, was busy with talking at Washington of the "moderate and virtuous" demands of his Government, the head of that Government at Tokyo was declaring that "for the honour and pride of mankind" the practice of the U. S. A. and Britain must be "purged" from East Asia; the Foreign Minister of Japan, Mr. Shigenori Togo, was contemptuous of the U. S. A. trying to "forcibly apply to East Asiatic countries fantastic principles and rules not adapted to the actual situation." These threats and slighting references were uttered and made in the last week of November. And on the 7th of December Japanese bombers were hurtling through the air death and destruction over American and British territories.

Japan cannot "withdraw on the map"

We do not know difference over what particular item or items of the compromise proposals led to failure of the negotiations. The world cannot point out to what Mr. Cordell Hull or Mr. Saburu Kurusu could have said or done to halt the catastrophe. Whoever made concession would have "lost face" before the world's gallery, preservation of

Fundamental conflict between Japan and others

which "face"—prestige—was three-fourth of the force that influences or dominates international affairs. We have a certain feeling that there is a fundamental conflict between the desires, ambitions and interests of Japan and those of the democracies that hold today sway, political and economic, over East Asia south of Siberia. People who have time to think of the various elements of this conflict, to read of discussions on these, have almost come to accept these as true and as cruel as Nature's own processes. Many of these are idealistic ; as many are materialistic, concerned with what is called bread and butter, *dal* and *bhat*. This amalgam, the driving force of idealistic and materialistic elements, has been recognized by both native and foreign observers of the life of the Japanese people. Lothrop Stoddard, one of the American interpreters of the rising temper of colour and race conflicts, has been quoted by Mr. Fujihara Jinjiro in his *The Spirit of Japanese Industry*—a "doctrinal glorification of the Japanese way", the book has been called—to point to the moral of this development.

"Present-day Japan has been stung into action by the sharpest of life's instincts—that of self-preservation. Now, add to this primeval urge a burning faith in 'Great Japan' and the peculiar excellence of the Yamato Race ; add to that again the *Bushido* code glorifying self-sacrifice and welcoming heroic death, and we can realize the fierce longing in Japanese hearts to cut the Gordion knot of their difficulties and hew out a great destiny with the *Samurai* sword."

"Big Business" & Japanese politics

Mr. Fujihara Ginjiro was for 25 years Chief Executive of the gigantic Oji paper monopoly controlled by the Mitsui interests. And as in other countries, so in Japan, "the plans of the modern world are made in the counting house" to quote the words of Woodrow Wilson. Therefore do we find Japanese industrialists being influenced by politics and influencing politics. This inter-connection is not secret ; it is there for all the world to see, and to understand. Japan's "Big Business" is thus found never behind in financing every patriotic ebullition or adventure. In 1936 it decided to contribute a total of 16,50,00,000 *yen* to the National Defence Fund. Amongst the contributors are the Mitsui, the Mitsubishi and the Sumimoto concerns which are heavily interested in the munition industry. The entire amount will be contributed not to the Finance Minister but to the Ministers of War and Navy in three equal annual instalments. Inspired by this example the leading concern of Formosa indicated their intention to contribute a total of 1,50,00,000 *yen* to the Army and Navy. As the State has helped to make the wealth of these "Houses", the State in Japan has had natural claims on their resources to advance its various programmes of social and political expansion. We have referred in this and in previous volumes of the *Annual Register* to the dependence of Japanese industries for their raw materials on other countries. This has halted Japan's industrial expansion both in peace time and in war time. An estimate has it that the U. S. A. exported over 2,00,00,000 tons of steel and iron scrap chiefly to Italy and Japan during the period of 1935 to January, 1941. Another shows the latest figures (1940) of the percentage of Japan's war supplies obtained from the U. S. A. : copper—91 per cent ; scrap iron and steel—90 per cent ; ferroalloys—83 per cent ;

aircrafts and parts—77 per cent ; oil products—66 per cent. This economic difficulty is galling to Japanese industrial magnates, and is the seed-plot of Japan's "New Order in the Pacific," in the solution of which politicians and militarists, industrialists and financiers have found a common platform. Not all the exponents of the idea and ideal present to us the picture in identical words or lines. Politicians and militarists have a way of drawing it up a little different from that of the industrialist and the financier ; the publicist and the map-makers of the "new orders" have their particular ways.

The militarist, the industrialist, & the racialist are *ek dil*

In Japan also this holds good. The politician and the militarist present to us this picture : "Japan has established a semi-circle of bases from Thailand to Saigon, to Hainan, to Takao (at the southern tip of Formosa), to Parao in the Japanese Mandated Islands. A possible extension of this semi-circle is to Davao in the Phillippines, where there is a strong Japanese colony." Mr. Koichiro Ishihara, President of the Ishihara Industrial Marine Transportation Co., "not unrepresentative of the ideas and purposes of Japanese industry and finance", wrote in the *Gendai* for January, 1941, that the key to the whole of the "China Incident" is the southern regions ; that "once the mutual prosperity block is set up, the 15 billion *yen* export surplus reported by the European colonies in 1935 would be converted into a tremendous and stimulating increase in Japanese industry..... the economies of the various European countries will be dependent upon it." In the August, (1940) Number of *Nippon Hyoron*, Hikamatsu Kamikawa drew up a scheme of world re-construction in place of the present one—Japan's version of the "new world order." The "emergence and establishment of huge bloc-empires" being the next stage in world development, Kamikawa lays down the following "basic principles" : (1) construction of Bloc or Regional Empires by the powerful races ; (2) the granting of mutual autonomous independence to the weak and smaller races ; (3) a world-peace based on an inter-bloc balance of power which will supercede the old racial or continental peace. In this scheme Japan will be dominating the western Pacific. The disposal of the Pacific islands now under non-Asiatic control is the major problem of this Bloc. The second principle of the above scheme will apply in the first instance to the Hun race (the Chinese), and to the Indians. Admiral Toyoda, Foreign Minister in the last Ministry of Prince Konoye, said in the course of a statement made to the Tokyo correspondents of the official German and Italian News Agencies on August 9, 1941, that "ethnical and geographical reasons" called for the closer collaboration between Japan and "the southern region". The reference to "ethnical" reasons points out to the origin of the Japanese people. Three elements appear to have mingled to make the race—a primitive white strain through the "Ainus" who appeared to have entered Japan from the region of the Amur in the neolithic times ; a yellow, Mongol strain came from or through Korea about the 7th century before Christ ; and a brown-black, Malaya and Indonesian strain filtering in from the islands of the South. The name of the island-empire—Japan, *Nippon*—can be traced to the last of the three elements in the make-up of

the people. Japan is probably a corruption of the Malaya word for the islands—*Japang* or *Japun*; this is a rendering of the Japanese term *Nippon* which in its turn is a corruption of the Chinese name for "the place the sun come from"—*Jib-pen*.

"The United Nations"

We have tried above to trace the evolution of the many forces and influences, generally impersonal, that have driven the Japanese, to launch on the greatest adventure in their nation's life. They have challenged the man-power, the money-power, and the traditions of imperial rule of Britain; they have thrown themselves against the industrial potential of the United States of America, the most highly developed nation of the modern world. It is true that they have struck "a blow which for the time at least has paralysed both Britain and the U. S. in the Pacific"—(*Time*, New York weekly, January 5, 1942). But consider the man-power alone of the States ranged against Japan and her Axis friends of Europe. The 26 nations who pledged themselves at Washington to "employ their full resources against the Axis Powers and to enter into no separate armistice or peace"—these "United Nations"—a new phrase introduced into the language of international politics—have a population of about 150,00,00,000 of the world's 214,50,00,000. Some of them are very small; a few very big. These are—

The United States of America, Russia, China, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czecho-Slovakia, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Greece, Guatemela, Haiti, Honduras, India, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Poland, South Africa, Yugoslavia, and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

U. S. A.— corner-stone of anti-Axis forces

The guiding principle of the signatories was the *Atlantic Charter*. The money-power of these States can only be astronomically calculated. The War Programme of the United States alone will absorb, we are told, half its national income—half of the more than 30,000 thousand crores of rupees—by the middle of 1943. For more than two years war in Europe had been raging; Germany stood triumphant over Europe; she "actually commanded about two-thirds of the heavy industries and three-fourths of the manufacturing capacity of Europe"—(*New Review*, Calcutta, January, 1941). Yet a "United Nations" could not be organized to challenge the threat held over the world by Germany. But the attack by Japan on the Pearl Harbour, on Malaya, on the Phillipines acted as a bugle call to these States, to the vast majority of these States. The secret of this line-up deserves research. Britain had been in peril for about eighteen months, but China had not cared to declare war against Germany and Italy. Even in the present Grand Alliance Russia has thought it right to bargain herself out of co-operation with war against Japan. Taking all things into consideration, it can be said with assurance that the United States of America has become the corner-stone of the world-wide opposition to the "new order" that Herr Hitler proposes to erect in the world. And the student of affairs should do well to pay special attention to things done and words uttered in that country. Since the end of World War I New York has become the financial capital

of the world. World War II has enhanced this importance. If Japan had refrained from attacking U. S. territories and confined her attention to British and Dutch possessions only, we have our doubts with regard to any change in the "limited liability" warfare that President Roosevelt had been carrying on against the Axis Powers. The Japanese attack has hastened developments; the quick-time organisation of the "United Nations" shows that from certain points of view Japan is regarded as the greater menace to the present order of things, specially in East Asia.

Controversy between Atlantic & Pacific strategy

But there appears to have developed a controversy with regard to the strategy of the Allied offensive between the Atlantic Allies and the Pacific Allies. The U. S. A. and the Soviet Republic which are both Atlantic Powers and Pacific Powers may be regarded as having an open mind in the matter. But not so are the British. Their Premier has very often given expression to the policy that Hitler was Enemy No. I, that the defeat of this enemy would bring down in ruins the Axis structure. His colleagues in the Ministry have taken their cue from "the master." One of them, the First Lord of the Admiralty, the Navy Minister, Mr. A. V. Alexander, made a statement in support of this thesis: "If we can knock (the Axis) out of the war, we can do what we like with Japan afterward." His opposite number in the U. S. A. Administration, the Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Frank Knox, echoed this feeling and policy:

"We know who our great enemy is, the enemy who before all others must be defeated first. It is not Japan; it is not Italy. It is Hitler, Hitler's Nazis, Hitler's Germany. It is Hitler we must destroy. That done, the whole Axis fabric will collapse."

Chinese & Dutch anger at British strategy

The statement would not have done any harm if Japan had not been so successful in her Pacific offensive, if the U. S. Administration and the Churchill Government had not "mishandled affairs in the Orient."—(*Time*, New York weekly). And Mr. Churchill was held, seemed to be held, particularly responsible for "Britain's feeble war effort in the Far East."—(*Time*). The Melbourne *Herald* declared: "It is largely a matter of Mr. Churchill himself.....Mr. Churchill...would stoutly dissent from the view he is Atlantic-minded." The New York weekly we have been quoting from made more sneering remarks: "The Prime Minister himself knows little of the subject (the Orient) except what he learned as an enthusiastic poloist in a Punjab regiment in Kipling's India." Mr. Knox's "unfortunately worded" statement caused "a lot of damage and hurt a lot of people"—the Dutch and the Chinese specially. The former were diplomatic in the expression of their dissent from the predominantly Anglo-American view of strategy. The latter were very out-spoken. The organ of the Chinese military, *Sao Tang Jih Pao*, remarked: "Signs of Anglo-American re-inforcements are absent while British and American authorities continue to indulge in side-tracking remarks." Non-official Chinese, represented in sixteen organizations in New York, were "more specific" in a telegram addressed to President Roosevelt: "If Singapore is lost and the Burma Road is threatened and the American Fleet still persists in doing nothing, then we have the right to be dis-

appointed with our Allies and will be forced to decide our own destiny." But the "really staggering warning" came, however, from Dr. Sun Po, President of the Chungking Legislative Yuan, and son of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, organiser of the Chinese revolution and founder of the Chinese Republic. Said he :

If the United States and Britain intend to allow Japan free rein in the Far East while they are finishing off Hitler, as seems to be indicated in recent speeches by Alexander and Knox, there is great doubt in Chungking as to the wisdom of China's continuing to fight."

Australias independence of British help

Australia and New Zealand, both British Dominions, which had angered Japan by their "white" Oceania policy discriminating against the residence of non-white peoples in their territories, had reason to be as apprehensive of the unchecked advance of the Japanese, and as angry with "British complacence and unpreparedness". Australia's Prime Minister, Labourite John Curtin, gave voice to these feelings. He made it clear that for relief from the impending difficulty they could not depend any more on Britain ; that "Australia looked to America, free from any pangs about our traditional links of friendship with Britain"; that

"Australian external policy will be shaped towards obtaining Russian aid and working out, *with the United States as the main factor*, a plan of Pacific strategy along with British, Chinese and Dutch forces."—(*The Italics are ours*).

Under-estimation of Japan

We do not know what improvement or revision of the Pacific strategy has there been as a result of this angry recrimination. The world knows that Japan has not been halted in Malaya, in the Phillippines, in the islands of Java and Sumatra, in Burma. There has been any amount of discussion on the cause and causes of the failure of Britain and the U. S. A. The simplest appears to be that the small-sized men of *Dai Nippon* were under-estimated all along the line—in their industrial potential which contributes to the success of modern wars ; in the strength and skill of their naval and air forces, of their army. When Mr. Saburu Kurusu was flying on his peace mission, a U. S. A. paper opined that Japan was bluffing and could be easily dealt with. Reasons in support of this contention were given.

"Yokohama, Japan's greatest sea-port, rusted under blockade, with whole streets deserted, warehouses and offices closed."

"Japan's great war industry was creaking. Its ship-building industry is crippled for lack of steel. Every gallon of aviation fuel burned by Japanese planes is irreplaceable. The bulk of the 50,00,000-tons Japanese merchant fleet is tied up. Economic strangulation is on the way."

"But war to Japan would mean worse than economic strangulation. Japan is a land of paper houses, and few antic-aircraft guns."

"Singapore spirit"—the spirit of "an effete, tired, hyper-civilized society"

The assurance that Japan was weak in the arts of peace and of war, suggested in the above quotation, must have been one of the influences that is responsible for the Pacific debacle. But people are not, or cannot remain satisfied with so simple an explanation. When an organization or an institution fails or falls it does not do so by external attacks alone ; there is betrayal from within, there must have been weakness in the various organs of its constitution. British and United States newspapers were found busy pointing to this inner weakness. One of

these purported to give the impressions of General Sir Henry Pownall who had replaced Air Marshal Sir Brooke-Popham as British Far Eastern Commander. Preparatory to the assumption of his new duties he tried to understand the causes of the peril that faced him and his forces. His "greatest disappointment" was the discovery of the "Singapore spirit"—the spirit of "an effete, tired, hyper-civilized society"; "cold storage, electricity and the automobile" had made many Britishers, "both officers and men.....hazy about the threat to their possessions and habits;" there were "late nights, good times." The *New Statesman & Nation* (London) was very bitter. It asked its people to face up to the fact that they were in presence of "something more unpleasant than incompetence." It asked them to recognize if they hoped to retrieve their position and to regain their self-respect and prestige, that the "inadequacy of this man or the other" could not account for "a failure so general."

"A ruling class was on its trial, and here, as in Norway and Crete, it has broken down. A national tradition has for generations discouraged intelligence and science, to concentrate on sports and what it calls Character. Here is the result."

Under-estimation of British character

The London *Daily Mirror*, passed the same judgment in language a little different. "At the top you have the military aristocracy of the Guards' regiments with a mentality not very foreign to Potsdam (the German military head-quarters during the Empire). In the centre you have a second-class snobocracy. And behind it all, the cloying inertia of the Civil Service bogged down by regulations..." We are sure that remarks like these can be paralleled from the literature of the Boer War, of World War I. The beating that the British received at the hands of the Turks in Mesopotamia, the evidence tendered before the Mesopotamian Commission, the report of that Commission which exposed and held up to public scorn the ineptitude of the military bureaucracy, in India specially—all these were intermediate stages of a "muddling through" that, the world has been assured, is the special gift with which the British have been endowed since the beginning of their imperial regime. In different periods during World War I., the prospects of Allied victory were no rosier than they are today. Rear-Admiral Sims, Commander-in-Chief of the American Naval Forces sent to Europe in 1917, in his book—*Victory at Sea*—reveals on the strength of documents placed before American naval men by the British Admiralty that "unless the appalling destruction of merchant tonnage (about a million tons a month).....could be materially changed, the unconditional surrender of the British Empire would inevitably take place within a few months," on about November 1, 1917. The figures of these losses were never given to the British Press. Bearing these things in mind we are not much disturbed or impressed by the pre-mortem report on the British Empire and the maladies of its body politic. The charge of "inefficiency, self-satisfaction and conceit" is the portion reserved for the managers of a losing cause. The time for the judgment of history on these happenings in East Asia is not yet. We have also to remember that we have not got as yet the health chart of the U. S. A. social life.

The spirit & appearance of Japan's soldiery

With all our detachment we cannot, however, say that we are unconscious of and insensitive to the many material and spiritual losses that have fallen on the cause represented by the responsible leaders of the "United Nations", by their failure to stand up to the Japanese. They have lost superiority on land, on sea and in the air. The extent of the risk run by the Japanese was "so great as to be almost admirable"—(*Time*). Their unbelievable success has justified this risk. They have almost secured the world monopoly right of tin and rubber ; the sugar of Java will be welcome to the Japanese house-wife ; the oil of Borneo and Burma recovered from wells that could not be wholly destroyed will move their planes over wider areas of the 6,86,34,000 square miles of the Pacific. A proper understanding of the factors, material and spiritual, that have enabled the Japanese to win this resounding victory is necessary for us as well as for others who have been affected by its results. We had occasion to refer to *Bu-shi-do*—the "valour-man way"—which in the Army Manual is expressed as follows : "To die participating in the supreme holy enterprise of mankind—war—must be the greatest glory and height of exaltation." Backed up by this conviction, and trained for this special glory through centuries of Samurai rule, the Japanese soldier, sailor and air man, is wiry and tough ; their "buttocks are big with marching ;" they are veterans ; they are well-equipped ; their staff officers' work has been "of a high order", to use the words of the U S. A. War Secretary Henry Stimson. A description of their war-formations tells us that in battle dress a Japanese soldier "looks like a badly-wrapped round paper package", "his sloppiness is misleading." For his size he carries an extraordinary weight of equipment. His '25-calibre rifle or machine-gun is light and accurate to 1,000 yards ; he carries 400 rounds of its little bullets, "twice as many as the load of larger bullets the larger U. S. trooper" carries. He carries a bayonet, a helmet with a little gold star on it. He carries 5 days' ration of rice and sardines, and he tends his own cooking. Thus lightly armed and lightly equipped, the soldiery of the Mikado has developed a tactics of their own which has confounded the General Staffs of Britain and of the U. S. A., specially in their Malaya and Burma campaigns.

Jungle war & Japanese adaptibility

General Pownall is said to have reported that "the Japs were as good as animals in the jungle." Basing on these words the New York *Time* has the following pen-picture

"They came in polygenetic clothes : in shorts and sneakers, or Malayan dress or just their underwear. They forced natives to lead them through tangled by-ways. They pushed about with high, merry tail, like hunting dogs, sniffing out convoys of defenders. With their bare hands they made rafts of logs.....They stole bicycles, food and shoes from Malayans and Chinese, went forward faster, stronger and better shod than before.....They climbed in the trees and dropped, like monkeys, on passing patrols. Every hardship which a hungry animal could tolerate, and many an ingenuity it could not conceive, they experienced and used."

".....It had never occurred to the British that little men in shorts and gym shoes could actually filter through Malayan jungles. Japanese forces had apparently made contact all the way across the peninsula.....The middle jungles had previously been the domain of the dwarfish Sakai, a hairy, blow-gunning people .....The Japanese bribed savages to lead them through their jungle paths."

Against an enemy like this, against tactics like this, what could the British and the Americans do ?

'The defenders had been too civilized for this sort of thing. They stuck to the pill-boxes along the highways, defended the airfields, stood at the bridges, guarded the cities, gallantly did everything the Manuals said to do. Many of them knew how to hunt the fox, shoot grouse, stalk tigers ; but none of them had been hunted by animals before. They were confused by this enemy....."

"The little men, in light shorts, open shirts and rubber sneakers or with bare feet, were apparently insufficient targets for the British. As they had used tiny, steel-saving two-men subs at Pearl Harbour, they used tiny one-man tanks and two-men gun-carriers."

The technique of "undeclared war"

We have attempted above to understand and explain, to interpret the events that have brought this World War II of the 20th century to the doors of India. We have yet to understand why Japan chose this particular time to launch her attack. Her "special" peace emissary, Mr. Saburu Kurusu, was at Washington trying to straighten out the tangle. On the morning of December 7 Japanese air squadrons began bombing Pearl Harbour ; one hour after this "the Japanese ambassador and his colleague delivered to our Secretary of State a formal reply to a recent American message. It contained no threat or hint of war." This quotation is from the speech of President Roosevelt reporting to the Congress on the sequence of events that had led to the war. It shows that the military in Japan had decided a week before to start the war ; they had chosen the particular hour and day a week before they started the "undeclared war." Her bombers must have been ferried over by carriers from bases in the mainland or in her mandated islands east of the Phillippines. None of these were nearer than 3,000 miles to their objects of attack. At least six days must have been taken to cross this area. During these days the Tokyo Government kept its negotiators at Washington "deceiving" the United States by talks of peace. This has been stigmatized as "the perfidy of a professed friend." We do not know who is the inventor of this technique of "undeclared war." Japan is no apprentice in it. There is a story that the Japanese ambassador at St. Petersburg was dancing at the Tsar's Palace what time Japanese ships were shelling the Russian naval base of Port Arthur. For four years and more Japan had been carrying on death and destruction in China without declaring war on the country. So, on December 7, 1941, Japan but practised the new morality in warfare which she has been following since 1904. This is an episode in the war which need not detain us any longer. Japan has chosen her path. She has kindled a fire in East Asia which will burn peoples other than the intended victims.

Why did Japan choose this particular time ?

The question demands an answer—why did Japan choose the particular time that she did in attacking the U. S. A. and British possessions in the East ? It may be true, as a spokesman of the Japanese Fleet in China waters declared, that "the China affair and the European conflict could not be settled separately." But this thesis did not require that Japan should attack Britain or the United States or both on December 7, 1941. It is difficult to believe that Japan did not consult her Axis allies in Europe before

she started her war. Why then did the latter consent to this new proposition? They could not help Japan, busy as they were with their "Russia Incident"; they did not suggest that Japan should create a diversion in their favour by attacking the Soviet Republic in the east, compelling the latter to divide her forces and energies, to fight on two fronts. It is true that Japan has helped them by diverting to their own use U. S. and British export of help to Russia. She has kept busy Britain and the U. S. A.—their munition manufacturers —but the products of their labour could not be used against Germany. And Germany could accumulate her war weapons for use during spring and summer. It has to be taken note of that before the end of November the Soviet forces had taken Rostov-on-the-Don, and had begun to roll back the German hordes from their towns and cities. This offensive started on the 29th of November. This counter-attack by the Russian forces under Marshal Semion Timoshenko did not, however, attain the success that it did later, to advise Japan to halt her attack. Perhaps she had made her full arrangements which could not be modified or counter-manded; the military machine by its own inertia moved forward to Malaya and to Pearl Harbour, one of the strongest of naval and air-bases in the world built at a cost of about two hundred crores of rupees. It was in the week ending in December 15, 1941, that Herr Hitler in explanation of the retreat of his army began to talk of halting its "mobile progress", and stabilizing it into "a stationary front" with a view to the early approach of winter; that he confessed that millions of "his soldiers stand after a year of the heaviest battles against an enemy who is superior in numbers and material in the front." This confession of discomfiture became more frequent; we find on December 29, 1941, again the Fuehrer acknowledging that the campaign in the East had "assumed proportions which exceeded all past notions."

Internal pressure – Anglo-American pressure

There was enough pressure from within to force Japan to burst out into this new war, as we have indicated above. We have to enquire whether or not Britain and the United States, either singly or collectively, did anything to add external pressure on the inner compulsion. There had been negotiations between the Japanese Ambassador Admiral Nomura and the U. S. Foreign Secretary Cordell Hull since April, 1941, to ease the tension. Japan's excursion into Indo-China which brought her within striking distance of Malaya and the Phillippines worsened the situation. Challenged by this audacity the U. S. General Staff and the British Imperial General Staff must have started measures to meet Japan half-way. The details of such measures were not for the public eye and ear. We have heard of only a few of these—reinforcements were sent to Hongkong from Canada and India; bases in the island of Guam were sought to be extended and strengthened. This was almost routine business. It had been known for a long time that the Japanese Navy was more than a match for the combined U. S. and British Navies in the Pacific. The Atlantic commitments of these two Anglo-Saxon Powers did not enable them to transfer any weighty portion of their naval forces to the mid-west-Pacific, to the Phillippine bases and to Singapore, except at the

last moment. We do not know if the Pacific Fleet of the U. S. A. stationed in and around Pearl Harbour could or did send any warship to U. S. territories in this area. During the height of the Indo-China affair there were rumours that the Pacific Fleet had left Pearl Harbour for "an unknown destination". It must have been rumour only. We do know that the British Navy sent the battle-ship—the *Prince of Wales*, and the battle cruiser—the *Repulse* to Singapore. The news of this reached the world on the 1st or 2nd of December, 1941. Did this piece of news force matters ? Lieutenant-Commander Tota Ishimaru has told us in his book—*Japan Must Fight Britain*—first published in Great Britain in February, 1936—that "the despatch of a Fleet to the Far East would be an early and definite indication that England had determined to fight her (Japan)." He closed his book with repeating the same declaration :

"Japan, then, must strike as soon as she learns that the British Fleet has left European waters on its way East. The conditions are much the same as those which would obtain in a war with America, when the last moment for commencing hostilities is that when the enemy Fleet leaves Hawaii for the westward."

"Axis Reunion in the Near East"

The unpreparedness that found the U. S. Fleet and air force at Pearl Harbour on December 7, and that which sent the *Prince of Wales* and the *Repulse* to their doom without fighter protection, go to show that Japan misread the signs. But she was ready, and the course of the war during the last few months in East Asia supports the contention that Japan somehow felt herself competent to lick single-handed the A. B. C. D. Powers—America-Britain-China and the Dutch East Indies. The only help that her Axis partners in Europe could have rendered her was technical advice in the new arts of war developed by German strategists. All this is true. But this does not rule out the plan that Japan's adventure has a place in the Grand Strategy of the miracle-workers of Berlin, the German General Staff. An American journalist, Pierre Van Passen, in August, 1941, contributed to the *Liberty* an article describing the latest slogan of the Nazi Military plan—"Axis Re-Union in the Near East." The meeting can become possible by Japan gaining control of the sea-ways in the Pacific and the Indian Oceans, and Germany and Italy up-setting British control of the Mediterranean. The plan envisages an "attack on the Suez Canal from the south" by the Japanese Navy, and by German bombers from the north. Other pre-requisites of success in this union are : the Phillippines must be lost by the U. S. A., Singapore by Britain and Surabaya by the Dutch East Indies ; the British must be driven from Egypt and Sudan, and from territories that were lately Italian and French Somaliland. The first six months of 1942 show Japan fulfilling her part of the bargain ; Germany and Italy are no nearer their objective. The article under reference also dilated on the sharing out of the spoils of victory. Japan was to reap the harvest on the continent of North America. There was no reference in the plan to the setting up of the "Co-prosperity sphere in Greater East Asia"—the dream of Japanese expansionists. Instead, a

new direction is given to Japanese ambitions. In its support "geo-political arguments" were forthcoming from the armoury of the late Major-General Karl Haushofer, the *Guru* in high politics of the present generation of German rulers. In his book—*Geopolitik des Pazifischen Ozeans*—he published a map in which the North American continent is shown as "a solution of Japan's lack of living space"; a large part of the United States and Canada is shown as "Japan's sphere of influence." Importance was imported into the discussion by recalling an article contributed by another "geo-politician"—Walter Reinhardt—published in 1937 *Zeitschrift fuer Geopolitik.* "One day Japan should be able without much difficulty to take Alaska, either as a pledge or even as a base for attack upon the United States."

Japan's place in German-dominated world

This grandiose scheme, the overturning of the old order and the building up of the new, is, we are told, "the divine event" for which millions in Europe, Asia and Africa have been shedding their blood. The builders in the Axis camp of this new order have made no secret of their hopes and ambitions. It appears, however, that these do not often coincide with one another. It was once hoped that as Nazism and Fascism were not articles for "export", they would be satisfied with the duty of re-shaping the European continent and north Africa. This is the significance of the plan of "huge bloc-empires" of which Hikamatsu Kamikawa speaks and to which we have already referred. But Germany's "Russia Incident" has put a new complexion on the whole matter. At least this is being felt in Japan. The *Kokumin Shimbun*, a Rightist newspaper of Tokyo, gave expression to what appears to us to be an apprehension that in the scramble for territories Japan may not get her due share. This was told us in a cable dated June 29, just seven days after Germany had attacked Russia. The paper opened the article with inviting the people to be prepared to face the many "grave problems" that will be maturing "if Axis hegemony extends across the Urals into Asiatic Russia." Then followed the opinion that if the Axis sphere were to include the Soviet territories, the Near East and Africa, there was no reason why Germany and Italy should not "recognize Japan's influence over India, Australia, Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia and Soviet territory east of the Urals." We do not understand why this request should have become necessary to be repeated when by Art. II of the 1940 Treaty (September 27) Germany and Italy recognised "the leadership of Japan in the establishment of a new order in Greater East Asia." There is no reason against such a division of spoils in case of Axis victory except that the leading member of the Axis with his "Nordic race" complex may have other ideas in the matter. He had long ago reserved for his country "the incalculable wealth and stores of raw materials of the Ural mountains, the vast forests of Siberia."

The Tanaka Memorandum

But the dreamers of dreams in Japan, men like the "Homeric figure" of Mitsuru Toyama, have also their own ideas for which they have been working for the last sixty years. The "Tanaka Memorandum" is there for all the world to see. It was prepared by General Tanaka, the then Premier, at the command of the Emperor. It was presented in the early months of 1927. A Chinese clerk in the Japanese Foreign Office made a copy of it,

and stole it. It was, a English version of it, was later published in the Chinese papers, English and native. Of course, the Memorandum was promptly denied by the Japanese Government. But the Japanese moves on the international chess-board made since then have followed the time-table of this Memorandum. And the vision raised by it has been holding captive the imagination of the people, and their mind is reflected in books and newspaper articles. We have referred to certain of these. We propose to bring the discussion of the subject to a close by giving an idea of the map of the "Greater East Asia" as drawn up by the *Nichi Nichi*—"It is bound on the west by a continuous chain of mountains forming a Great Divide." This chain of mountains stretches from the Behring Strait south-westward to the Arabian sea coinciding with the frontiers of Siberia, and including in the proposed map "all of China, French Indo-China, Siam, Burma and India." On the east, the coast line of East Asia extends from "Northern Nippon southward to Indonesia, then westward to Ceylon." History and present practice—East Asia's old history—and the present practice of the peoples' economic life, sanction and sanctify this "natural and inseparable unit." Thus India will be called upon to fit herself into the *Hakkuo Ichi Aye*—"into a harmonious order under one heaven"—of which the central figure is *Dai Nippon*. The Japanese attack may be an attempt to forestal Germany, to confront her with a Jap-dominated "Greater East Asia."

Token occupation of Iran by Britain & Russia

The story brought up-to-date indicates, in concrete terms, India's place in the "new order of things" schemed for by Japan "We have had hitherto to confine our attention to this, to things happening in our eastern border. In our western frontiers which geographically are bounded by Afghanistan and south-east Iran but are for strategic reasons extended to the eastern Mediterranean area, things were on the move threatening the established order of things. Rashid Ali El-Gilaini in Iraq had shown the way. It is true that his efforts were nipped in the bud. But in Iran mischief began to be brewing almost immediately. The Ex-Grand Mufti of Jerusalem sought asylum there having fled from Iraq ; Dr. Arthur Groba, who was playing the German part that Colonel Lawrence had done during World War I in the Arab countries, as quickly left Iraq ; there were assembled a few hundreds of German technicians, scientific men in key positions in Iran's industries and transport system, researchers into her ancient history, and hundreds of "tourists". These men and groups were found exerting their influence on the Shah of Persia, on conductors of the Administration, on other classes intimately connected with the ruling classes, to create difficulties for the British. On August 17 a Moscow news told us on the authority of an Ankara correspondent that "Germany has demanded air bases in Iran and full supplies for German planes using them." A London news of the same date said that the British and Soviet Ambassadors at Teheran had on the 15th August drawn the attention of the Iranian Government to "the concern felt by their two Governments in regard to the excessively large number of Germans in Iran." Their presence had constituted a danger to British interests since Germany had gained control of Crete and

Greece and the Ionian islands. The disturbances in Syria and Iraq were evidences of this threat. British "demarches" did not seem to have had any effect on the Iranian Government. But when Germany attacked Russia, when the "Battle for Odessa" was being fought in "burning heat", the control of the Iran Government by Nazi influence, was a threat to the Soviet Republic that could not be ignored. The combined British and Soviet "demarches" also failed to bring any improvement in the situation. The Nazi agents and sympathisers with the Nazi cause found in the Army and Air Force of Iran, the "rebels" against British imperialism that had fled to Iran from surrounding countries—all these "enemy" elements continued to be active. Getting no remedy the British and Soviet Governments ordered the march of British and Soviet contingents into Iran territory from the south-west and from the north-west ; this they started on August 25. It was preliminary to the "token occupation" of Iran, to save its Government from Nazi pressure, from allowing its territories to be used as base of operations against the Soviet Union immediately, and ultimately against India. The Iranian Government bowed before the storm. The Ali Mansur Ministry resigned, and a new Ministry headed by Ali Foroughi ordered Persian troops "to refrain from resistance" on August 28.

To open supply roads to Russia

Strategic reasons alone were not responsible for this invasion. Iranian wells produce about 1,02,00,000 tons of oil a year—twice the amount got from the Iraq fields and thrice from that of Rumanian This oil is "the life source of the whole British defensive system in the East." Since the loss of the industrial region of the Ukraine the Soviet republic has become dependent on the United States and Britain for the supply of war equipment and for the raw materials and machineries for its manufacture. It was hoped at the time that the head of the Persian Gulf would provide "Burma Roads" principally from Bandar Shahpur on the Persian Gulf to Bandar Shah on the Caspian Sea by the standard-gauge Trans-Iranian Railway for the flow of supplies to the hard-pressed Russian fighting forces. There are two other roads—one being north from Zahidan, the terminus of the Baluchistan Railway *via* Quetta, through eastern Iran to Meshed, and thence to Askabad in Russian Turkistan to be transported by a single-track railway to Krasnovodsk on the eastern shore of the Caspian Sea opposite Baku ; the other being from Basra to Baghdad by the narrow-gauge railway ; from Baghdad by a standard-gauge line to Erbil ; a road leads over the Rowandus Pass to western Iran, and thence northwards to strike the Russian broad-gauge railway at Tabriz. All these three roads, two in Iran and one in Iraq, have great limitations and enormous difficulties for through transport—road, railway, motor and other vehicles, and steamers—all these varieties of the means of transport will have to co-operate in the complete transaction. There are two other entrances to reach Russia—through Archangel in north European Russia, and Vladivostock on the Pacific at the end of 6 to 7 thousand miles of railway track. In the case of the former ice is the stumbling-block ; in the case of the latter distance.

All these difficulties of supply formed the subjects of discussion of a special Three-Power Supply Conference held at Moscow on September 29 and completed its work on October 1. Mr. Averill Harriman was head of the U. S. A. Delegation, and Lord Beaverbrook was head of the British ; M. Molotov was head of the Russian, as also the chairman of the Conference. The Conference was held on the basis of a joint-message addressed by President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill to M. Stalin and in agreement with him. Its purpose was to solve the question of the best way of sending assistance to the Soviet Union in the "splendid" resistance which it is putting up against Fascist aggression, of "the distribution of their common resources" ; and of "the best utilization of these resources." The better co-ordination of the war efforts of these three Powers was secured at the Conference, as we learn from the Harriman-Beaverbrook joint statement issued at Moscow on October 2. It has been decided "to place at the disposal of the Soviet Government practically every requirement for which the Soviet military and civil authorities have asked" ; the Soviet Government has supplied to Britain and the U. S. A. "large quantities of the raw materials urgently required by those countries" ; the difficulties of transportation have been fully examined and plans made to "increase the volume of traffic in all directions." One immediate proof of this was forthcoming in the news which told the world of the dispatch to Iran of a U. S. Mission under Brigadier General Russel Maxwell, to study British plans for urgent port, railway and road expansion necessary to keep supplies flowing to the Russian forces through the Caucasus, and to the British forces which were being sent from Syria, Iraq and India, and were being organized into "an expeditionary army" by General Wavell, Commander-in-Chief in India. It was also reported that joint consultations between high Russian and British military officers were being held at Tiflis. American ships were already being diverted to Iranian ports carrying Lend-Lease equipment.

Difficulties of transport of supply to Russia

These measures and the superb defence put up by the Russian forces, and the resumption of the offensive by them since the last week of November, 1941, must have halted the German war machine in its gravitation towards the Persian Gulf. Threats to India's western frontier have not taken shape. West and East they appeared to be distant. But what was distant has come near since December 7, 1941. It has affected our "Home Polity" and disturbed it in a manner that is no credit either to the rulers or to the ruled. In areas as far-placed as Dibrugarh and Rameswaram in eastern India panic caught the people ; their normal activities were suspended ; schools and colleges were closed and dispersed far and near. The Government, central and provincial, in their wisdom did nothing to assuage this fear ; they suggested civil evacuation ; they declared "non-family" areas ; they talked of civil defence, of slit trenches, of baffle walls, of sand-bags, of keeping stocks of food-stuffs—talks that only fed panic and spread civilian demoralization. In Bengal where an autonomy Ministry has

Japanese attack—panic & demoralization in India

been functioning, men and things did not show better than in the provinces under the Governors.

They spread like a contagious disease

There was a stampede from the coastal areas, urban and rural. Madras and Calcutta caught the contagion earliest, though the latter was 40 to 50 miles interior. Bombers—the fears of bombers—created this panic which passed decent bounds when news of the bombing of Rangoon on the 23rd of December reached the people. Bombay on the Arabian Sea developed the same symptoms much later, though between the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea there intervened 500 to 600 miles of land area. This dispersal of the people disrupted the various relations of economic and social life It was an instinctive affair of sheer animal fright which neither the Central Government of India nor the leaders of the people did or could regulate or control. Both of them failed in this obvious duty, because the people refused to be so guided. The Government, busy with their war organization, had not the imagination to think of civilian morale, to organize it. The youth of the country who could expect leadership and guidance from their Universities looked at them in vain. Certain of these academic centres gave the greatest lead to panic and demoralization. By closing the schools and colleges which had kept busy millions of boys and girls, they set free forces of idleness and rumour-mongering that added to the confusion of the times. In the evacuation from the cities and their neighbourhood the people were left to their own devices, and the Government looked on this scene with a helplessness that was ludicrous. As the "threatened" cities were being emptied out—nearly half of Calcutta's population evacuated—the railway stations became orgies of exploitation. Railway porters earned forty to fifty rupees daily ; the railway staff went one better. The Government which was master of the railways could not stop this loot, because the people in their fright were eager to submit to this loot. The contagion of profiteering spread far and near, into towns and townlets, into villages even. The influx of people into these, hunting for houses, shot up the rent of houses sky-ward. Houses that were normally let out for Rs. 10 a month were snatched at for Rs. 40 to Rs. 50. Men well-placed in life who had never let their houses either from inclination or from motives of profit,—even they could not withstand this contagion. Houses that were unfit to live had a crowd of candidates gathered round them who competed with one another in getting under their rickety shelter. House-owners demanded three months', six months' rent in advance, and the panic-stricken thanked their stars if they could get the houses on these extortionate conditions. Many a house-owner made their houses liveable for the present with the help of these advances. This spirit of grab soon spread amongst the industrial and trading classes which not all the thunders of the Defence of India Rules have been able to control.

The responsibility of Government

We do not know if scenes of physical and moral demoralization like these were seen in China whose people have for more than five years been blasted by Japanese bombs, have been beaten and battered by Japanese soldiers from one end of the country to another. We do not know if these or

things approaching these, were seen in Britain when from the London area fifteen to twenty lakhs of people evacuated to the country-side. We would not like to believe it. For, that would be contradicting the exaltation of the human spirit that has enabled these two peoples to defend their soul's integrity. One may be curious to know of the many influences that have helped to mould this heroic conduct. One can, however, say with a certain amount of assurance that State policy has had something to do in evoking and strengthening civilian morale. In India to our misfortune and to the confusion of the rulers, and of their various schemes, civilian morale has been shown to be at a low ebb, unsustained as it is by encouragement or help from the State. If one seeks for the causes of this defect in State and society in India he is brought into the heart of the unnatural relation that exists between these two in this country. The State in India is under the control of non-Indian personnel, which in its vanity and conceit and in its ignorance of the deeper inspirations of our multi-coloured national life, must fail when conditions of "total war" challenge their arrangements for defence and offense. This is what has happened in India. Challenged by the aspiring imperialism of Germany and Japan Britain is on the defensive. It is too early to diagnose the malady that has disabled British administrators and "planters." An American weekly, *Time*, has slung its criticism at an "effete, hyper-civilized" society. This appears to be an over-simplification. The bureaucracy and the "Planter Raj" that have failed so woefully in the East come from the same social strata that has been demonstrating in Britain the grandeur of human dignity. The difference between the fog over Britain and the sunshine over the East does not explain the difference in the behaviour of these two classes of men. We are inclined to believe that the explanation of this difference is to be found in the fact that in Britain the ruling classes draw their strength and sustenance from the heart of their country, while in the East they recline on the hills heedless and contemptuous of the world about, unresponsive to the deep stirrings in the people's life, repelling the people by their pride. Admiral Thomas Hart, Chief of the U. S. A. Pacific Fleet, by a single comment has thrown a flood of light on the whole problem of racial conceit and estrangement, of white *versus* the black, the brown, and the yellow. He said that much of the "Phillippine problem" is to be traced to "the sniffy attitude taken by the whites towards their little brown brothers." This is a final judgment.

Mr. Amery answers U. S. A. questioners

And nothing that has happened in India during the last few months has helped to take away or blunt the sting of this pride, and the distrust born of conceit. British politicians who have to do with India, headed by the Secretary of State for India, have failed in India to satisfy legitimate ambitions, to appeal to the self-respect of the country. In things big, in things small, the same failure of spirit and practice mark their conduct—in pronouncing or making constitutional or administrative changes in India, in doing a little propaganda on behalf of their own ways. In the last volume of the *Annual*

Register, we called attention to "Talking Points" on India circulated over the world, by the British Ministry of Information specially in the United States. These were a mixture of truths, half-truths, and untruths, of suggestibility and interpretation, that is more dangerous than frank falsehood. During the period under review Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India, was an actor in a broad-cast scenario arranged for the education of the people of the United States. A number of U. S. citizens asked certain questions, and the Secretary of State for India was put up to answer these. The first question put was "what taxes, direct or indirect, does India pay towards the British Government ?" Mr. Amery in reply was thankful for the opportunity to remove "so extra-ordinary a misconception" as was implied in the question ; neither India nor any other part of the British Empire did pay any tax in this crude fashion. The profits of modern imperialism are hid under other disguises. It was no part of Mr. Amery's to educate his U. S. hearers on the tricks of this trade ; he did not tell them wherefrom his country got the initial capital for pioneering modern industrialism that has been exploiting the world's resources for about two centuries for the benefit of a tiny island in north-east Atlantic. Mr Amery sought to turn the table on the questioner by saying that the British Government made a contribution of several millions of dollars a year to the military defence of India. It was not in his brief to say that for about half a century India has been made to pay about seven to eight crores of rupees a year—about 26 million dollars—for the inflated pay, pension and other expenses of 60 to 70 thousands of British soldiers and their officers' cadre—a sum which spread over these years could have built up the most up-to-date modern war-machine—army, navy and air force—for India's necessities of defence and offense.

His replies—a mixture of half-truths

The second question was—"Is it true that the Viceroy of India declared war against Germany without reference to the people of India ?" Mr. Amery was as sleek in his reply to this question. He appeared to suggest that the constitutional position of India was like unto that of the State of Utah—declaration of war by the Federal Government at Washington "automatically" brought Utah into the war. This was also Canada's position up to 1914 ; this has remained India's in 1939. Mr. Amery's comparison makes Lord Linlithgow the elected ruler of India just as President Roosevelt is of the United States of America—chosen by the votes of the whole people every four years, and seeking their suffrage at the end of every four years ! He informed his hearers that the Governor-General and Governors in India took "all possible steps te keep Indian political leaders informed of the march of events." He had no time to elaborate on their reaction to this information. He had no time to inflict on them, as he often does upon us, a historical disquisition on what Britain has gained by pushing India into the present war, and what she would have lost if India had been allowed to remain neutral just as another unit of the British Imperial System—Eire—has been allowed to do so, and another—the

Union of South Africa—threatened to do. The third question was—"why does not Britain grant India Dominion Status now? Does she intend to do so and when?" Mr. Amery's replies were quite plausible. Britain, engaged in a life-and-death struggle, could not be expected to go into the complexities of a great constitutional change. She has been promised Dominion Status. "The various main elements in India's national life" have refused to work the Federal Scheme embodied in the 1935 Act. In the future these have to agree amongst themselves and take Dominion Status. Unfortunately even now they cannot agree. The fourth question was—"How does British policy of making way for Home Rule fit in with the imprisonment of Pundit Nehru?" Mr. Amery replied that it was "law" that did it. The fifth and last question was—"what change has the war made in India regarding support of or opposition to the British defence effort?" The reply was that the support had not been "affected by the manoeuvrings of Indian politicians against each other or by their criticism of the present system of Government in India." Mr. Amery talked of the expansion of the Indian army from "2,00,000 to 7,50,000" which will soon be "a million." The recruits were all "volunteers"; there was a "long waiting list." India's young navy and air force have been worthily playing their part; she has developed a vast industrial machine for war supply. These facts constituted "the best answer" to the question. It ought to satisfy all. Mr. Amery at least was satisfied. Fortunately, in September, 1941, Malaya could not be thought of!

Expansion of Governor-General's Executive Council

As in the small matter of propaganda against India, so in the big matter of constitutional re-arrangement and administrative changes the British Government could only do the little thing. On its behalf Mr. Amery presented to the House of Commons on July 22, 1941, a "White Paper", announcing the enlargement of the Governor-General's Executive Council and the establishment of the "National Defence Council" with representatives from "British India" and "Indian India"—the Indian States. By this step the number of Indians in the Executive Council was increased from three to eight; an Indian was appointed Additional Defence Secretary to the Government of India. A "separation" of the portfolio of Law and Supply, of Commerce and Labour; a "division" of the portfolio of Education, Health & Lands into separate portfolios of Education, Health & Lands, and Indians Overseas; the "creation" of two new portfolios—Civil Defence and Information—this separation, division and creation was responsible for introducing into the Executive Council of the Governor-General "a team of ability and experience which it would be difficult to rival in India or indeed elsewhere", to use Mr. Amery's words. There was no pretence that any "constitutional change" was involved in the new arrangement. The Law Member was an old institution, about 100 years old when Thomas Babington Macaulay was first appointed. Sir Muhammad Zafarulla had combined with his duties as Law Member the work of war supply; with his impending appointment as a judge of the Federal Court of India, the duties were bifurcated: Sir Sultan Ahmed was appointed Law Member and Sir Homi Mody, the Bombay

industrial magnate, was appointed Supply Member. As biographer of the late Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, the new Supply Member had introduced himself into the public life of India since when he was been forging ahead as a power in the financial and industrial life of western India. Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar retained his membership for Commerce, while the new portfolio for Labour went to Sir Feroze Khan Noon who was recalled from his office as High Commissioner for India at London. Sir Feroze has won this reward as an apologist of British rule in the U. S. A. and Canada, as also with the help of Sir Sikander Hyat Khan who has been credited with forcing this protege of his on Lord Linlithgow. The old portfolio of Education, Health, Lands & Overseas India has undergone the same transformation—Education, Health & Lands in charge of one member, Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarkar, and Indians Overseas in charge of Mr. Madhav Srihari Aney. This was held by Sir Girija Sankar Bajpai who was Agent-General-designate of the Government of India to the United States. Sir Girija left his country under a cloud of popular disapproval for his part in the Indo-Burma Immigration Agreement. Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarkar has risen from "the street," to use his own words, to positions of affluence and responsibility. He served his apprenticeship in Insurance business under the late Surendra Nath Tagore, and rose to be the General Manager of the Co-operative Hindusthan Life Insurance Co. of Calcutta, one of the leading Life offices in India under Indian control and management. As a lieutenant of the late C. R. Das whom his countrymen call *Deshabandhu*—friend of his people—he organized many of the spectacular victories in Swarajist politics. He was Finance Minister in the first "autonomy ministry" in Bengal under Moulvi Fazlul Huq. Mr. Madhav Srihari Aney has been one of the pillars of the Tilak School of Politics in India—"Responsive Co-operation"—opposing where one must, co-operating with the Government when one can do so with self-respect ; making the fullest use of half-hearted political changes and never relaxing the pressure for more. With this belief Mr. Aney has not failed to reconcile his leadership in the Non-co-operation and Civil Disobedience Movements. His acceptance of a portfolio under Lord Linlithgow was, however, the end of a natural evolution. The leadership of the Legislative Assembly has added dignity to it. As a *doyen* of Indian politicians he commands universal respect. The two newly-created portfolios of Civil Defence and Information went to Mr. Raghavendra Rao and Sir Akbar Hydari respectively. Mr. Raghavendra Rao has passed through strange transformations in his political life. Beginning political life as a rising hope of the Swaraj Party, organized by C. R. Das, Matilal Nehru, and Vithalbhai Patel, he soon left or outgrew its "obstructive" tactics, officiated as Home Member in the Central Provinces & Berar, and its Governor ; was translated to London as an adviser to the Secretary of State for India. His experience of German bombing and of methods adopted in Britain must have been an added qualification for his choice. But he was a sick man when he joined his post ; therefore he could not impress his personality on this new work. Sir Akbar Hydari's choice was the strangest of all. A man who had gone from the Finance Department of the Government of India to set right the

finances of the Nizam's State and had done it, the man who was the organiser of the Osmania University, who was Prime Minister of the State for years—to be placed in charge of the war propaganda of the Government of India was an indication that the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy has had, to put it mildly, no sense of proportion.

India's appreciation of these changes—an eye-wash

The appreciation by the Indian public of this act of Lord Linlithgow, was tepid, though it was the result of 11 months' patient search for a way and a means by which "Indian public opinion could be brought more intimately into association with the Administration in all matters connected with war effort." The leaders of the Indian National Congress—the chief exponent of "the ideals for India which we ourselves share" to quote Mr. Amery's words, were indifferent. The All-India Muslim League was angry. The Sikhs who manned the Army of India with glory to themselves and their country through a statement made by seven of its leading and representative men expressed their exasperation that no Sikh could be taken into the Executive Council. The All-India Hindu Maha Sabha welcomed the step. The Non-Party leaders in the expression of individual opinions were non-appreciative, some were sneering. These men had co-operated with the bureaucracy through the storms and stresses of India's expanding political life ; many of them had helped to strengthen it. The opinion of these men, the least common denominator of Indian feeling and ambition, can be accepted as a measure of the unsatisfactory nature of the arrangement. The Rt. Hon'ble Mr. V. S Srinivasa Sastri declared : "The Government have neither strengthened their position nor met the people's demands in the slightest degree." The Rt. Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, presiding over the Non-Party Leaders' Conference held at Poona on July 26, 1941 said : ".....mere multiplication of the number of Indian members will not produce that psychological effect on the Indian mind." The Rt. Hon'ble Mukunda Ram Jayakar in course of his speech moving the first resolution of the Poona Conference, sized up the achievement of Lord Linlithgow : "We have got six Indians in place of three. No new departments have been transferred from Englishmen to Indians. In the departments which were under Indians before, instead of one man working three men will work now." He gave a rough estimate of the fresh financial burden that would be imposed for nursing this "brain wave" of the bureaucracy. Five to eight lakhs of rupees by way of salary to the new members ; two crores of rupees to enable the new members to carry on their "increased" work. The plea of "increased" work has been put forward for this bifurcation of the many departments. Curiously enough the departments that have been subjected to this process are the ones that have been or ought to be least affected by the war. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru drew attention to this aspect of the question, and its real significance.

"One is tempted to ask whether it is only in these departments which were hitherto held by Indians that there is congestion of work and whether the departments which were held by English members of the Civil Service, namely, Defence, Home and Finance, had not had additional work. If the departmental work is examined I should be surprised if it did not turn out that work in the

Defence, Finance and Communications departments has increased.....This process of division should not have been confined to the departments which were held by Indians. The meaning of it was obvious. The three portfolios of Finance, Defence and Home are portfolios with which power is associated, and with which initiation of policy is associated."

"Individual competence" of new members—not their representative character

In his July 22nd speech Mr. Amery had spoken of the new members being "as representative of and as responsive to public opinion as the refusal of the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League to co-operate makes possible." Having during the next seven days surveyed and understood the wide disapproval in India of their administrative changes, he struck on another key. This he did on August 1 initiating the debate on the "Report stage of the India and Burma Estimates." He harped on the "individual competence" of the new members more than four times in the course of his small speech. "Individual co-operation in the war effort"; "Indian public men who as individuals were by their ability or essentially representative character best fitted to strengthen the Government;" "men whom he (Lord Linlithgow) believed individually best fitted for the work in hand;" "the important thing was to find a team of individual competence." In his July 22nd speech Mr. Amery had spoken of associating with India's war effort "representatives of all influential sections of the community which were ready to co-operate." On August 1, he dropped that plea. Why? Had it anything to do with Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah's challenge questioning the right of the Muslim members of the Executive Council and of the "National Defence Council" to represent anybody but themselves? He made good his challenge by compelling three of the four Premiers of the "autonomy ministries" which still functioned, to resign from the latter body. They happened to be Muslims, and they accepted the Muslim League writ, one of them, the Bengal Premier, Moulvi Fazlul Huq, under violent protest against Mr. Jinnah's hectoring ways.

"There is no India"

Mr. Amery's climb-down was not a difficult one. British policy in India so far as representative and responsible government was concerned had been built on the theory that the individual in India did not exist; he had no separate existence except in and through his communal group. It has never encouraged an all-India feeling. Mr. Amery in a moment of forgetfulness might have spoken of *India First*. That was post-prandial rhetoric indulged in a restaurant. In the grave and sedate atmosphere of the House of Commons, with all the weight of his office heavy on his shoulders, where he was required to do a certain amount of tight rope-dancing, balancing the Hindu against the Muslim, he has to give authentic voice to British policy. This he did in the speech under notice when he declared: "There is no India as there is a Belgium or Holland, for instance." He did not elaborate the theme. He could have done it by saying that there is no Indian; there is Hindu, Sikh and Muslim, Scheduled castes and Christians, Princes and their subjects. As there is no India, there could be no Indian entitled to take part in ruling his country as a representative of the Indian people. He can be accommodated in the

subordinate seats of the mighty if he agreed to come there as a Hindu or a Muslim or a Sikh or a Scheduled casteman or a Christian. The Minto-Morley "reforms" laid the foundation of this "communal raj" In response to the Muslim League Deputation (1906) Lord Minto underlined the engineering of this structure. By his challenge Mr. Jinnah has only reminded Lord Linlithgow of the "charter" of separatism. The present generation of public men in India should be recalled to the source of the evil that has been poisoning India's political life.

"I am entirely in accord with you.....I am as firmly convinced as I believe you to be that any electoral representation in India would be doomed to mischievous failure which aimed at granting a personal enfranchisement regardless of the beliefs and traditions of the communities composing the population of India."

The *Times* realizes the inadequacy of the July changes

We have taken note of Mr. Jinnah's outburst against Lord Linlithgow for daring to "cavass members of the Muslim League" "over the head of the leader and the executive of the party". It was a quarrel between two "confident friends", British or Anglo-Indian and Muslim. Its public display added to the gaiety of the world. It was an one-sided affair. Mr. Jinnah was allowed to do all the talking. But before we go into the details of this interesting episode, we should like to keep trace of the disappointments that overtook the hopes of Mr. Amery in announcing in the last week of July with so much flourish the news that there would be 8 Indians in the Governor-General of India's Executive Council of 11 members ; it presaged "a change not indeed in the form of the constitution but in its spirit." The "change" has remained unappreciated by the Indian public since it was announced. Our people assessed its true value as a sort of window-dressing required to bolster up a declining business. It took three months for the public in Britain to realize the pretence and unreality of the whole thing. The *Times*, "ancient defender of British Raj and all its work," gave expression to this realization in the last week of November, 1941. It said :

"Nothing could be lost and much more sympathy could be won by a determined and understanding effort to bring more of the Indian leaders.....into a responsible share in the tasks of Government.....Direct participation in responsibility.....is the only true basis of democracy....."

The "Evening Standard" more out-spoken

A three months' trial has proved that the multiplication of Indian members, a waste of Indian money, have failed. Lord Beaverbrook is a pillar of the present British Ministry, being its Minister of Production. He controlled the *Evening Standard*. The exposure by this paper of Lord Linlithgow's failure was cruelly devastating.

".....to pretend that India is united behind the Viceroy's present policies is the most pitiful of follies, and that statesmanship would be bankrupt if in such circumstances it did not attempt to escape from the deadlock."

The "Atlantic Charter"– Its "8 Points."

These criticisms we have learnt through experience to appreciate as indicating no more than haphazard attempts to diagnose a deep-seated disease. There is no wide conviction in Britain that India holds the key to her existence as a great Power in the modern world, that failure to reconcile India's self-respect with Britain's necessities would disrupt her Empire. Even members of the Churchill

Government who have this conviction are powerless to influence their colleagues and supporters in favour of an "act of faith" in relation to India. The episode of the "Atlantic Charter" exposed the weakness of their position, and demonstrated the strength of vested interests that have been growing fat and flabby by living on dividends from India and which feel that they could not have these amenities if they let go their grip on India. Mr. Winston Churchill, the British Premier, who is co-draftsman with President Roosevelt of the "Atlantic Charter," is an upholder of the traditions of British life that have been built on the administration and exploitation of India "which are parts of the same duty in the Government of India," to quote the words of the late Lord Curzon who was Governor-General in this country, in the opening years of this century. It was hoped that Mr. Churchill's signature to the "Atlantic Charter" bore witness to a change in his outlook, that the deadly peril in which his country stood had widened his vision. The "Charter" defined "certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries (U. S. A. and Britain) on which they base their hopes for a better future of the world." It was published to the world on August 14, 1941. Its "8 Points" ran as follows :

"First, their countries seek no aggandizement—territorial or other.

"Second, they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely-expressed wishes of the peoples concerned.

"Third, they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live ; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.

"Fourth, they will endeavour, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access on equal terms to trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity.

"Fifth, they desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing for all improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security.

"Sixth, after the final destruction of Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all men in all lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want.

"Seventh, such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance.

"Eighth, they believe that all nations of the world for realistic as well as spiritual reasons must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten or may threaten aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armament."

"Atlantic Charter" —"universal" in application ?

The Press of Britain, of the United States, bubbled over with joy at this vision of a new heaven under which there would be a new earth. India's politically-minded people who remembered the late President Woodrow Wilson's "Fourteen Points"—the hopes raised by them all the world over, and of their betrayal by the victorious powers —the majority amongst them were sceptical. They were not much assured by the statement of the U. S. A. Secretary of State (for Foreign Affairs), Mr. Cordell Hull, that the basic principles and fun-

damental ideas of the Churchill-Roosevelt declaration were "universal in their practical application"; nor by that made in course of a speech delivered by the Deputy Premier of Britain, Mr. Atlee, at a reception given him on August 16, by the West African students in London.

"You will not find in the declarations which have been made on behalf of the Government of this country on war any suggestion that the freedom and social security for which we fight should be denied to any of the races of mankind.....

Yesterday I was privileged to announce a declaration of principles which apply, I believe, to all the peoples of the world....."

"Glorious opportunity" for an English-speaking leadership

These sceptics had not long to wait. The London *Economist* had said that as there were "inconsistencies as well as obscurities in the text" of the "Charter", they need to be clarified; otherwise "there may well be disastrous divergences of interpretation in the hour of victory." These divergences could not, however, wait so long. They appeared almost on the morrow. Mr. Churchill was, of course, fervent as one of the major prophets when in a world broad-cast made on August 25, he appeared to rise on his pinions to hail the vision of world-leadership by the English-speaking nations.

"This was a meeting which marks for ever in the pages of History the taking up by the English-speaking nations, amid all this peril, tumult and confusion, of the guidance of the fortunes of the broad toiling masses in all continents, and our loyal effort without any clog of selfish interest to lead them forward out of the miseries into which they have been plunged, back to the broad, high road of freedom and justice.

"This is the highest honour and the most glorious opportunity which could ever have come to any branch of the human race. When one beholds how many currents of extraordinary and terrible events have flowed together to make this harmony, even the most sceptical person must have a feeling that we all have a chance to play our part and do our duty in some great design, the end of which no mortal can foresee.

"Too full of pious platitudes"

The attempt to fly to the ethereal region of the English-speaking nations playing the part of "Big Brother" to the other nations of the world was not as idealistic as the world was asked to believe. In the last three volumes of the *Annual Register* we have tried to trace the evolution of this new imperialism. But to return to the "Atlantic Charter." Commander King-Halls *National News-Letter* had characterized the programme embodied in it as "out of date before the ink was dry on the signatures." The Church Commission of 53 members representing the various sects of U. S. A. Protestantism made in the first week of October, 1941, their "first formal comment" on the Roosevelt-Churchill plan—"it is too full of pious platitudes." The last line of Point 6 had been lifted bodily from President Roosevelt's inaugural address to the "77th Congress." These constituted the 3rd & 4th "freedoms" of his text. They then presented, clause by clause, a criticism of the "8-Points" declaration. This is too long to quote. That on Points 4 & 8 is interesting and is quoted below:

"Quite inadequate, because 'the U. S. A. has in the past.....treated our foreign trade as though it is of no legitimate concern to any one but ourselves.' Unless Congress shows that it has changed its attitude, this point 'will be received with grave and warranted scepticism."

"Peace can never be assured merely by seeking to reserve armament exclusively for those nations which are so satisfied that they seek only to maintain the *status quo*. This was the great illusion of Versailles....."

In India also neither the faithful nor the sceptics had to wait for long. The natural question had been asked—"does the 'Atlantic Charter' apply to India," just as on the outbreak of the present war the question was asked—"where does India which was made a belligerent without her consent stand in relation to all the high-sounding words about freedom and democracy which Britain and her Allies were hurtling through the air in justifying their opposition to Germany ?" The Chamberlain Government failed to give in 1939 a satisfactory reply ; so has the Churchill Government failed to give a satisfactory reply in 1941. For more than three weeks the London Government and its "subordinate branch" at Delhi-Simla kept silent. But the silence was not easy to maintain for long. So Mr. Churchill who had not opened his lips on the subject of India during his more than 19 months' tenure as Premier of Britain and had been blamed for this silence—unusual for a master of the English language as he was—at last broke silence. This he did in course of a "war review" made in the House of Commons on September 9, 1941. He began with the story of the meeting in the heart of the Atlantic ; how in July the President of the U. S. A. had expressed a desire that he would "welcome" a meeting with the British Premier to "survey the entire world position in relation to the settled common interests of our countries". This led to a discussion of the "Joint Declaration" —what it meant and what it did not. Mr. Churchill advised us that "when two parties have agreed on a statement one of them shall not thereafter, without consultation with the other, proceed to put special or strange interpretations upon this or that sentence." This must have meant that what he was saying on the occasion was done after consultation with "the other" signatory to the "Joint Declaration" ; otherwise the advice was pointless. Though this is difficult to reconcile with the words that followed immediately : "I propose, therefore, to speak only in an exclusive sense". Does the phrase "in an exclusive sense" mean that Mr. Churchill was putting his "own exclusive" interpretation on the "Atlantic Charter," thereby breaking his wise advice ? Doesn't President Roosevelt by his silence support of the Churchill interpretation endorse the repudiation of his Foreign Secretary by the British Premier ? Then he proceeded to say what the "Joint Declaration" did not mean. Firstly, it did "not try to explain how the broad principles proclaimed by it are to be applied to each and every case." Secondly,

Mr. Churchill takes India out of the "Joint Declaration"

"The Joint Declaration does not qualify in any way the various statements of policy which have been made from time to time about development of constitutional government in India, Burma or other parts of the British empire. We have pledged by the Declaration of August, 1940 to help India to obtain free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth of Races subject, of course, to the fulfilment of the obligations arising from our long connection with India and our responsibilities to its many creeds, races and interests. Burma also is covered by our considered policy of establishing Burma's self-government by measures already in progress.

It applies only to Nazi-dominated countries

The bringing in of the topic of India into this part of the speech does not fit in well into this part of his text. It appears to be forced into it. Then Mr. Churchill proceeded to explain what the "Atlanic Charter" did mean.

'At the Atlantic meeting, we had in mind primarily the extension of the sovereignty, self-government and national life of the States and nations of Europe now under Nazi yoke and the principles which would govern any alterations in territorial boundaries of countries which may have to be made. That is quite a separate problem from the progressive evolution of self-governing institutions in regions whose peoples owe allegiance to the British Crown. We have made declarations on those matters which are complete in themselves, free from ambiguity, and related to the conditions and circumstances of the territories and peoples affected. They will be found to be entirely in harmony with the conception of freedom and justice which inspired the joint declaration.

Indian Central Legislature condemns Churchill's interpretation

This clear-cut interpretation of the "Atlantic Charter" disappointed a few in India, exasperated the many, and strengthened the position of the sceptics and the cynics. The expression of these various feelings found a forum in the Indian Legislative Assembly on October 29, 1941. when Moulvi Abdur Rasheed Chowdhury (Assam, Mahommedan) moved his resolution.

"That the Assembly recommendes to the Governor-General in Council that immediate steps be taken to give effect, in the case of India also, to the joint decision of the British Premier and the President of the United States of America commonly known as the Atlantic Charter for creating a new world war."

Linlithgow Government's helplessness & Mr. Aney's cynicism

The mover of this resolution appeared to be apologetic in his utterances which can be explained by the atmosphere of hostility emanating from his fellow-members, furious with another example of hypocrisy in high places in the British Government. Almost all the speakers brought out from the cup-boards of history the many instances of "promises uttered to the ears and broken in the spirit". Mr. Jamnadas Mehta from Bombay, and Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra from Bengal, were specially coruscating in their invectives. Both of them appeared to feel the insult, the latter specially, implied in the recommendation that their nation should be going with the begging bowl for freedom, for *Swaraj*, to leaders of alien nations. But despite this anger and resentment the dominating spirit of the debate appeared to be marked by scepticism and cynicism. The leader of the House, Mr. Madhav Srihari Aney, speaking on behalf of the Government, frankly stated that "constituted as we are" the members cannot expect the Government of India to "form or express its own conclusions on the floor of this House." He recognised that the Churchill statement had created "a position of ambiguity" on the practical application to India of the general principles broadcasted through the "Atlantic Charter"; his own "inference was that they (Mr. Churchill and President Roosevelt) were probably referring to those countries which have lost their freedom in course of this war." He would not, however, be dogmatic; those who had signed it were the "proper persons to say what was in their minds". "Others", the rest of us who were making so much noise, "can only interpret it in the light of dictionaries and grammar and other things." Through these words peeped out the man who has had no illusions with regard to British declarations and practices—the Marhatta politician guided by his never-failing realism.

The grave subject that has so long occupied our attention, it

is a relief to turn from it, to the lovers' quarrel between Mr. Mahomed Ali Jinnah and Lord Linlithgow. We have had time only to refer to it in a previous page. It rose out of the Amery-Linlithgow plan for the expansion of the latter's Executive Council and the setting up of the "National Defence Council." On the 20th of July, 1941, the Governor of Bombay, Sir Roger Lumley, wrote a letter to Mr. Jinnah letting him know "the intentions" of Lord Linlithgow on the changes he was going to make for "administrative reasons." Referring to the establishment of the "National Defence Council" and its membership of 30—of which 9 will be drawn from the Indian States—Sir Roger naturally enough took care to indicate what was in the mind of his immediate chief.

Lovers' quarrel between Mr. Jinnah & Lord Linlithgow

"The Viceroy regards it as essential that the great Muslim community should be represented on that Council by persons of the highest prominence and capacity. He has accordingly invited the Premiers of Assam, Bengal, the Punjab and Sind to serve as members of it, and he has extended invitations to other prominent Muslims, such as Sir Mahomed Usman."

This "advance information" did not, however, soften Mr. Jinnah's attitude ; in his reply to Sir Roger sent the next day he regretted the decision made by the Government ; he could not "approve" of the Governor-General inviting "Muslim League Premiers or any other Muslim Leaguer" knowing full well that this would "embarrass the Muslim League organisation"; he hoped and trusted that the head of the Administration would "avoid such a contingency"—"help" Mr. Jinnah's organization to avoid such a contingency would have been the more correct thing to say ; it was "hardly fair or proper" that these gentlemen should be "approached.....over the head of the president and the executive of the All-India Muslim League"; it would bring "no credit" to the Government if it succeeded in "alluring" them away from their allegiance to their organization. In spite of this note of warning, the Government proceeded with their plan. Three Muslim public men—one a member of the Council of the All-India Muslim League, Sir Sultan Ahmed, and the other two—Sir Akbar Hydari and Sir Feroze Khan Noon—attached openly to no Muslim political organization—were appointed to the Governor-General's Executive Council ; the Premiers of Bengal, the Punjab and Assam—members of the League—and of Sind an opponent of the League—were appointed to the Defence Council.

Amery-Linlithgow plan will only "embarrass" the Muslim League

The dove-cots of the Muslim League began to angrily buzz at this defiance of the mandate of the organization intimated to Lord Linlithgow through the letter to Sir Roger Lumley. The general public could not understand the cause or causes of this anger. It knew that the Muslim League had felt unable to accept the 8th August (1940) offer of Lord Linlithgow. On the present occasion the scheme was almost "similar"—the expansion of the Governor-General's Executive Council and the setting up of the "National Defence Council"—with just a little difference. This difference was brought out by Moulvi Fazlul Huq in his letter of resignation (Sept, 8, 1941) of membership of the Working Committee and of the Council of the

Mr. Jinnah's threat of disciplinary action given effect to

All-India Muslim League—that last year's proposal was concerned with the formation of an "an expanded war council composed of Indian States and representatives of the various political parties of India." The present Defence Council will be composed of "Indian States and representatives of the various provinces." This, the Bengal Premier maintained, made "a fundamental difference" between the two proposals. On the present occasion there were vacancies to be filled up in the portfolio of Law and of that charged with Education, Health, Education and Indians Overseas. Sir Sultan Ahmed, who happened to be a member of the League Working Committee, was appointed to the former. There was no League resolution which stood in the way of any Muslim Leaguer agreeing to fill up a post, fallen vacant under the Government. He could not come within the "mischief" of the League resolution passed on September 20, 1940. But Sir Sultan was condemned—expelled from the League; his plea in this behalf being brushed aside as "puerile." So was Begum Shah Nawaz whose plea that she had been invited as "a representative of women and as representative also of the Punjab"—was called "childish." Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan—Premier of the Punjab and Sir Muhammed Saadulla, Premier of Assam—saved their skin but not their face by resigning from the Defence Council: Moulvi Fazlul Huq also resigned. But for the temerity of publicly challenging Mr. Jinnah's autocracy and arbitrary use of powers delegated to him by the annual session of the League and of throwing other choice adjectives at him, he had to pay a price. His compliance with the League resolution did not save him from expulsion. For reasons unstated Mr. Jinnah did not touch Sir Akbar Hydari and Sir Feroze Khan Noon. His writ was not issued against them, thus taking away much from his claim that his organization "represented authoritatively the Muslim community".

"Basis of appointment" to Defence Council—two versions

This "domestic feud," publicly staged, had its serious side also. It touched on the conduct of Lord Linlithgow. When the *personnel* of the "National Defence Council" was announced, and the names of the four Premiers of the only "autonomy Ministries" in India were found in it—the other eight having resigned as a protest against British policy in India—the question was naturally raised—did these gentlemen, three of whom happened to be members of the supreme executive of the All-India Muslim League, did they join the Council in their official capacity, in virtue of the position they held as heads of Ministries? The public innocently believed that this was so; the gentlemen concerned also acted under this belief. But Mr. Jinnah's angry outburst from Hyderabad (Deccan), dated July 30, 1941, that members of the League who were co-operating with the Amery-Linlithgow plan had laid themselves open to "disciplinary action" told the world that something was wrong. The mystery surrounding the matter cleared on September 26, when in pursuance of the League Working Committee's resolution passed on that day, both the Assam and the Punjab Premiers resigned from the Defence Council. In their statements on the subject both of them expressed "surprise" that the "basis of appointment" to the Defence Council appeared to have

had two versions. They had been told that they were to be invited to this new organization as Premiers of their provinces. But in a letter written on July 20 by the Governor of Bombay to Mr. Jinnah they found the other "basis of appointment" stated in clear language—they were appointed as "representatives of the great Muslim community." Mr. Jinnah read out this letter at the Working Committee meeting. The next day, July 27, a *communique* from Simla was issued, trying to explain this discrepancy. It stated the obvious—that Sir Sikander Hyet Khan, Sir Muhammed Saadulla, Moulvi Fazlul Huq and Khan Bahadur Allah Baksh were in the Council as Premiers of their respective provinces. But the bureaucracy could not resist the temptation of adding a new appeal on behalf of the obvious ; this they did by doing a little homage to the sheet-anchor of their policy, to the "Communal God" of their own creation. But the angry God was not so easily propitiated. On July 28, Mr Jinnah gave to the public the correspondence between him and the Governor of Bombay. It appeared therefrom that during a "conversation" between Lord Linlithgow and Mr. Jinnah held on August 16, the latter had told the Governor-General that that was the "first time" he heard that the Premiers had been invited to the Defence Council in "their official capacity". We have quoted in a previous page an extract from the Bombay Governor's letter indicating the policy followed. This finds fuller expression in the following words of the Government of India *communique* :

"It goes without saying that in the conditions of India it is not possible to separate in estimating the character or composition of any public body the community or the individual from his representative capacity. It was clearly desirable, too, that in a body designed to be as generally representative as was practicable, care should be taken to ensure adequate representation to the great Muslim community."

Muslim League "family fund"—what is it due to ?

The writer of the *communique* did not feel that there was any contradiction between this concern for communal representation and the policy that had guided the composition of the Defence Council, expressed in his own words—"the allocation of the seats assigned to British India was primarily by provinces." His masters did not yet know that they must be prepared to place the "first fruits" of their policy in the hands of the leaders of the Muslim League before they could be allowed to approach the inner sanction of the community. In all places of pilgrimage, whether at Benares, or at Jerusalem, or at Mecca, there are guardians at the gates who have first to be satisfied with offerings. In high politics also where religion has been called in to subserve material purposes, it is part of wisdom to observe this rule. Failing to do so, the Amery-Linlithgow combine invited and received "a rebuff from those on whom they had fawned," to use Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's expressive language The Jinnah touch was more cruel—"according to Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, the Viceroy was double crossing him."

This episode was not the only symptom of Muslim League dissatisfaction with things as they were. It is too early to interpret the many influences that must have worked to create the *impasse* that needed a "purge" of even so consistent a communal politician as Maulvi Fazlul Huq who can boast even to-day that he has been holding the banner of his community aloft "in the teeth of opposition

from the most highly cultured, the most organized, and the most powerful non-Muslim community in India"—the Bengalee Hindus. On the surface it appeared to be a conflict between the individual and the party. Whether there were impersonal forces working in the heart of Muslim society in India, of liberalism against obscurantism, of the spirit of toleration against fanaticism in religious thought and conduct —we find few signs in the controversial literature to indicate their presence. Both Mr. Jinnah and the men and women whom he drove out of the Muslim League swore by separatist conceits and ambitions, uttered separatist slogans ; their utterances and activities did not show that they were prepared to grow out of the limitations they had imposed on themselves. Their attempt to capture political power, one can understand. But by their tactics they have created more difficulties for their community than they can solve. The "purge" of Muslim League members from the Bengal Ministry is an instance of this development.

Hindu Mahasabha maintains its dignity

In response to Muslim League aggressiveness the Hindu Mahasabha movement has been able to wean away the many progressive forces that went to the building up of the Indian National Congress, that have been trying to create unity out of the diversities of our national life. Since the outbreak of this war the organization has been doing its best to contribute to the success of war-efforts, frankly declaring that for the advance of their community's particularistic interests—militarization and industrialization of the Hindus—"Hindudom must ally, unhesitatingly, in a spirit of responsive co-operation with the war-effort of the Government.....by joining the army, navy and air forces in as large a number as possible," to quote the words of Sri Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, President-elect of the 23rd session of the Mahasabha. The speech from which these words are being quoted was to have been delivered by him at Bhagalpur during the last week of December, 1941. The bureaucracy of Bihar, however, put a ban on the session, leaving no choice to the leaders of the Mahasabha but defiance of this ban. The Chairman of the Reception Committee, Kumar Ganganand Singh of Durbangha, and its Secretaries were all arrested. The President-elect, the Working President, Dr. Shyamaprasad Mukherjee, Finance Minister of Bengal, Dr. Moonje, Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang, Mr. N. C. Chatterji, Raja Maheswar Dayal, Bhai Paramananda, Rai Gunendra Krishna Ray, and hundreds of leading Hindus were arrested on the way to or at Bhagalpur. This aberration could hardly be explained. The plea of *Bakrid* has been trotted out. But the authorities of the Mahasabha had decided that their session would conclude its sittings three days before this Muslim festival, long enough for things to settle down in that city and its neighbourhood. It is also to be noted that the local Muslim community made no public representation to Government expressing any apprehension with regard to interference with the religious ceremonies connected with *Bakrid*. The officiousness of the Bihar bureaucracy is liable to one interpretation—and one only—the interpretation that found such a classic expression through the lips of the late Sir Bamfylde Fuller, that of two wives—the favourite Muslim wife etc.

The Governor-General when approached at Calcutta for relief by Sir Manmatha Nath Mukherji, ex-Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court and President of the Bengal Hindu Maha Sabha, is reported to have refused to interfere with a matter "which was essentially a provincial one." It is self-satisfied smugness like this that has made the Linlithgow regime such a dismal failure, that drives even men like the Rt. Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri to declare that "bent and broken as he was in age, his sluggish blood ran somewhat swiftly" as he moved the resolution condemning the Bhagalpur ban at the last session of the National Liberal Federation of India held at Madras on December 26 and the succeeding days. A lover of "constitutionalism" that he has been all his life—even he thought that the Hindu leaders at Bhagalpur could not have "done less under the circumstances." The studied moderation of his language ought to have warned Government that matters were being allowed to go "too far" ; that they could not play with the "ordinary rule" which required of the Government to assist the people to perform their lawful duties and exercise their lawful rights This Linlithgow failure—for, the ultimate responsibility of the Governor-Genral cannot be shirked by the plea of a provincial issue with which the Central Executive Government need not interfere—will remain a count against the Administration. From certain points of view the fight for elementary rights of citizenship fought by the leaders of the Hindu Maha Sabha aligns it with the forces represented in the *Satyagraha* movement, guided and controlled by Mahatma Gandhi, which has shown a new way to men and women for the assertion of their dignity. Even the Muslim League through all its threats and bombast talks of imitating the Congress technique.

The Maha Sabha stand a part of all-India development

From this time on till Japanese forces appeared at Penang on the Bay of Bengal, when "the Jap had achieved command of the air by the end of the war's second week," there was "nothing doing," nothing to report on any easing of the tension between British Imperialism and Indian Nationalism. The 25 days of Japan's victorious march during 1942 exposed before all the world the slender basis of the peace that Britain had imposed on this region of the earth. The moral and physical disruption of men and things in Malay that we witnessed during these few days has very few relieving features to enhance men's respect for profiteers from imperialism. Even in the worst days of this debacle racial discrimination marked the conduct of political and social leaders in Malaya and Burma. It was even darkly hinted and made much of by Jap propagandists that in the use of soldiers made up of various racial and colour groups in the "Grand Army" of *the United Nations* in this area there had been some sort of discrimination. It is not possible to bring home this charge to any individual commander. The following from the London *Daily Mail* dated December 20, 1941, may help us to understand the matter in its real setting : "The British Command is deliberately using only part of its strength at these forward areas, keeping substantial forces, including Australians, in reserve." It is

Even during crisis there was racial discrimination

not for the lay man to go into the reason or reasons for the tactics adopted. We know that by the end of December the British had been "out-numbered four-to-one (or more), out-planned, out-gunned, later out-tanked." Confronted by such a desperate situation they decided to yield all of Malaya "saving the Australians for a compact shield of men north of Singapore." (*Time*) This must have been the reason for the tactics on which such a sinister interpretation has been placed. But there cannot be any manner of doubt that as in the Pearl Harbour so in Malaya and Burma there have been failures in correct conduct.

Safety of Indians in Jap-infested areas

The safety of Indians in Jap-infested areas is of immediate concern to us, however. We know hardly anything about how the 6 or 7 lakhs of Indians in Malaya have been faring. The Japanese moved too quickly for them to have time to evacuate. But we know what happened to Indians in Burma—men, women and children—10 lakhs of them. As we send these pages to the press we learn that nearly half of them have fled to their country ; more than 95 per cent of them have lost their all ; they have returned to their country in rags and depend on the charity of their neighbours for their daily needs. The "Burma Road" from Lashio had carried a message of hope to China, had stood as a symbol of her unconquerable spirit. But the "Burma Roads" that went north through jungles and hills, and carried these lakhs of people to India will live in history as symbols of death and misery, littered with the bones of men, women and children—thousand of them—who died of disease and starvation, haunted by the incompetence of officialdom and the brutality of Burmans. Mr Madhav Srihari Aney who is in charge of the portfolio of "Indians Overseas" was responsible for arrangements that ought to have been made to make the exit of Indians as comfortable as practicable under war conditions. British administration in Burma broke down ; Indians were left to their own devices or to the mercy of Burmans. The report tendered by the five lakhs that could arrange to come through the horror is not creditable to Burmans ; a pall has fallen over the fate of the other five lakhs of Indians. The Indian member charged with looking after their safety and honour could do little for the relief of the former. Red tape appeared to have halted his activities ; the military bureaucracy which resented civilian interference had its hands full in arranging for the retreat of the soldiery from Burma. The "No Man's Land" between India and Burma was beyond Mr. Aney's jurisdiction ; his being a peace-time job. The newly-organized Civil Defence portfolio was hardly out of its swaddling cloth. So Indians—men, women and children—fled from Burma. And the Indo-Burma Agreement and the heated controversy generated thereby—all this became irrelevant. In October, 1941, the Central Legislature at Simla had debated on the best way of protecting the material interests and the honour of the ten lakhs of Indians in Burma. Before December was out their material interests became the playthings of fate ; they left these in ruins in the towns and villages and the path-ways of Burma, victims to the rapacity of Burmans, and to the "scorched earth" policy followed by the military in Burma. They had neither the time

nor the inclination nor the power to think these, of arranging for their protection. Life was more valuable.

Jap war & Political India

With this story of ruin in our immediate neighbourhood, fire and sword standing at our doors, the war in Europe receded to the distance that it physically has been; its influence on our fate and fortunes had to be appreciated with an effort of intellect. The Jap was at our gates. And we were unprepared. The shame and humiliation of it made vivid our helplessness. Lord Linlithgow could only dilate on the virtues and beauties of his August 8 (1940) offer; make the usual appeal to the people of India to forget their "domestic differences" and work together as a whole. The National Liberal Federation meeting at Madras appealed both to the Government and the people to view the situation "realistically", emphasising at the same time that "unity between the Government and the people" could become possible only by "a change in the policy of His Majesty's Government towards India." The All-India Hindu Mahasabha declared through its President, Sri Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, that "Japan's entry into the war against Britain and the United States need not cause any change in the attitude taken up by the Hindu Mahasabha towards the war effort...calculated to contribute to India's defence." But fear was expressed by British papers that Japan will be trying to exploit the dying embers of Pan-Asiatic feeling. One of them, the *Manchester Guardian* if we remember aright, went so far as to darkly hint that if the British Government persisted in its flirtations with Muslim separatism, there might be found Hindu public men to lend their ears to the siren songs of Jap propagandists. The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League meeting at Nagpur expressed alarm at the "growing tendency in a section of the British Press and politicians who under the stress of war against the Axis Powers and the entry of Japan in the war, are urging a revision of the policy hitherto followed and start a policy of appeasement of the Congress....." If such a dire calamity was thrust on them by the Government, the Muslims will, the Committee warned, "be compelled to resist it with all the force at their command", resulting in "a serious impediment of the country's war efforts which has so far been largely carried on with the help and support of Mussalmans." The All-India Women's Conference meeting at Cocananda in Andhra Desa under the presidency of Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit gave expression to authentic Indian feeling when it said that "Britain's statements regarding her war aims cannot make any moral appeal to the peoples of the world as long as she refuses to alter her present policy in regard to India."

Congress position re-stated

The Working Committee of the Indian National Congress meeting at Bardoli, after 14 months, passed a resolution on December 30, 1941, reiterating its belief that

"full freedom for the people of India is essential, even more specially at the present state of world turmoils not only for India's sake, but for the sake of the world."

During these 14 months the Congress, under the leader-

ship of Mahatma Gandhi, had been engaged in a fight for "freedom of speech and corresponding action" which is the "breath of democracy." During this fight 25,000 Congressmen had suffered imprisonment and "many thousands who offered *Satyagraha* in the Frontier Province and elsewhere were not arrested." And, after giving due consideration to all the facts, internal and external, that have been shaping world history during these months, the Committee reverted to the policy laid down by the Bombay resolution of the All-India Committee passed on September 16, 1940. This resolution had invited Gandhiji's leadership of the Congress which he had resigned as a result of the "Poona offer" of co-operation with war-efforts in India. The "Poona offer", that had hoped "to end the deadlock in India..... in co-operation of the British people", had lowered the flag of non-violence to meet exigent dangers, stood revoked. The Bombay resolution sought to restore the policy and practice hitherto followed—"the policy and practice of non-violence, not only in the struggle for *Swaraj*, but, so far as this may be possible of application, in free India." This return of the Congress "prodigal" at Bombay enabled Gandhiji to take up the leadership of the Congress again, and help it organize the *Satyagraha* Movement (1940—'41).

Reversion to Bombay resolution of Sept., 1940

But discussions in the Working Committee at Bardoli opened his eyes to the fact that the majority of its members were not prepared to take up the position that "the Congress was to refuse participation in the present or all wars on the ground principally of non-violence." This was the "interpretation" that Gandhiji had put on the Bombay resolution; his "astonishment" was great, therefore, when he found most members differing from it. And on re-reading the Bombay resolution he found that they were right, and that he "had read into it a meaning which its letter could not bear." This discovery of his own error left him no choice but to retire from Congress leadership—leadership in "the struggle for resistance to war effort on grounds in which non-violence was not indispensable"—in which, as the other members thought, the "opposition need not be on the ground of non-violence." He addressed a letter to Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President, asking to be relieved of the responsibility laid upon him by the Bombay resolution. The Working Committee did this by a separate resolution, assuring him at the same time that the Congress "would like to extend its (non-violence) scope as far as possible even in a free India." This resolution and Gandhiji's decision left the Congress free to take up the "Poona" position again; the Bardoli resolution showed that the door was "not barred altogether against the Congress participation" in war effort, "certainly not on the ground of non-violence." This has been Gandhiji's interpretation of the Bardoli resolution of the Congress Working Committee, passed in full appreciation of the developments precipitated by Japan's attack on British, U. S. A. and Dutch possessions in south-east Asia. The Congress did not make any "offer" to the Government; the Government did not show any inclination to take advantage of the "Poona" spirit.

Gandhiji's interpretation of these various changes

Rabindra Nath Tagore

Weakened by internal differences, frustrated by Government policy, confronted by bureaucratic incompetence, threatened by a near invasion of their territories and waters and the air over their heads—people in India appeared to have resigned themselves to the disturbance of the many certainties of their existence. This spirit of resignation ill accords with the dignity of human nature; it cannot help us to defend and protect—even our material interests. Disgust with a short-sighted State policy may be largely responsible for the helplessness that is being widely felt. But against State policy in India our people have battled, and come out with morale toned up, with understanding cleared, with national cohesion strengthened, with national self-respect re-vivified. For a century prophets, philosophers, and poets have been thinking of this better and higher life for India's men and women, have been singing of the glory to be in the life of their people. We look to them; we have need of them. One of them who combined in himself for about half-a-century all these functions for us, left us, on an August day, when we needed him most. During the Swadeshi days he was the minstrel of our awakening, inspiring us to do and dare. We who were young in those days are what we are to-day because he lived and worked in our midst, spoke to us, sang to us. During the humiliation of the Jallianwala days he divested himself of honour conferred on him by the bureaucracy and dared stand among his insulted countrymen as one of themselves. In every crisis of our national life since those days he has stood forty years back forth as the organ voice of our national yearnings, as the singer of "flaming words to the assembly." The world also looked upon him in this light. China looked at *Santi-Niketan* with hope, Japan for approbation. He, one of the elders of the human race, suffered agony where human dignity was trampled under foot; his burning words scorched the aggressor and the oppressor; his songs inspired the down-trodden to stand up in front of regnant wrong and shame it into observing the decencies of human life. Centuries laboured to give birth to a human being endowed with such a myriad mind, with such a thousand-petalled heart. He bore the name of the Sun-God; under his gaze Nature and man's world warmed into new beauty. He carried to the world's heart the message of this new creation. And the world received it with thankfulness. Today the messenger of all this light, of all this hope, of all this inspiration, has winged his flight beyond the eternal seas. We sorrow, and the world sorrows with us. But with this feeling is mingled the sense of glory that such a man had lived amosgst us, had spoken to us, had sung to us. Impelled by these feelings we join in the world's procession that carries its homage to the memory of Rabindra Nath Tagore. May his inspiration abide with us, help us to come with dignity out of the testing time that confronts us!
(Specially contributed by Sri Suresh Chandra Deb).

Proceedings of

The Council of State

THE

Indian Legislative Assembly

AND

Provincial Councils & Assemblies

JULY—DECEMBER 1941

The Council of State

Autumn Session—New Delhi—10th. to 22nd. November 1941

Indian Troops in Action

Convention was laid aside on the opening day of the autumn session of the Council of State at New Delhi on the **10th. November 1941** when immediately after the swearing-in of new members—among whom were four Executive Councillors, *Sir Archibald Wavell, Sir Akbar Hydari, Sir Feroz Khan Noon* and *Dr. E. Raghabendra Rao*—the President welcomed the new Commander-in-Chief, in a speech recounting the brilliance and sound strategy with which *Sir Archibald Wavell* had carried out his operations last year in the Middle East. His recent visit to Burma and Malaya, declared the President, should result in an even greater co-ordination of war effort throughout this area, so essential for India's security.

Briefly acknowledging this tribute and more elaborately answering a question, General Wavell referred to the great part played by Indian troops in the various theatres in the Middle East. The following is the text of *Sir Archibald Wavell's* statement :—

"It gives me much pleasure to respond to the request of the Hon'ble Member. As Commander-in-Chief in the Middle East for two years, I can give personal testimony to the splendid part played by the British and Indian troops from India in the contributing to the destruction of *Marshal Graziani's* invading army in the Western Desert of Egypt, and to the extinction of the Italians' East African Empire.

"When my predecessor replied to a similar question on March 10 last, he recounted the great achievements of the 4th and 5th Indian Divisions in the Western Desert and in the Sudan and Eritrea. At the time he spoke, the great majority of these troops stood before the towering heights of Keren, where the whole of the Italian forces in Eritrea, reinforced from Abyssinia, had gathered to bar further progress towards the capital, Asmara, and the port, Massawa, of the oldest Italian Colony, on which they had spent so much money and such pride.

Storming of Keren

"The Italians, with some justification, judged the Keren position impregnable, and I must confess that I had myself at one time doubts of our ability to break through. Not only had it great natural strength, but it had been fortified with much skill and was held by troops superior in numbers to the attackers. We made three attempts to storm this position, and were successful at the third attempt on March 27, after more than three weeks fighting. The gallantry and determination with which this position was carried will always be a proud memory in the history of the Indian Army.

"The capture of Keren broke the resistance of the Italian Army in Eritrea. Although the country between Keren and Asmara is immensely difficult, and there is at least one position equal in natural strength to that of Keren. the 5th Indian Division, which pursued the enemy, rapidly overcame resistance and Asmara surrendered on April 1, less than a week after the fall of Keren. Some attempt was made to defend the port of Massawa, but this was soon captured and by the end of the first week in April, the whole of Eritrea was in our hands and the threat to our communications through the Red Sea removed. The 5th Division continued the pursuit 200 miles southwards into Abyssinia and the final act of their campaign took place at Amba Alagi, a position even more naturally formidable than that at Keren. After a period of difficult fighting, the Viceroy of Italian East Africa, the Duke of Aosta, surrendered to the Commander of the 5th Indian Division. At Amba Alagi the troops from the Sudan joined hands with General Cunningham's troops from East Africa, who had made a very remarkable advance by Kismayu, Mogadischio, Harrar and Addis Ababa. With the fall of Amba Alagi, Italian resistance in their Empire of East Africa practically ceased, though there still remained considerable forces to be cleared up in the southwest of the country and one small pocket in the north-west, at Gondar. Indian troops from Aden had, meanwhile, taken part in a skilful little operation for the recovery of British Somaliland.

CONQUEST OF ERITREA

"In a four months campaign from the middle of January to the middle of May, the 4th and 5th Indian Divisions had completed the conquest of Eritrea and of the northern half of Abyssinia. It was a very remarkable achievement. In the earlier stages of the war, I had frequently discussed with my subordinate comrades concerned whether a campaign from the Sudan against Eritrea had any good prospect of success. We had come to the conclusion that in view of the difficulties of the country it would require a minimum of two first class divisions, backed by a considerable weight of artillery and that even then it would be a long and costly process. We certainly never hoped that two divisions, with less than the ordinary amount of artillery, could accomplish the difficult task so swiftly and effectively.

"The two Victoria Cross awarded by His Majesty the King-Emperor to soldiers of the Indian Army for deeds of valour in Italian East Africa are fitting marks of the courage displayed in this great achievement. The two recipients represent two categories of great importance in the Indian Army. Lieutenant Bhagat is a fine example of the officer cadets selected for and trained in the Indian Military Academy before the war and represents the leadership of young educated India; while the late Subedar Richpal Ram is typical of the veteran class of the Viceroy's Commissioned Officers, who for many years have formed the backbone of the Indian Army.

"The turn of events elsewhere made it impossible for me to give these two Divisions any rest after their East African campaign. Immediately after the fall of Keren, I had ordered the 4th. Indian Division back to Egypt, and even before the fall of Amba Alagi, a great majority of the 5th. Indian Division was ordered to follow. Their conquests in Eritrea are being garrisoned mainly by battalions of the Indian States Forces which have gone overseas.

TO THE RESCUE OF GREECE

"The situation that necessitated the urgent recall to Egypt of the 4th. and 5th. Divisions will be remembered by Hon'ble Members. At the end of October 1940 the Italians had made a wanton and unprovoked attack on Greece. They had been successfully repulsed by the gallant Greeks and had even been driven out of the greater part of Southern Albania. Early in 1941, however, it became obvious that the Germans were preparing to march through Bulgaria to attack the Greeks on the other side, and the Greek Government appealed to Great Britain for assistance. We were in honour bound to afford all possible aid to meet this unprovoked aggression ; so practically the whole of the trained and equipped troops available in the Middle East were ordered to Greece, and our conquests in Cyrenaica were left to be held by a garrison of partly trained and partly equipped trooops ; I made a miscalculation here ; I did not expect any enemy counter-attack before the end of April at the earliest by which time I hoped to have back at least a part of the seasoned Indian Division from Italian East Africa and to have completed the equipment of the troops left in Cyrenaica, which consisted of a British armoured brigade, an Australian Division and an Indian Motor Brigade. All these were short of equipment transport and training. The Indian Motor Brigade had only arrived in the Middle East a month or two previously and I had sent it up to Cyrenaica to complete its training and to await the completion of its equipment. Unfortunately, the enemy attacked at least a month before I had expected it possible.

"The resistance put up for 48 hours by this Indian Motor Brigade at Mechili was a fine example of courage and determination. Even when surrounded by superior enemy forces, with a large number of tanks and artillery, the greater proportion of them succeeded in breaking through the enemy ring and escaping. One regiment of the brigade, the 18th. Cavalry, has for more than five months, been sharing in the heroic defence of Tobruk, from which it has lately been relieved. I am told the regiment claims to have bayoneted over 200 of the enemy.

"No Indian troops, except for a few technical personnel, took part in the campaign in Greece or the defence of Crete ; but Indian troops were at the same time engaged in a fresh theatre of war of great importance to the defence of India. Early in April, a political adventurer in the pay of the Axis, Rashid Ali, with the backing of certain highly placed Army Commanders in Iraq, overthrew the legitimate Government and seized power by a coup d'etat. To safeguard our interests in Iraq, so vital to the defence of India, an Indian Brigade landed at Basra in the middle of April and was followed by another by the end of the month.

Rashid Ali, at the instigation of his German masters, thereupon made an attack on the Air Force Cantonment at Habbaniyah, 40 miles from Baghdad. I will not go into the details of this sorry business. Rashid Ali and his supporters, finding that the Germans who had instigated their crime were unwilling or unable to render them effective support and that the majority of opinion in their own country was against them, fled on the arrival of a small British force outside Baghdad, when the rebellion ended and the legitimate Government was restored to power. Part of a Gurkha battalion, flown up from Basra, contributed to the successful defence and counter-attack of the Air Force establishments at Habbaniyah, while Indian troops moving up from Basra soon restored order in the remainder of the country, where they are now on excellent terms with the inhabitants.

SYRIAN CAMPAIGN

"The next scene of operation was Syria, During the revolt in Iraq, the Vichy French in Syria had allowed the Germans full use of their aerodromes and their facilities to assist the rebels in Iraq, and everything showed that the Germans were making preparations to obtain complete control of the country, contrary to the terms of the Armistice, which the subservient French Government at Vichy allowed them to ignore without protest. This danger to our position in the Middle East could not be tolerated, and although the forces available were insufficient for a rapid occupation of Syria, we were compelled to take action forthwith. In these operations, a brigade of the 4th Indian Division played an outstanding and distinguished part. It is not too much to say that the capture of Damascus, which naturally had a very considerable effect on the campaign, was mainly due to the brilliant action of this brigade. They suffered severe casualties while fighting, almost alone and unsupported, in the village of Messe against heavy guns and tanks, but their self-sacrifice secured the capitulation of Damascus. Temporarily a considerable number of that brigade became prisoners of the Vichy French but ha pily the whole of these prisoners were returned shortly after the Armistice.

"Indian units from Iraq, also took part in the Syrian campaign, moving across the desert towards Aleppo.

ACTION AGAINST IRAN

"Finally, there is the recent action in Persia. Once again, the agents of the Axis were endeavouring to prepare the way for the German occupation of Persia and the sabotage of our interests. Hon'ble Members will appreciate what a danger to the defence of India this would have involved. Representations to the Persian Government having proved unavailing, it was impossible to accept the danger, both to our off supplies and to the general defence of India, and British and Indian troops advanced into Iran at two points on August 25, while our Russian allies moved in from the north. Fortunately, although there were one or two sharp encounters, the swiftness and efficiency with which the move was executed and the obvious unwillingness of the Iranian people themselves to resist, brought hostilities to an end in a few days with little loss of life. A new Iranian Government was established, with which we are closely co-operating.

"Meanwhile, other Indian troops were engaged in the western desert, especially in some operations on the Egyptian frontier in the middle of June, in which they conducted themselves with their usual gallantry. Although we were finally compelled to withdraw, these operations were successful in causing the enemy severe loss and in stopping any danger of an invasion of Egypt.

"The above gives a brief record of the exploits of Indian troops during the last three or four months. I should like to inform Hon'ble Members that a booklet will shortly be published giving a history of the campaigns in which Indian troops have been engaged since the beginning of the war upto the end of the campaign in Syria, It is entitled, I understand, "The Tiger Strikes."

"AN IMPRESSIVE RECORD"

"I am sure, Hon'ble Members will agree that the record of Indian troops in this war is a most impressive one, and I am proud to have had these troops under my command in several theatres. Their training, their discipline, physique and morale have excited admiration wherever they have been, and I can assure you that the military reputation of India's fighting men stands very high in all parts of the middle East. When I was at Home recently, I enquired after the Indian transport contingent, which went to France at the beginning of the war, took part in the battles in France and is now in England. I had

not the opportunity to see them, but I was informed that in England, as elsewhere, their bearing and behaviour was excellent, and my requests for their return to India were met with a reluctance to spare them. I have also recently visited Burma and Malaya and have seen as many as I could of the Indian troops there. I can assure you of their welfare and of the good impression they have created.

"India's troops are serving at a considerable distance from their homes, but they are none the less fighting India's battle and are by their skill and courage preventing the approach of war to India itself."

Defence Consultative Committee

The House then took up *Sir Archibald Wavell's* motion for the election of four non-official members to serve on the Defence Consultative Committee.

Mr. *P. N. Sapru*, welcoming the formation of the Defence Consultative Committee, said that he saw in it the partial fruition of their efforts to secure the transfer of control of defence to Indian members of the Central Legislature. He wanted the Commander-in-Chief to give the members of the Defence Committee an opportunity to visit places like Mhow, Ambala, and Belgaum which were not included in their last tour of military establishments in India. While he was glad that Indian princes and other prominent Indians had been to the front, he regretted that no effort had been made to invite members of the Central Legislature to theatres of war in Egypt, the Middle East and Singapore. He also suggested that in view of its importance, the number of members of the Defence Committee should be increased. He also desired that the minutes of the meetings of the committee should be circulated for their information and guidance.

Sir. Archibald Wavell, in reply, appreciated and welcomed the interest shown by the members in defence matters and said that the first meeting of the Defence Consultative Committee had been found to be extremely useful and valuable to both sides. As regards the question of visits to the military establishments, he said, arrangements had already been made for members of the committee to visit certain ammunition factories and establishments in India and he was always prepared to have arrangements made for them to visit any military establishments.

As regards the question of visiting theatres of war abroad, it concerned the Commanders-in-Chief of the particular theatres of war to be visited and there was also the question of making necessary transport arrangements. As the Commander-in-Chief of the Middle East, he would have welcomed such a visit from them and he was sure that so far as the Middle East was concerned his successor there would not place any obstacle before them.

Referring to the demand for increasing the number of members of the committee he said that the present number was the highest they could deal with conveniently and he could not increase it further. He assured *Mr. Sapru* that he would have the question of circulating the minutes of meetings of the committee looked into though he felt that many of the matters before the committee were of a secret nature and could not be circulated, even to members, in printed form.

He also gave an assurance that at the next meeting of the committee information about the Indian navy and the air force would be given to the members. He said that the only reason why such information was not given at the last meeting was that it was the first meeting of the committee and they had a great deal to get through and hence they could not find time to deal with the air force and the navy. The House at this stage adjourned.

MUSLIM LEAGUERS' WALK-OUT

11th. NOVEMBER :—The members of the Muslim League Party staged a formal walk-out this morning after their leader, Mr. *Hussain Imam*, had made a brief statement. Mr. Imam stated that they had decided to take that action in consonance with the decision of the Muslim League Party in the Central Assembly, as a mark of protest and resentment against the action of his Majesty's Government in India. He declared that the Muslims expected and were entitled to better treatment than had been meted out to them. They had never refused to cooperate with the Government: they had gone out of their way to facilitate and conciliate the Government by agreeing to drop the question of future constitution and Pakistan for the duration of the war.

Mr. Imam went on to say that after the clear and convincing statement made in the other House by Mr. *M. A. Jinnah*, he did not think it necessary to go over in detail the same ground. They had been 'bluffed' by the scheme of

expansion of the Executive Council : the expansion was a camouflage. The portfolios previously held by Indians had been split up to make room for the expansion but the bigger and more important portfolios like Finance and Defence had not been given to Indians. He asserted that the portfolio of Education, Health and Lands, which had been held all along by one person, was far too big in war time, to be in the hands of one member. Referring to the portfolio of Indians Overseas, Mr. Hussain Imam declared that the new member for Indians Overseas was not really in charge of Indians Overseas : he was only in charge of Indians within the British Dominions. He was not in charge of Indians in foreign countries like the United States of America. In the case of the Home Department only its appendix had been severed to create the two portfolios, Civil Defence and Information. The Indians had not really been given any power.

If this fight was for the safety of India, as they were told, went on Mr. Imam, no one was more incompetent to be in charge of the Defence department than the present incumbent. He asserted, "This is a war to perpetuate India's slavery and keep us down. We have no place, we are not entitled to any footing in the Defence department. It is not the defence of India's liberty ; but it is the defence of India's slavery. By their present action, the Government are making plain what their future intentions are." Other countries, Mr. Imam said, who had lost their freedom, were continuing their fight from the capital of the British Empire, with the hope that at the end of the war, they would have their liberty restored to them. 'Are we to understand', he asked, 'that this present fight is for the future betterment of India—Pakistan for us and Hindustan for our friends here ?' He hoped that the Goverment of India would not wait for the day when it would be impossible for them to check the advance of India towards her destiny at home. At the conclusion of the statement, Mr. Imam, followed by two other League members, walked out.

Purchase of Railways

An emphatic plea to take advantage of the large sterling resources in London and the purchase forthwith of not only the Bengal and North-Western Railway and R. K. R. but also all the other company-managed railways was made by Pandit *Hirday Nath Kunzru* in support of his resolution in the Council of State this morning. The resolution asked the Government to give notice to the Bengal and North-Western Railway and the Rohilkhand and Kumaon Railway of the termination of their contracts by Dec. 31, 1941, and to purchase the two railway systems and place them under State management. Pandit Kunzru explained that 50 per cent of the R. K. Railway and 40 per cent of the B. N. W. Railway already belonged to the State.

Referring to the early history of the purchase of these two railway systems, Pandit Kunzru said that the Government were already committed to the progressive State management of the Indian railways. As for the B. N. W. Railway, he referred to the resolution adopted by the Assembly in 1931 at the instance of the then Railway Member, Sir George Rainy, and the debate in the Assembly in 1937. He claimed that on both the occasions, the Government stated that they did not exercise their option for the purchase of the B. N. W. Railway on financial grounds. On both the occasions, the Government had explained that the deferred purchase of the railway would enable them to offer a reduced amount of the purchase price. Pandit Kunzru enquired what would be the savings in the purchase price of the railway now and urged that the financial situation being very favourable, the Government should exercise their option now. Pandit Kunzru also pointed out that in case the option was not exercised this year, and no fresh contract was entered into with the Company, the Government would not be able to purchase the railway for the next 40 years.

Mr. *Srinarain Mahta*, supporting the resolution, reminded the Council that the Legislative Councils of the United Provinces and Bihar and Orissa had passed resolutions favouring the purchase of the Railway.

The Communications Secretary, *Mr. S. N. Roy*, replying to the debate, said that the Government were carefully and actively examining the whole question and were fully aware of the various issues raised by the mover of the resolution. He said that in case the Government were to decide to purchase the railway, they would have to pay in cash Rs. 14,04 lakhs for the Bengal and North-Western Railway, in addition to the payment for debentures amounting to £975,000. The total price, therefore, would be about Rs. 15 crores. Another three crores of rupees would have to be paid for acquiring the R. K. Railway. He announced

that the Government would remain neutral, in case the resolution was passed to a division.

Mr. *P. N. Sapru*, supporting Pandit Kunzru's resolution, said that the purchase price had already gone up since 1927 and they could not say what would be the position 40 years hence He also drew the attention of the House to the general dissatisfaction among the users of these railways with the management. He felt that State management would be a great improvement on the present company management and a great benefit to the public.

Pandit Kunzru, replying to the point made by Mr. S. N. Roy, that if they waited till 1982 they could acquire the railways without any payment, drew attention to the fact that the B. N. W. Railway alone was making an annual profit of over a crore of rupees and the profit that would accrue to them during these 40 years, if they acquired the railways, would more than compensate for the payment of a few crores of rupees as purchase price. He asked the Government what actually were the financial problems which were being considered by them. He could see no valid reason for postponing this question. He urged the Government to take into serious consideration the dissatisfaction felt by the public over the management of the railways. The resolution was passed by the Council.

Architect's Profession

Mr. *M. N. Dalal* then moved a resolution recommending the appointment of a committee of officials and non-officials consisting of professional architects, Government representatives concerned with public works, and representatives of the building trade, with a view to organising suitably and to regulate the practice and profession of duly qualified architects in India by a system of registration on lines similar to those adopted in the registration of the profession of auditors and medical and legal practitioners by legislation or otherwise.

Sardar Bahadur Sardar Sobha Singh supported the resolution.

Sir Firoz Khan Noon, Member for Labour, stated that he was in entire sympathy with the principles and objects of the proposal but in war time, when the Government had a great deal of other things to do, it was not opportune to suggest their taking up this question. He assured the mover that the Government would, at the earliest opportunity, go into the question of regulating the architect's profession. On this assurance, the mover withdrew his resolution.

International Labour Conference

The Council then proceeded to discuss Mr. *P. N. Sapru's* resolution regretting that neither employers nor labour were represented by men of their own choice at the recent session of the International Conference in the United States and that the delegation was purely official and recommending that it should be made clear that in future the principle that both labour and employers should be represented by their own nominees should not be departed from.

Moving his resolution, Mr. Sapru regretted that the practice of sending a representative of the labour movement in India to the International Conference which had been followed for nearly 20 years had been broken this year. He said that under Art. 389 of the Peace Treaty of 1918, the Government undertook to send a representative of the strongest labour organisation in the country to the International Labour Conference. He asserted that this year, the All-India Trade Union Congress had actually been called upon to elect a delegate but since the nominee was not acceptable to the Government they decided to send only official nominees. Mr. Sapru said that they were told that there was a split in the labour movement in this country and hence they could not find out who was the real representative of labour. He asserted that there might have been a split in the labour movement before but it had been healed in 1939. Even if there had been a split, the Government ought to have accepted the principle laid down in Art, 389 of the Peace Treaty and sent a representative of the strongest organisation in India, namely, the All-India Trade Union Congress. He emphasised the great importance attached to the conference which President Roosevelt himself addressed and by which the economic clause of the Atlantic Charter was considered. The importance attached to the conference by the British Government was evident from the fact that no less a person than the Deputy Premier, Mr. Attlee, represented Britain at the conference. It was very regrettable that Indian labour should not have been represented at such an important conference. The real reason for this action, he said, was that Government apprehended that the labour representative would do propaganda in

America against the Government. There was no justification for that fear. Mr. Sapru declared that he was not for Nazism or Fascism and admired the heroic resistance put up against the most disgusting imperialism that the world had seen. But, if Britain was really fighting for democracy and freedom of all countries, they should follow the principles of democracy in the case of India and not deny her the right to have her real representative at the international gathering. "If you are fighting for democracy, your propaganda must be on democratic lines. You cannot follow Nazi methods in suppressing Indian propaganda in other countries" Referring to the second part, Mr. Sapru requested the Government to give an assurance that in future at least, the principle of sending a real nominee of employers and labour to the conference would be recognised.

Sir Feroz Khan Noon, replying to the debate, said that he was in entire sympathy with the second part of the resolution and he could assure the mover that so far as the future was concerned, the Government would always follow the principle they had been following all these years, of sending a representative of labour to the International Conference. But he could not accept the first portion of the resolution because the circumstances this year were exceptional. It was true that the Government had asked the A.-I. T. U. C. to elect a delegate and they elected Mr. Kalappa. But there was a split in the movement, one section being led by Mr. Misra and the other by Mr. Jamnadas Mehta. The other section was completely opposed to the representative chosen by the A.-I. T. U. C. In these embarrassing circumstances, the Government decided not to send any representative of Labour as it was not possible for them to find out who was the true representative.

He assured the mover that the Government had no apprehension that Mr. Kalappa, if sent to America, might utilise the opportunity to do anti-British propaganda. He said there was already a good deal of anti-British propaganda and the Government had no reason to fear on that score. He reminded the House that just before the outbreak of the war, Mr. Nimbkar, who was a communist, was sent as representative of Labour to the International Conference at Geneva. Not only that, when he expressed a wish to visit Russia, he himself had given him facilities to do so. If labour leaders and workers had really no sympathy for Nazism or Fascism, as Mr. Sapru had said, then men like Mr. Nimbkar ought not to be in jail but ought to be with the Government outside. He hoped that Mr. Nimbkar would soon be out of jail and working with them. In view of his assurance about the second portion of the resolution, if Mr. Sapru was prepared to withdraw the first part of it, he had no objection in accepting the latter part.

Mr. *Sapru* insisted that the Government must have had ulterior motives in not sending a representative of Labour to the International Conference, though Sir Feroz might not be aware of them. But as a gesture of goodwill, he withdrew the first portion of the resolution. The resolution as amended was passed by the House. The Council then adjourned till the 13th.

MINES MATERNITY BENEFIT BILL

13th. NOVEMBER :—Four Bills, as passed by the Legislative Assembly, were passed by the Council this morning. They were *two bills* further to *amend the Code of Criminal Procedure*, the *bill to amend the Factories Act* and the *bill to regulate the employment of women in mines* for a certain period before and after child birth and to provide for payment of maternity benefit to them. The first three bills were passed without any amendment.

During the consideration of the *Mines Maternity Benefit Bill*, Mr. *P. N. Sapru* suggested that the total period of maternity benefit of a woman worker in a mine should be extended from two months to three months, namely, six weeks before and six weeks after child birth. This was, he pointed out, the period laid down in the draft convention adopted by the International Labour Conference in 1919. He said that the women who were entitled to the maternity benefit in any mine were extremely few and considering the wage of a woman worker was always less than that of a male worker, the increase in the cost of production on account of the extension of maternity benefit to three months would be insignificant.

Sir *Feroz Khan Noon*, while sympathising with the suggestion, pointed out that the number of child-bearing women employed in mines was very small and considering the competition and cheapness of labour in India, if the period of maternity was extended as suggested, mineowners might altogether stop employing child-bearing women. He said that in the matter of such legislation it was desirable to proceed by small degrees.

After a minor drafting amendment moved by Mr. *S. A. Lal* had been accepted, the Bill was passed. The Council then adjourned till Monday, November 17.

Woman's College for Aligarh

17th. NOVEMBER :—The Council passed two Bills to-day, one further to amend the Aligarh Muslim University Act, 1920 and the other to alter the constitution of the Board of Trustees of the Port of Madras, both as passed by the Legislative Assembly.

Speaking on the motion for consideration of the Bill to amend the Aligarh University Act, *Sir Mahomed Yakub* and Mr. *P. N. Sapru* welcomed the proposal to organise a degree college for women, to be affiliated to the University. Pandit *Hriday Nath Kunzru*, while not wishing to oppose the Bill, said that he would have preferred if girls were to receive education in the Aligarh Muslim University in the same way as boys, instead of in a separate college. The establishment of such a college would, he felt, be a contravention of the principle underlying the Aligarh University which was a unitary teaching university.

The Bill was passed without further discussion.

Madras Port Trust Bill

Speaking on the Bill to alter the constitution of the Madras Port Trust, Mr. *P. N. Sapru* said that he could not wholeheartedly support the Bill. He declared that the constitution of a Port Trust should be exclusively Indian. The present constitution, to his mind, savoured of racial discrimination and imperialistic tendency, to which he was totally opposed. But he did not want to oppose the Bill. Sir *A. P. Patro*, supporting the Bill, emphatically denied that the constitution of the Madras Port Trust in any way indicated racial discrimination or imperialism. He asserted that the present distribution of seats on the Port Trust among the various interests concerned was very equitable. However, it was a pity that the Madras Piecegoods Merchants' Association had not been given a seat but many members of the Association were also members of the Southern India Chamber of Commerce and the Andhra Chamber of Commerce and the interests of the piecegoods merchants would be adequately protected by those members. After a brief reply by *Sir Andrew Clow* the Bill was passed. The Council then adjourned.

Indianisation of Royal Indian Navy

18th. NOVEMBER :—The Council of State this morning accepted a resolution moved by *Pandit H. N. Kunzru* recommending that full use be made of the material available in India for the recruitment of officers for the Royal Indian Navy with a view to its Indianization. Pandit Kunzru said that the demand for the Indianization of the R. I. N. was part of the general demand for the complete Indianization of all defence services of the country. He recalled that when the Government introduced a bill for the establishment of an Indian navy in 1928 it was rejected by the Legislature and non-official members of both the Houses criticised the ration of 2:1 of British and Indian officers in the navy decided upon by the Government. It was not till 1934 that the Royal Indian Navy in its present form was started. Pandit Kunzru complained that since 1931 in spite of repeated representations that ratio of British and Indian officers in the R. I. N. had not been reduced. He said that he would be greatly surprised to hear that the proportion of Indian officers to the total strength in both the regular ranks and the reserves of the Royal Indian Navy at the present was more than onethird. Pandit Kunzru then quoted from the speeches of Sir Robert Cassels, Sir Philip Chetwode and Admiral Walling praising the quality of Indian officers in the navy and assuring that the ratio of British and Indian officers laid down was not sacred and could be later altered. He regretted that nothing had been done so far to alter the ratio.

On account of the war the R. I. N. had been expanded considerably; naval reserves of officers had been established. The actual figures of officers in these establishments were not available to him; but he hoped that the C.-in-C. in his reply would indicate the proportion of Indians and Europeans. He pleaded, in this connection, for greater information on matters connected with the navy and appealed to the C.-in-C. to take them more into his confidence. He asserted that there were enough young men available in India to meet the requirements of the navy and with more publicity Government would find no difficulty to get suitable Indians. He gave the example of Australia and Canada who had built

up very good navies of their own without going to England for their officers. He hoped that the C.-in-C. would accept his resolution.

Sir Archibald Wavell, C.-in-C., replying to the debate, welcomed the resolution of Mr. Kunzru because it gave him an opportunity to explain the position of the Government with regard to the question of recruitment of officers to the R. I. N. He paid a warm tribute to the admirable part already played by the R. I. N. in Bandarshahpur in the Red Sea, in the Mediterranean and in the battle of the Atlantic.

Referring to recruitment of officers to the Indian navy, his Excellency said that it had been decided as a matter of general policy that during the war no permanent commissions should be given on the R. I. N. except to fill up vacancies dute to normal wastage in the pre-war establishment. The reason for this decision was that the Government were not certain what the strength of the R. I. N. would be at the end of the war and they did not want to have an unnecessarily large number of officers on hand holding permanent commissions who would have to be provided for. A similar position had been created in Britain at the end of the last war and they wanted to avoid that difficulty this time.

Regarding the actual methods of recruitment, selection was made from the training ship Dufferin and from a special examination. He regretted that from his own experience of these examinations, the number of candidates appearing was small but many of them were found unsuitable for medical or other reason and only a small proportion of the candidates were found suitable. It was possible that the attraction to the young men of other permanent services was greater. He would welcome every opportunity to popularize the navy and he thought that a great deal could be done in this direction by arranging lectures in universities and other educational institutions.

Turning to the reserves, His Excellency said that the R. I. N. was not really a reserve in the ordinary sense of the term but the officers had to go on active service at once. Recruitment to this was mainly from mercantile shipping and Government had to take care that merchant shipping in India was not deprived of all its Indian officers. He said that out of 67 applications for commissions in this category from Indians, 59 had been accepted. The rest could either not be spared by their employers or were found medically comparatively small and, therefore, its capacity to spare men for the reserves was limited.

But their need for officers still continued and hence they had to go into the open market, for people, even though without previous experience, who would volunteer their services, in the Royal Indian Naval Volunteer Reserve. His Excellency said that 101 Indians had been accepted and given commissions in this volunteer reserve. More than 4,000 applications had been received, but the majority of them were found unsuitable, and among those found suitable, a large number failed to pass the somewhat rigorous medical examination. He hoped that in future with greater publicity about the service, more suitable Indians would be coming forward to serve in the Indian navy.

Referring to the proportion of Indian to British officers, His Excellency said that he could not give any exact figures. In the Royal Indian Navy the proportion of Indians to the British was 1:2, while in the Royal Indian Reserve it was 1:3. But taking the whole navy the proportion approximately was three Indians to five Europeans. In conclusion, his Excellency said that he had great pleasure in accepting the resolution.

Pandit Kunzru said that in view of the C.-in-C.'s gesture in accepting the resolution, he did not like to make any remarks on the subject.

The resolution was then passed.

CONDITION OF POLITICAL PRISONERS

Mr. *P. N. Sapru* then moved his resolution recommending the institution of a system by which non-official visitors selected from among members of the Central Legislature might be able to visit and report on jails and prisons in which political prisoners were kept in centres which were under the control of the Government of India. Mr. Sapru said that from figures available to him there were in all 258 political prisoners in Deoli, Delhi and Ajmer jails. These prisoners were detained under the Defence of India Act and their cases had never been investigated. They were not ordinary prisoners and as such they were entitled to special treatment in their places of confinement. He also pointed out that among these detenus were men of all shades of opinion—Communists,

Congress Socialists and former terrorists. They were all put in the same jail and given the same treatment. There were also grievances, he said, regarding their dietary allowance, family allowance, and other amenities. Mr. Sapru declared that the Italian prisoners of war in India were getting a much better treatment than our own prisoners who had gone to jail for political reasons. Mr. Sapru thought that there should be some system by which members of the Central Legislature would be able to visit the jails, see for themselves the conditions there and to find out for themselves their grievances, if any. Under such a system, Mr. Sapru felt, they could avoid incidents like the Deoli hunger-strike. His request was a very moderate one and he hoped that Government would have no difficulty in accepting his resolution.

Mr. Conran Smith, Home Secretary, replying to the debate pointed out that the Government could not accept the resolution as it stood. Firstly, there were already non-official visitors who had been appointed to visit jails in the centrally administered areas in accordance with the recommendations of the jail committee. Secondly, the Government could not accept motive as the criterion for classification of prisoners into politicals and non-politicals. As a matter of fact jail administration did not recognize political prisoners. The Home Secretary did not suggest that some members of the Central Legislature would not make good jail visitors but the duties of jail visitors required zest for social work and sympathy with prisoners. The Home Secretary said that the Government would be prepared to accept the resolution if it were modified and recommended to the Government to consider the proposal for appointing non-official visitors selected from Central Legislature to visit security prisoners in the Deoli detention camp. Mr. P. N. Sapru accepted the suggestion and the resolution as amended was carried.

Resolution Re: Atlantic Charter

Mr. *V. V. Kalikar* next moved the resolution relating to the non-applicability of Atlantic Charter to India which 'in the opinion of this House is likely to prejudice the war effort of this country at this critical juncture'. Mr. Kalikar said that the Congress party were never under the illusion that the Charter would be applicable to India. But many others were and they felt that after all commonsense had dawned on British rulers of India. They were fortified in their belief by the declaration of Mr. Attlee that the Charter would be applicable to all races and people inhabiting the world.

Chair: Members of Parliament are liable to make mistake.

Mr. *Kalikar*: Mr. Attlee is not an ordinary member of Parliament. He is a member of the British Cabinet and deputy Prime Minister.

Chair: The correct interpretation of the Charter can only be given by the persons who were a party to it. Mr. Churchill has declared that the Charter would apply to only those countries which were under the Nazi yoke.

Pandit *Kunzru*: Sir, it would be difficult for non-official members to carry on discussion with the Chair.

Chair: No. I do not wish to carry on discussion but only wanted to correct a mis-statement of fact. Mr. Kalikar, please proceed.

Mr. *Kalikar* referred to Mr. Churchill's statement and said that the Prime Minister had maintained a studied silence over the question of India ever since he became the Prime Minister. He, however, promptly corrected the impression that the Charter could be applicable to India. In doing so, the Prime Minister had greatly prejudiced the war effort of this country and had weakened the stand taken by the protagonists of war effort. Mr. Roosevelt had not spoken so far and in the face of different interpretations placed on the Charter it would be best to obtain the judicial interpretation of its applicability. As for the demand of the British Government for cent per cent agreement in India as a condition for any constitutional advance, Mr. Kalikar asked whether there was any country where 100 per cent agreement existed and was there cent per cent agreement in the dominions before self-government was granted to them.

Mr. *M. N. Dalal*, supporting the resolution, argued that it was clear from Mr. Churchill's words that India was also discussed at the meeting between Mr. Churchill and President Roosevelt. By saying that the Atlantic Charter was meant primarily for those countries which had lost their freedom in this war, Mr. Churchill implied that other countries including India were also discussed in connection with the general declaration. If it had been an original idea to exclude India and other countries from the scope of the declaration, then they would have

made a specific exception in such cases in its clauses. He went on to say that the August declaration of the Viceroy could not really satisfy India because it was made subject to arriving at an agreed solution of their differences, and no specific period for India's attaining Dominion Status had been mentioned.

Mr. *P. N. Sapru* vehemently condemned Mr. Churchill's statement and declared that if Britain was really fighting a battle of freedom for all countries in which they wanted India's support, they could not deny the same freedom to countries over which they dominate. He felt that President Roosevelt had really meant to include India also in the scope of the declaration and had made this point clear in his address at the International Labour Conference. If he did not come out with any special statement questioning Mr. Churchill's interpretation, it was because he dit not want to give the Isolationists in America a handle.

Sir *A P. Patro*, opposing the resolution, said that to his mind the declaration of August 1940 was fully comprehensive and conceded the right of Indians to frame their own constitution, subject only to the existing obligations of the British Government to various interests like the minorities, the Indian States, etc. He deplored the existence of communal differences and expressed the opinion that they were the real barriers to the progress of India.

Sir *Mohd. Yakub*, opposing the resolution, declared that it was the 'height of hyprocrisy' to say that Mr. Churchill's statement would adversely affect India's war efforts because none of the political parties or statesmen was really doing anything to help the war, even before the Atlantic declaration was made. He went on to argue that the type of western democracy envisaged in the Atlantic Charter was unsuitable to India. His own opinion was that democracy was not suitable to any part of the world.

Mr. *Sapru* : Do you want Nazi rule ? (laughter.)

Sir Mohd. Yakub : There is only one Hitler in Germany ; but there are a number of Hitlers in this country. I hate all Hitlers. (More laughter.)

Sir Mohammed then proceeded to say that there was no use blaming the third party for perpetuating their communal differences ; they must do away with their politicians and statesmen who were really responsible for the present disharmony.

Sir Akbar Hydari, Leader of the House, intervening at this stage, announced that so far as the resolution was concerned, the Government would remain neutral. He added that the report of the debate would in any case be forwarded to his Majesty's Government. Turning to the subject of the resolution, Sir Akbar said that he did not think that Mr. Churchill in his statement had denied India any benefit which India would have derived if the declaration had been applicable to her also. Mr. Churchill himself had declared that the principles of the Atlantic Charter were embodied in the declaration which the Viceroy had made in India on behalf of his Majesty's Government. Mr. Churchill had not in any way disassociated India from the principles laid down in the Atlantic Declaration ; on the contrary, he had specially associatted India with them. Sir Akbar declared that it was for all of them to put their heads and their hearts together and bring out an agreed constitution—agreed to the extent that it was possible to agree in any constitutional matter. He assured them that he and others who were with him on the Government side, even though they did not have a backing in the country in the sense that they had no organised party in the country would give them all the help they could in arriving at a solution.

Pandit Kunzru, speaking after Sir Akbar, welcomed the gesture of goodwill made by him, and said that the presence of such members as Sir Akbar Hydari, Sir Feroz Khan Noon and Dr. Raghvendra Rao in the Executive Council was in his opinion an indication of the advance they could make if they all worked single-minded for the upliftment of the country. He did not agree with Sir Akbar that Mr. Churchill's statement had not made any difference. It would make a vital difference to the moral effect of the charter on the world.

Referring to India, Pandit Kunzru said that he was humiliated, intensely humiliated, by the existence of such differences in the country ; but they should look at them from the proper perspective. They should not be allowed to become a bar to the progress of the country. The best way to solve those differences was not to say that until they composed their differences, they would not be given freedom. On the contraty, with a definite promise and hope of freedom before them, the people would be made to forget their smaller issues.

After a brief reply by Mr. Kalikar, the resolution was pressed to a division and was passed by 10 votes to six.

PASSAGE OF THREE BILLS

The Council, there-after, passed three Bills as passed by the Legislative Assembly, namely the *Bill to limit to a maximum of Rs. 50 per annum the amount payable in respect of tax on profession, trades, callings or employments*; *the Bill to empower the Federal Court to make rules for regulating the presentation of appeals to that court and the Bill further to amend the Indian Merchant Shipping Act to improve the conditions in pilgrim-ships.*

During the consideration of the last Bill, Mr. *G. S. Bozman* made it clear that on account of war conditions and shipping difficulties, the amendment could not be given effect to before the end of the war. The Council then adjourned.

INCOME-TAX AMEND. BILL

19th. NOVEMBER :—The Council of State devoted the whole of today to the consideration of the official Bills already passed by the Legislative Assembly. Speaking on the motion for consideration of the Bill to amend the Indian Income-Tax Act, Sir *K. Ramunni Menon* welcomed the Bill as it corrected certain anomalies existing at present. The Bill, he said, had the effect of restoring the position existing before 1939 in regard to income accruing in an Indian State for the purposes of computing an assessee's world income. He thought, however, that the inclusion of agricultural income accruing in an Indian State did not fulfil the definition of agricultural income laid down in the Income-Tax Act. Sir Ramunni felt that the same procedure should be adopted with regard to agricultural income in both British India and States.

Mr. *Shantidas Askuran* congratulated the Finance Member in bringing this measure and welcomed in particular the provision in the Bill enabling a tax payer to claim depreciation allowance on a legitimate par of his business assests to which he was not entitled before. He, however, felt that this amendment should be given effect to from April 1, 1940, from which date depreciation was to be computed on the written down value. If this was not done it would mean over-assessment for income-tax as well as excess profits tax for certain periods.

Referring to the provision for depreciation on buildings let on hire along with machinery, plan or furniture, provided the letting of the buildings was inseparable from the letting of the machinery, plant and furniture, he said that there was no need for the proviso, because under the existing provisions, depreciation was already admissible in the case of such inseparable buildings. He wanted that that clause should be suitably amended deleting the proviso.

Mr. P. N. Sapru complained of the manner in which the income-tax law was being administered and taxpayers were put to all sorts of inconveniences. He pointed out that the statement of accounts submitted by the assessees were not generally accepted as true. He asked the Finance Member to issue directions to the Income-Tax department to administer the law in a more sympathetic spirit. Mr. Sapru felt that the High Courts under the existing law provided little opportunity to the tax-paying public to secure relief. He urged that subject to certain qualifications High Courts should be empowered to review income-tax cases.

Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru welcomed the bill because in it were incorporated many of the viewpoints of the critics of the Income-Tax Act. The bill gave relief to small assessees. Pandit Kunzru pointed out the hardships of the Hindu undivided families under the income-tax law. The existing law penalized them by not taxing and separating the shares of individuals constituting the family. He asked whether it was the intention of the Government to handicap the undivided Hindu families.

The Finance Member raised a point of order by stating that the bill had no provision relating to an undivided Hindu family.

Pandit Kunzru : Several other members had referred to subjects which are not embodied in the bill. They have done so in the hope that when the Act was again amended their viewpoint might be given due consideration. I am doing the same thing.

The Chair ruled that the speaker must confine himself to the provisions of the bill.

Pandit Kunzru proceeding said that a partnership was treated better than the undivided Hindu family.

The Chair : You cannot regard an undivided Hindu family as a partnership.

Pandit Kunzru : Yes, Government has seen to it that it does not become one. Morally speaking it is. Moreover, members of the undivided Hindu family,

if they registered themselves into a firm, could be assessed separately. He urged that Government would give due consideration to his views.

Sir Jeremy Raisman, replying to the debate, said that he was glad to note that the bill had been accorded general approval by the members. Referring to the point raised by Mr. Parker regarding super-tax assessment in 1920-21 or 1921-22, the Finance Member said that the number of payments in those years, if any, was very small and the question of exception mentioned by Mr. Parker was purely academic. Replying to the criticism voiced against the levy of a fee for making an application to the commissioner, the Finance Member said that such a deterrent was necessary to prevent people lightly making such applications. Their experience was that at the time when assessees could make appeals to the commissioner without any fee the commissioner was so overwhelmed with such applications that it was not possible for him to devote requisite attention to his other duties. But it was the intention of the Government now to issue instructions to the commissioners not to confine themselves to such cases where applications had been made with the payment of the fee but on their own motion as they used to do in the past to take up for revision any cases in which they thought any injustice or mistake had crept in. He would not exclude the possibility that in the light of experience Government might at some future date be able to take a different view in the matter of levying a fee. But he could give no assurance now that such a change would be done.

Referring to the point made by Mr. Sapru that a salaried assessee had had an advantage over businessmen, Sir Jeremy Raisman said that the only advantage of a salaried assessee was that income-tax was deducted every month at the source by the employer himself. But there was no reason why a businessman should not pay his tax by instalments if he so chose. The department was always prepared to arrange for payment of instalments of income-tax in the case of a businessman also if he desired it. But every businessman would certainly know his annual turnover and he should be able to so plan his affairs that he would be able to make payment of his taxes when it became due.

The bill was then passed.

BILL TO AMEND EXCESS PROFITS TAX

The bill to amend the Excess Profits Tax was then taken into consideration. Mr. *Shantidas Askuran* welcomed certain features of the bill which he considered were commendable, particularly the provision removing the discrimination as regards treatment of borrowed capital between money borrowed from a bona-fide banker and money borrowed from any other person. But he did not like the wording of some of the clauses of the bill. Referring to the provision regarding any transaction which had for its purposes the avoidance of the Excess Profits Tax, he said that the clause should be made applicable only to transactions of which the 'sole object' was proved to be the avoidance of the tax liability instead of to cases where the 'main purpose' might be avoidance of tax.

Referring to clauses 8 and 9 of the bill dealing with the methods of computation of capital, Mr. Askuran welcomed the provision but urged that it should be given retrospective effect from Sept. 1939. He also felt that very wide and radical powers had been given to the excess profits tax officer in the bill to decide what expenditure was 'reasonable and necessary to the requirements of the business'. That was going too far. He pleaded for the wholesale deletion of this sub-clause. Vexatious interference by officials, he said, would only mean killing the goose that laid the golden eggs. He further regretted to note that the amendments moved in the Assembly to the Bill with regard to appeals to the High Court had not been accepted by the Government. He hoped that on some future occasion Government themselves would be prepared to amend the Act allowing appeals to the High Court on all sections of both the income-Tax and Excess Profits Tax Acts as a general principle.

Sir *Jeremy Raisman* declared that he could see no logic or equity in the proposal that only those transactions should be disallowed whose sole object was reduction or avoidance of liability to the tax. The proposal, he said, could only be justified on the assumption that the interests of the community at large or of the Treasury had no importance whatever in comparison with facilities which should be given to the taxpayer to reduce his liability. As for the demand for an assurance on the floor of the House that the provisions of the clause in the bill relating to reduction or avoidance of tax liability would not be applied without the previous approval of the Central Board of Revenue, the Finance Member reiterated the

statement made in the Assembly that it was the Government's intention that in practice cases of this kind would come to the headquarters. He would not put that on the basis of an assurance. It was a statement of intention and practice. Instructions to that effect had in fact, he understood, been issued or were about to be issued.

Mr. Askuran : Then why not give the assurance ?

Sir Jeremy Raisman said it was because he did not want to be involved in arguments about breach of faith or things of that kind. He would merely state that it was their intention that in order to keep the administration of this important clause on right lines the examination of these cases should be made at the headquarters. As regards 'killing the goose that laid golden eggs', the Finance Member reminded the House that it was very important from Government's point of view that the golden eggs must come into the right basket. Since four out of five of the golden eggs now belonged to the exchequer, it was highly important that Government should see that they were not mislaid. (Laughter.)

Passage of other Bills

The bill was passed, as also the bill further to regulate the extent to which railway property shall be liable to taxation imposed by an authority within a province, the bill further to amend the Indian Companies Act and the bill to amend the Trade Marks Act, all as passed by the Assembly. The Council then adjourned.

Indian Police Service

20th. NOVEMBER :—The Council of State discussed to-day two non-official resolutions and passed one non-official Bill of Mr. *Chidambaram Chettiyar* which amended the Indian Limitation Act.

Mr. *P. N. Sapru* moved a resolution recommending that in order to accelerate the pace of Indianization in the Indian police service recruitment in England for that service may be stopped and vacancies for which recruitment at present is made in England be filled by competition in India by direct recruitment and by increasing the number of superior posts reserved for promotion from the provincial civil service from 20 to 30 per cent. Mr. Sapru at the outset referred to the recommendations of the joint select committee on the Government of India Act which had recommended an inquiry into the question of the composition of central services five years after the inauguration of the provincial autonomy in the provinces. In the normal course such an enquiry would have come about say in 1942 but the war has upset the whole plan, and it was very doubtful if any enquiry would be possible for the war period which was very indefinite. Pari Passu if the British were serious about giving dominion status to India after the war and if Mr. Amery's latest statement that the August offer was much more far-reaching in its effects that even the Atlantic Charter, then the British rulers of India must show by actions and deeds that their contention was correct. One way was the complete Indianization of the central services. For it was inconceivable for any self-governing dominion to have its services recruited and controlled by the Secretary of State from 6,000 miles from India. Mr. Sapru said that India attached a great deal of importance that the personnel of the services translating the policies into action should be Indians. Proceeding, Mr. Sapru said that in the absence of any enquiry the present composition of service based on the commission's recommendations would continue indefinitely. The Indian Police Service till 1919 was entirely manned by British, and Indians were not permitted to enter it. The total strength of the service in 1940 was 632 including 422 Europeans and 194 Indians. The prescribed proportion for direct recruitment was 50 Europeans and 40 Indians. Prior to 1939 recruitment in England was made by competitive examination. In 1939 recruitment in England was made partly by competition and partly by selection. In India recruitment was made by competitive examination and by promotion from among officers of the provincial police service. Since the war recruitment in England had been made purely by selection. From this Mr. Sapru deduced that proportion of Indians in the police service was still very unsatisfactory. He asserted that the Indian element in the service had entirely justified itself and urged that the question of its complete Indianisation should be taken up by the new members of the Governor-General's Council.

Mr. *Conran Smith*, Home Secretary, replying to Mr. Sapru regretted that harsh things had been said about the Indian Police Service and the European members of it who, he said, had rendered very fine service. With regard to the resolution itself, he proposed to adopt the same attitude as he did to a previous

debate in the House on a similar resolution on the Indian Civil Service. But there were two differences between this resolution and the previous one about the I.C.S. This resolution asked for the abandonment of the proportions on which the present composition of the Indian police force was based. Further the resolution asked the Government of India to take such steps as under the Constitution only the Secretary of State could take. Any change in the composition of these services was the concern of the authority framing the future constitution. From the point of view of practical administration and the conditions of war, no tinkering with service questions was possible. The need now was to keep the organisation of the security services intact and unimpaired. Moreover, what was the urgent necessity of anticipating under these conditions an enquiry which was due to be held at some later date? What form such an enquiry would take it was not possible for anyone to say now? Referring to the charge of racialism, he was sorry to hear the very harsh observations on the British element in the police service and the disparaging remarks about them. All that he would say was the Indian police service like the I. C. S. was composed of men of the highest quality available both in England and India. The present strength of the service was 401 Europeans, and 202 Indians including the listed posts. Actually on account of war conditions the recruitment to the Indian police service in England had been very little in the last two years. In 1940 only three Europeans were recruited and in 1941 nil. The present difficulties of the war situation were contributing automatically to an increase in the ratio of Indians in the service. He appealed to members to free their minds of racial prejudice and look at the question from a practical point of view. He suggested to the mover not to be in such a hurry as to destroy the partnership between Indians and Europeans in the service. Was the mover sure that the Indian members of the service were in favour of breaking up the partnership? In conclusion Mr. Conran Smith said that the Government would be prepared to forward the resolution together with the speeches made on it to the Secretary of State as he had done in the case of the previous debate on the Indian Civil Service if the mover would suitably alter the resolution.

Mr. *Sapru* said that the object in bringing forward such a resolution after one regarding the Indian Civil Service earlier was to keep their grievances in such matters constantly before the Government in a parliamentary way. If India was to be free and self-governing, then she must have control of all services. It must be left to her to decide whether she would or would not have Europeans. But in view of what Mr. Conran Smith had said, he withdrew his resolution.

Mr. *Conran Smith* again made it clear that he would forward the resolution together with the debate thereon, as in the previous case, to the Secretary of State.

INDIAN NATIONALS IN MALAYA

Pandit H. N. Kunzru moved his resolution on Malaya recommending that adequate steps should be taken to protect the legitimate rights of Indian nationals in Malaya and full support should be given in particular to the efforts of the Indian workers on the rubber plantations in Malaya to improve their living conditions and to secure higher wages. Pandit Kunzru gave details of the wages question as it affected the Indian workers in Malaya and dwelt on the difference between the wages earned by the Chinese workmen on European plantations and those earned by Indian workmen and also the difference between the cost of living allowance given by the Malaya Government to Indian workmen in their employ and the allowance given by European planters to their Indian workmen getting comparable wages. While the Government of Malaya gave an allowance of 22 cents a day, the European employers were giving only about 10 cents a day. Pandit Kunzru said he did not know what this disparity was due to and why a Government which adopted an enlighted attitude towards its own Indian workmen failed to bring pressure on European employers to adopt a like attitude. It was a matter of dissatisfaction and disappointment, said the speaker, that the Malayan Government had succumbed completely to the influence of the European employers. Further, while the Chinese workmen on European plantations got as much as 100 to 120 cents a day the Indian workmen got only 60 cents a day. One need not be surprised therefore if Indian workers taking heart from the example of the Chinese thought of organizing themselves and bringing pressure on their employers. The controller of labour and the under-secretary to the Government to whom they applied having signified their inability to interfere, the Indian workmen took the only step that promised some redress of their grievances. They went on strike. The Government of India agent in Malaya in his report

had shown how uncommonly quiet Indian workers have previously been. One could therefore imagine how grave must have been the dissatisfaction among them which compelled a fairly large number of them to go on strike.

The Government of Malaya charged Indian workers with having been guilty of violence but there was another side to the picture. Some members of the Central Indian Association notably its president, Mr. Raghavan visited the estates, and the speaker understood, they concluded, the Indian workers had in some cases been harshly treated; they had been deprived of light and water supply. An explanation came afterwards but the full facts were not known because there had been no judicial enquiry. Indian workers had now gone back to work but there were one or two things in connection with the strike of which serious notice should be taken.

When the strike was going on a battalion of Indian soldiers with an armoured car unit was brought into the district on the ground that it was necessary to use force to prevent violence being done by Indian workers. Without prejudicing this question I should like to ask why it was that an Indian battalion was selected to deal with the strike. We have sent our soldiers to Malaya not to quell strikes, not to fire on their countrymen there, but to take part in war, should war break out. We have sent our countrymen to defend the empire, not to have out countrymen shot. The Government of Malaya ought to have sent any volunteers they had at their disposal but by using Indian soldiers to fire on Indian workers they have insulted every Indian not merely in Malaya but in this country.

Pandit Kunzru went on to say that he understood that after the riot, between 200 and 300 Indians had been taken in custory and he wanted to know whether they were tried in a court of law and what happened to them. He wanted to know definitely whether the Government of India had protested against the manner in which the Malayan Government had acted and also whether they had asked for a judicial enquiry into the circumstances connected with the firing and the causes of the strike. If such a thing had happened in India the Government of India would not have hesitated to order a judicial enquiry. Hence he was not asking the Malayan Government to do what the Government of India themselves would not be prepared to do. But, however deplorable the incidents connected with the strike might be, they had to think beyond and take such steps as would create contentment among the Indian workers.

In this connection, Pandit Kunzru referred to two points on which the Government of India should stand firm in their negotiations with the Government of Malaya, namely to secure for the Indian workers full citizenship rights and to improve the educational facilities provided for the children of Indians in Malaya. He suggested that the State should take upon themselves the responsibility of conducting sufficient number of schools and not leave it to the plantation employers. As by so doing the Government would be giving educational facilities not only to estate labourers but also to other non-estate labourers. He understood that the Government of Malaya was considering a proposal to utilise the Indian immigration fund for assisting the immigration of Javanese labour into Malaya. Pandit Kunzru asked the Government to ensure that the immigration fund which had been created for the benefit of Indian workers in Malaya was not used to bring in Javanese labour.

Mr. *G. S. Bozman*, Secretary for Overseas, giving a detailed reply declared that the Government of India's policy with regard to the question of Indian labourers in Malaya had always been what the resolution wanted it to be and it would continue to be the same in future. He described in detail the circumstances and events connected with the strike of Indian labourers in Malaya in May last and said that five men had been killed and approximately sixty received more or less severe injuries. From the information he had received, injuries sustained by the police or the military were negligible. Explaining the action taken by the Government of India in this connection, Mr. Bozman said that on receipt of reports from the Indian Agent in Malaya, the Government made representations to the authorities and told them that any action taken by them to deport Indian labourers in large numbers would require a good deal of justification. They had also made requests to the Colonial authorities for holding a judicial enquiry into the circumstances and causes of the strike. He regretted to say that the Colonial authorities had not yet seen their way to accept their suggestion. In their correspondence the Government had stressed the need for institution of such an enquiry

urgently so that sufficient evidence might be available. They have also drawn the attention of the Colonial authorities to the extreme resentment felt both in India and Malaya at the use of Indian troops to crush the strike of Indian labourers. Referring to the question of standing wages for Indian labourers, Mr. Bozman said that when the Malaya delegation visited India in 1938-39, the Government had taken the position that the basis of calculation of standard wage would require complete revision and insisted that the calculations ought to be based on the family and not the individual.

In conclusion Mr. Bozman said that the resolution virtually stated what the Government's policy had been and he had already given an assurance that that policy would be continued. He asked the mover not to press his resolution.

Pandit Kunzru welcomed the very cordial statement made by Mr. Bozman. But if in the matter of this question, the Government's policy was the same as his he could not understand why the Government could not accept it. But if the Government and particularly the new Member for Overseas would feel any embarrassment if the resolution was pressed at this stage, he had no objection to withdraw it. The resolution was withdrawn and the Council adjourned till Saturday, Nov. 22.

INDO-CEYLON JOINT REPORT

22nd. NOVEMBER :—The Council of State discussed to day the Indo-Ceylon Joint Report. Mr. *G. S. Bozman*, Overseas Secretary, moving that the report be taken into consideration, traced the course of the negotiations in Delhi and in Colombo, and pointed out, that, in moving the motion, the desire of the Government was to find out what public opinion in India had to say upon the proposals in the report. Government themselves, he said, had an open mind on the subject. In considering the proposals, he would suggest to the House that it would be helpful to determine the main points upon which a decision was required. Firstly, whether they wanted or did not want an agreement. That was fundamental. Secondly, if they decided that they wanted an agreement, then they should try to ascertain what were the vital points in India's connection with Ceylon on which no compromise was in India's opinion possible. Thirdly, in offering comments on particular provisions of the report, they should ascertain what reactions the modifications desired would have upon other parts of the report. If these main points were borne in mind, said Mr. Bozman, they should be able to elicit some useful and helpful constructive criticism.

Mr. *M. S Aney*, Overseas Member, who replied to the debate on the motion, in which *Pandit Kunzru*, Mr. *P. N. Sapru*, Sir *A. P. Patro*, Sir *David Devadoss* and Mr. *Kalikar* among others, participated, said that the various views expressed would be carefully considered before final conclusions were arrived at. Recalling that he did not give any lead to the House when the report was discussed in the Assembly, Mr. Aney said that the fact that a debate that took place without any lead from the Government in a matter of this kind, enabled the Government better to ascertain what the representatives of the people had to say on the subject. Had he himself given a lead, he would have been accused of forcing a decision upon the House. If he had to say anything at this stage, it would be that the Government would take care to see that in the discussions and negotiations with the Government of Ceylon, the Government of India would make an attempt to stand steadfastly by the essential principle, namely, that the interests of Indians should be duly safeguarded and that the honour of India should not be impaired by anything done in Ceylon. (Cheers.) Indians who were in Ceylon were there at the invitation of the Ceylon Government ; and the Government of India would bear that in mind in their examination of the proposals. The principles laid down by Pandit Kunzru would be duly considered by the Government of India, who in coming to their conclusions would certainly see that public opinion expressed outside the House was also given due weight. A country like Ceylon, he pointed out, could not be self-sufficient. In these days, it was difficult for any country to be self-sufficient. Too much regard for self-sufficiency created a sense of narrow nationalism. The Government of India would see that, in their regard for the interests of the people of Ceylon, the interests of the people of India were not disregarded. He wanted that a feeling of oneness should grow between the two countries, consistently with the autonomous position of Ceylon as well as that of India. Both the countries should feel that they had a common destiny. It was in that hope that the Government of India would work and endeavour to bring the future negotiations to a successful conclusion. The Council then adjourned *sine die*.

The Central Legislative Assembly

Autumn Session—New Delhi—27th. Oct. to 18th. Nov. 1941

Defence Consultative Committee

The Central Legislative Assembly began its autumn session at New Delhi on the 27th. October 1941 with Sir *Abdur Rahim* in the chair. Sir *Gurunath Bewoor's* motion for the election of six non-official members to the Defence Consultative Committee was taken up for discussion.

Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta*, speaking as a member of the Committee, complained that young men who applied for commissions in the Army and were educationally and physically fit for them had been unfairly rejected.

Col. Rahman, a member of the Central Interview Board for Commissions in the Army, replied to Mr. Jamnadas Mehta's charges and assured Mr. Mehta that there was no racial or religious discrimination at all in the selection of candidates by the Board. He said that even after the age limit had been increased, Indians of the right type were not coming in sufficient numbers, although among those who appeared before the Board were B.A.'s and M.A.'s, actors from Hollywood, professional singers, dancers, lawyers, doctors and engineers. Suitability for a commission in the Army consisted in a combination of many qualities, such as education, sound health and above all the power of leadership and he said the President of the Board had sufficient experience to be able to judge of the suitability of a candidate from this standpoint by talking to him for ten minutes.

Many members, including Prof. *Banerjee*, interrupted the speaker and declared that all these qualities could be acquired and no man could assess accurately and fairly beforehand the latent qualities in a given candidate. *Col. Rahman* referred to the fact that 76 per cent of the candidates appearing before the Board passed through. That, he claimed, did not show that the Board was being either too strict or unfair in examining the candidates. If the percentage of those recommended for some special preliminary training to bring them up to the required standard was taken into consideration, the proportion would go up to 84 per cent.

Mr. *G. V. Deshmukh* asserted that in order to create real enthusiasm among the people, and get the right type of people, for commissions, it was essential that the British Government should make a declaration fixing a definite period after the war for India to attain Dominion Status.

Sir *Gurunath Bewoor*, replying to the debate, explained the useful part which, he said, the Consultative Committee could play. It would, he said, undoubtedly give great help to the Defence Department and Government were anxious to utilise their advice in all matters in which Government felt they were qualified to advise.

Several voices : What are those matters ?

Sir Gurunath said that it was not possible to give an exhaustive list but the members of the Committee were obviously not qualified to give advise on military operations in their technical aspects but apart from that, there were numerous other matters on which the Committee would be very useful to the Department. As regards the number of members on the Consultative Committee, Government had taken into consideration the great interest which members took in matters relating to defence and that was why the Committee had ten members instead of the normal number of six on departmental committees generally. As for the complaint that the Committee had not had more than one meeting so far, Sir Gurunath expressed regret that it had not been possible to have more meetings but it had been announced that there ought to be at least one meeting in every quarter and it was hoped to have another meeting this quarter. Sir Gurunath indicated that Government would be happy to explain and meet criticisms of the Central Interview Board on the Consultative Committee, but he made it clear that there now was no question of martial and non-martial classes, scheduled and non-scheduled, listed and non-listed classes and there was no ground for distrust. There were now two Central Interview Boards instead of one and on both bodies, there would be two Indian gentlemen of high character and status and the country could trust their judgment. There might have been in the past bonafide mistakes made either in rejecting or accepting candidates but it was hoped that the Boards

would improve. He referred to the high percentage of acceptances by the Board, mentioned by Col. Rahman, and said that in order to help certain doubtful candidates, an arrangement had been made to give pre-cadet training and to give them another chance to appear before the Board. The motion was passed without a division.

RELIEF TO COTTON GROWERS

At 4 o'clock, the House took up and discussed for about an hour Mr. *Deshmukh's* adjournment motion demanding urgent and substantial relief to cotton growers, particularly of short staple cotton, and after the Commerce Member's reply, the mover withdrew the motion. Mr. Deshmukh referred to the discussion on the same subject last session and to the assurances given by the Commerce Member on that occasion. Since the passing of the order freezing Japanese assets, the export to Japan, our greatest customer, of short staple cotton amounting to nearly one and a half million bales had stopped and the result was that in his province, short staple cotton which was selling last year at Rs. 60 per kandy had gone down to Rs. 40 and that at a time when the new cotton crop had not yet come into the market. He said that Great Britain, in spite of the freezing order relating to Japanese assets, had taken steps to relax that order when necessary in the interest of keeping up her export and import trade. Great Britain had also bought the whole of the Egyptian crop and also cotton from Iraq. The Burma Government had decided to buy the whole of the cotton crop in the country. Why, he asked, could not the Government of India take similar action ? Why had the Government of India, on the other hand, given general permission to import raw cotton from Iraq ? Why should cotton be imported at all, while Indian cotton was available ? He also asked whether the assurances given in the last session by one individual member of the Government of India were merely his own individual assurances and were not binding on the Government as a whole, even in these days when there was so much talk of the collective responsibility of the expanded Council

Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, replying, gave the assurance that the Government of India had constantly before them the interests of the Indian agriculturist and he mentioned in this connection that not a day had passed when some problem or other relating to agricultural products, particularly short staple cotton, had not been before him or his Department. He made it clear without entering into the larger question of collective responsibility that the assurances given by him at the last session were not individual. "I may tell you", he said, "any member of the Government of India giving an assurance gives it on behalf of the Government of India and no question of merely personal assurance can arise." (Cheers). The Commerce Member went on to point to the actual rise in prices of cotton that had taken place and gave the instance of 'Oomras' which in March this year were selling at Rs. 175 and were to-day selling at Rs. 185, while in June and July the price had gone up to Rs. 215. He did not grudge that price. He was happy that it had gone up ; but when the price did go up, nothing was said about the Government of India ; it was only when it went down that a great deal was said about the Government's unresponsiveness. Detailing the steps taken to increase the use of short staple cotton, the Commerce Member said that specifications on behalf of the Supply Department had been diluted with the result that the consumption of cotton by Indian mills had increased on an average by four hundred thousand to five hundred thousand bales over those of the previous year. Further dilution might have to be made and the problem was engaging the Supply Department's attention. About the possibility of finding alternative markets the speaker observed that Government had tried their best : and short staple cotton was now going in larger quantities to the United Kingdom and the United States of America. To the United Kingdom during the months from April to August this year we exported 32,000 tons against 21,000 while to U. S. A. we exported 17,900 tons against 9,000 tons last year.

The Freezing Order, the Commerce Member said, came like a bolt from the blue and upset all calculations : but it was gratifying that the market had held on and the price to-day was better than in March. He made it clear that the Freezing Order was in pursuance of a common policy of economic warfare followed by the Commonwealth as a whole and no distinction between the policy of the United Kingdom and that of India could arise. As for the Burma Government's action, he pointed out that the Burmese cotton crop was a small one and was easy to handle, unlike the Indian crop. The Member was of the opinion that

the adjournment motion was rather premature at this stage; but he was glad that the question had been raised. "I want it to go out to the agriculturist that he is not going to be left in the cold entirely but that the Government of India are taking measures to help him." he added. "But all the four parties concerned in the question of cotton should co-operate in the solution of the problem, namely the Central Government, the Provincial Governments, the Textile industry and lastly the cotton growers themselves." He also pointed out that increase in consumption of cotton by mills was inextricably connected with the co-operation of labour leaders in agreeing to increased hours of work and multiple shifts, which meant, of course, more wages.

Mr. *Deshmukh* said that he did not intend his motion to be one of censure; but pointed out that since the Freezing Order had been issued by the Government of India, it was primarily that Government's responsibility to help the cotton grower. He asked that arrangements should be made to ensure that the quantity of cotton formerly consumed by Japan should now be consumed by this country in conjunction with other Empire countries. He referred once again to the relaxation of the Freezing Order in Great Britain in order to maintain the export and import trade.

The Commerce Member, intervening, pointed out that that relaxation took place soon after the Order was issued. India also at that time relaxed the Order and some exports to Japan did go. What was now happening in India was exactly the same as in Great Britain.

Mr. *Deshmukh* said that just as the commercial man came to know of the relaxation of the Order, similarly the cotton grower should also have been informed of it. The Government of India should have taken steps to see that the cultivator knew of that development. Even now, the Government of India could issue a communique making their intentions clear so that the cultivator could hold on to his crop instead of parting with it at low prices. He then withdew his motion.

Muslim League Walk-out

28th. OCTOBER :—The Muslim League party walked out of the Assembly, this morning, after a statement was made by Mr. *M. A. Jinnah* declaring that they were doing so in order to register their protest against the way in which the Muslims' offer of cooperation in the war effort had been completely ignored by the Government. 'We have said from the beginning', he declared, 'that the major issues will be considered later, and within the framework of the present existing constitution you must, if you want our cooperation, associate with us now with a real genuine share in the authority of the Government not only at the Centre but in the provinces. Ignoring that and ignoring everything else that had gone before, Government had come to its decision about the expansion of the Executive Council. 'We have come to this conclusion now', said Mr. Jinnah 'in the hope that the protest that we are registering today will open the eyes of the blind and the ears of the deaf (cheers) and that you will have the wisdom and the statesmanship to revise this scheme of yours, for I assure you, this will not help you by a little in the intensification of the war effort. On the contrary it is going to harm you. I am interested in it as much as any body else. I advise you to think over it.'

'Finally, I say to the Government, the hon. members the press and the public outside, "Please do not misrepresent us. It is the Government and Government alone that is responsible. One cannot come to any other conclusion but that they do not want our assistance and cooperation. When they talk of cooperation they mean it on such terms that no self-respecting man could accept it" (Cheers).

Mr. Jinnah, earlier in his statement said: 'So far as the Muslim League was concerned, we have made it clear that, apart from major issues, from the beginning we were ready and willing to render every possible assistance in the prosecution of the war. Without prejudice to the adjustment of larger issues later on, we were willing, as far back as November, 1939, to consider the proposal of the Viceroy to bring about an honourable and workable arrangement in the provincial field and at the centre.

'When the announcement of August 8, 1940, came, the spirit and even the letter of it was almost exactly what the Muslim League had urged. The League welcomed it : but they were not told what the total number of the expanded Executive Council would be, what would be the portfolios and what would be their powers. Nothing was told them except that their representatives would be two. 'Was that,' he asked, 'the spirit in which to treat those who were to be co-

sharers in the authority of Government and in the danger which we were willing to face ? (Cheers.) No self-respecting man could have accepted that offer.'

'Government thereafter went to sleep, all the time telling us 'you are not co-operating'. I have always admitted that there is not the slightest doubt that there is great danger and menace to India. We have repeatedly said, as far back as June 1940, that the efforts you were making and the schemes suggested by the Government of India and the Commander-in-Chief were not sufficient. And that you must increase and intensify your war effort. But all we were told was "you are in danger." Think what will happen to you. Why can't you say : "Think what will happen to us all, to you, and to us both ?" I want you to enter into that spirit.' Then came the decision announced on July 22, and the manner in which it was undertaken and carried through ignoring everybody. 'Why ignore us ?' he asked.

PROFESSIONS TAXATION BILL

After Mr. Jinnah's statement, Sir *Frederick James* made his motion for reference to a select committee of the Bill to limit to a maximum of Rs. 50 per annum payable in respect of any person by way of tax on profession, trades, callings or employments. Dr. *Banerjee* and Mr. *A. C. Dutta* opposed the bill on the ground that it would result in serious curtailment of the resources of local bodies. Sir *Henry Gidney*, supporting the bill, said that it was intended to give relief from double taxation, and not only the rich man but also the middle class man and the poor man would benefit from it. Mr. *Baijnath Bajoria*, who supported the bill, said that the loss that would be sustained by the local bodies would really be insignificant. For instance, in the case of the Calcutta Corporation whose annual income was two crores and 50 lakhs of rupees the loss sustained would be Rs. two lakhs and 32 thousand or less than one per cent. Sir *Jeremy Raisman*, Finance Member, supported the bill on behalf of the Government. He said that the tax on professions was really in the nature of double income-tax. He felt, however, that some time should be given to the local bodies to make necessary adjustments to meet any loss that might be sustained. It would not be difficult for the local bodies to adjust themselves to their available resources. Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta* declared that the bill was fundamentally wrong in principle and retrogressive.

Sir *Frederick James*, before replying to the debate on his motion, made reference to Mr. Jinnah's statement and said that the offer of full co-operation to which Mr. Jinnah had alluded brought to mind an echo of the offer of unconditional support from one who if he might say so was even greater than Mr. Jinnah. The dangers, Sir Frederick went on, were now so real and imminent that there could be no middle course : people either helped or they did not help. Those who endeavoured to stand aside as spectators of the scene were definitely not helping. He did not doubt that members of the Muslim League were sincere in their desire to help but their place was in the House and not sulking in the lobbies and purlieus of New Delhi (Laughter). No body could shirk the duty and no amount of juggling on the part of Mr. Jinnah with constitutional arguments could effectively smokescreen the duty which lay before every man and every community. Sir Frederick considered it singularly unfortunate that when for the first time in the constitutional history in the country, the Government of India contained a large majority of Indians drawn from the best elements of India's public life, one of the great parties should have chosen to stage a protest and followed somewhat late in the day a method which the Congress party had made familiar in politics during the last 20 years. 'Giving Mr. Jinnah's words every weight which they deserve, we are forced to the conclusion that he and his reluctant friends staged not a protest or a gesture but a definite declaration of non-assistance in the prosecution of the war and that means not only a declaration of non-assistance to their own countrymen who lately have had the courage to tip the exceedingly heavy responsibilities of office but a refusal of support to members of his and other communities who today are training in India or actually fighting overseas to defend not only India but freedom everywhere—freedom that he may preach in peace. We deeply regret the action on the part of the Muslim League'. He hoped that those young men who were training to equip themselves for the war, would when they come back from active service, be prepared to forgive and forget their elders. 'May I urge', he said, 'the three parties which remain (Congress nationalists, independents and Europeans) to determine to uphold such parliamentary traditions as we have in this House to join hands in assisting and criticising this Government, join hands in assisting in every possible way in the effective prosecution of the war and restoring that unity in this country, the absence of which is such an exceedingly danger-

ous factor in the present situation.' Sir Frederick James' motion was passed by 42 votes to seven.

Hindu Women's Rights Bill

A number of motions relating to bills on Hindu women's rights were dealt with including two by Dr. *G. V. Deshmukh* (Congress party) who was specially present for the occasion. His brother Mr. *Govind Deshmukh*, Congress nationalist, first moved reference to a select committee of his bill to remove legal disabilities under Hindu law in respect of marriage between Hindus.

Sir Sultan Ahmed, Law Member, speaking on the motion took the opportunity to extend a cordial welcome to Dr. Deshmukh and said he was speaking not only on behalf of the members of the House but was representing the views of the new Indian members who had come to be members of the Government of India. The ambitions of these Indian members, he said, was to serve the country and in that ambition they would have to seek the assistance not only of those who were in the House but those who had kept away from it. 'It is such a relief, he said, to find among us at least one person who has had the courage to come and we hope he will give us help not only today but during the whole session (Cheers). We hope he will persuade other members of the party to which he belongs to give the assistance that we really need. As regards the bill itself he pointed out that a majority of orthodox Hindu opinion in the country was dead against it and it had met with strong opposition from other quarters also. The committee on Hindu women's rights presided over by Sir B. N. Rau had already issued a report which had certainly met with the approval of people inside and outside the House and he was sure that the objects of the present bill would be seriously considered by that committee whose further report would, he hoped, be before the House before the budget session. If however the bill was pressed, the Government would have no alternative but to oppose it on the ground of the strong opposition from the orthodox section of the Hindu community and of the fact that it would be considered more appropriately by the Rau Committee.

Mr. *Deshmukh*, in view of the assurances contained in the Law Member's speech, withdrew his motion, making it clear that in withdrawing his motion he was not withdrawing the bill itself which, he said, should be kept in being in case it became necessary to proceed with it later.

Hindu Women's Maintenance Bill

Dr. *Deshmukh*, moving reference to select committee of his bill to give Hindu married women a right to separate residence and maintenance under certain circumstances, thanked the Law Member for his kind words and said : 'Not only the new Indian members but all Indian members on the Government benches will always have the support of myself and of my party. They will have the support so long as we are convinced, as I am convinced, that they are really working for the welfare of my country. I do not make this distinction, where my country's welfare is concerned, even between Indians and Europeans. He left it to Europeans to talk of European peace and European war and European survival. Referring to those who argued that no political progress was possible in India unless the communities came together, he asked, why do not you wait till we fraternise and come together, before you take our blood and our money for the war ? If for doing something good to my country you must wait till the minorities and majorities come together. Why do not you wait till then for draining our blood ?'

He went on to affirm sympathy with the new members of the Executive Council and said : 'Let me assure the leader of the House and the Law Member that when we remain absent it can only be out of the conviction that it is good for the country. If it is for the good of our country to come in, we will come in. Referring to the motion, he expressed doubts if it was desirable to wait for the perfect or ideal bill to be produced by the Hindu Law Committee.

Sir Sultan Ahmed repeated the assurance that he would do his best to bring the bill under the Hindu Law Committee's consideration.

Dr. *Deshmukh* eventually withdrew his motion. He later introduced a bill further to amend the Special Marriage Act, 1872, for certain purposes.

Two other Bills

Two other bills introduced were one by Mr. *Govind Deshmukh* to make provisions in regard to entry, residence, the acquision, holding or disposal of

property, franchise, the holding of public office or the carrying on of any occupation, trade, business or profession in British India by persons domiciled in the British possessions on a basis of reciprocity ; the other of Mr. *Kazmi* to provide for the appointment of persons to the office of Kazi and for performing and keeping a record of marriages among Muslims.

ADJOURNMENT MOTION ON KHAKSARS

After a brief debate, the House rejected without a division Mr. *Kazmi's* adjournment motion to discuss the 'banning of Khaksar volunteers by the Government of India and thereby hampering the development of indigenous organizations which are a necessity for the defence of the country in times of war. *Sir Reginald Maxwell*, Home Member, opposing the motion, dealt with the declared objectives of the Khaksar movement and referred to the repeated conflicts between the Khaksars and the police which had led to serious loss of life both among the Khaksars and among the police. As regards general policy towards volunteer organizations of a military character, the Government had taken the public into confidence in 1940. The principle at issue was that the Government had the right and the duty of protecting members of the community and they could not surrender that right to any self-appointed body. The very fact that such a body resorted to drilling was evidence of intention to achieve its objects by the use of force. At the same time it was pointed out that for all those who wished to offer voluntary service, the civic guards provided a suitable outlet. He strongly deprecated atttempts at casting aspersions on the civic guards, the success of which, he said, had been one of the very encouraging things that had happened during this war. (Cheers.) It was absurd to say that Indians were not offered oppurtunity to enlist themselves. Sardar *Sant Singh* and Mr. *L. K. Maitra* took the Government to task for not taking action much earlier, although they had full knowledge of the aims and activities of the Khaksars. The motion was rejected.

INDIA AND THE ATLANTIC CHARTER

29th OCTOBER :—The Assembly took up for discussion *Maulvi Abdur Rasheed Chaudhury's* resolution recommending immediate steps to give effect in the case of India also, to the joint decision of the British Premier and the President of the United States of America, commonly known as the Atlantic Charter, for creating a new world order. The mover said that when President Roosevelt announced his eight points of peace and war aims of the Democracies, Indians thought that they would be equally applicable to India. They had had experience with President Wilson's Fourteen Points which were trampled upon when the war ended, but the people in this country considered that America had a certain partnership in the British Empire and the words of the President of the United States would not be taken lightly by the British authorities. He asserted that unless a declaration was made applying the Charter to India, the Government could not get as much co-operation and help from Indians as they wanted.

Sardar Sant Singh was glad that Mr. Churchill had been frank and blunt in saying that the Charter did not apply to India. Referring to that portion of the Charter which stated that the Democracies did not seek any territorial or other aggrandisement, Sardar Sant Singh said that under the name of acquiring naval bases, America was really splitting up the British Empire and depriving them of portions of the Empire. Sardar Sant Singh declared that India did not look to any outsider for giving her freedom but would stand on her own legs.

Mr. *G. V. Deshmukh* declared that it was the instinct of self-preservation that induced the British Government to make the Atlantic Declaration and said that, after having declared that the Charter would not be applicable to Indians, the British Government should be ashamed to appeal to them to give help in the war and send their men into the battlefields.

Mr. *Kazmi* said that Mr. Churchill was not really frank in many matters but he was quite frank about India because he knew that India was too weak to make any effective protest against his remarks.

In response to a request from members that the Government's attitude should be indicated before the debate proceeded further, Mr. *M. S. Aney*, Leader of the House, intervened at this stage. The question raised in the resolution, he said, was no doubt one of great interest to India and he was, therefore, anxious that the House should be given an opportunity of discussing the matter. He believed that for experienced members of the House it would not have been difficult, particularly after the replies given to interpellations on the question,

to know what the Government's attitude could be. They left it to the members of the House to draw their own inferences from the pronouncement of Mr. Churchill constituted as they were in this House. It was not for them to comment upon these pronouncements or criticise them. The Government of India were no party to the Charter. Those who signed it were the proper persons to say what was in their mind when they framed it ; and we had the authoritative statement of one of them on one of the clauses, namely Clause 3 extending the right to all people to choose the form of government under which they wanted to live and declaring readiness to restore freedom and independence to those who had been forcibly deprived of them. Evidently the latter clause indicated that the framers had before them those countries which had lost their independence and freedom during the present war.

As regards India, Mr. Churchill had made it clear that the declaration of self-determination contained in the Atlantic Charter did not have the effect of abrogating or qualifying the pledges already given about her political goal. Assuming that a declaration was made that the Atlantic Charter was applicable to India, would that satisfy India ? Even before the Atlantic Charter was there, the Declaration of August, 1940, defective though it was, had conceded the principle of self-determination to India. By merely stating that the Atlantic Charter would apply to India, India's cause, in his opinion, would not progress to any extent at all. (Mr. Joshi : It would be some progress). Even men like the Premier of the Punjab, Mr. Aney went on, did not share the view that a mere pronouncement applying the Atlantic Charter to India would satisfy India or help them towards their goal. The point of view had been expressed that India should not bother about getting any more promises from the British Government and that Indians should rely on something else than mere promises coming from any outside authority. Why, then, he suggested, ask for any declaration at all ? Either we believed that promises coming from statesmen of eminence had some meaning or we did not believe it.

Mr. Aney also reminded the House that Clause 3 of the Atlantic Charter would only be applied at the end of the war. In a matter of this kind, he went on, it was impossible to expect that the Government of India could form conclusions independently. All that the Government of India could be interested in was to find out the views of the public and it was the duty of the Government of India to keep His Majesty's Government duly informed of the feelings and sentiments expressed in the House. The attitude of the Government of India would therefore be to leave it free for the House to decide its attitude.

Mr. L. K. Maitra, speaking on the resolution, asserted that the wording of the Atlantic Charter was quite clear and was equally applicable to all countries and races of the world including India. However Mr. Churchill might now try to wriggle out of a position created by the force of circumstances, he did not agree with Mr. Aney that even if the Charter was declared applicable to India it would make no vital difference ; such a declaration would make a good deal of difference from the point of view of international law.

Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta*, while feeling that there was an air of unreality about the whole debate, strongly criticised Mr. Churchill's statement which he said threw them back to the declaration of August 1940. This declaration, he asserted, was not a declaration of freedom—it was a declaration of bondage—to perpetuate vested interests, and the British hold over this country, giving the minorities power to veto the progress of India. He held that Article 3 of the Atlantic Charter was an unequivocal declaration that all races and countries had the right of self-determination and that after the war, this country too would have the right to frame its own constitution, chosen by its representatives, and be free to live under under that constitution. This had been borne out by Mr. Attlee's statement.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir contended that the real grievance against Mr. Churchill's explanation of the Atlantic Charter was that part of it which contained the reservation that the pledges to India were subject to Britain's responsibilities to India's many creeds, races and interests. If those words were omitted, would the Mussalmans accept that statement, asked Sir Cowasji. He urged Indians to face the realities and not to drug their conscience. Without those words, he declared, no statement made by the British Government would be acceptable to millions and millions of the people of India. "Unless you get these minorities to feel contented, you are not going to have the Government of this country." (Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta* at this stage kept up a running fire of interruption by exclaiming : "You are talking like Mr. Amery. You are Mr. Amery.")

Discussion on the resolution had not concluded, when it was time to take up Mr. *N. M. Joshi's* adjournment motion on the Deoli jail hunger-strike.

DEOLI HUNGER-STRIKE

Mr. Joshi, moving adjournment of the House, said that he was doing so in order that attention might be drawn to the grievances of the detenus and that the discussion in the House might result in a satisfactory settlement of the hunger-strike and the people of India might be free from the anxiety caused by it. He recalled the resolution on the grievances of the detenus and the debate on it in the Assembly last November and said that if Government had done something to meet those grievances at that time, this hunger-strike would perhaps have been avoided The detenus made a representation on their grievances to the Government in April or May. Having heard about these grievances he himself visited Deoli with the Government of India's permission in July and published his impressions and suggestions. When the detenus made their representation to the Government of India, they expected prompt attention to those grievances. Unfortunately a good deal of time had been allowed to elapse. The grievances, Mr. Joshi said, were that they were kept in Deoli which was far away from their homes. Deoli was no health resort, and when it was remembered that Italian and German prisoners were detained in cool Himalayan hills, the complaint of the Indian detenus was not difficult to understand. Further, it was difficult for their relatives to see them in Deoli because of the distance. Their other grievances were against their classification into A and B classes, absence of provision for their families and dependents, and inadequate allowances in jail, namely 12 annas for A class and 9 annas for the B class.

It might be said that there was no justification for the hunger-strike but the detenus had waited for four or five months. He was not suggesting that they should not have waited longer but there was a limit, Government had stated they could not consider grievances unless the hunger-strike was given up. As one associated with labour, he knew that grievances were not considered until a strike was actually called and then the authorities said that they could not consider grievances until the strike was called off. He asked Government not to stand on prestige but only to consider whether the grievances were real or not and if they were real to remove them.

Mr. *A. N. Chattopadhya* said what was asked for was pure and simple justice and added that these men belonged to the intelligentsia and were used to better amenities of life than those given them now. He urged the formation of a committee of the House to see the real conditions in Deoli so that they might testify if necessary from time to time as to the conditions of the detenus and on grievances which needed redress.

Mr. *Govind Deshmukh* commented on Sir *Henry Gidney's* failure to see that it was now more than a month and a half since Government received Mr. Joshi's report. If Government delayed equally long their consideration of some grievance relating to the I. M. S. or to the Anglo-Indian community, Sir Henry Gidney would have been more impatient than the detenus had been. Mr. *Deshmukh* asked, would the provision of a few amenities like repatriation to their Provinces and more opportunities to relatives to see them, increase the danger that the detenus were said to constitute to the State ?

Sir *Reginald Maxwell*, Home Member, before replying to the debate, gave the latest information about the hunger-strike and said that there were now 204 prisoners involved : their general health was satisfactory and none of them was seriously ill. He had no doubt, proceeded the Home Member, of Mr. Joshi's sincerity but the House must remember that its reception of the motion would inevitably have its effect on the prisoners' action. He pointed out that their demands bearing on their physical well-being had been considered and a large number of them granted from time to time, such as, an increase in their diet allowance, clothing, mosquito nets and extra cooking utensils. But their demand was that they should be repatriated to their home provinces and he submitted that that was not a demand for which any prisoner was entitled to go on hunger strike. It had to be assumed that there were reasons for keeping these persons in Government custody and if their physical well-being was well looked after, he maintained it did not greatly matter where they were kept. The division into two classes, the speaker explained, was adopted after consultation with representatives of the Home Departments of the Provinces and it was not possible for the Central Government to alter that arrangement without consulting

the Provincial Governments. The reason for the division was that, among the persons detained, some were definitely of high status, some had University Degrees, while others were cheap agitators. How, he asked, could both these classes be kept together ? As regards daily allowance, the speaker said, the demand was that it should be increased to Re. 1-6. Their physical well-being, he declared, did not require the increase. As regards the demand for adequate family allowance to the dependents of the Security prisoners, he pointed out that in necessitous cases family allowances were being granted. Similarly, facilities to relatives to visit them and to enable the prisoners themselves to visit sick relatives had been granted.

Demands about their place of confinement, Sir Reginald continued, were political demands, and he maintained that they were demands which suited their own fancy but were in no way necessary for them. Mr. Joshi's report, the Home Member went on, was seen by the prisoners themselves and before the strike started, they were warned that the consideration of the report would be prejudiced by any headstrong action on their part. He was himself taking up some of the suggestions made by Mr. Joshi but the hunger-strike started and the whole thing fell to the ground. He explained that the present daily allowance was sufficient to provide the prisoners with many luxuries. For instance, in September alone these luxuries supplied to them included thirty-six tins of preserved pine apple, nineteen bottles of Australian honey (Sir *Cowasji Jahangir* : Why Australian ?) 403 apples, 827 bananas, fourteen seers of almonds. (Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta* : What is the number of the prisoners and over what period ? You are misleading the House). The real reason, proceeded the Home Member, was political, and he quoted from Mr. Jai Prakash Narain's letter which, he said, made it clear that the writer was thinking of strikes entirely in terms of party propaganda and was asking that strikes should be undertaken when schools and colleges were open and the Central Assembly was meeting. These prisoners, concluded the Home Member, were endangering their own lives and were not furthering their own cause. The House could definitely discourage such attempts ; but give way to strikes of this kind he would not.

Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta* said that even if 1,500 bananas were supplied to them in a month, it would come to fifty bananas a day. Divided among 200 prisoners it meant one-fourth of a banana each. Dit the Home Member call it a luxury ? Those nineteen tins of honey for a month divided among two hundred prisoners would be enough to wet their teeth and there would be nothing to go down their throat. "I think", he added, "it is a cruel joke to describe these as luxuries (cheers). To say that to people of high status accustomed to a better standard of living one-fourth of a banana is a luxury is to practise a joke on their susceptibilities. I would rather be out than eat your one-fourth of a banana in jail." It was no consolation, even, that their physical well-being was looked after. They were not prisoners found guilty of any crime but were merely detained on suspicion. Hunger-strike was an extreme form of protest. It might be designed to synchronise with the opening of the Assembly. If the detenus wanted their grievances to be heard what was wrong in going on strike at the time the Assembly sat ? That only showed their faith in this House. It was the most appropriate thing to do. If the House was not sitting there would be no one to listen to their grievances. To have his grievances ventilated in the best forum available to him was the right of the citizen. If Government were satisfied that the conditions in Deoli were so good, they should give members of the House an opportunity to visit that place. He asked the Home Member not to insist on withdrawal of hunger-strike before taking action.

Mr. *N. M. Joshi* reiterated his intention that discussion in the House should expedite the ending of the unfortunate situation and that Government should, out of fairness and justice, be prompt in giving attention to the grievances of the detenus. In normal circumstances, the people who were in the Deoli jail would not themselves advocate a hunger-strike; but the detenus were not in normal circumstances. It was wrong to treat their hunger-strike as a threat. It was undertaken by people who were helpless and desperate. He would beg of the Home Member not to entertain false ideas of prestige or of what was subversive of discipline. Let him not wait till the strike was over. If the removal of the grievances would end the strike, Government's prestige would not suffer. Statements of Mr. Jai Prakash Narain, which had been quoted in the House, he said, were those of a man living an abnormal and unnatural life under detention. Those statements could not be given much weight. He concluded

by expressing the hope that the debate would induce the Government to take up a reasonable and generous attitude over this matter and remove the grievances. He also hoped that members of the Legislature would watch over this situation.

The motion was rejected without a division and the House adjourned.

Railway Property Taxation Bill

30th. OCTOBER :—The Assembly considered several official Bills to-day. Sir *Andrew Clow's* Bill under the provisions of which railway property may hereafter be subjected to new taxation by local bodies was referred to a Select Committee. Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta*, Prof. *Bannerji*, Sardar *Sant Singh*, Babu *Baijnath Bajoria* and Mr. *Hussainbhai Lalji* strongly criticised some provisions of the Bill, particularly the clause laying down that a railway administration shall be liable to pay any local tax, if and to such extent as the Central Government by notification in the official Gazettee, declares it to be so liable. This, they contended, gave a drastic new power to the Central Government over the Provincial Legislatures' powers to taxation. Sir *Andrew Clow* expressed surprise at the opposition and stressed the point that both railways and local bodies served the public in different ways and hence any unfair assessment of railway property would ultimately be paid by the general taxpayer. The argument that if railways paid less the people in the area might have to pay more cut both ways, for if the railways paid more the people would pay less. If he were to consider the interests of the railways in isolation, nothing could be more suitable to the railways than the existing position. The change proposed in the Bill was going to be embarrassing to the railways and as Railway Member he regarded it as a measure of self-abnegation and self-sacrifice.

Excess Profits Tax Bill

The House agreed to send to a Select Committee Sir *Jeremy Raisman's* Bill further to amend the Excess Profits Tax Act, the main object of which was to meet the widespread objections to the discrimination, as regards the treatment of borrowed money as capital, between money borrowed from a person carrying on a *bona fide* banking business and money borrowed from any other person. Sir *Cowasji Jehangir*, Mr. *Bajoria*, Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta* and Mr. *Hussainbhai Lalji* objected to certain provisions. Mr. Mehta expressed the apprehension that the provisions meant to prevent dissipation of excess profits might result in preventing measures for the amelioration of working class conditions or payment of higher wages to workmen by an employer or higher prices to the sugarcane grower by sugar factories. Expenditure on these, he feared, might be considered by the authorities as intended to evade "E. P. T." Sir *Jeremy Raisman* gave the assurance that Government had no intention whatever of interfering for a moment with reasonable or generous treatment of labour. He himself believed that where excess profits were made, there was no reason why everybody who contributed to making them should not receive his share. In the shrinking, timorous figure of capital which Mr. Lalji had pictured it was difficult to see the rapacious and self-seeking monster that labour leaders like Mr. Jamnadas Mehta and Mr. Joshi depicted. There was no attempt, he asserted, to scare away that shy, timorous damsel from her legitimate activities in British India (laughter).

Madras Port Trust Reconstitution Bill

The Assembly referred to a Select Committee Sir *Andrew Clow's* Bill to alter the constitution of the Port of Madras. (Six out of the fifteen seats are at present assigned to European commercial interests and four to Indian commercial interests.) The information now available suggests, it is stated in the Statement of Objects and Reason, that Europeans and Indians share almost equally in the traffic of the Port ; it is therefore proposed to assign four seats to the Madras Chamber of Commerce, three to the Southern India Chamber of Commerce and one to the Southern India Skin and Hide Merchants Association. Although it is ordinarily desirable to avoid the representation of specific branches of commerce, the representative of the last association is retained on account of its special position. One elected seat has been assigned to the Madras Corporation, and it is proposed that one seat should be reserved for a representative of labour, in accordance with a recommendation made by the Royal Commission on Labour. Of the remaining seats, it is proposed that one should be filled by a nominee of the Government of Madras, who are at present unrepresented. The others include the Chairman, a representative of Railway interests and of the Collector of Customs.

Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta* considered that the representation of Indian and European commercial interests on a racial basis was an anachronism in 1941 and was a reminder of the exploded fiction of racial predominance of European commercial interests. He pleaded for a joint electorate of all commercial interests with reservation for Europeans if necessary. He also pointed to the need for the representation of the Andhra Chamber of Commerce, who had sent him complaints against the absence of representation for them. Mr. *Joshi* wanted the labour representative to be elected by registered Trade Unions in Madras and not nominated. If election was not conceded, the representative should at least be nominated in consultation with registered Trade Unions. Sir *Frederick James* pointed out that it was not so much a matter of distinction between Indian and European Chambers of Commerce as adjustment between bodies represented on the Port Trust. Generally speaking, the basis of representation on the Port Trusts should be the direct interest in the export and import trade of that Port, that is the volume of trade done by the interests concerned. That was quite irrespective of race. It was true that the Madras Chamber of Commerce and the Madras Trades Association were predominantly European but there was no racial basis for their representation on the Port Trust. There was nothing to prevent the Madras Chamber of Commerce from being represented by an Indian. The Madras Trades Association had at one time been represented by one of its Indian members.

Other Official Business

The House passed two Bills to amend the Criminal Procedure Code moved by *Sir Sultan Ahmed*, and a Bill further to amend the Factories Act moved by Mr. *Prior*, Secretary, Labour Department. The House then adjourned till Tuesday, November 4.

Debate on Indo-Burma Agreement

4th. NOVEMBER :—The House took up to-day the debate on the Indo-Burma Immigration Agreement. After Sir *A. H. Ghaznavi* had formally moved his resolution, two amendments were moved by Mr. *Akhil Chandra Dutta* and *Sir Henry Gidney*. Mr. Dutta's amendment recommended that in the event of the Government of Burma not agreeing to a revision of the Indo-Burma Immigration Agreement, the Government of India should give immediate notice of termination of the Trade Agreement concluded last February with Burma. *Sir Henry Gidney's* amendment recommended to the Governor-General to request the Secretary of State not to implement the Agreement by Order in Council unless and until satisfactory modifications are secured which will carry out to the full the Parliamentary assurances given with regard to the status of Indians in Burma and their right of entry into Burma after separation from India, and remove such provisions as are discriminatory and humiliating to the people of India.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghaznavi moving his resolution declared that the Indo-Burma Agreement was a gross violation of repeated assurances given in Parliament in regard to India after the separation of Burma, and by other high authorities of His Majesty's Government, the Government of India and the Government of Burma. He emphasised that the present Agreement was condemned by every section of opinion in India. There was no question of Hindus or Muslims on this issue. Both Mr. *Jinnah*, President of the All-India Muslim League, and Mr. *Gandhi* had been emphatic in their condemnation of the Agreement. The Hindu Mahasabha, both Houses of the Bengal Legislature and all Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry had condemned the Agreement as an offence to the self-respect of the people of India. India demanded with one voice that this Agreement should be rejected *in toto*. Sir Abdul Halim then recalled the many assurances given in regard to India by various authorities. In the First Round Table Conference in 1931, the Sub-Committee relating to Burma had stressed the importance of there being no discrimination as regards Indians entering Burma. When the Government of India Bill was being discussed in the House of Commons, Sir *Thomas Inskip*, on behalf of the Government, assured the House that nobody wanted discrimination and that in the Instrument of Instructions there shall be direction to reserve bills restricting Indian professionals and businessmen. Again in 1936, Mr. *Butler* had given an assurance in the Commons that they had to give the right of restriction in regard to unskilled labour only while at the same time they did not want to stop the free entry of Indians in general. As late as February, 1941, no less a person than the Premier of Burma, U Saw, in an interview to the press in India assured that there would be no

discrimination against Indians, that Indian residents and settlers would have the same rights and privileges as Burmans. Sir Abdul Halim complained that the Government of India, in the composition of the Indian delegation to Burma, did not even include one non-official Indian adviser as the Government of Burma did in appointing the Baxter Commission. On his way to Burma, Sir Abdul Halim said, Sir *Girja Sankar Bajpai*, in an interview to the press, distinctly said that the present negotiations were more or less of an exploratory nature. Sir Abdul Halim declared that Sir Girja Sankar himself assured the Premier of Burma, against all justice and equity, that it was the Government of India's desire to ascertain and comprehend the difficulties that immigration from India might be creating for Burma and help Burma to solve them. Sir Abdul Halim asserted that Sir Girja Shankar's delegation was a fact-finding one and he had no right without consulting the Indian Legislature, the Indian public opinion and other interests, to enter into an Agreement jeopardising the interests of Indians and vitally affecting their status. He pointed out that no restrictions had been placed on the entry of the British into Burma but the discrimination applied only to Indians. Sir Abdul Halim Ghaznavi appealed to the Government of Burma and the Burmans themselves not to forget the great contributions which India had made to the prosperity of Burma and urged the member in charge of Indians Overseas to take strong and incessant measures to see that the Agreement was rejected *in toto*.

Mr. *A. C. Dutta* asked what were the genesis and history of the Agreement, particularly who initiated it ? Mr. *Aney*, replying, said that demand for the Agreement was initiated by the Burma Government. Mr. *Dutta*, proceeding, said that the denunciation of the Agreement was unanimous ; every section of opinion in India said it was unacceptable from all points of view and all aspects. The problem was unfair competition and alleged penetration by Indian labour. The Delegation which went from India did not consult a single Indian. There was no evidence to show that Indians had displaced the Burmans in any way. Without going into details he wanted to say that the assurance given by responsible Ministers amounted to a gentleman's agreement. He did not want to emphasise whether it was legally binding or not, but at all events the gentleman's agreement had not been honoured. It was wrong on the part of the Government of India not to have given effect to the assurances given by the Ministers in Parliament and given also by the Government of India here. It was essential in India as well as in Burma that there should be a complete understanding and mutual cooperation but an agreement of this kind was not helpful to the attainment of these. Burma had demanded, he said, a pound of flesh and India was helpless in the matter. All that he urged was that the Government of India should give notice to terminate the trade agreement. The only hope lay in the fact that the portfolio of Oversees was now in the hands of a non-official Indian and the House could rightly look to him for justice.

Sir *Henry Gidney*, speaking in support of his amendment, reminded the House of abiding services which members of his community had rendered to Burma, particularly in its Customs Department and in the construction of its railways and telegraph services. The Agreement, he said, applied to all persons domiciled in India or who were the subjects of Indian States. This included Anglo-Indians as well. Sir Henry, however, observed that he did not take a communal view on the matter. "I am taking a national view", he declared.

Mr. *Chapman Mortimer* indicated that although the European Group were critical of many aspects and details of the Agreement, they were by a majority opposed to the resolution and the amendment (Oh. oh). There were Europeans in India—and the members of the European Group were among them—who recognised that Indians had a strong case against the Agreement; but what the Group would prefer would be that the Governor-General in Council should request the Secretary of State not to implement the Agreement by an Order in Council until in consultation with the two Governments concerned he was able to secure such modifications as would make it more acceptable to the people of India and would carry out the assurances given in parliament. Among the clauses which he considered objectionable was the one relating to marriage. Restriction on the movement of subjects of the Empire between one unit and another should be reduced to the minimum, he declared, compatible with the integrity of the unit or units concerned. Defending Sir *G. S. Bajpai* against attacks on him, Mr. *Chapman Mortimer* said that Sir *Girja Shankar* had done a great piece of work for this country. Sir Girja Shankar had to face the question : 'What can I persuade the

Burma Government to accept?' There was no question of India trying to dictate to Burma. It was useless to attack Sir Girja Shankar or his successor or the Government of India; they had to do the best they could in the circumstances of the case.

Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta* declared that the occasion for thrusting the Agreement on the country had been singularly ill-chosen. At a time when there was talk of a new world reconstruction, of Atlantic Charters and equal enjoyment of the world's raw materials, and when the Commonwealth was fighting for its life, it was deplorable that one wing of that Commonwealth should have asked for and another should have submitted to an agreement of this character. He thought that the oppression and insult in Burma, South Africa, or Zanzibar of the nationals of a country of 400 millions was the result of the spinelessness, the boneslessness, the spiritlessness and the worthlessness of the Government of India (laughter). The Agreement, he declared, was one of expropriation to the extent of destruction of established Indian rights—expropriation under the auspices of the very Government of India which was supposed to be the watchdog of Indian interests. Section 41 of the Government of Burma Act, he said, gave Indians' rights which were conterminous with those of Britishers; but the framers of the Agreement had relied entirely on the proviso to the section with the result that what was a proviso had been treated as if it was the main provision of the section. Mr. Mehta, referring to some of the objectionable provisions, denounced the clause under which he had said no Indian who did not want to lose his Indian citizenship could now stay in Burma as a matter of right. Indians as such had no right to remain Indians and remain in Burma ; they must become Burmese and then they might remain under certain conditions. Criticising the Government of India delegation, he asserted that the terms of the Agreement were not shown to Indian representatives in Burma ; the Baxter Report was not shown to them. The Agreement was first entered into and Indians were then coerced into accepting it. The Agreement, he declared, was worthy only of Hitler.

Mr. *G. S. Bozman*, Secretary, Department of Indians Overseas, speaking as one who accompanied the delegation to Burma and was present during the negotiations, intervened to give information mainly relating to the facts and the circumstances under which the Agreement was concluded. He said that he would do his best to clear up misapprehension with regard to particular points. After tracing the origin of the negotiations, Mr. Bozman said that the Standing Emigration Committee was consulted and they advised the Government of India to accept Burma's invitation and send a delegation. Mr. Bozman contradicted the press report that Sir G S. Bajpai stated that the delegation was going for the purpose of exploring whether an agreement was possible. Sir Girja Shankar, he said, was under no illusion as to the limits of his authority. The communique issued by the Government of India in June, which was more authoritative, made it clear, he claimed, that as a result of preliminary discussions, both Governments were satisfied that personal negotiations offered a reasonable prospect of success. He also corrected the impression that the conclusions of the Baxter Report related to unskilled labour only. The report, he said, referred to elements in the mental climate of Burma, which opposed the entry of Indians and although at present the only overt demand was for limitation of unskilled Indian labour, there was no evidence that other classes of labour were welcome. The report spoke of the deep-rooted sense of frustration among the unemployed Burmans. The Government of India Delegation, when they reached Rangoon, were faced by the Government of Burma, fortified with the Baxter Report. The House might consider it their duty to place before the Secretary of State considerations with regard to the assurances given in Parliament, but the delegation who had read those assurances, were faced in Rangoon with an autonomous government making certain requests. Mr. Bozman went on to refer to the consultation with the Standing Emigration Committee in India and with the Ad Hoc Committee of Indians in Rangoon, specifically constituted to assist the Indian delegation it its negotiations. The suggestions that the Ad Hoc Committee were not admitted to the secrets of how the negotiations were proceeding were incorrect. There was one point on which they were not consulted ; it arose at the very last stage of the negotiations but all the other points were placed before the Committee. In fact, the delegation gave more time to the Ad Hoc Committee than to the Burma Delegation. At the conclusion of the negotiations in Rangoon, it was obvious that something had to be put down on paper, continued Mr. Bozman. A draft was drawn up and was initialled in

Rangoon as representing a fair picture of the conclusions reached. It was made clear at that time that the Government of India would not sign the Agreement in Rangoon and Sir G. S. Bajpai said that the delegation must consult the Standing Emigration Committee and certain others with regard particularly to the marriage clause. The objections to the marriage clause were specifically discussed with the Indian Committee in Rangoon. He refuted the suggestion that instructions had been given to the delegation to come to a compromise with the Burma Government.

Prof Bannerji, criticised the "indecent hurry" in concluding the Agreement and declared that the delegation ought to have realised the very large political and economic interests involved and ought to have known the general trend of opinion in India on the problems before them He asserted that it was no agreement at all, as one party affected by it, namely, the people of India, had never been consulted. He revealed that the amendment moved by Sir Henry Gidney had been agreed to unanimously by the leaders of all parties in the House at a meeting on Sunday and he regretted that Mr. Chapman-Mortimer should have opposed it in spite of the understanding arrived at the meeting at which the leader of the European Group was present.

Sir Frederik James, supporting the amendment, explained that leaders of parties present at the meeting on Sunday had merely agreed to recommend the amendment to their parties. Sir Frederick James proceeded to say that the majority of the European Group had rejected the amendment and decided to oppose the resolution and the amendment. He himself was not one of that majority (cheers). He thought that if he withheld support to the amendment, it would be neither in the interest of his community nor of India; it would not be consistent with the policy which the European Group had followed so long. (renewed cheers.) What was important, Sir Frederick said, was the tenor and underlying spirit of the amendment and with that underlying spirit of the amendment he was in entire agreement. It could not be objected to by anybody. It did not imply any criticism of the work of Sir G. S. Bajpai or the Government of India. In fact, he said, the Standing Emigration Committee of which he was a member, unanimously passed a resolution paying tribute to Sir G S. Bajpai's services. That was after the Agreement was concluded.

Sir V. N. Chandavarkar, in a maiden speech which was cheered, said he was pained by the speech of Mr. Chapman Mortimer and felt inclined to ask himself whether there was anything to look forward to in the Empire. He felt the contrast provided by that speech to the position he had observed in Bombay, where on more than one occasion, Europeans had been more pro-Indian than Indians. Speaking on the Agreement, he said that the only test was whether it was in India's interests. If it was not in India's interests, it was not in the interest of the Commonwealth. He was not going to criticise Sir G. S. Bajpai or the Government of India. After all, the Government of India was a subordinate Government and in spite of the Act of 1935, much as the Government of India would like to fight for us, they were denied free scope. He asked his European friends whether they believed in a future for them with us in the British Commonwealth of Nations. If so, then the only way of working and associating with a nation was to get into the skin of that nation. Supposing an autonomous Indian Government were to say that any skilled European labour to be imported into India should come under one or other certificate of the kind provided in the Indo-Burma Agreement, how, he asked, would the European community feel about it? If the Agreement were implemented, in spite of the opinion in the country, the lack of faith in British statesmanship would grow stronger.

Mr *Hussainbhai Lalji*, supporting the amendment, complained that the Baxter Report was not placed before the Standing Emigration Committee and that the Committee therefore had not the full facts before it to come to a proper decision on the Agreement.

Mr. *Aney*, intervening, pointed out that the recommendations of the Baxter Report were placed before the Committee

Mr. *Lalji* asked why the full report should not have been made available to them. He pointed out that when the notice of termination of the existing Order-in-Council was received, the House was in session and yet it was not informed on such an important matter. As regards the claim to have consulted the Ad Hoc Committee in Rangoon, he read a telegram from the President of the Committee dated July 22, expressing surprise at several terms of the Agreement, some of which the President had said, were entirely new and Burma Indians

were staggered. Did not that telegram show that the Ad Hoc Committee was not fully consulted ?

Mr. *M. S. Aney*, replying to the debate, said that the Government of India could claim that whatever the difference between them and the political parties in other matters, both were agreed in championing and zealously guarding the rights of Indians abroad. Indians, he claimed, had found in the Government of India a champion to protect the honour of Indians overseas. Mr. Aney proceeded to summarise the objections to the Agreement which had been made both in the House and in representations made to him by various bodies. He pointed out that the Government of India delegation consulted the Standing Emigration Committee before they went to Rangoon and also after the Agreement was initialled. In Rangoon, the delegation consulted the Ad Hoc Committee of Indians. The Government of India, Mr. Aney proceeded, were fully aware of the strong feeling against this Agreement, and the question had been engaging the attention of the Secretary of State. The Government of India had urged the postponement of the issue of the Order-in-Council. There was, he said, an obligation both on the Government of Burma and the Government of India, under Clause 27 of the Agreement itself, to consider mutually objections and solve any difficulties which might arise. Such mutual consideration, he thought, was the only way of solving the problem now. If the two Governments came together in the right spirit, an Agreement, modified so as to satisfy both the Governments, might be promulgated as an Order-in-Council. The Government hoped that the people would co-operate with them in finding a solution. He himself was an optimist and believed that a solution would be found : but, if it was not possible he would approach the House for advice as regard the next step which should be taken. He gave the assurance that the Government of India would not fail in its primary duty to the people. The Government had seen both the resolution and the amendment before the House and had decided to leave it to the House to carry on the discussion and come to its own conclusion. Government members would not vote. He undertook to sent the decision of the House and the speeches made during the debate to the Secretary of State with such recommendations as they thought it necessary to make, in order that amendments might be carried out to make the Agreement acceptable (cheer).

After a brief reply by Sir *A. H. Ghuznavi*, the House passed, without a division, *Sir Henry Gidney's* amendment as the substantive resolution, Mr. *A. C. Datta* withdrew his amendment. The House then adjourned.

WOMEN WORKERS IN MINES BILL

5th. NOVEMBER :—After question-time to-day, Mr. *H. C. Prior*, Secretary for Labour, moved a Bill regarding maternity benefits for women workers in mines. Among the benefits to be given are provisions that the employer shall not employ a woman for four weeks following child-birth, that she should get authorised leave for a month before childbirth and that a woman in continuous employment for nine months preceding the date of delivery shall be entitled to receive a payment of eight annas a day for everyday on which she was absent from work owing to her confinement during the four weeks immediately preceding and including the day of her delivery and for each day of the four weeks following her delivery. The Bill received general support from all sides of the House including the European Group but during discussion of some of the clauses, Mr. *Joshi's* amendments were opposed by the European Group and the leader of the Independents, Sir *Henry Gidney*. Mr. *Joshi* along with Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta* sponsored practically all the amendments on the Order Paper. During the first reading, Mr. *Prior* gave the information that there were 50,000 women employed in mines in India of whom 23,000 were employed in coal mines and the rest in other mines.

Mr. *Joshi's* amendment to increase from four weeks to six the period of authorised absence before childbirth was opposed by Sir Henry Gidney and eventually rejected without a division. Mr. Joshi referred to the International Convention which provided six weeks and also to the custom in India of a woman not taking up outdoor work for 40 days after childbirth. The Government of India, he said, in fixing four weeks was only following the bad example of Provincial Governments. He complained that the Provincial and Central Governments between them formed a trade unionism or conspiracy of reactionaries (laughter) and were vying with each other to pull down each other instead of combining to do progressive things. Mr. *Lalchand Navalrai*, Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta* and Mr. *Abdul Rashid Chaudhury* supported Mr. *Joshi*.

Mr. *Prior* denied that there was any conspiracy or trade unionism and pointed out that although there were some countries including Germany which had ratified the International Convention referred to by Mr. Joshi, a considerable number of countries had maternity legislation which did not go even so far as the Government of India went. The type of women employed in mines, he said, must be considered. Were members of the House certain that the women concerned would welcome the deprivation of their right to work for six weeks ? Was the House justified in taking a decision of that kind without an industry ?

Mr. *M. S. Aney*, Leader of the House, intervened during the discussion on the provision that a manager, on his undertaking to defray the cost of medical examination, may require the woman to be examined by a qualified medical practitioner or midwife and if the woman refuses to submit to such examination or is certified on such examination as not pregnant or not likely to be delivered of a child within one month, he may refuse permission to her to be absent. Mr. *Aney* suggested that if the woman refused to be examined except by a woman doctor, the employer should not be entitled because of that refusal to deny permission. The employer should make provision for a woman doctor. (Voices : Hear, hear. You are speaking like an Opposition member. Come back to the Opposition benches).

Mr. *Prior* said that that point had struck the Government and a suitable provision would be made in the Council of State.

The House accepted a new clause moved by Sir *George Spence*, Secretary, Legislative Department, providing that rules might be framed to give a woman entitled to maternity benefit under the Act a bonus not exceeding in amount three rupees if she utilised the services of a qualified midwife or other trained person.

Mr. *Miller* (European Group) moved a proviso to this clause laying down that the obligation to pay the bonus shall not arise in case the employer provided the free services of a qualified midwife or other trained person in accordance with arrangements approved by the Central Government.

Mr. *Prior* accepted the proviso and pointed out that the Government's object was to encourage women workers to make more and more use of modern medical aid and the proviso did nothing to defeat that object.

The new clause with the proviso was passed. After further debate, the other clauses of the Bill were passed with a minor amendment moved by Mr. *Miller*. The Bill as amended was then passed without a division.

Bill to Amend Aligarh University Act

Hon. Mr. *N. R. Sarker* introduced a Bill to amend the Aligarh University Act so as to enable the University (1) to admit to its privileges a degree college for women which, it is proposed, to organise at Aligarh, and (2) to confer degrees on students passing the degree examinations from that college.

Sir A. H. Ghuznavi's Adjournment motion

The House devoted the rest of the sitting to a brief debate on Sir *A. H. Ghuznavi'z* adjournment motion to discuss the Government's failure "to protest against a statement made in the *Sunday News* of U. S. A. to the effect that the "blood-thirsty monster Hitler is not to be compared with Napoleon but with Mohammed who also wanted to subject mankind to the rule and domination of a few individuals. Hitler wants to do the same," Sir A. H. Ghuznavi warmly refuted the statement that by bringing forward this motion he had given the matter more publicity than it would otherwise have had. The difficulty, he said, was that the Government of India was deaf and blind. Hundreds of newspapers had published that in India. He could produce at least 50 newspapers throughout India which had published it. In view, however, of the assurance given by Mr. *Caroe*, he would withdraw the motion. The House then adjourned till the 7th. Nov.

Bill to Amend Civil Procedure Code

7th. NOVEMBER :—The House took up consideration of non-official Bills to-day. The Federal Court, tax on professions, trades, etc., Hindu and Muslim marriage laws and Hindu women's rights were among the varied subjects discussed. The House passed after a brief debate Dr. *P. N. Banerjea's* Bill to amend the Code of Civl procedure in appeals to the Federal Court and give that Court the powers necessary, in addition to those already possessed by it under the Government of India Act, to make all the rules necessary for regulating the pre-

sentation of appeals. The Bill had been reported upon by a Select Committee. The mover explained that the Bill would eliminate a great deal of the delay at present involved in bringing appeals from High Courts to the Federal Court. Sir *Sultan Ahmed*, Law Member, supported the Bill.

Tax on Professions Bill

Sir *Frederick James'* Bill as reported upon by a Select Committee to limit to a maximum of Rs. 50 per annum the amount payable in respect of any person by way of tax on professions, trades, callings or employment was then passed. In the course of the debate on the Bill, the mover explained, in reply to Mr. Jamnadas Mehta's query, that provinces in which a tax on professions, trades, callings, etc., did not at present exist had already been debarred by a Parliamentary amendment to the Government of India Act from levying such a tax in any case beyond the Rs. 50 limit. These provinces were not, therefore, affected by the Bill. Sir *Jeremy Raisman*, Finance Member, supporting the Bill called attention to the point made by the mover that in the case of provinces not mentioned in the schedule, the Bill took nothing away form them which had not already been taken away by the Government of India Act as it stood now. (The provinces mentioned in the schedule are Bengal, U. P. and C. P.). Sir *Henry Gidney*. Prof. *Bannerjea* and Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta* supported the Bill.

Bill To Amend Special Marriage Act

Dr. *G. V. Deshmukh* (Congress) moving circulation of his Bill to amend the Special Marriage Act, 1872, explained that the Bill aimed at giving those Hindus who had married according to the Hindu Law, the choice of having their marriage registered if they so desired. He claimed that the measure represented an attempt to absorb and assimilate modern ideas of social justice. The *Law Member* indicated that the Government had no objection to circulation while Babu *Baijnath Bajoria*, claiming to represent orthodox opinion, strongly opposed it as an irreligious and ill-conceived thing. Dr. Deshmukh, he said, had come earlier in the session for one of his marriage bills, then divorced himself from the Assembly, and had again come back for marriage. (Laughter). *Sardar Sant Singh* was not convinced that modern Hindu society had advanced to the degree at which a Bill of this kind was called for. Sir *V. N. Chandavarkar* said he himself was married under the Special Marriage Act and still did not think that it had made him irreligious, as Mr. Bajoria thought. He referred to difficulties such as inheritance and succession of children born before this legislation came into force. Dr. *Deshmukh's* motion was agreed to.

The House also agreed to the circulation of Mr. *Govind V. Deshmukh's* Bill to make provisions in regard to entry, residence, the acquisition, holding or disposal of property, franchise, holding of public office, or the carrying on of any occupation, trade, business or profession in British India by persons domiciled in British possessions on a basis of reciprocity.

Shariat Law

Qazi Muhammad Kazmi's Bill to amend the Muslim Law (Shariat) Application Act, 1937, was sent for circulation. Section 2 of the Act, it is explained, prescribes that Muslim personal law will apply to all cases enumerated therein in preference to any custom and usage to the contrary. Section 3 of the Act goes further and provides that if the declaration prescribed therein is made by a Muslim, then the Muslim personal law will apply to "adoption, wills and legacies" also. The two sections are quite independent. No declaration before the prescribed authority is required for the applicability of either Section 2 or Section 5. But the words used in Section 3 are somewhat ambiguous. They are: "Any person who satisfies the prescribed authority.....may by a declaration.....declare that he desires to obtain the benefit of this Act." What is really meant is "desires to obtain the benefit of the provisions of this section." The use of the word 'Act' is misleading and some courts have rejected applications under Section 5 on the ground that they are premature as the prescribed authority has not yet been appointed by the Provincial Government and no declaration has been made before it. It is clear from the Act itself that it was not the intention of the Legislature. Hence the amendment proposed in the Bill.

Introduction of other Bills

Dr. *Deshmukh* introduced a Bill to make provision for the restoration of the Buddha Gaya Temple and its premises to Buddhists and for the better management

of the same. Prof. *Banerjea* introduced his Bill to confer supplemental powers on the Federal Court, and Mr. *Kazmi* his two Bills, one further to amend the Code of Criminal Procedure and the other further to amend the Indian Penal Code. The House then adjourned till the 10th.

INCOME-TAX AMEND. BILL

10th. NOVEMBER :—The proposal to tax a man's income in British India at a rate applicable to the total of his income both in British India and in Indian States was the main subject of criticism when the House took up discussion of Sir *Jeremy Raisman's* Bill to amend the Income-tax Act as reported by the Select Committee.

Prof. Bannerjee and Mr. *Bajoria* attacked this provision, Prof. Bannerjee denouncing it as an admixture of two different bases. "If," he said, "you are taxing on the remittance basis, why should you, in fixing the rate of tax, take into account the assessee's income accruing in an Indian State but not brought into British India?" Mr. Bajoria, while considering the Bill a greatly improved one and on the whole a good measure, took the example of a man who had an income of Rs. 50,000 in British India and Rs. 5,000 in an India State and asked why he should be assessed in British India at the rate applicable to an income of Rs. 55,000, although the sum of Rs. 5,000 was not brought into British India.

Sir *Narayan Chandavarkar* felt that the troubles of the assessee dit not end with legislation : they often began with it. The Finance Member should not think that his task ended with the enactment of this legislation. The Central Board of Revenue and the Indian States authorities should sit together and provide a machinery for adjusting differences of opinion : only then would real relief be given to assessees.

Sir *Cowasji Jehangir* said that companies who had investments in Indian States and brought profits to British India every year would get no relief under the Bill. When the income was brought to British India and was taxed there, the assessee had a claim for relief from double income-tax. But refund of money from Indian States took a long time, if it could be secured at all. If an assessee had trouble in getting refund from Indian States, he thought, the Government of India should intervene and see that the refund was obtained promptly.

Mr. *Chapman Mortimer*, on behalf of the European Group, welcomed the Bill, which, he said, removed ambiguities and defects, benefited those with income in Indian States and fortified the Government of India against loss of revenue to Indian States. He welcomed, in particular, the new provision giving relief from the hardship which would be incurred if income accruing in an Indian State and once taken into account for rate purposes in the year accrual were again to be taken into account for rate purposes in the year of remittance into British India.

Sir *Jeremy Raisman* gave the assurance that the Government were fully conscious of the difficulties and hardships of assessees who were State subjects and who found themselves liable to the tax both in British India and Indian States ; but he reminded the House that the Government of India could not take away from the States the right to levy taxation within their jurisdiction. All that he could say was that the Government of India's influence was constantly being used in directions open to them to prevent assessees from being subjected to undue inconvenience and harassment. He could not go into the question of the relations between the Government of India and Indian States, but he assured them that even individual cases were pursued by the Government of India and that they did do their best as far as possible and were continuing to devote their attention to the question of putting these troublesome matters on a satisfactory basis. One of the most important amendments made in the Bill was directed towards that object. It would not be possible to go further. Although he contemplated that they should decline to enter into double income-tax relief arrangements with States which trenched on British Indian fiscal rights to an unwarrantable extent or to a greater extent than the British Indian system of taxation trenched on theirs, he did not know whether it was possible to demand that every part of their legislation should correspond with ours. As regards the question raised by Mr. *Bajoria*, there was a principle involved, namely, that a man should pay tax according to his total income and the State could not be expected to deal with a man purely on the basis of a small income if he was known to be a man of considerable resources.

Mr. *Bajoria* moved an amendment, the effect of which, he said, was to provide that an assessee having income in an Indian State as well as in British

India should be assessed in British India at a rate applicable to the income arising in British India. After some discussion, the amendment was negatived without a division. The House also rejected Mr. Bajoria's further amendment with regard to the Collector's powers for the recovery of arrears of income-tax. The Bill, as reported by the Select Committee, was passed without an amendment.

Madras Port Trust Bill

Sir *Andrew Clow's* Bill to amend the Madras Port Trust Act as reported by the Select Committee passed the first reading stage after Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta's* motion to recommit the Bill to the Select Committee had been ruled out.

Mr. Mehta's amendment sought to remove the representation given to the Madras Trades' Association on the Port Trust and give the seat to the Madras Piecegoods Merchants' Association. Mr. Mehta declared that his amendment was an acid test on the sincerity of the European representatives' claim to want to live on terms of equality with Indians. The Madras Trades' Association, he said, had no real claim to representation on the Port Trust. Eight shop-keepers in the City of Madras had combined to form an association and because they were Europeans, representation for them was to be given, whereas the Piecegoods' Association which had had a representative on the port Trust for a long time was being deprived of it. He referred to the statement that the Madras Trades' Association had occasionally been represented by an Indian. An Indian elected by Europeans, he declared, was only a European with a black face; he would be a black European and not an Indian at all; he would carry out the dictates of the Europeans who elected him.

Excess Profits Tax Amendment Bill

The House next took into consideration Sir *Jeremy Raisman's* Bill to amend the Excess Profits Tax Act, as reported upon by the Select Committee. In the course of the debate on the clauses, Mr. *Bajoria* moved an amendment with the intention of giving retrospective effect to the provision in the Bill that moneys borrowed from a bank, as well as moneys obtained from certain other sources, should be taken as capital employed in the business. Mr. Bajoria pointed out that when the original Act was under discussion, it was argued that the provision that only moneys borrowed from a bank or raised by the issue of debentures should be taken as capital employed in the business did not go far enough. It was pointed out that a large number of companies and persons were financed by managing agents or by deposits from private persons. That argument did not appeal to the Government at that time, but since then, they had accepted it and incorporated it in the Bill. He asked them to extend that principle and give effect to it from the beginning of the Act, instead of after March, 1941. Mr. *Hussainbhai Lalji*, *Sir Cowasji Jehangir*, *Sir V. N. Chandavarkar* and Prof. *Bannerji* supported the amendment, Sir Cowasji pointing out that he would welcome the amendment, even if some assessees might lose by retrospective effect being given. Mr. *Chapman Mortimar* opposed the amendment. *Sir Jeremy Raisman* said he found it impossible to see any point of principle in giving retrospective effect to the amendment proposed in the Bill with regard to the treatment of different kinds of borrowed capital. If the demand was pressed that every concession that the Government made was to be given retrospective effect, he said, it would be only to induce considerable hesitation and nervousness in the Government in coming forward with amendments giving concessions, even though the Government might feel they were concessions which, within reasonable limits, might be given. If the demand for retrospective effect was right in this case why should it not be right to give retrospective effect to the amendment made in the last session, by which 66⅔, instead of the original 50 per cent of excess profits should be paid as tax? How would Sir Cowasji like that? The amendment was negatived without a division. The House also rejected without a division Sir Cowasji Jehangir's further amendment seeking to add an explanation that transactions which the assessee could have reasonably and bonafide effected if the Act had not been in force should be excluded from the category of transactions the main purpose of which might be held to be to avoid or reduce liability to Excess Profits Tax. *Sir Cowasji Jehangir* made an effort to provide for an appeal to the High Court from the appellate tribunal, in cases in which the assessee had been held to have effected transactions designed to avoid or reduce liability to tax under the Act. The House divided on the amendment and rejected it by 34 votes to 16. Further debate on the Bill was adjourned.

INDIA AND THE ATLANTIC CHARTER

12th. November :—The House continued the debate on Mr. *Abdur Rashid Chaudhury's* resolution recommending the application of the Atlantic Charter to India and passed it without a division, Government members not opposing.

In the course of the debate, Dr. *R. D. Dalal*, opposing the resolution, reminded the House that although Mr. *Churchill* had said that the declaration would not apply to India, he had not stated that the pledges given to India had disappeared or no longer stood. Dominion Status, declared Dr. *Dalal*, would exist automatically if certain required conditions were present. When the various political elements were agreed on the kind of constitution under which they were prepared to live and if the minorities were satisfied with the conditions under which they were expected to live, then the country would have secured Dominion Status, for the simple reason that the British Government would have neither the power nor the desire to reject or resist that demand.

Mr. *N. M. Dumasia*, also speaking against the resolution, declared that it was the Congress and the Muslim League which stood in the way of Dominion Status. He asserted that if India were given independence at this stage, there would be civil war. If India wanted self-government in the near future, the Congress must actively help the Government in the present war.

Mr. *A. C. Datta* supporting the resolution, pointed out that there was no ground for controversy over the resolution as worded. It merely made a recommendation to the Governor-General to take steps to give effect in the case of India also to the Atlantic Chater. Controversies on the question whether the Charter was applicable to India or not, whether the Viceroy's declaration of August, 1940, was or was not similar to the Atlantic Charter were irrelevant.

Rao Saheb Sivaraj recalled the saying that when a promise made which we knew was not likely to be kept, we said : "write it in water." Remembering this, it was unfortunate, he said, that the Charter was entered into in mid-ocean (laughter). He could not, however, imagine that persons placed as Mr. *Churchill* and Mr. *Roosevelt* were, in constant danger from enemy forces, were in a fit state of mind, unless they were supermen, to give a declaration of any real practical consequence. Such promises as they made were like those which a Banya caught in the hands of dacoits might make to those who tried to rescue him. It was futile to expect any good from the Charter and he asked the mover to withdraw his resolution. After Mr. *A. R. Chaudhury* had replied, the resolution was passed without a division.

REPATRIATION OF STERLING DEBT

The House thereafter passed without a division, the Government not objecting, Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta's* resolution recommending that in any fresh scheme of repatriation of India's sterling debt, care should be taken to see that the cost of such repatriation on Indian revenues is not unduly heavy. The resolution as moved by Mr. Mehta contained the words at the end : "As was the case in the last scheme." Mr. Mehta, moving it, gave figures which, he said, showed that the total loss to India in respect of the last repatriation scheme amounted to Rs. 35 crores. This, he said, included the amount of the discount of £ 11 millions paid when raising these sterling loans and Rs. 20 crores due to the failure to buy these stocks at the lowest point of the market and due to the Government's open market operations. Mr. Mehta declared that it was really England who wanted the money for her own war needs and therefore, as creditor, should have foregone a part of the money, because she was getting it back earlier than she should. Mr. Mehta, however, did not want to quarrel with the past, but wanted to make suggestions for the future. He suggested that the rate for future repatriation should be the mean between the rate in 1939, namely 82 and the rate to-day, namely 99. This would be 90 and repatriation should take place at that rate. He also wanted a portion of the existing accumulation of sterling balances to India's credit in England should be used to buy the company-managed railway securities as also Port Trust sterling securities and to transplant to India plant and machinery for the production of war materials for the Middle East and the Far East. Such transplantation, he said, would result in more efficient production, because the danger of and of the dislocation caused by bombings would be less in India : it would also lead to greater industrialisation of the country. Mr. Mehta also suggested the appointment of a small Committee of the House to go into all the proposals he had made and also the proposals

that gold should not henceforth be allowed to go out of India but should be purchased here so that our currency position might be strengthened.

Sir *Jeremy Raisman* said that the mover had considerably misdirected the House, but all the same, he would have no objection to the resolution but for the last few words. He was entirely unprepared to admit that the repatriation scheme carried out in the course of this year was done at an unduly heavy cost to India. He refuted the suggestion that the discount paid in loan transactions represented a loss. The contract entered into between the Government and the bond-holder was a solemn one and it was immoral to deprive the bond-holder of the loan at any time or at any price that the Government liked. These, he said, were loans held not entirely by the bloated capitalist in the City of London ; a considerable portion of the holders were Indians and important Indian institutions. Referring to the point made by Mr. *Mehta* that advantage should have been taken of the lower price levels, the Finance Member explained that, because the Government of India could open the subject with His Majesty's Government, they had to be in possession of the necessary sterling. It was all very well to say that the necessary sterling was there, but it must be remembered that it was part of the certain banking structure of this country that there should be a certain proportion of sterling in England in order to maintain the stability of India's Currency. That proportion of sterling was no more available for purposes such as Mr. Mehta had in mind than, say, the gold in the Issue Department of the Reserve Bank. The question of purchase earlier did not, therefore, arise. The price of an article at a time when one did not have the money to buy it was entirely irrelevant. As sterling came into the Government of India's hands, they pursued the policy of open market purchases. It was ordinary procedure. If the Government of India had the whole thing in their power they could have immediately issued a requisition order but they were engaged in discussions with His Majesty's Government. Even so, it was surprising how small was the movement of prices in the period from the date on which sterling was available to the Government of India to undertake the transaction until the transaction was actually through. He quoted figures in support of the contention that between August, 1939, and February, 1941, the prices of various stocks on the respective dates of acquisition had gone up between three quarters of a point to slightly over two points, while in one case the purchase price was actually a little lower than before. Although the upward movements of prices had the effect of costing India something, there was nothing extraordinary or abnormal. Even if we had the power ourselves to put this transaction through the moment we wished to do so, we would not have saved a great deal. In relation to the magnitude of the transaction, the loss was not large. In a transaction of £ 180 millions, the question of a million or two more was not of vital importance. The Finance Member contested the statement that if India were a free country we would have done something different. He claimed that this transaction had been carried out in a manner which was in our favour and which redounded to the great advantages of India and His Majesty's Government exercised their powers in a manner highly favourable to India. He concluded by quoting from writers in the British Press who had strongly criticised the British Government for exercising their power at the time it was exercised in a manner favourable to India. One writer had said that the Stock Exchange characterised the transaction as "sharp practice".

Mr. *Hussainbhai Lalji* agreed with the Finance Member that the transaction had on the whole been fair to India. He supported the demand for transplanting plant and machinery from England to India. Prof. *Banerji* urged the Finance Member to accept the proposal for the appointment of a committee to go into the question fully. Mr. *Chapman Mortimer* pointed out that by the repatriation, India had effected a reduction of £ 3 million in the payments made by her annually in respect of sterling loans. Sir *Cowasji Jehangir* thought that both the governments had benefited from the transaction and only the stock-holders in both countries had suffered.

Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta*, replying, declared that having regard to the high rate of interest paid on the loans, the heavy discounts paid were unjustified. He gave the instance of a loan of seven and a half millions at 4½ per cent, on which the discount was 8½ per cent. He quoted from the Finance Member's budget speech this year which, he said, showed that the real object of the transaction was to help England to prosecute the war. Mr. Mehta reiterated that it was England who wanted the money and should, therefore, have foregone a part of the money. As regards the structure of the Central Bank necessitating the

holding of sterling assets in England, he said that structure was not immutable; it could be altered in the interests of the country if the Government wanted. He contended that apart from the past debts for which she was paying interest, India, considering her annual payments, was normally a creditor country in nine years out of ten and it was unnatural that a creditor country should keep enormous balances in a country from which she had to receive payments. Supposing India was in the same position as America was, the British people would have been forced to liquidate their securities in this country and pay in this country's currency, and the Indian taxpayer would not have been forced to pay for the transaction. Mr. Mehta agreed to the deletion of the last few words to which the Finance Member had objected namely, "as was the scheme in the last scheme." The House passed the resolution without these words and adjourned.

EXCESS PROFITS TAX AMEND. BILL

13th. NOVEMBER:—The Assembly passed to-day *Sir Jeremy Raisman's* bill to amend the Excess Profits Tax Act as reported upon by the select committee. Three amendments were attempted by Sir *Cowasji Jehangir*, supported by Mr. *Bajoria* and Mr. *Hussainbhai Lalji* but all the three failed. One of these sought to remove the provision in schedule one, giving power to the excess profits tax officer to allow deduction, which he considers reasonable and necessary, in respect of expenses in computing the profits of any changeable accounting period, provided that no disallowance under this rule shall be made by the excess profits tax officer unless he has obtained the prior authority of the commissioner of excess profits tax. Sir *Cowasji Jehangir* and his supporters argued that these powers proposed to be given to the E. P. T. officer were excessive as well as unnecessary because the existing powers were sufficient to deal with attempts at evasion of the tax. Mr. *Ayers*, excess profits tax adviser, and Sir *Jeremy Raisman*, Finance Member, in reply, explained that the actual working of the Act had shown the need for the provision and pointed out that the Government's bonafides had been proved by the fact that Sir *Ziauddin's* amendment seeking to give the Government the powers now sought to be taken was opposed by the Government in the last session. The amendment was rejected without a division. Sir *Cowasji Jehangir* moved a further amendment to give an assessee the right of appeal to the High Court from the appellate tribunal if he was dissatisfied with the decision of the excess profits tax officer under the above provision. The amendment was negatived by 76 votes to 20.

During the third reading, the *Finance Member* reminded members that when they pressed the Government to make amendments in order to remove certain hardships and improve the administration of the tax from their point of view, they must realize that the Government on their side were reviewing the administration of the tax and the loopholes in the existing system; that the Government would not always come forward with jam and no pill; and that the Government were anxious to be fair to the assessee but they must be fair also to the general interests of the country.

Sir *Cowasji Jehangir* said that the phrase used by the Finance Member earlier that 'the assessee is a trustee on behalf of the Government', because the Government had a large share in the profits had been radioed far and wide. Sir Cowasji contested that expression, and said: 'The assessee is not a trustee on behalf of the Government. He is a trustee on behalf of the share-holders. This phrase of the Finance Member savours very much of national socialism and communism. (Finance Member—Oh). We have not yet reached that stage in our history when the Government can claim that all the business in India is nationalized and belongs to the Government. The Government are collectors of taxes; it is their duty to see that they get their proper tax; beyond that they have no right in the business. It is for the assessee to see that the business is managed in the interests of the share-holders'.

Mr. *Hussainbhai Lalji* admitted that the bill was in the assessees' interest but he wished that the Finance Member had accepted the suggestions made to keep a check on the activities of the department's officers. The Bill was passed without a division.

LOCAL TAXATION OF RAILWAY PROPERTY

The Assembly took into consideration Sir *Andrew Clow's* bill to regulate the extent to which railway property shall be liable to taxation imposed by an authority within a province as reported upon by the select committee. During

discussion of the clauses, the House passed an amendment moved by *Prof. Banerji* to the effect that in case of dispute between the local administration and the railways, regarding assessment, the adjudicating authority should be 'a person who is or has been a judge of a High Court or a district judge', instead of an officer appointed by the Government. The Government accepted the amendment. The debate on *Dr. Bannerji's* further amendment to the same clause had not concluded when the House rose for the day. The amendment was to the effect that the adjudicating authority shall fix the assessment having regard to 'the services rendered to the railway', instead of 'having regard to all the circumstances of the case' as provided in the bill. Mr. *A. N. Chattopadhyaya* proposed that Dr. Bannerji's amendment be altered to provide that the adjudicating authority shall fix the assessment having regard to all the circumstances of the cases 'including the question of services rendered to the railways'. Mr. *Chattopadhyaya* suggested the alteration in order to meet criticisms made earlier by Mr. Jamnadas Mehta that the words in Dr. Bannerji's amendment would restrict the terms of reference to the adjudicating authority. Dr. *Bannerji* explained that he had no objection to Mr. Chattopadhyaya's amendment but he had come to an understanding with the Government with regard to his own two amendments and he felt bound to stand by that understanding. Mr. *Hussainbhai Lalji*, Mr. *Abdur Rashid Chaudhury* and Sir *Cowasji Jehangir*, opposing Dr. *Bannerji's* amendment, strongly criticised secret understandings between the Government and members. (Prof. Bannerjee—Why secret?) Sir *Cowasji Jehangir*, contended that Dr. Bannerji's amendment would make a vital difference in the bill inasmuch as it altered the terms of reference to the adjudicating authority as provided in the original bill which had been accepted by the select committee. Sir Cowasji had not finished his speech when the House adjourned.

14th. NOVEMBER :—The Assembly accepted an agreed amendment to provide that the adjudicating authority in the case of a dispute between a local administration and railways, shall fix the assessment having regard to "the services rendered to the railways and all other relevant circumstances of the case." The Bill was passed without further amendment.

The House then passed Sir *A. Ramaswami Mudaliar's* Bill further to amend the Indian Companies Act of 1913 and his Bill further to amend the Trades Marks Act of 1940, and also Sir *Andrew Clow's* motion to refer to a Select Committee the Bill further to amend the Motor Vehicles Act of 1939.

Industrial Research Fund

Sir *A. Ramaswami Mudaliar* moved his resolution recommending that a Fund, called the Industrial Research Fund, for the purpose of fostering industrial development in this country be constituted and that provision be made in the budget for an annual grant of Rs. 10 lakhs to the Fund for a period of five years. Sir A Ramaswami Mudaliar moved his resolution recommending that a Fund, called the Industrial Research Fund, for the purpose of fostering industrial development in this country be constituted and that provision be made in the budget for an annual grant of Rs 10 lakhs to the Fund for a period of five years. Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar explained in detail the valuable work done by the Board of Scientific and Industrial Research during the last eighteen months and said that the Government considered that it was time that a separate Fund should be constituted for scientific and industrial research to place it on an independent and permanent footing. The Board was constituted, the Commerce Member added, from the sum of Rs. 5 lakhs made available by the Government for purposes of industrial and scientific research and they had been able to secure the services of an eminent research worker, Sir *Santi Swarap Bhatnagar* as the Director of the Board. He and his associates all over the country had since been working at various research schemes, some of them capable of immediate application in industry in connection with the war, while others would be valuable in the long run to the industrial improvement of India. Even those schemes which would be useful to the war effort now would later contribute to the general industrial progress of the country. The results of these researches were also made available to private industrialists in the country for application on a practical scale, and industrialists had not been slow to take advantage of these. The

speaker mentioned some of the branches of research which had been applied in industry, such as the production of laminated paper boards, substitute for glass, oil, silk, etc. The Government had already received royalties to the extent of over Rs. 1 lakh and more recurring sums would be coming to Government as production began. A third of the amount so accruing from royalties would be paid as honorarium to the scientists engaged in research and would be divided equally among them, great or small. In these circumstances, the Government thought that the time had come when the work of this Board should be placed on a permanent basis. Sir Shantiswarup Bhatnagar had been employed on a permanent basis and Government thought it was essential that a Fund should be constituted on a more or less permanent basis to continue these researches. As far as possible this should be constituted as a separate fund which would be administered by a board of trustees, consisting of some officials and prominent scientists and industrialists. Sir. A. Ramaswami Mudaliar went on to point out the wide scope of the research work carried on at present by the Board and detailed the various branches of research which were in charge of sub-committees such as the Vegetable Oil Committee, the Fertilisers Committee, Drugs Committee, the Plastics Committee and the Sulphur Committee. The Vegetable Oil Committee had, for instance, recently helped to solve the problem of absorbing in the country itself the 600 or 700 thousand tons of groundnut which could not be exported and this groundnut had now been utilised by industry within the country. He alluded to an interesting line of research now in progress, as a result of which coffee seeds were to be used for the production of plastics. He envisaged the possibility one day of drinking coffee in cups made of coffee seeds.

The Commerce Member referred to the misapprehension caused by the statement made elsewhere on the question of the production of internal combustion engines in India. It was a fact, he said, that these engines had been produced for some time in the country by one or two private firms and also by the Railway Workshops but they were internal combustion engines which used not petrol but oil. Internal combustion engines in which petrol was used had not been produced in this country, as far as the Government's information went. Under the auspices of the Scientific and Industrial Research Board, a committee under the chairmanship of Mr. *J. C. Mahindra* had been set up to examine the question of producing this class of internal combustion engines and from the latest indications, it was hoped that within a short time the committee would be able to complete its investigations and tell India and the world that these engines could be produced in this country. With reference to war industries, the Commerce Member proceeded, India had produced armoured plate which had been acknowledged by experts to be better than that produced by many industrially developed countries. This was particularly gratifying when one remembered that the papers in India were so full of the development of industries in Australia that one felt small about India's own development. It was good to have the consolation that with reference to some articles at least, India was miles ahead of Australian products. The Commerce Member concluded by paying a tribute to the work of Sir *S. S. Bhatnagar* and the numerous scientists from all over the country and their assistants. He should like to convey the congratulations of the House on the large output of these scientists and on the practical way in which they had solved many of the problems presented to them. (More cheers). To-day, he believed, that these scientists were laying the foundation firmly and solidly of an institution which had infinite potentialities and by agreeing to the constitution of the Fund, the House would be laying the foundations of a great industrial expansion in the country. (Cheers).

Two amendments to the resolution were moved. Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta* wanted to add the words "with special reference to the establishment of heavy industries" and Dr. *Bannerje* asked for an increase of Government's contribution to Rs. 25 lakhs.

Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta*, while he welcomed and appreciated the efforts made by the Commerce Member for the industrial progress of the country, declared that all industries, big or small, really depended on machinery which at present was being imported from foreign countries. He was not moving his amendment in any spirit of rivalry or opposition, but he merely sought to lay special emphasis on the need for developing the heavy industries.

Dr. *Bannerje* asserted that the sum of Rs. 10 lakhs, which was provided for in the resolution, was far too inadequate for purposes of all-round research. He referred to the example of countries like the United Kingdom, the United States

of America and Germany, which he said, were spending huge sums every year on research, and pleaded for an increase in the Government's contribution.

Sir *A. Ramaswami Mudaliar*, replying to the debate, explained the details of the arrangement by which the royalties accruing from the utilisation of the results of research were distributed and stated that the share of the scientist responsible for a particular scheme of research was 33⅓ per cent of the royalties arising from the utilisation of the results obtained by him. He made it clear that no scheme of research would be shut out from the scope of the Board of Scientific and Industrial Research.

Referring to the complaint that the amount of the Fund was small, the Commerce Member tried to dispel any misunderstanding that the proposed fund was to be used for industrial development. That was not the object. It was to be used for industrial research. If industrial development was thought of he had no doubt that crores of rupees would be made available when necessary. He expressed the hope that he would be in a position soon to announce to the House the handsome contributions received from industrialists in the country for the development of research. The amendments were withdrawn and the resolution was passed without a division. The House then adjourned till the 17th.

DEBATE ON INDO-CEYLON DELEGATIONS' REPORT.

17th. NOVEMBER :—The joint report of the delegations from India and Ceylon was discussed in the Assembly today. Mr. *M. S. Aney*, Overseas Member, moving consideration of the report, briefly traced the circumstances in which the negotiations which had broken down in Delhi in February, 1940, were resumed in Ceylon in June, 1941, and pointed out that Government had published the report drawn up as a result of these resumed conversations and had placed it before the House for discussion in order to ascertain the views of the House as well as of the different public organizations concerned. In a matter like this Government, he said, were anxious to know what exactly were the modifications which the people wanted in the interests of Indians and Ceylon, before the proposals were embodied in an agreement between the two countries. The Government of India, he made it clear, had not formed any opinion on these proposals.

He would not himself analyse the proposals but would make two suggestions. Firstly, an agreement was always a matter of compromise. Two parties, if they wished to come to an understanding, must approach the problem before them in a spirit of give and take. It was for the House to say whether the departure made from the original position was of such a nature as to involve a sacrifice of principle or was such that the main features of the principle had not been lost sight of. Secondly, it was necessary that the relations between a small State like Ceylon and a big State like India should continue to be cordial and friendly. He did not mean that we should avoid unfriendliness at any cost : but the spirit should be to make an approach to these proposals with a view to maintaining the friendly relations that had existed between the countries from time immemorial remembering that, as the great epic of Ramayana showed, the quarrel between the two countries was with a view to bringing about peace, harmony and cordial relations. We had to take note, he said, of the nationalistic ideas growing in Ceylon whose people in their zeal for service of their country felt that none but Ceylonese could be there. But we should not succumb to territorial or racial patriotism. The Government of India expected the House not to look at these proposals merely as a matter of sentiment but to approach them in a statesmanlike spirit and furnish them with constructive proposals to enable them to bring about an honourable agreement with Ceylon (Cheers).

Three amendments were moved. One by Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta*, Congress Nationalist, declared that the joint report was a violation of the undertakings and promises assuring to Indians the full rights of citizenship and recommended to the Governor-General in Council not to implement the proposals but to carry on, if necessary, further negotiations in order to remove the discriminatory features in consultation with the interests concerned and to the satisfaction of the Assembly.

Dr. *P. N. Bannerjee's* (Congress Nationalist) amendment expressed the opinion that the report was unsatisfactory in many respects and recommended that the proposals should not be given effect to and that further negotiations be conducted in order to arrive at a satisfactory settlement and that the results of these negotiations be placed before the Assembly.

An amendment moved by Mr. *Hussainbhai Laljee*, Independent, expressed the opinion that Indians in Ceylon on the prescribed date of agreement and

those who have been residents in Ceylon, within a specified period before the date of the agreement, should have freedom of entry into Ceylon and no regional and occupational restrictions should be imposed upon them and that they should be entitled to full rights of citizenship on completion of the prescribed period: that for the future, provisions be made for entry and occupations so that the trade interests of Indians are safeguarded and that unskilled labourers permitted to emigrate are assured of freedom of movement and choice of employment and opportunity to acquire full citizenship rights.

Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta*, commending his amendment, declared that not one of the proposals in the report was satisfactory and he was sure that the country would not accept the report without considerable modification. Referring to the proposal regarding right of entry and re-entry, he said that under this some of our best public men and scientists would be undesirable for departure to Ceylon unless they carried Rs. 5,000 with them. Even people with independent means would lose their right of re-entry if continuous absence from Ceylon for more than 12 months could be proved against them. The result would be to set in motion a process of attrition by which the million Indians in Ceylon, at present, would, in due course be largely extinguished and only those who had the domicile of origin would remain. The fundamental point, he declared, was that only those with a domicile of origin were to be treated as Ceylonese and that those with a domicile of choice, permanent settlers or holders of permit, A. or B. were non-Ceylonese and were subject to restrictions. He went on to criticise the provisions regarding franchise status, holding of lands, employment and occupation, registration and revision of the proposals. In the interest of Labour alone, he declared, the Government of India should have taken a far more courageous attitude. The Government of India Delegation had been more apologetic than energetic in this and other matters. They did not go as representatives of this great country but in a spirit of "How much shall we give up.' The Government's policy in the last two years, he asserted, was one of strategic withdrawal which was ultimate defeat. The proposals were worthy of the present Ceylon Government and a bit unworthy of the British Commonwealth, and of the Government of India and he urged the 'reconditioned' Executive Council not to be apologetic or talk of old ties or of traditional culture. Until the Government got new proposals and placed them before the House, he would continue to oppose this retrograde, insulting and expropriatory report.

Mr. *Mehta's* amendment was rejected by 15 votes to 12. The Government members did not take part in the voting, in accordance with Mr. Aney's announcement in the course of his reply to the debate.

Sir Frederick James welcomed the Overseas Member's statesman-like speech and hoped that adequate steps would be taken to see that the speech was fully reported in the Ceylon press. The report, he said, represented a decided improvement in the relations between the two countries and for that one must be grateful. He paid a public tribute to the present Governor of Ceylon. He had had opportunities of knowing in some detail the work which his Excellency had undertaken during the summer months in order to bring about a better state of affairs in the relations between the two countries. He suggested that the report of the Standing Emigration Committee of which he was a member and which had considered the report should be placed before the House. He also wished that the Assembly should not be asked to pronounce a verdict on the report but that it should express its views and that parties should have endeavoured to arive at a common expression of views.

He referred to the discretion given to the Ceylon Government to refuse entry in the case of persons employed in positions of confidence or in specialised work and said that though the discretion was limited, that was a vague expression and must be amended. As regards the position of the children of those who were in possession of a certificate of the permanent settlement, his party had agreed that such children should as a matter of course be granted domiciliary rights and should not be required to establish a claim to such rights. In regard to the general paragraphs in part V of the report dealing with status, he said it was important that there should be some agreed declaration, that those who had taken out a domicile in Ceylon would be treated and be entitled to receive exactly the same rights as ordinary inhabitants of Ceylon.

Supporting Mr. Laljee's amendment, Sir *Henry Gidney* said that he had studied the Indo-Ceylon question from the Indian, Ceylonese and British points of view. 'My vision becomes blurred as I delve into the restrictions imposed on

Indians who have been resident there and the entry of Indians in the future', he said. The association between India and Ceylon was centuries-old, and he regretted that the Singhalese today wanted to break that link. Briefly tracing the history of the Indo-Ceylon problem, one of the fears held by Ceylon, he said, arose from the commanding position that Indians were said to have in the Ceylon Legislature. But, he pointed out, in a House of 58 members Indians had only two elected and one nominated seats. Indians did not have any dominating voice in politics. Yet, the Indian labourer was most necessary to Ceylon. Why then did Ceylon want to seve connections with India, he asked ? 'It is nothing but jealousy and prejudice. And are we going to be treated as social, industrial and political lepers in Ceylon, the same as we have suffered in Africa and are to do in Burma ?' Sir Henry Gidney declared that Indians in Ceylon had the right to claim the same rights as Englishmen claimed in India. With all respect to and admiration of Sir G. S. Bajpai, he felt that Sir Girja Shankar had rushed through the whole matter and used his persuasive powers in order to bring about a conclusion of the negotiations which at its best, could be called a compromise not a settlement.

Sir Henry Gidney insisted that the clause which stipulated that only Ceylonese, who had a domicile of origin in Ceylon, shall have the right to participate in the land development scheme and colonising schemes, should be altered to include persons and children of persons who had a permanent domicile in Ceylon. He also desired that definite provision must be made in the agreement that proposals from the government of Ceylon for the position of quotas shall be put into effect only after agreement between the two Governments had been reached. He said that he was opposed to all suggestions of retaliation and stressed the need for compromise in conclusion. Sir Henry Gidney suggested another meeting between the Ceylon and Indian delegations in the light of criticism made against the agreement.

The House then passed Mr. *Hussainbhoy Laljee's* amendment to Mr. *Aney's* motion.

Prof. Banerjee, speaking on his amendment, stressed the geographical, economic and ethnic affinities between Ceylon and India. He dealt in detail with the various provisions made in the agreement for the entry and re entry and domicile of Indians in Ceylon and said that the British Government, whenever there was any problem affecting the people of India and the peoples of other countries like Ceylon and Burma, had always been prepared to sacrifice the interests of India. It was incumbent, he said, on the Government of India to convey to the British Government and the people of Ceylon the strong disapproval of the House and the people of India of the agreement. Prof. *Banerjee's* amendment was withdrawn.

Mr. *G. V. Deshmukh* strongly criticized the Government of India's policy of appeasement on account of which they had gone on yielding more and more ground to Ceylon. He declared that it was no use talking about past ties with Ceylon and about such matters as defence of Ceylon. His Majesty's Government, he said, was primarily responsible for the administration of colony like Ceylon and he felt that His Majesty's Government had failed to help us over this matter. He asserted that the Government of India must refuse to take Ceylon's copra if the Ceylon Government refused to alter the provisions of the agreement suitably.

Khan Bahadur Shahban dwelt at length on India's contributions to the prosperity of Ceylon and criticized the various provisions of the agreement. He hoped that Mr. Aney would be able to persuade the Government of Ceylon to recognize Indians' just rights and privileges there and fresh negotiations would be conducted under more auspicious circumstances and an agreement, more in consonance with India's dignity, would be arrived at.

Sardar Sant Singh complained that the Government of India failed to take up a firm position. So far as the Government of Ceylon were concerned, he wanted to tell them that a time might come in these fast changing days when they might have a reunion. He would ask the Ceylon Government to consider the desirability of maintaining friendly relations with India even though it might land them in some economic difficulties.

Mr. *Hussainbhoy Laljee* declared that Indian labourers had once gone to Ceylon at the express request of the Ceylonese ; but if they now did not want them, the Government of India must seriously consider the question of finding employment for all Indian nationals in India itself and utilizing their experience and knowledge to develop India's own tea and coffee plantations. He wanted an assurance from the Government of India that they would do this and if any future request for emigrant labour was made by Ceylon, they should refuse to permit it. The Government should also refuse to take into India Ceylon's raw materials.

Mr. *M. A. Kazmi* strongly pleaded for equal treatment for Indians in all parts of the commonwealth. Why, he asked, had there been no talk of an agreement as to the position of the British people in Ceylon, or Burma or Canada ? Was there any agreement with regard to the recruiting of Australian officers for the Indian army ? The only way to solve the problem, he asserted, was by solving the whole question of mutual rights and liabilities or residents in the commonwealth. An agreement in which Indians were not given rights equal to those of the Ceylonese would not be accepted by India.

Closure was moved and accepted by 37 votes to 14.

Mr. Aney, replying to the debate, summarized some of the points in the report to which objection had been voiced in the course of the detate and said that these concluded the clause relating to discriminatory legislation. The view expressed in the course of the debate was that although the agreement provided for immunity from discriminatory legislation hereafter, that advantage was not a proper compensation for the discriminatory legislation already existing. The provision under which a permanent holder would lose his rights by 12 months' absence, was also objected to.

The clause on legislation, to which also exception had been taken, was, he said, optional in nature. Government, he reiterated, had an open mind and it was for the House to make up its mind on one of the three amendments. Government members would not vote. The House at this stage adjourned.

RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRESONERS

15th. NOVEMBER :—Mr. *N. M. Joshi*, moved this resolution recommending that steps should be taken in agreement with Provincial Governments for the immediate and unconditional release of prisoners detained in prison and for the removal of restrictions imposed on some persons regarding their movements or actions, where the detention or restriction was due to holding or expressing opinions which, in the opinion of the Government, were prejudicial to the conduct of the war, or on charges for the actions connected with industrial disputes, whether the detention or restriction was with or without trial under the Defence of India Act or under the ordinary law. Mr. Joshi said his resolution was of great importance and full of potentialities, if properly responded to, for the good of the country. The three classes of persons, whose release his resolution sought, were firstly, political prisoners, secondly Communists or revolutionaries who were merely suspected to be such, and thirdly, prisoners who had taken part either in the Kisan or labour movement. He estimated the number of satyagrahis and Congressmen who expressed opposition to war and were detained after trial as between 3,000 and 5,000. The Home Member had stated in reply to his question that the number of people detained without trial was more than 1,300 and the number of those who were not imprisoned but on whom restrictions had been imposed was about 2,000. Thus the number of people coming within the scope of the resolution was very large. Mr. Joshi observed that his reasons for asking for acceptance of the proposal made in his resolution were, firstly, the release of political prisoners was necessary in the interest of the fundamental right of civil liberty, justice fairplay and humanity, and secondly, it was necessary in the interest of political wisdom. Dwelling on the first set of reasons, Mr. Joshi referred to the number of peolpe dealt with under the Defence of the Realm Act in England and said that out of 1,500 thus dealt with, 600 had been given freedom on the advice of the Advisory Committee. The newspapers this morning reported that members of Parliament were working hard to secure the privilege of scrutiny by a judicial tribunal of those people who had been deprived of their liberty under the Defence of the Realm Act. In India, he said, there was no such safeguard. Mr. Joshi also referred to the fact that the Government of the North West Frontier Province did not imprison satyagrahis and no harm had come to that province. Speaking on the second set of reasons, Mr. Joshi said the greatest need of the country was peace, tranquillity, freedom from bitterness and discontent. The effort made by the Government to secure peace and tranquillity and contentment had failed in the past ; but he asked the Government to make another effort and even if that failed they must make further efforts. The Government might feel that this discontent had not affected their war effort but if the political deadlock was resolved, India's war effort would be multiplied several times.

Referring to Mr. Gandhi's statement, Mr. Joshi said, "I never sought Mahatma Gandhi's approval of my resolution. I did not expect Mahatma Gandhi to approve of my resolution. He has made it clear that satyagraha is intended

to achieve self-government and he will continue it until self-government is achieved. I do not take a tragic view of Mahatma Gandhi's statement. In my judgment Mahatma Gandhi is not opposed to the release of political prisoners. He holds they have been unjustly put in prison. How could he be opposed to their release? The very fact that he says the country will resent the release of only one section of prisoners shows that he expects the release not only of satyagrahis but others imprisoned without trial" It would not be enough, Mr. Joshi declared, if the Government of India merely released sayagrahis. He valued the freedom of the detenus and the Communists as much as he valued the freedom of satyagrahis and he hoped that the Government would accept his proposal.

Mr. *Lakshmi Kanta Moitra* moved an amendment to omit the words "in agreement with Provincial Governments". He was opposed to any resolution of the House which was qualified. With the proclamation issued by the Governor-General immediately after the outbreak of the war, the Central Legislature was empowered to make legislation in respect of all measures. The position was that Section 102 read with Section 113 of the Government of India Act made it perfectly clear that the Executive of the Central Government could take any measure they liked for the purposes of administration. The view that the Government of India was not competent to release all political prisoners was not sound. The speaker's view was that concurrence of or agreement with Provincial Governments in this matter was not necessary. It was a peculiar misfortune of legislators in this House that day after day they had to come to the Central Executive asking either for release of political prisoners or for amelioration of their conditions in jails. Referring to the "crimes" committed by the satyagrahis, Mr. Maitra said that two High Courts had held that the uttering of slogans alone was not a crime. It was the Central Government which was mainly responsible for detention of persons without trial, which was serious challenge to justice. These men in his opinion were philosophical anarchists without being guilty of any overt act. In conclusion, Mr. Maitra appealed to the Government to associate themselves with the people, shake off their prejudices and make a generous gesture. If this was done nothing would be lost.

Sir *Reginald Maxwell*, Home Member, intervening in the debate on Mr. N. M. Joshi,s resolution urging the release of political prisoners, said that the matter raised by the resolution was one in which provincial Governments were closely concerned and the resolution itself recognised this fact when it asked the Government to take steps in agreement with provincial Governments. Conditions were not the same in all provinces. Very far from it. A general agreement which the resolution postulated must in the nature of things take account of local differences and must require some time if it was to be reached at all. In these circumstances, the Home Member added, the Government were not in a position, as an immediate result of this debate, to anticipate the outcome of these consultations or at this stage to commit themselves or the provinces to any particular course of action. The whole matter needed further careful consideration. He was able to assure the House on behalf of the Government that this consideration would be given without unnecessary delay and in a sympathetic spirit. He hoped that in the light of this assurance Mr. Joshi would not think it necessary to press his resolution. Sir Reginald pointed out that whether in the case of persons convicted or detained, the Central Government would have direct authority to carry out the resolution only in areas under their control, nmely, in Chief Commissioner's provinces. The number of persons affected in this respect by this resolution constituted a small minority indeed. It was wrong to assume that the Central Government had the sole responsibility for the administration of the Defence of India Rules or for action, judicial or otherwise, taken thereunder. The Defence of India Act did not alter the structure of the Government of India or the division of authority and responsibility between the Central and provincial Governments. That the Central Government had passed legislation dealing with provincial subjects made no difference as regards allocation of executive authority after powers had been lawfully conferred. The Home Member went on to give a series of figures of persons covered by the resolution. The number of convicted persons in jail on October 1 was 7,216 under all the various Rules, including those dealing with non-political offences. The total number of persons detained under Rule 26 was 1,759. The House, he observed, would admit that these were not large figures after two years of war among a population of 400 millons and in a country in which not all persons see eye to eye with the Government. The resolution, he pointed out, would apply only to certain categories among

the numbers he had mentioned. These consisted of 6,148 persons convicted or detained in connection with the Civil Disobedience movement, about 1,300 other convicted persons, 95 other persons detained ; and 366 persons restricted for political activities. Of these about 200 persons were those whose release would have been within the executive authority of the Central Government if the resolution was accepted in full. The Home Member declared that no one had been or ever would be convicted or restricted merely on account of his holding certain opinions. In every case action had been taken for something more than the mere holding or expression of opinion. Liberty of speech was necessarily more limited in war than in peace. The State must claim the right to regulate individual liberty of speech in the interest of national survival. This principle applied to many activities other than speech. After quoting Mr. *Churchill's* observations on the necessary curtailment of liberties during the war, the Home Member reiterated it had always been recognised that the limitation of individual liberty was an unwelcome but necessary concomitant of war.

Sir *Reginald* went on to quote passages from Communist literature which declared that the war was an opportunity for which Communists were waiting and incited people to strikes, refusal to recruit or co-operate in the war effort and to a militant campaign of resistance so as to cripple "the war machine of imperialism." The object of the Communists, the Home Member declared, was not to find means of setting industrial grievances but foment strikes and keep them alive as long as possible. Even after Russia became our ally, the Communists continued to declare that the only way in which the Indian people could help in the war was in fighting for emancipation from imperialist domination ; and that their attitude remained what it was before. If there was any doubt, the revelation now made about Mr. *Subhas Bose* should convince everyone that the Government had to take every precaution against Fifth Column activity in this country. No Government could permit activities intended to obstruct the war effort and promote conditions of disorder in these critical days. He was sure that the Provincial Governments had used their powers with discrimination. It would be altogether wrong to assume that either the Central or the Provincial Governments had less regard for the principle of individual liberty than individuals in the House (cries of Oh. oh). No one would be kept under detention longer than was necessary. Some periodical examination of these cases was necessary, said the Home Member. Something must be left to the discretion of Provincial Governments which he was sure would give attention to this matter. The House might rest assured that the Government were concerned to see that the grounds for detention in every case should be adequate and should be re-examined by very high authorities at suitable intervals.

The Home Member then referred to the demand for liberty of speech by *Mahatma Gandhi* and the Viceroy's reply thereto and said that in the face of the demand supported by threat of civil disobedience the Government were bound to take the threat seriously and could not have allowed the movement to develop unchallenged up to a point at which the Congress would have gained complete liberty to interfere with the war effort. Political or any other motives could not be regarded as an extenuation of offences deliberately calculated to weaken the resistance of the country or impair or undermine its war effort. He was entitled to say that the policy pursued in dealing with these offences was not vindictive and the Government had not taken more action than was necessary to assert the vital principle involved. "It was largely due to the steady pursuit of that policy that we had the calm atmosphere in which to consider this resolution to-day", observed Sir Reginald. After giving the assurance that the question of release of political prisoners would receive careful consideration in consultation with the Provinces, the Home Member concluded by saying that he believed the country on the whole was tired of unrealities and only wanted to get on with the war. Those who had not surrendered their judgment to others, did not want the country to be stripped by the invading army and did not sympathise with those who, for whatever object, were adopting courses of action which, if successful, could only help Hitler.

After the debate in which Messrs *Deshmukh* and *S. Sant Singh* joined, Mr. *Joshi* withdrew his motion stating that he had no other course but to give more time for the Government to come to a decision as the Home Member had wanted. He hoped that the Government would come to the right decision. The Assembly then adjourned *sine die*.

The Bengal Legislative Assembly

Monsoon Session—Calcutta—28th. July to 18th. September 1941

Debate on Floud Commission's Report

The monsoon session of the Bengal Legislative Assembly commenced in Calcutta on Monday, the 28th. July 1941 in a very quiet atmosphere, dullness being the key-note of the day's proceedings The principal item of business of the day was the discussion ot the Floud Commission report, which failed to rouse the drooping spirit of the members as evidenced by too many gaps in the members' benches. The Congress party were conspicuous by their absence. Among the new members sworn in was Mr. *Ashutosh Lahiri*, the Hindu Mahasabha member who came to the House after inflicting a defeat to a Bosite candidate.

Sir *Bejoy Prosad Singh Roy*, in initiating the discussion on the Floud Commission report delivered a long speech detailing the recommendations of the Commission and also the report of the special officer, Mr. C. W. Gurner, who reviewed them. He did not give any indication as to the intentions of the Government with regard to the subject, for which he was attacked by Mr. *Jalaluddin Hashemy* of the Krishak Proja party. Mr. Hashemy tried to force the Government to show their hands and before Sir Bejoy Prosad started he raised a point of order that the Government must bring forward their proposals either in the form of a resolution or a Bill. His point of order was not however upheld.

Commission's Main Recommendations

The main recommendations of the Commission may be divided into four heads namely (1) state acquisition of all zamindaries and rent-receving interests above the lowest grade of cashpaying under-raiyats; (2) imposition of agricultural income tax; (3) tenancy reforms; and (4) measures for improving the economic condition of the cultivators. Of these the first two are of primary importance and the other two more or less ancillary to the former.

The majority of the Commission have reached the conclusion (from which a minority have dissented) that whatever may have been the justification of the Permanent Settlement in 1793, it is no longer suited to the conditions of the present time and that the Permanent Settlement and the zemindari system should be replaced by a raiyatwari system. They have, therefore, recommended that legislation should be introduced enabling the Government to acquire the interests of all rent-receivers down to the actual cultivator of the soil in all revenue-free, permanently and temporarily settled estates. The minority hold the view that State acquisition would not only be a hazardous experiment officially, but that it is also undesirable for social and economic reasons. The majority recommend that compensation should be paid to landlords and tenure-holders for the purchase of their interests at a flat rate, the rate which has received more support than any other being ten times the annual net profit of the proprietors and tenure-holders The State acquisition scheme as recommended by the majority, would on the basis of ten years purchase, cost Rs. 98 crores which recommended, should be raised by floating a loan. Compensation should be paid in cash, otherwise in bonds redeemable after 60 years.

The Commission further calculates that on the basis of ten years' purchase, the State will have an additional income of Rs. 223 lakhs annually from land during the period in which it will have to meet the interest and sinking fund charges on the loan to be floated to give effect to the State acquisition scheme. It may be noted that the present revenue of the Government from land is Rs. 241 lakhs annually. The majority have recommended the imposition of a tax on agricultural income as a transitional measure if the scheme of state acquisition is carried out, and as a permanent measure if it is not.

In moving that the report of the Commission be discussed, the hon. Sir *Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy*, Revenue Ministsr, pointed out that the object of the motion tabled by the Government was to afford an opportunity to the House to express its opinion on the far-reaching recommendations of the Land Revenue Commission affecting the lives of over 80 percent of the people of this province, so that the Government might, in framing their policy, take into consideration the views expressed by the popular representatives. The Minister made it

clear that the Government at this stage did not desire to express their own opinion on the recommendations, because their idea was to ascertain their (members') views and then to form, modify or recast their opinion on the different issues in the light of their views with due regard to the financial, administrative, social and economic implications of the proposals. Asking the House to proceed to discuss the matter with the full sense of responsibility that the subject deserved, the Minister remarked, "you can make or mark the future of your province by your wise or unwise decision on this question."

After the Revenue Minister had opened the debate, about half a dozen members, representing different groups, who spoke in their individual capacity, participated in the discussion.

Maharaja Sashi Kanta Acharya Chowdhury and *Rai Bahadur Tarak Nath Mookerjee*, who represent the East and West Bengal Landholders' constituencies respectively, maintained that if the scheme of State acquisition was given effect to, it would create a revolution in the social, economic and political structure of the Province. If it was at all done, they emphasised, fair and proper compensation should be paid to the landholders. Mr. *J. W. Chippendale* (Anglo-Indian) maintained that mere buying of the interests of the zemindars and middlemen would not improve the lot of the cultivators, or help the Government. He urged the establishmet of economic holdings which should be rendered incapable of patrition by legislation. Mr. *Niharendu Dutta-Mazumder* (Congress Labour) expressing the viewpoint of the Labour party of India emphasised that instead of wasting Rs. 98 crores by purchasing the interests of proprietors and tenure holders, as suggested by the majority of the Commission, the Government should frame a bold, well-connected and comprehensive scheme, of which the pivot would be land and which would lead to an increase of agricultural produce and development of industry and should raise a loan of Rs. 100 crores to finance the scheme. Mr. *Abdul Wahed Khan* (Coalition) said that public opinion had already expressed itself in favour of the abolition of the zemindari system and it was now up to the Legislature to give effect to the recommendations of the Commission by appropriate measures. The House at this stage adjourned till the next day, the **29th. July**, when after the debate had continued peacefully for about 3 hours, there was a flare-up towards the close, when the Revenue Minister, Sir *Bijay Prasad Singh Roy*, rose to repudiate certain charges made against the Government by the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. *Sarat Chandra Bose*. In doing so, the Revenue Minister made certain personal references to the Leader of the Opposition to which Opposition members took strong exception. The *Speaker* pointed out that it was desirable that, in a discussion of a matter like this, personal references should be avoided. The *Revenue Minister* attempted to resume his speech, but there were interruptions from Opposition benches, several rising in their seats simultaneously and protesting against the Revenue Minister's remarks, in the midst of which the Speaker adjourned the House.

RAW JUTE TAXATION BILL

30th. JULY :—The Bengal Raw Jute Taxation Bill, 1941, seeking to impose a tax of two annas per maund on the purchase of raw jute, was introduced by the Finance Minister, Mr. *H. S. Suhrawardy*, this evening. The proposed tax, which is estimated to yield a gross revenue of about Rs. 50 lakhs per annum, will be collected at the stage when (a) it is delivered to a jute mill to be used for the manufacture of jute goods, or (b) when it is delivered to the shipper in the form of pucca bales for supply to consumers overseas. The object of the Bill is to provide funds to finance the carrying out of measures for the stabilisation of the prices, the improvement of marketing and generally to further the interests of the jute growers in the province and of the industry as a whole.

In introducing the Bill, the *Finance Minister* pointed out that while taxation measure was calculated to yield about Rs. 50 lakhs a year, this year it was not likely to yield that amount, as many sales would have passed before this measure became law. He thought that under the present conditions the tax would be borne wholly by the consumer. A tax of two annas per maund on raw jute would hardly have any effect on the prices of the manufactured commodity and would not raise it beyond competitive levels. The Finance Minister told the House that the jute restriction scheme initiated by the Government had exceeded all anticipations and the sowings this year were less than one-third of the previous year's sowings by plot to plot survey and measurement. He announced in this connection that the Government had been able to come to an agreement with the Government of Assam on the subject of regulation, and the Bengal Government would have to advance

to the latter a sum of Rs. 4 lakhs to enable them to make a survey of the land under jute in that province. He hoped to arrive in a similar manner at an agreement with the Government of Bihar.

An amendment moved by the Krishak Proja Party in Opposition, urging circulation of the Bill, was rejected by the House without a division. The Government motion for reference of the Bill to a select committee with instruction to submit its report by August 8, was carried by 103 votes to 27, the Bose Party remaining neutral. The Assembly then adjourned till august 1.

RELEASE OF TERRORIST PRISONERS

1st. AUGUST :—Dr. *Nalinaksha Sanyal*, on behalf of the official Congress Party, moved an adjournment motion to-day in order to discuss the situation arising out of the decision of the Government of Bengal to withdraw, for the present, the concession of premature release of terrorist prisoners on certain conditions as announced in a press communique on July 28. After nearly two hours' debate, in which about a dozen speakers participated, the motion was talked out. Moving the motion, Dr. *Nalinaksha Sanyal* said that the Government announced in November, 1939, that about forty terrorist prisoners, recommended for conditional release, would be released at any time upon their accepting the conditions prescribed by the Government. Orders were issued accordingly and ten of these terrorist prisoners were released. On the 28th of last month, the Government issued a communique withdrawing this concession of premature release under conditions. While he was recently in the Alipore Central Jail, undergoing a term of imprisonment, in connection with the satyagraha movement, Dr. Sanyal said he knew that eight of the so-called terrorist prisoners had agreed to the conditions prescribed by the Government, namely that they would remain non-violent and would not take part in any subversive movement, and had actually signed the necessary papers. But on the morning of their expected release they were informed that they could not be released. After his release from prison, he was told that in view of the international situation and in view of the apprehension that war was coming nearer to the shores of India, it was difficult for the Government to act up to the old order. He appealed to the Home Minister to rise to the occasion, tackle the situation with imagination and release these prisoners.

Supporting the motion on behalf of the Bose Party, *Rai Harendranath Choudhury* said that the attitude of his party was that they wanted unconditional release of all political prisoners. But they were supporting this motion because, in this particular case, the Government had gone back upon its own promise. Mr. *Choudhury* criticised the policy of the Government in regard to the release of political prisoners and said that only short term prisoners had been released while the long term prisoners were still in prison. One of the speakers in support of the motion was Mr. *Narendra Narayan Chakravarty* of the Bose group, who was released this morning from the Alipore Central Jail. He made an earnest appeal to the Home Minister to rise equal to the occasion and set at liberty the remaining political prisoners.

Replying to the debate the Home Minister, Sir *Nazimuddin* remarked that the speeches made in the course of the debate might create an impression that these prisoners were anxious to be released under conditions, but the Government Communique had prevented them from being released. The actual facts, he said, were to a large extent to the contrary. Government had all along been anxious that these prisoners should take advantage of the offer of conditional release. But during the eighteen months the offer was kept standing, they did not take advantage of it. Now, under influence and persuation, eight out of the thirty remaining political prisoners had agreed to accept conditional release at a time, when Government had arrested some of the leaders of the various subversive parties, to which these prisoners belonged and when not only the international situation but also the internal situation had materially deteriorated. The whole object of arresting and detaining recently some leading members of the various subversive organisations, to which these prisoners belonged, would be frustrated if the latter were now released. Concluding, Sir *Nazimuddin* claimed that the policy pursued by the Bengal Government in regard to the question of release of political prisoners was a most generous one. He recalled that at the time when Government declared this policy regarding the release of political prisoners, they made it quite clear that this policy would be followed so long as the atmosphere was one which would enable Government to do so, and in this connection he read

certain extracts from letters written by him to *Mahatma Gandhi* in the course of the latter's negotiation for the release of political prisoners in Bengal. The Assembly at this stage adjourned till August 4.

UPROARIOUS SCENES—MUNICIPAL BILL DEBATE

4th. to 6th. AUGUST :—After question time to-day, Mr. *Jalaluddin Hashemy* (Krishak Proja Party in the Opposition) wanted to move an adjournment motion. The *Deputy Speaker*, who presided in the absence of the Speaker who was indisposed, enquired of Mr. *Hashemy* whether he had got the consent of the Speaker in regard to the motion. Mr. *Hashemy* replied in the negative whereupon the Deputy Speaker said that, in that case, he could not permit him to move his motion. Various points of order were then raised regarding the decision of the Deputy Speaker as well as the action of the Speaker in withholding his consent from the motion which led to an uproar, in the midst of which the Deputy Speaker adjourned the House.

When the House re-assembled after about an hour, the *Deputy Speaker* wanted to say something in reply to the points of order raised earlier in the course of discussions. But there was continued interruption and uproar in the House, in which the Deputy Speaker's voice was drowned. At this stage, the Chief Minister, Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Huq*, suggested that in view of the atmosphere the House should be adjourned for the day, a suggestion with which the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. *S. C. Bose*, also agreed. The *Deputy Speaker* then adjourned the House when it was only ten minutes for the scheduled time to expire. Next day, the **5th. August**, uproarious scenes were repeated when the House met to take up the consideration of the Calcutta Municipal (Amendment) Bill, as reported by the Select Commitee. Immediately after question-time, both the *Nawab Bahadur of Dacca*, Minister-in-charge of the Bill and Dr. *Nalinaksha Sanyal* (official Congress) rose in their respective seats at the same time, the former to move that the Bill be taken into consideration and the latter to raise a question of privilege regarding the Deputy Speaker's direction to the press not to publish yesterday's proceedings of the House. There were shouts and counter-shouts, which drowned the voices of the speakers. Dr. Sanyal continued his speech, in the course of which he maintained that the Deputy Speaker was not justified in asking the press not to publish yesterday's proceedings of the House. He, therefore, requested the Deputy Speaker to allow the press to publish yesterday's full proceedings and also to supply them with an official copy of those proceedings. The Chief Minister, Mr. *Fazlul Huq*, intervening on a point of order, said that the only motion before the House was the one moved by the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca. (Cries of "He did not move" from Opposition benches and counter-shouts of "He did move" from Coalition benches). The *Deputy Speaker*, who presided in the absence of the Speaker, said that he would look into the official records about the question whether the Nawab Bahadur had actually moved his motion. The *Nawab Bahadur* wanted to address the House, but there were continued interruptions from Opposition benches following which he resumed his seat.

Mr. *Sarat Chandra Bose*, Leader of the Opposition, said that in reference to the observations made by the Chief Minister, he liked to point out that the Deputy Speaker did not call upon the Nawab Bahadur to move his motion. (Cries of "he did" from Coalition benches and cries "he did not" from Opposition benches) Mr. Bose proceeded to address the House in the midst of confusion and uproar when the Deputy Speaker adjourned the House for one hour.

There were further uproarious scenes when the House re-assembled after 75 minutes' adjournment. The *Deputy Speaker* gave his ruling in regard to the two points that had been raised earlier in the course of the discussions before the adjournment. As regards the question of privilege raised by the Congress Party, maintaining that he was not justified in asking the press not to publish yesterday's proceedings of the House, the Deputy Speaker said that his decision was not unprecedented and was taken in the interests of the dignity of the House. His ruling therefore, was that his direction to the press not to publish yesterday's proceedings of the House stood. As regard the point, whether the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca moved the motion for the consideration of the Calcutta Municipal (Amendment) Bill and whether the Chair had asked the Nawab Bahadur to do so, the Deputy Speaker said that he did ask the Nawab Bahadur and the latter did so accordingly.

There was an uproar in the Opposition benches following the Deputy Speaker's ruling. Mr. *Sarat Chandra Bose* rose to address the House in respect of

the ruling, but his voice was drowned by shouts from Coalition benches and countershouts from Opposition benches. In the midst of general uproar, the Deputy Speaker adjourned the Assembly about 40 minutes before the scheduled time. Next day, the **6th. August**, a compromise being arrived at over the contentious measure, the Calcutta Municipal Second Amendment Bill, which was hanging in the background of the stormy scenes of the last two days, a peaceful atmosphere prevailed to-day when the bill unanimously was recommitted to the select committee. The Committee was asked to submit their report by November 18, 1941. Five members were added to the select committee. They were : Messrs. *Santosh Kumar Basu, J. C. Gupta, B. P. Pain, Hem Chandra Naskar* and *Maharajkumar Uday Chand Mahatab* of Burdwan. It may be remembered that when this bill was committed to the select committee on the first occasion all nationalist Hindu members including those led by Mr. *J. N. Basu* refused to serve on the committee. The House at this stage adjourned till the 12th.

Tributes to Dr. Tagore

12th. AUGUST :—The Assembly mourned the death of *Dr. Rabindranath Tagore* when it met this evening after four days' recess and adjourned its meeting without transacting any business as a mark of respect to the Poet's memory. Leaders of the different groups and parties in the House united in offering their homage to Dr. Tagore. The condolence resolution, which was moved by the Chief Minister, was adopted by the House all standing. In moving the resolution, the hon. Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Huq* said that, speaking as a Bengalee, belonging to the province which gave birth to Dr. Tagore, speaking the very language which he spoke, it was impossible to lose sight of the fact that the man who earned for Bengalee literature one of the highest positions in the languages and literatures of the world was no more. And now that he was not alive, his work would remain enshrined not only in his books, but also in the hearts of many millions of his countrymen. It was impossible, the Chief Minister said, to try and exhaust the tributes of eulogy which could be paid to Dr. Tagore. It was not enough to say that he was great. He was great as a poet, great as a philosopher, great as an educationist, great as a humanitarian, great in his songs and the whole world knew that he not merely wrote or spoke poetry, but he lived in poetry throughout his life. As members of the great Bengali race, they were proud that they had in their midst one like Rabindranath to whom the whole world paid their homage.

Markets Regulation Bill

13th. AUGUST :—The consideration of the Bengal Markets Regulation Bill, 1941, which is intended to provide for the licensing and regulation of markets in Bengal, commenced to-day. Only a few amendments to the definition clause could be disposed of when the House was adjourned. The Bill, it might be recalled, is a substitute for the Bengal Agricultural Markets Produce Bill originally brought in but which was subsequently dropped. An attempt was made by the Opposition to recommit the Bill to the Select Committee on the ground that it did not contain any provision for the control of prices and for store-houses and godowns. Government however opposed and the attempt failed. The discussion on the Bill was dull, the attendance was very poor and the results of the two divisions that were called during the sitting revealed that 28 members belonging to the Opposition were present as against 68 of the Coalition party.

Prevention of Embankment Breaches

15th. AUGUST :—The Assembly discussed non-official resolutions to-day. The first resolution on the agenda urged the Government to frame a comprehensive scheme to prevent breaches in the embankment of a river in East Bengal. The resolution was negatived by the House.

Propaganda Against Pakistan

The next resolution moved by Mr. *Surendranath Biswas* of the Bose Group, expressed the opinion that steps by way of propaganda should be immediately taken by the Provincial Government to remove from the minds of the Hindus and the Muslims living in Bengal the idea of "Pakistan" or "Hindustan" and instil into their minds the idea of a constitution on the basis of national freedom and inter-communal unity and harmony as being the political goal of this province. When the resolution was moved, the Speaker, *Sir Azizul Haque*, enquired of Mr. Biswas whether he did not feel that a motion of this character was not wholly

appropriate to the present occasion. The matter proposed to be dealt with in the resolution, the Speaker remarked, was being seriously discussed elsewhere and if at the present moment these things were discussed in the House, it might create ill-feelings here and outside. In these circumstances, the Speaker thought that it was in the interests of everyone to postpone consideration of the resolution till a suitable occasion arose. Mr. Biswas having agreed to the proposal, the resolution was passed over and the House adjourned till August 18.

RAW JUTE TAXATION BILL (CONTD.)

18th. AUGUST :—The Assembly to-day passed the Bengal Raw Jute Taxation Bill by 68 to 22 votes. The Bill sought to provide a tax of two annas per maund on raw jute purchased by occupiers of jute mills and shippers of jute, for the purpose of carrying out measures for the stabilisation of jute prices and for furthering the interest of the growers of jute and of the jute industry generally. The tax is expected to yield a revenue of Rs. 50 lakhs per annum. The House then adjourned.

MARKETS REGULATION BILL (CONTD.)

19th. & 20th. AUGUST :—The Assembly devoted to-day's sitting to the consideration of the clauses of the Bengal Markets Regulation Bill and disposed of amendments up to Clause 9. Excepting about half a dozen amendments which were of the nature of improving the drafting of the Bill all other amendments proposed were rejected. The House was rather thinly attended particularly so far as the Opposition was concerned and this was reflected in the only one division which was called by the Opposition, the amendment concerned being defeated by 91 to 26 votes.

Before the House resumed discussion on the Bill, Mr. *Jalaluddin Hashemy* wanted to raise a discussion with regard to the difficulties which the members were experiencing in their work on account of the patrol rationing scheme. The *Speaker* announced that the question would be discussed in the House on Wednesday, when the House would be cleared of visitors because it was a matter which concerned the members only. The House then adjourned till the next day, the **20th. August**, when the bill was further discussed and the second reading of the Secondary Education Bill was formally moved. The House then adjourned till the 27th. August.

SECONDARY EDUCATION BILL

27th. AUGUST :—Both the Government and the Opposition having agreed to postpone consideration of the Bengal Secondary Education Bill till Monday next, the Assembly, which met this evening after a week's recess, was adjourned till that day. Mr. *Sarat Chandra Bose*, Leader of the Opposition, addressing the Speaker, said that the Opposition were under the impression that the Bill would not be taken up. They had, therefore, to consider their position now. He suggested that the House be adjourned for about forty-five minutes in order to enable the Opposition to decide their course of action.

While not opposing the adjournment of the House, the Chief Minister, Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Huq* who was in charge of the Bill pointed out that the feeling of the Coalition Party was that this Bill should be proceeded with, and, unless any unforeseen thing happened, finished in this session. The House was then adjourned for forty-five minutes.

In announcing the agreement reached with the Opposition when the Assembly met after nearly an hour's adjournment, the Chief Minister, Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Huq*, said that he had discussed the matter with the Leader of the Opposition and they had come to the following agreement :

The Special Committee on the Secondary Education Bill will have time till Sunday next to conclude the deliberations ; even if the Special Committee cannot agree on some points, Government will be at liberty to proceed with the Bill on and from Monday next and the leaders of the Opposition do not object to such a procedure ; if there is complete agreement on the measure, the Chief Minister will decide as to the procedure to be adopted for the consideration of such an agreed measure during the current session of the Assembly.

Mr. *Sarat Chandra Bose* said that, on behalf of the Opposition and with the consent of the leaders of the different parties constituting the Opposition, he had come to the agreement just then announced on the floor of the House by the Chief Minister. He added that the Opposition realised, the Chief Minister realised and he hoped that the Coalition Party also realised that, if they could achieve agreement over this measure, they would be doing "something great, something

dynamic and something which will usher in the fullness of the morrow out of the smallness of to-day."

In adjourning the House, the *Speaker* expressed his belief that if the problem could be solved in whatever manner it was possible—it might be possible by an agreement—it would solve the greatest problem that was for the time being baffling India and was standing in the way of India's satisfactory progress. It was, after all, owing to the question of communal differences that the achievement of India's destined goal was being delayed. He hoped that this was realised by all sections of the House. He added that if Bengal could solve the problem, she would be giving a lead to the rest of India.

Tributes to Maharajadhiraj of Burdwan

1st. SEPTEMBER :—The Assembly had a very brief sitting to day when reference was made to the death of the late *Maharajadhiraj Bahadur of Burdwan* by the Hon. Sir Azizul Huq, Speaker. The Hon. Sir Azizul Huq said that the demise of the Maharajadhiraj Bahadur would be condoled not only in Bengal but all over India. He was a towering personality in the very sense of the term. He was one of those who had left his mark on the political life of the country. Belonging to an aristocratic family and himself an aristocrat he was one of those who had always an innate sympthy with the poor. And that was the characteristic feature of the late Maharaja.

Secondary Education Bill (contd.)

2nd. to 15th. SEPTEMBER :—The Assembly began to day the consideration of the Bengal Secondary Education Bill as reported by the select committee in an atmosphere of uncertainty and disappointment, the negotiations which were being carried on by the special committee with a view to come to an agreed settlement having failed on the vital point of the constitution of the Secondary Education Board. When the consideration of the bill was taken up, the *Chief Minister*, who had on the previous occasion only formally moved the motion and postponed his speech for the next occasion, did not make any speech at all. He said that on the present occasion he did not feel inclined to make any speech. All that he wanted to say was that the report of the Select Committee on the Secondary Education Bill be taken into consideration.

The debate on the motion to-day was opened by *Rai Harendra Nath Rai Choudhury* (Bose Group) on behalf of the Opposition. Mr. Rai Choudhury moved an amendment for the recommittal of the Bill to the same select committee with instruction to submit their report by September 30. In the amendment moved by Mr. Rai Choudhury, the changes which the Opposition wanted to be made in the Bill, were elaborately set out. The debate was continued on the next two days, the **3rd. & 4th. September.** On the last day, the 4th. September, the Opposition amendment for the recommittal of the Bill to the same select committee was rejected by the House by 124 to 56 votes. Besides the Coalition Party and the European Group, the Krishak Proja Party, which generally votes with the Opposition, voted with the Government to-day. The Opposition included both the wings of the Congress Party, the independent Scheduled Caste Party, the independent Hindu Nationalist Party and two independent Muslim members. The Government motion for taking the Bill into consideration was then carried without a division, and the House adjoured till Monday next, the **8th. September,** when the consideration of the Bill clause by clause commenced. The whole day was taken up with the discussion of a single amendment relating to the definition clause. It was urged on behalf of the Opposition that the attitude of the Government with regard to the amendment would be a test of their sincerity if they were actuated by any spirit of accommodation or wanted to rush through the Bill by the sheer weight of their number. After a fierce battle of points of order which raged for three quarters of an hour, in which the Chief Minister's reply to the debate was threatened to be shut out by the carrying of a closure motion at the instance of the Coalition Party, Mr. *Sarat Chandra Bose* appealed to Mr. Huq to leave the amendment unvoted till the next day. Next day, the **9th. September,** the House disposed of two amendments with reference to the definition clause. The third amendment was under consideration when the House was adjourned for the day. In contrast to the previous day the discussion in the House was less lively. While the House was considering the Bill, the leaders of the Opposition parties, Mr. *Sarat Chandra Bose*, Mr. *Kiran Sanker Roy* and Dr. *Syamaprasad Mookerjee*,

were closetted with Sir *Nazimuddin*, Mr. *H. S. Suhrawardy* and other members of the Government party, with a view to explore further the possibilities of compromise. Mr. *Fazlul Huq* after joining in the discussion for some time came back to the House to attend to the debate and after the House rose again participated in the conference which lasted till 9 p. m. It was not known what definite result had been arrived at. There was a discussion as to what was meant by 'secondary education'. The Bill proposed in clause 2 section 9 that secondary education "means education other than primary education or post-matriculation education provided that (a) the provincial government may, by notification, declare any form of education to be, or not to be secondary education, and (b) if any question arises as to whether any form of educaton is or is not secondary education, the matter shall be referred to the provincial government whose decision shall be final". Next day, the **10th. September**, while the Assembly wrestled throughout the whole evening with the consideration of the amendment relating to the definition of 'secondary education' which was left undisposed of on the previous evening, the conference between the leaders of the Opposition parties and the representatives of the Government, continued outside the House in order to explore the possibilities of an agreed settlement over the Secondary Education Bill. After being debated throughout the whole evening, *Rai Harendranath Choudhury's* amendment with reference to the definition of 'secondary education' was lost by 110 to 41 votes. Mr. *Ashutosh Lahiri*, the Hindu Mahasabha member remained neutral. Next day, the **11th. September**, with the Opposition leaders and the representatives of the Government still engaged in the exploration of the possibilities of a settlement over the Bill, the debate to-day as on the days previous lacked reality, as the Chief Minister himself described it. The whole of the evening was taken up with the consideration of only one amendment relating to the definition of secondary education. The amendment which was moved by *Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee* and with which Mr. *Fazlul Huq* expressed his substantial agreement but which he could not accept at the present moment on account of practical difficulties was defeated by 51 to 82 votes. The Government majority was narrowed down on account of the Krishak Proja Party supporting the amendment The House then adjourned till the next day, the **12th. September**, when it adjourned again for want of quorum. Next day, the **13th. September**, the vital clause of the Bill which relates to the composition of the proposed Secondary Education Board was taken up. On behalf of the Opposition, Mr. *Pramatha Nath Banerjee*, of the Bose group, moved a comprehensive amendment suggesting changes in the constitution of the Board as provided in the Bill. Placing his amendment before the House, Mr. *Banerjee* said that they wanted that the proposed Board of Secondary Education should be absolutely free from the taint of communalism and that academic considerations would prevail in the Board. Mr. Banerjee told the House that the efforts for a settlement over the Bill had not so far succeeded. Further discussion on the clause and the various amendments moved on behalf of the Opposition, in regard to it continued on **September 15**, when opposing the opposition amendment, the hon. Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Huq*, Education Minister, said that the principle underlying the distribution of seats on the proposed Secondary Education Board had been carefully worked out in order to give due representation to various interests keeping in view the needs and requirements of education as also preserving the communal ratio as much as possible. They had done that by giving representation to communities and by giving representation to ex-officio members to meet the needs of education. As at present advised, he could not accept any amendment or change in the constitution of the Board without destroying the fundamental principles on which the Bill was based. For this reason he opposed the amendment. The Assembly at this stage adjourned.

MOTION OF NO-CONFIDENCE

16th. SEPTEMBER :—The Assembly provided an interesting drama this evening when in a tense atmosphere it commenced session, all the parties being present in full strength. The galleries were over-crowded and a number of policemen were in evidence. Six members from the Coalition Krishak Proja Party and of Mr. *Sarat Bose's* group had tabled motions expressing 'no confidence' in Minister Suhrawardy. Out of nearly a hundred members of the Coalition Party, 46 were with Mr. *Huq* and in combination with 30 Scheduled Caste members, Independent, Nationalists and the members of *Sarat Bose* group, the motion against Mr. *Suhrawardy* stood a good chance of being carried.

The Deputy Speaker, Mr. *Asraf Ali* who presided over the session in the absence of the Speaker, Sir *Azizul Haque* adjourned the House stating that the matter before the House was of such importance that it should be dealt with by the Speaker himself. This action took the House completely by surprise.

After the *Deputy Speaker* had left, pandemonium prevailed. *Khan Bahadur Afzal* occupied the chair and Mr. *Nalinaksha Sanyal* spoke expressing lack of confidence in Mr. *Suhrawardy* and requesting those present to lodge a protest against his continuance in office. About 125 members signified approval of Mr. *Sanyal's* suggestion.

About half an hour before the Assembly was scheduled to meet, the Speaker (Sir *Azizul Haque*) sent intimation to the members of the House regretting his inability to attend the Assembly meeting to-day and adding that, if the present condition of his health continued, he might not be able to attend the sessions for some time. He said that for a month he had been carrying on Assembly work in spite of frequent attacks of fever. Every day he was having temperature in the evening and doctors had advised him to take perfect rest for at least three months.

As soon as the House was declared adjourned, members of the Opposition and the supporters of Mr. *Fazlul Huq* in the Coalition Party vociferously lodged their protest against the manner in which the Deputy Speaker had adjourned the House.

The ministerial crisis which the no-confidence motions against Mr. *H. S. Suhrawardy* foreshadowed remained suspended for the moment. The motions which could not be moved in the Assembly on the 16th. on account of the abrupt adjournment of the House by the Deputy Speaker was considered at all this session, as the Assembly was prorogued on the 18th.

There was a conference at Government House on 17th. Sept. in the afternoon over which His Excellency the Governor presided. There was an agreement that the present session will be prorogued on Thursday (September, 18) as previously scheduled in view of the close proximity of the Puja Holidays. His Excellency informed the conference that it was his desire to summon the Assembly in November next. The House was accordingly *prorogued.*

Winter Session—Calcutta—27th. Nov. to 18th. December 1941

THE SECONDARY EDUCATION BILL (CONTD)

The Bengal Legislative Assembly, which met on the 27th. November for the winter session, was adjourned till December 8, without transacting any business, in order to enable an agreed settlement being reached regarding the Secondary Education Bill. There was a full attendance of members, and the public as well as the official galleries were packed, in view of the report appearing in the morning papers that "no-confidence", motions would be moved against two members of the Cabinet when the House meets to-day.

As the House assembled, the Chief Minister, Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Huq*, made a brief statement, to the effect that the present session of the Assembly had been called primarily for the purpose of discussing the provisions of the Bengal Secondary Education Bill. They were trying, when they last met, to have an agreed settlement regarding the Bill itself; and their attempts at an agreed settlement were very satisfactory and it was hoped that, with a little more effort, they would be able to produce an agreed Bill. Unfortunately, however, the intervention of the holidays and the absence of many members of the Select Committee, to which the Bill had been referred, prevented them from resuming their deliberations, and he was sorry that no progress had been made. They proposed to resume their labours and for that purpose some time would be necessary So, he suggested that the House be adjourned for a few days in order to enable them to continue the work. The Speaker then adjourned the the House till the December 8.

RESIGNATION OF MINISTERS

On the 1st. December all the ten Ministers of the Bengal Cabinet tendered their resignations to H. E. the Governor. A Government House communique issued at 2-30 p.m. stated : "It is announced that Ministers have to-day tendered to his Excellency the Governor their resignations as members of the Council of Ministers. They will continue to remain in charge of their respective portfolios until His Excellency the Governor has decided whether or not to accept their resignations."

The Huq Cabinet, which resigned, consisted of the following : Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Chief Minister and Minister in charge of Education ; Sir Nazimuddin, Home Minister ; Sir B. P. Singh Roy, Revenue Minister ; Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, Minister in charge of Finance, Labour and Commerce ; Nawab Bahadur of Dacca, Minister in charge of Public Health and Local Self-Government ; Maharaja Srish Chandra Nandy of Cossimbazar, Minister in charge of Works and Communications ; Mr. Tamizuddin Khan, Minister in charge of Agriculture and Industries ; Nawab Mushareff Hosain, Judicial Minister ; Mr. P. D. Raikut, Minister in charge of Excise and Forests ; Mr. M. B. Mullick, Minister in charge of Co-operation and Rural Indebtedness.

GENESIS OF THE CRISIS

The Ministerial crisis had its genesis in the letter addressed by the Chief Minister, Mr. A, K. Fazlul Huq, to the Secretary of the All-India Muslim League, criticising the "arbitrary conduct" of its President, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, who had threatened disciplinary action against Mr. Huq and several others on their membership of the National Defence Council.

This statement of Mr. Huq was taken exception to by a section of the Ministerialist Coalition Party, including some of the Cabinet members, and there was a demonstration on the Calcutta Maidan in condemnation of certain remarks of Mr. Huq relating to the President of the League. This gave rise to a split in the Ministerialist Party and demonstrations and counter-demonstrations by the supporters of the two parties, one led by Mr. Huq and the other by his Muslim colleagues in the Cabinet, continued for some time. Efforts however were made by those who remained neutral to bring about a rapprochment between the two opposing groups and the solution of the Huq-League dispute by getting the League Working Committee to decide not to take any action against Mr. Huq in view of his explanation offered on the eve of its last meeting at Delhi. This was expected to bring to an end the differences amongst Muslim Ministers in Bengal too. But this did not happen and the Bengal Cabinet crisis continued to develop,

Immediately after the League Working Committee meeting at Delhi, Mr. Huq's supporters in the Assembly formed themselves into a new body known as the Progressive Assembly Party and later, a bigger party known as the progressive Coalition Party was composed on November 28 of the various parties in Opposition in the Legislature and the Progressive Party of Mr. Huq's supporters. This Party decided to act under the leadership of Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Chief Minister of Bengal.

On the morning of November 29, the question of formation of the Progressive Coalition Farty composed of Mr. Huq's supporters, the Forward Bloc group of Congressmen, the Krishak Proja Party, the Independent Scheduled Caste Party, and some unattached members, with the assurance of responsive co-operation from the official Congress group and the Hindu Nationalist Party, was raised in a Cabinet meeting, His Excellency the Governor of Bengal presiding. After His Excellency had left the meeting, Mr. Huq issued a statement contradicting the report that he had accepted the leadership of the newly formed Progressive Coalition Party as, he said, it would be unconstitutional of him to form such a party, with those, who were in opposition in the Assembly, so long as he was the Chief Minister and Leader of the Coalition Party, backing the present Ministry.

A statement appeared in the morning papers, (1st Dec.), made by the Chief Whip of the Krishak Proja Party, to the effect that there was no ground for disbelieving the formation of the Progressive Coalition Party and also the fact that Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq had been accepted as the Leader of the Party whose object was to throw out "the reactionary Ministers of the Bengal Cabinet."

It is recalled in this connection that at the end of the last session of the Bengal Assembly, following demonstrations against Mr. Huq for his remarks against the League President, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, half a dozen members, including some of the Ministerialist Coalition Party, gave notices of 'no-confidence' motions against the Finance Minister. Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, who is also the Secretary of the Provincial Muslim League. These motions could not, however, be taken up as the Assembly was prorogued on the same day there were expected to be raised.

When the Assembly met for the winter session on November 27, two similar 'no-confidence' motions, one against the Home Minister, Sir Nazimuddin, and the other against the Finance Minister, Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, were given notice of

by the members of the Krishak Proja Party. When, however, the Assembly met on November 27, before the House took up the day's business, the Chief Minister moved for adjournment for ten days, in order to enable the various parties to come to an agreed settlement on the question of the Secondary Education Bill, which was the main official business for the session. The House was adjourned by the Speaker, Sir Azizul Haque till December 8 and further efforts were made for effecting a compromise between the two Opposition groups in the Ministerialist Coalition Party. On the other hand parties in Opposition took advantage of the recess to consolidate and strengthen their position in view of the possibility of 'no-confidence' motions being taken up on December 8.

About a year after its formation in April 1937, by Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq following the general elections, the Ministry resigned in June 1938 due to certain differences of opinion with Mr. Nausher Ali, the then Minister for Local Self-Government. Following this, the late Lord Brabourne called upon Mr. Huq again to form a Cabinet which the latter did with all the previous Ministers—except Mr. Nausher Ali—and with two additions, namely, Mr. Tamizuddin Khan and Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmed, both of the Krishak Proja Party. Some months after Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmed resigned and this was followed by the resignation of Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker, who was the Finance Minister—the latter over the issue of the war resolution in the Assembly.

It is now possible to reveal the different manoeuvres and counter-manoeuvres that have been going on behind the scenes during the period the Cabinet crisis had been brewing.

After Mr. *Fazlul Huq* settled his differences with the High Command of the Muslim League and Mr. *Jinnah*, it was expected that his differences with his League colleagues in the Cabinet would also be amicably settled. But Mr. Fazlul Huq himself, as also the newly formed Progessive Assembly Party, held that the differences with the League High Command formed an issue entirely separate from the differences with the Cabinet colleagues. The Progressive Assembly Party, consisting of a group of 47 members from within the ranks of the present Coalitionists, who number 108, was compelled to seek new alliances so as to ensure a stable majority for any Government that might be formed with its support, and so allied itself with Krishak Projas numbering 19, Independent Scheduled Castes numbering 12, the Forward Bloc numbering 27 and Hindu Nationalists numbering 11. Four unattached members and the 27 members of the official Congress Party (provided the Congress High Command approves of the idea) were believed to be willing to offer responsive co-operation to this newly formed alliance, when it comes into power.

The European Group in the Legislature were anxious to retain its importance as a balancing force and tried hard to persuade Mr. Huq to compose his differences with the Nazimuddin Group, pointing out that, in case dissolution of the Cabinet occurred, the Governor was not bound to call on Mr. Huq to form a fresh Ministry. Meantime, the Nazimuddin-Suhrawardy Group too tried persuasion and threats, and while it was reported Mr. Huq lent his ears to the pleadings of his Cabinet rivals, the Krishak Proja Party upset the apple-cart by giving notice of two "no-confidence" motions against Sir *K. Nazimuddin* and Mr. *Suhrawardy*, and these were due to be moved on the opening day of the Assembly, on the 27th. Nov.

It was thought that rather than face the "no-confidence" motions against them, Sir *K. Nazimuddin*, Mr. *Suhrawardy*, Mr. *Tamizuddin Khan* and the *Nawab of Dacca*, who could have been in no doubt as to the outcome of the result, would tender their resignations from the Ministry. It was also expected that if dissolution of the Cabinet followed their resignations, the Governor would find himself free to call on one of them to constitute a Cabinet, which he could not very well have done had the legislature expressed its want of confidence in them by a majority vote. The resignation of Mr. Fazlul Huq, along with all his colleagues, on the 1st. November, was something of a surprise even to his closest friends. Mr. Fazlul Huq's consultations with the Governor, prior to the Cabinet meeting might have influenced him to resign along with his colleagues.

Bengal Muslim League's Resolution

Developments regarding the Cabinet crisis reached a further stage on the 2nd. December with the Working Committee of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League passing resolutions calling on all members of the Legislature who are members of the Muslim League to constitute themselves into a new Bengal Legislature Muslim League Party.

Condemning the formation of the Progressive Assembly Party and the formation of "Progressive Coalitionists" as inimical to Muslim interests in Bengal the Working Committee further directed all League Legislators to dissociate themselves from the Progressive groups. It was also decided to inaugurate almost immediately the Bengal Legislature Muslim League Party. References were made pointing out that Muslim legislators, by strengthening the Progressive groups, would be handing over the administration of the Province to the Congress, the Forward Bloc and the Hindu Mahasabha groups, thereby endangering Muslim interests.

The Progressive Assembly Party, in the meanwhile, gave notice of "no confidence" motions against Sir *K. Nazimuddin*, Mr. *Suhrawardy*, Mr. *Tamizuddin Khan*, the *Nawab of Dacca*, Mr. *Mukund Behari Mullick* and Sir *Bejoy Singh Singh Roy* and no fewer than 29 members sent in notices.

MR. SUHRAWARDY'S STATEMENT

Mr. *H. S. Suhrawardy*, Minister of Finance, in the course of an interview, gave out as his opinion that these "no confidence" motions would be invalid since they had tendered their resignations and would soon cease to hold office and fresh "no confidence" motions would have to be tabled in case they again came to power. Asked as to why Mr. *Fazlul Huq* chose to resign along with his collegues, Mr. Suhrawardy held that the Cabinet was jointly responsible to the Legislature and that the logical sequence of resignation by a majority of Ministers was the Premier's resignation as well, otherwise the Premier could have been justifiably dismissed by the Governor. Besides, the Cabinet represented the Coalition Party and when Ministers, representing the majority in the Coalition Party tendered their resignation, it would have been most improper for the Premier to remain in office and fill up vacancies.

Mr. *Suhrawardy* held the view that the Governor should constitutionally call on the leader of the largest single political party inside the Legislature to form the new Cabinet and it would be quite proper to prorogue the Assembly immediately after the new Cabinet is formed so as to give time to the new Cabinet to explain its programme to the country and secure its approval before functioning in the Legislature. He cited the example of Assam where, after the fall of the Saadullah Ministry, when the Bardoloi Ministry was formed, the Assam Assembly was immediately prorogued.

"In spite of our best efforts", Mr. *Suhrawardy* said, "we failed to persuade Mr. *Fazlul Huq* to give up his support to the Progressive Assembly Party, which composed as it is of members from within the ranks of the present Coalition Party, was bound to hamper unity within the Coalition Party. Mr. Huq apparently made large promises to the Progressive Group members and to the *Sarat Bose* group and he could not get out of them. We even offered to consider expansion at a later stage, but he forfeited our confidence by encouraging dissension within our ranks and it became quite impossible any longer to work with him."

Mr. *Suhrawardy's* citation of the example of the prorogation of the Assam Assembly seemed to miss the point that in the case of Assam there existed no group at that time in Assam which without being given time would have been able to form a stable Government, whereas now in the Bengal Assembly, Mr. *Fazlul Huq* has a definite majority and would be able to face the Legislature immediately after he forms his Cabinet.

Further, at a meeting of party leaders held prior to the prorogation of the previous session of the Bengal Assembly, the Governor gave an assurance that the present session of the Assembly would be given an opportunity to record its confidence or want of it in the Ministry.

It is interesting to record in this connection here that Mr. *Fqzlul Huq* wrote a letter to the Governor pointing out the strength he commanded in the Assembly which seemed to be somewhere around 150 in a House of 249, and that constitutionally he should be summoned to form the Cabinet.

MR. HUQ ACCEPTS LEADERSHIP

On the 3rd. December Mr. *A. K.* Fazlul Huq accepted the leadership of the newly formed Progressive Coalition Party of the Bengal Assembly. In announcing his decision, Mr. Huq issued the following statement :—

"It is with humility and with pardonable pride that I accept the leadership of the Progressive Coalition Party, which has been kindly offered to me by the leaders of the various sections in the House. The formation of this party,

bringing together as it does the diverse elements in India's national life, is an event unprecedented in the history of India, and should, I hope, be an augury not only for the cessation of communal strife, but also for the carrying out of a programme for the good of all sections of the people in this country. Our united efforts will henceforth be directed towards the achievement of our common purpose and common ideals.

'I wish to avail myself of this opportunity, as President of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League, to express my grateful thanks to those members of the Muslim League who have kindly offered the benefit of their advice and support by joining the new Progressive Coalition Party under my leadership. I am convinced that, despite any propaganda that may be made against them, they are loyal and staunch members of the Muslim League who have always upheld, as I am sure they will always do, the best traditions of the League. I have not the slightest doubt that they are the true exponents of the spirit and ideals of the Muslim League.

"The present Progressive Coalition Party is composed of members of the Muslim League, the Krishak Proja, the Congress, the Hindu Maha Sabha, the Nationalists, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians, Labour members, Scheduled Castes and other elements of the legislature. It is my firm belief that it is this party alone that can bring relief to all communities. We will work with a united purpose for the good of all communities and interests.

"I hope that every home in Bengal will stand solidly behind this *entente* to enable it to fulfil its purpose.

"I think, I ought to make my position *vis-a vis* the Coalition Party absolutely clear. This party was formed in 1937 with the object of supporting the Coalition Ministry under my leadership. In pursuance of a decision taken by the majority, the Council of Ministers tendered their resignation on Monday, the 1st of December, 1941, without obtaining its mandate. Its members have now formed themselves into separate parties. For these reasons the coalition party of 1937, has obviously ceased to exist. I was therefore justified in accepting the leadership of the progressive coalition party in the confident hope that it will usher in a new era of peace and prosperity."

Strength of New Alliance

The newly formed Progressive Coalition Party, whose leadership was accepted by Mr. Fazlul Huq, claimed to have a strength of 119 members, composed of the following groups: Mr. Sarat Bose's Party, 28, the Krishak Proja Party, 19, the Progressive Assembly Party, 42, the Independent Scheduled Castes Group, 12, the Nationalist Hindus, 14, Anglo-Indians, 3, Labour, 1.

Peogressive Coalition Party Formed

The first formal meeting of the Progressive Coalition Party was held, on the 4th. December, at the residence of the Chief Minister, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, who was unanimously elected Leader.

One hundred and two members, belonging to the various groups in the Assembly, forming the Coalition, attended the meeting, besides several members of the Upper House.

The name of Mr. *Huq* was proposed by Mr. *Sarat Chandra Bose*, Leader of the Bose Group, and was seconded by Mr. *Shamsuddin Ahmed*, Leader of the Krishak Proja Party. The proposal was supported by Dr. *Shyma Prasad Mookerjee*, Leader of the Nationalist Party, *Nawab Musharruff Hossain*, Judicial and Legislative Minister, *Khan Bahadur Hashem Ali* Khan, Deputy Leader of the Progressive Assembly Party, Mr. *Hem Chandra Nasar*, Leader of the Independent Scheduled Caste Party, and Mr. *J. W. Chippendale* (Anglo-Indian).

Mr. *Huq*, in the course of a short speech, said that he expected great things in Bengal as a result of the formation of this party, which represented the different parties and interests in the legislature. He hoped that the message of this party would go to the remotest villages of Bengal and Bengal would stand united in solving her economic and other vital problems.

Old Coalition Party Dissolved

Strong condemnation of the "conduct of Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Huq* in betraying the Ministetialist Coalition darty (of which he was the Leader) by forming the Progressive Assembly Party and by accepting the leadership of a coalition of some members of the Opposition parties" was recorded in a resolution adopted at a

metting of the Ministeralist Coalition party held, on the 4th. December, at the Council House. The members of the newly-formed Progressive Assembly Party who were also members of the Ministerialist Coalition Party, did not attend the meeting.

The meeting also expressed its "want of confidence in Mr. Fazlul Huq for seceding from the party with some of its members and thereby bringing about the resignation of the present Cabinet."

The meeting declared the Ministerialist Coalition Party dissolved "in view of the fact that Mr. Fazlul Huq and his group were constituent elements of the party formed in 1937 and that he and some members of his group have seceded from it."

It was announced at the meeting that the members of the Assembly Scheduled Castes Party, led by Mr. *M. B. Mullick*, Minister for Co-operative Credit and Rural Indebtedness, would support and work with the newly-formed Bengal Legislature Muslim League Party in carrying on parliamentary activity.

The meeting was attended by 72 members of the Legislature, including six Ministers, with the hon. Nawab Bahadur of Dacca in the chair.

MR. JINNAH'S STATEMENT

Mr. *M. A. Jinnah* in a statement to the press on the 5th. December, says :—

"I congratulate the members of the Muslim League in Bengal on having formed the Muslim League Party in the Assembly and having elected Sir *Nazimuddin* as their leader. I appeal to every Muslim Leaguer in particular and other Muslim members of the Bengal Assembly to join the Party and maintain the solidarity and unity of Muslim Bengal to meet the machinations of over half a dozen miscellaneous groups, who have come together and call themselves as a Coalition Party merely on the basis of causing disruptions amongst the Mussalmans and are otherwise poles asunder. And Mr. *Fazlul Huq* has accepted the leadership of such a combination.

"I regret that Mr. *Fazlul Huq* has been a party to intrigues with other groups and has broken away from the Muslim League. He has been now for some considerable time trying to stab the Muslim League in the back and now his open departure from the League, I hope, will enable the Musiim League Party to work on sound, healthy and honourable lines.

"Finally, I appeal to all Muslims inside and outside the legislature to stand by the Laadership of Sir Nazimuddin and the Muslim League Party in the Assembly. I assure Sir Nazimuddin and the Muslim League Party in the Assembly the fullest support and help of the All India Muslim League."

LEAGUE MINISTERS' STATEMENT

"Mr. Fazlul Huq had created such a position that inevitably he had no alternative but to tender his resignation and the resignation of his Cabinet." This observation was made in a joint statement issued, on the 5th. December, over the signatures of four Muslim Ministers, namely, Sir Nazimuddin, the Nawab Bahabur of Dacca, Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy and Mr. Tamizuddin Khan, explaining the circumstances which, according to them, had led to the resignation of the Huq Cabinet.

The statement among other things observes : "All are aware that Mr. Huq has been off and on, during the last two years, if not longer, in secret consultation with Mr. Sarat Bose, the Leader of the Congress Forward Bloc and certain Hindu Mahasabha leaders for the formation of an alternative Ministry. We did not pay much attention to these attempts. In the interests of Muslim solidarity and in the belief that Muslim Bengal desired that we should work together as long as it was humanly possible to do so, we put up with all these and many such other attempts. Matters. however, came to a crisis when Mr. Fazlul Huq wrote a letter to the Secretary of the All-India Muslim League, casting aspersions against Mr. Jinnah, and attempting to create a serious division in Muslim ranks by raising the Bengali and non-Bengali question in relation to All-India politics and threatening to dissociate the Muslims of Bengal from the All-India Muslim League. He invited some members of the Coalition Party to his house and incited them to bring, without as much as referring the matter to the Coalition Party, a motion of 'no-confidence' against one of us, who, as the Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League, had had the temerity to uphold the honour and prestige of the League. He kept on encouraging his supporters to revolt from the Coalition Party. That resulted in the formation of the so-called Progressive Group. Disregarding his obligations to the Coalition Party he accepted the leadership of this Group."

"As this struck at the very foundation of the Coalition Party, it became only a matter of time when the Ministry as a whole would fall. In the interest however of the Muslim community we made every possible effort to set him right with the Muslim League and to induce him to withdraw the allegations he had made in his letter. Letters were exchanged between us at Darjeeling, and the working committee of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League affirmed its confidence in him on the basis of the statements in his letter to us. We understood that all matters between us had been adjusted and that the matter was closed. A meeting of the Coalition Party was held on November 26 at the residence of Nawab Musharrut Hossain. Already notices of motions of 'no-confidence' had been sent against two of us. Realising that the Coalition Party would, by an overwhelming majority give a mandate to all its members to oppose such motions in the House, Mr. Fazlul Huq prevented any decision, or even discussion on the subject, and on the plea that such a decision would disrupt the Coalition Party, stated that he was working for an adjournment of the meeting of the Assembly fixed for the next day, in order to gain time to compose the differences in the Party. Mr. Huq had already gained the consent of the Opposition groups to an adjournment by assuring them that he wanted time to strengthen his position so that the motion of 'no-confidence' may be successful and may not be defeated. While, therefore, we were expecting and hoping that, in terms of his statement to the Party, he would make efforts to bring about a compromise, we learnt to our astonishment that the very next day a meeting of the Progressive Party was held under his presidentship and the Party reiterated its determination to support the 'no-confidence' motion.

"Mr. Fazlul Huq continued to work for a coalition with the Forward Bloc, the Hindu Mahasabha and other Opposition parties. A meeting was held at the residence of Mr. J. C. Gupta on the evening of November 28, with all the Opposition groups, at which Mr. Fazlul Huq was present. Mr. Sarat Bose drew up a document in his own handwriting, which was signed by himself as Leader of the Forward Bloc, by Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmed as Leader of the Opposition Krishak Proja Party, by Khan Bahadur Hashim Ali Khan as the Deputy Leader of the Progressive Party, and by Mr. Hem Chandra Naskar as Leader of the Independent Scheduled Castes on behalf of themselves and their members. The signatories formed themselves into a new party, namely, the Progressive Coalition Party, and solemnly declared that they 'accepted' Mr. Fazlul Huq as their Leader. A Cabinet meeting was hurriedly called on November 29, and the public are aware that a Communique was issued in which Mr. Fazlul Huq denied everything. On November 30, at a meeting of the Progressive Party at which he presided, it was decided to move a vote of 'no-confidence' against six Ministers of his Cabinet, while vigorous attempts continued to be made to collect signatures for the newly-formed Progressive Coalition Party.

"The Working Committee of the League has directed that a Bengal Legislature Muslim League Party should be formed and that all Muslim Leaguers should join it. Mr. Fazlul Huq did not attend the meeting of the Working Committee and now issues a statement congratulating certain members on disobeying the mandate of the Working Committee which represents the Muslim Leaguers of Bengal. Mr. Huq has chosen to defy the orders of the Muslim League of which he is the President.

"We leave the public to judge whether under these circumstances it was possible for any self-respecting person to continue to work with Mr. Fazlul Huq as a member of his Cabinet."

MR. JINNAH'S TELEGRAM TO MR. HUQ

The following telegram was sent by Mr. Jinnah to Mr. Fazlul Huq on the 8th. December :—

"Your telegram dated the 7th. The statement embodied therein is contrary to facts and documentary evidence. According to known facts, your conduct amounts to treachery. I am not influenced by individual quarrels, of which you never informed me before, nor even now as to what it is. You have defied the Provincial League and its decision, of which you happen to be President, without reference to the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League or me. You have formed a coalition. It is not open to individual members of the League to form a clique or coalition without the approval of the Provincial or the All-India Muslim League. You have declined to join the Muslim League Party formed by the Provincial Muslim League. You have betrayed the former coalition party, of which you were the Leader, and in which the Muslim League Group was the

largest, by your intrigues with parties in opposition, behind the League's back. I cannot postpone action, and allow dilatory tactics and your passing off, in the meantime, as a loyal Muslim Leaguer. I give you an opportunity to send me your fullest explanation if you have any further explanation. You may send it before the 10th, or else I must proceed to take action."

MR. HUQ'S REPLY TO MR. JINNAH.

Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Huq* sent the following reply to the telegram of the League President Mr. M. A. Jinnah :—

'I am most painfully surprised at your telegram received to-day. It is incorrect that I have joined miscellaneous groups, whose only object is the breaking of Muslim League and Muslim solidarity in Bengal Nor is it correct that what I have done is contrary to all rules of the constitution of the Provincial and All-India Muslim League. Nor is it correct that I have defied the Muslim League. The present party alignments are exactly the same as when the Coalition Party was formed in 1937 and modified in 1939, with the sole addition of the Forward Bloc which is on the analogy of the lines on which the League formed a pact and is working with the Forward Bloc in the Calcutta Corporation. Interested persons are invoking the League for personal ends. I request you as President to judge the situation impartially and postpone action until I have been given full hearing".

ASSEMBLY MEETS AND ADJOURNS

The Bengal Legislative Assembly, which met on the 8th. December after a 10-day recess, adjourned without transacting any business as a mark of respect to the memory of the Deputy Speaker, Mr. *Ashraf Ali*, who died last night.

There was a large attendance of members, who occupied their seat according to old arrangements. The members of the outgoing Cabinet, excepting Mr. Fazlul Huq, sat along with the members of the old Ministerialist Coalition Party. Mr. Huq was occupying a seat in the Treasury benches. The prominent absentees were Sir K. Nazimuddin, the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca and Maharaja Srish Chandra Nandy of Cossimbazar, members of the former Cabinet.

NEW MINISTRY FORMED.

On the 18th. December Mr. Fazlul Huq, who formed the new Cabinet, took the oaths of office and secrecy along with his two colleagues, the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca and Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee. His Excellency the Governor, in consultation with the Chief Minister, appointed Mr. Santosh Kumar Basu, M.L.A., Khan Bahadur M. Abdul Karim, M.L.C., Mr. P. N. Banerjee, M.L.A., and Khan Bahadur M. Hashem Ali Khan, M.L.A., Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmed, M.L.A., and Mr. Upendra Nath Burman, M.L.A., to be members of the Council of Ministers.

ASSEMBLY URGES RELEASE OF MR. BOSE

12th. DECEMBER :—The Assembly met this afternoon, with three members of the newly formed Cabinet in the Treasury Benches. It adopted a resolution urging the Government of Bengal to take steps immediately to secure the early release of Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, who has been placed under detention under the Defence of India Rules. The motion, which was moved by Mr. *Santosh Kumar Basu*, Deputy Leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party, of which Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose is the Leader, reads as follows :—'This Assembly is of the opion that the Government of Bengal should take immediately all necessary steps to secure the early release of Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose who has been placed under detention." The motion was passed without opposition.

After the motion was adopted, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, the Premier, informed the House that the constitution of the Cabinet would be complete on Monday. Therefore, he suggested that the House be adjourned till a later date. The Speaker, after consulting the leader of the Opposition. Sir Nazimuddin, adjourned the House till Tuesday, the 16th. Dec.

16th. DECEMBER :—When the Assembly met this afternoon, the hon. Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Hnq*, Chief Minister, informed the House that the final selection of the Ministry had been made and the names recommended by him had been approved by His Excellency the Governor. The new Ministers would be sworn in to-morrow, the Chief Minister added.

In the circumstances, the Hon. Speaker adjourned the House till the next day. Before doing so, the Speaker told a member of the Opposition that if the special motion, of which he had given notice, urging the the release of Allama Mashriqui, the Khaksar leader, received the consent of His Excellency the Goveruor it would be taken up in the House to-morrow.

Speakers Attitude to No-Confidence Motion

Explaining his attitude in case notice of any 'no-confidence' motion against the new Ministry was given, the Speaker said that such a motion would come up before the House to-morrow for admission, and if the House gave leave, the motion would be taken up for discussion on Friday the 19th. December.

The Chief Minister laid on the table the Bengal Turbulent Areas Ordinance, which had been issued when the Legislature was not in session.

In this connection the Speaker said that if there was any resolution relating to the Ordinance, the resolution would be discussed to-morrow and if there was any time left after disposing of that resolution, the special motion relating to the release of Allama Mashriqui, would be taken up.

Detention of Mr. Sarat Bose

17th. DECEMBER :—Information as to what steps the Bengal Government were taking to secure the release of Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, now detained under the Defence of India Rules, under the orders of the Government of India, was sought by an Opposition member by means of a short notice question to-day. Replying, the Chief Minister, Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Huq*, said that the proceedings of the House in respect to the motion passed by the Assembly the other day, at the instance of a Ministerialist Party member, requesting the Government to take immediately all necessary steps to secure the early release of Mr. Bose, would be forwarded to the proper authorities in due course.

Asked as to whether the Government would only forward the proceedings of the House regarding the above motion or add any recommendation, the Chief Minister said that the matter would be considered by the new Cabinet when it met.

Asked as to whether the Government proposed to lay on the table a copy of their representation to the Government of India on the release of Mr. Bose, the Chief Minister said that the matter had to await the orders of the Cabinet.

The Chief Minister replied in the negative when asked if any attempt had been made by the Government to find out the truth or otherwise of the statement contained in the Government of India communique issued in connection with the arrest of Mr. Bose.

Release of Khaksar Leader

In regard to the special motion given notice of yesterday by another member of the opposition asking the Bengal Government to make representations to the India Government for the release of Allama Mashriqi, the Khaksar leader, the Chief Minister pointed out that the Khaksar leader was under detention under the Defence of India Rules under the orders of the Government of India and the Bengal Government had nothing to do with his arrest and detention. In view of the notice received of the special motion, the Bengal Government was seeking information as to the reasons of his arrest, the present state of his health and the present place of his detention. When this information was received, it would consider the matter in the Cabinet and the Minister had not the slightest doubt that consent to the special motion would be given. But, as at present advised, he could not give his consent to the motion.

Replying to a query by the Speaker, the Chief Minister said that the Government was not proceeding with the Secondary Education Bill for the time being. The Assembly adjourned till the next day, the **18th. December**, when it was *prorogued*.

The Bengal Legislative Council

Monsoon Session—Calcutta—28th. July to 12th. Sept. 1941

Adjournment Motions Ruled out

The monsoon session of the Bengal Legislative Council (Upper House) commenced at Calcutta on the 28th. July 1941 when four official Bills were introduced. The Bills were, the Bengal Criminal Law (Industrial Areas) Amendment Bill 1941, the Workmen's Compensation (Bengal Amendment) Bill, 1941, the Bengal Maternity Benefit (Tea Estates) Bill 1941, and the Bengal Patni Taluk Regulation (Amendment) Bill 1941.

The President, Mr. *Satyendra Chandra Mitra*, ruled out of order an adjournment motion given notice of by Mr. *Lalit Chandra Das* (Congress), in order to discuss the situation which had arisen "out of the Government's failure to adopt measures to alleviate the distress of the people of the province due to the inadequate supply and consequent high prices" of the very necessities of life, including rice, which was now sold at Rs. 7-8 per maund.

Agricultural Debtors Bill

Consideration of the Bengal Agricultural Debtors (Second Amendment) Bill, 1941, was taken up and the discussion had not concluded when the House adjourned till the 30th July when the Minister in charge, Mr. *M. B. Mullick*, informed the Council that some of the amendments tabled, required the previous sanction of the Government. He therefore, requested the President to postpone further consideration of the Bill for the time being.

At the outset, the President postponed consideration of an adjournment motion given notice of by Mr. *Lalit Chandra Das* (Congress) till the Home Minister, *Sir Nazimuddin*, now ill, was able to attend the Council. The object of the motion was to discuss the situation which had arisen out of the Bengal Government's order, withdrawing the concession of conditional release to terrorist prisoners. The House adjourned till Friday.

Promotion of Communal Harmony

1st. AUGUST :—A non-official resolution requesting the Government of Bengal to draw up and put into operation a suitable scheme for the promotion of communal harmony in the province of Bengal as early as possible, was unanimously adopted in the Council this afternoon. The Home Minister, Sir *Nazimuddin* said that communal harmony was more a matter for the people of the province, belonging to all communities, to solve rather than for the Government. There was no doubt that unless Muslims and Hindus realised their responsibility and cultivated a feeling of tolerance and accommodation this question could not be solved. "While on some public platforms and in the legislature speeches are made that there should be communal harmony, at the same time in the press and on other platforms many bitter speeches against each other are made. If this thing goes on, no scheme whatsoever can help in bringing about better communal relations. In this matter, I feel that a very great responsibility lies on the press and in their hands lies to a very great extent the solution of the problem". "It has been alleged", the Home Minister continued, "that the Government by its action have also contributed towards the deterioration in communal relations. I do not think this is the occasion where the Government should go in and give a reply. But I can assure the House and through the House the people of the province that the Government in all their actions and in all their legislative measures have placed the interests of the province in the fore-front and have made no differentiation between communities" The Home Minister expressed the opinion that at present the communal situation in the province was in a very bad state. Everywhere there was a feeling of hostility between the two communities. He, therefore suggested that responsible leaders of both sides and the newspapers should take up the question, and try to confine the question in its proper sphere. Concluding, the Home Minister said, "While we are fighting among ourselves, Bengal may be threatened with a serious danger so far as the war is concerned. No one can tell when the realities of the war may come upon us. So far we have not been personally affected, but it is possible that in

the near future the cities of Bengal may be bombed or may be attacked in other ways. I feel that Bengal is faced with an imminent danger of war. So it is the duty of all to create a situation where there is no disturbance of peace and to create communal harmony, unity and solidarity so that we can face the common danger and common affliction, and we can stand together and face the danger. I do not want to be understood that I am merely creating a bogey, but I am sure that all of you who read the papers and watch the trend of events cannot be ignorant of the fact that what I stated is within the bound of not only possibility but of very great probability."

4th. & 5th. AUGUST :—The adjournment motion tabled by Mr. *Lalit Chandra Das* regarding the recent Government order about the conditional release of the "terrorist" prisoners fell through as the requisite number of members (13) did not stand up in support of permission being given to Mr. Das to move the motion. The Congress party was fairly present.

Agricultural Debtors Bill

The House concluded the second reading of the Bengal Agricultural Debtors Second Amendment Bill and passed a number of amendments, mostly of drafting nature. The discussion almost remained confined between the Hon. Mr. *M. B. Mallick* and the mover of the amendment.

Of the important amendments that were passed by the House, one provided that application for restoration of possession of immovable properties sold in execution of decrees or certificate of debt might be made if, among other conditions, the sale was held before the payment was made under section 2 of sub-section 3 in relation to the Board established for the local area within which such person ordinarily reside at the time of the sale. By another amendment the bonafide transfers not affected by the registered instrument, namely, lease or a Mohamedan gift which were perfectly valid in law were excluded from the operation of the bill.

The third reading of the bill was taken up and the bill was passed when the Council met on the next day, the **5th. August**, when supporting the Bill "with some reluctance", Mr. *J. B. Ross*, Leader of the European Party, warned the hon. Minister in charge of the Bill and the Coalition Party, that, in future attempts by Government to introduce legislation which had restrospective effect would be strongly resisted by his party.

Official Bills Passed

12th. AUGUST :—Four official bills were disposed of by the Council to-day. Two of these Bills, the Eastern Frontier Rifles (Bengal Battalion Amendment) Bill and the Bengal Touts Bill, as adopted by the Assembly, were passed and the others, the Workmen's Compensation (Bengal Amendment) Bill and the Bengal Maternity Benefit (Tea Estates) Bill were referred to Select Committees. The House then adjourned till August 15.

Immigration into Burma

15th. AUGUST :—"Various terms of the Indo-Burma Immigration Agreement, such as the literacy test, the payment of high entrance and residential fees, and registration of Indians are highly objectionable and discriminatory."—this was the unanimous verdict given by the Council in the form of a non-official resolution, on the recent agreement between the Governments of India and Burma on the question of Indian Immigration into Burma. The resolution, which was moved by Mr. *Nur Ahmad* (Coalition), urged the Central Government to take necessary steps for their satisfaction before the Agreement was ratified.

Expressing the views of the European Group on the matter, Mr. *W. B. G. Laidlaw* said that although they could not support the resolution they should like to put on record and convey to the Government of India that the country was entitled to be consulted in matters of such far-reaching importance before authority was given to anybody to initiate an agreement of this nature. He strongly criticised the Government Order issued in a notification published in the Gazette of the 21st July to the end that with effect from August 1 all persons were prohibited from leaving British India for Burma by sea for the purpose of unskilled work. The result of this "peremptory" order had been hardship on labourers, who had in all good faith made their way to the port only to find on arrival that they would not be allowed to leave this country. Furthermore, Mr.

Laidlaw continued, not only did the Government give the public no indication beforehand that this prohibition would shortly be coming into force, but no official arrangements whatever seemed to have been made to determine who was and who was not an unskilled worker. It was actually left to the public to do the best they could to carry out the terms of the order.

The resolution was supported by members on behalf of the Krishak Proja and Progressive Nationalist Parties.

Intervening in the debate, the Revenue Minister, *Sir Bijoy Prosad Singh Roy*, informed the House that the Government of Bengal were not actually consulted before the Agreement was entered into by the Central Government. He assured the House that the Government of Bengal were always anxious to discharge their duties to the province and they could not do anything or would not agree to any terms which might adversely affect the interests of the people here. He wanted that there should be no misapprehension as regards the Government attitude towards the interests of the Bengali immigrants in Burma.

The Council also adopted a resolution, moved by Mr. *Nur Ahmad* (Coalition), urging that a representation be made to the Government of India for taking immediate steps for finding out suitable markets for the surplus quantities of jute produced in Bengal and not required for the Indian mills and also for adopting such other suitable measures as might be deemed necessary to bring the price level of jute to normal condition. The Council then adjourned till August 18.

RATIONING OF PETROL

18th. AUGUST :—The rationing of petrol by the Government of Bengal in so far as it had affected the members of the Legislature, was discussed in the Council to-day. Prof. *Humayun Kabir* (Krishak Proja) said that as a result of restriction imposed on the consumption of petrol, the members of the House, who had to attend to work in connection with the activities of the legislature, were put to great inconvenience. Mr. Kabir requested the president to take up the matter with the proper authorities and ask them to make arrangements for additional supplies of petrol to the members of the House.

The suggestion was supported by members from all sections of the House. *Khan Bahadur Nazimuddin Ahmed* (Coalition) said that the matter should be referred to the Privileges Committee. The Revenue Minister, *Sir Bijoy Prosad Singh Roy*, said that he did not consider this to be a matter of privilege of the House. It was, he pointed out, the question of inconvenience to the members who maintained cars. He, however, said that the rationing authority had sufficient discretion to allow additional quantity of petrol when necessary. The *President* said that the matter should be referred to the Privileges Committee which would decide whether or not it was a question of privilege. In the meantime, he added, if any member made an application to the rationing authority for supply of additional petrol, he (the President) would endorse the application, if the member concerned thought it necessary.

LAND REVENUE COMMISSION REPORT

19th. & 20th. AUGUST :—The Bengal Land Revenue Commission report was discussed in the Council this afternoon. Speaking on behalf of the European Group, Mr. *J. B. Ross* expressed the view that the main proposal of the majority of the Commission for state acquisition of all rent-receiving interests, was impracticable and would serve no useful purpose. Dr. *Radha Kumud Mookerjee* maintained that a mere change in the Land Revenue system of the Province would not bring about agricultural prosperity. The Coalition members who participated in the discussion pointed out that the consensus of opinion was not in favour of the Permanent Settlement and that the Government should lose no time in giving effect to the main recommendations of the Commission. The discussions had not concluded when the House adjourned till the next day, the 20th. August, when some of the speakers were strongly in favour of the abolition of the Permanent Settlement. According to them, the recommendation of the Land Revenue Commission for compensation at a flat rate was unjustified. They suggested that if compensation was given for the sake of equity, payments should be made not in cash but in annuity bonds. Another section of the House was of the opinion that it would not be advisable for the Government to proceed with legislation on the basis of the recommendations of the Land Revenue Commission at this time. But in case the Government decided to give effect to the recommendations, they should do so with extreme caution, and there should be some differentiation between big

land-lords and small land-lords. They suggested that the Government should approach the Governor-General with a request to obtain the opinion of the Federal Court on the subject. The House then adjourned till August 22.

Bus Drivers' & Conductors' Bill

22nd. AUGUST :—Thirty non-official Bills were on the agenda before to-day's meeting of the Council. Of these, three bills were passed, eight were introduced, three were referred to select committees, one was sent for re-circulation, one was "killed" and the rest were moved. The Bill that was killed was the Bengal Bus Drivers and Conductors Bill, introduced by Prof. *Humayun Kabir*. Prof. Kabir moved for reference of the Bill to a select committee. The Bill sought to regulate the conditions of employment of bus drivers and conductors and to secure their interest, as well as those of the trade itself. Opposing reference of the Bill to a select committee on behalf of the Government, Sir *B. P. Singh Roy*, Revenue Minister, pointed out that the Bill was not going to benefit the bus drivers and conductors, but, on the other hand, it would seriously injure the interests of the bus trade. Mr. *Kabir's* motion for reference of the Bill to a select committee was rejected by the House. The Council then adjourned till August 28.

Workmen's Compensation Bill

28th. AUGUST :—The Workmen's Compensation (Bengal Amendment) Bill, which was introduced in the current session, was passed by the Council to-day. The object of the Bill is to provide for the appointment of official medical referees, to whom any medical question in dispute between the employers and the workmen may be referred by the Commissioners for workmen's compensation for a report and this report shall be binding on both parties.

State Aid to Industries Bill

The Bengal State Aid to Industries (Amendment) Bill was referred to a Select Committee of the House on the motion of the Government. The object of the amending Bill is to relax the rigidity of some of the provisions of the Bengal State Aid to Industries Act of 1934, which is standing in the way of the measure being applied as liberally as was originally intended by the Government. The House then adjourned.

Fight against Tuberculosis

29th. AUGUST :—A resolution urging upon the Government to take steps for the immediate provision of 100 free beds in the Jadavpur Tuberculosis Hospital was passed by the Council to-day, which was a day for the consideration of non-official resolutions. Mr. *Latit Chandra Das*, who moved the resolution, stressed the magnitude of the tuberculosis problem which faced the country. The number of people suffering from this fell disease, he said, was increasing by leaps and bounds. Jadavpur Hospital was the only institution of its kind which had efficient arrangement for treatment of persons suffering from tuberculosis. Starting with only four beds in 1923 the hospital was now running 200 beds. There was increasing demand for accommodation in the hospital from all quarters of the province, but the authorities of the hospital had to refuse hundreds of people for want of accommodation. Government had now arranged for only 10 free beds in the Hospital for people from rural areas. It was too insufficient and even the provision of 500 beds would not be enough.

Educational Improvement

Mr. *Nur Ahmed* moved a resolution urging the Government to take early steps to bring about a uniform and all-round improvement in the quality and nature of education imparted at present in various schools and colleges in the following direction :—(a) introduction of suitable vocational industrial training. (b) introduction of appropriate physical training in upper classes of primary schools, middle and secondary and other high schools with the purpose of making the pupils military minded (c) introduction of mid-day tiffin in schools, (d) increase in the number of scholarships for boys and girls of primary schools and introduction of such changes in the syllabus and curriculam as are deemed necessary to make the education really beneficial and useful in all possible ways for the recipients of the same. Replying, Sir *Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy* said that so far as question (a) was concerned the education department of the Bengal Government were considering the valuable memorandum which the Educational Commissioner of the Government of India had prepared. As regards (b) there were difficulties,

financial and otherwise. Now the hands of the military authorities were much too full and their advice and instruction would be available for the purpose. The Government however hoped to reach a decision in proper time in the matter. As regards (c) Government had accepted the underlying principle and had already made a budget provision of Rs. 50,000 as an encouragement to the movement. The last question was under consideration of the Minister of Education. The resolution was passed without opposition.

BILL FOR CONTROL OF POLICE

2nd. SEPTEMBER :—The Calcutta and Suburban Police (Amendment) Bill, 1941, was passed and the St. Thomas' School (Amendment) Bill, 1941, was taken into consideration. The first mentioned Bill was sponsored by Hon. *Khawaja Sir Nazimuddin* who said that the condition of boarding houses where seamen put up was very bad. Government tried to improve their condition and prosecuted some of the proprietors of the boarding houses but the prosecution failed on the ground that the present Act provided that licenses had to be taken only in the case of boarding houses where food was supplied ; but no licenses were required where food was not supplied. Government were of opinion that unless and until taking out of licenses in the case of boarding houses where food was not supplied was provided for, they could not impose any restriction and exercise control over these boarding houses. For that purpose this amending bill was brought which, when passed, would enable Government to exercise control over all boarding houses whether they supplied food or not, The bill, as stated, was passed.

ST. THOMAS' SCHOOL AMEND. BILL

3rd. SEPTEMBER :—The St. Thomas' School (Amendment) Bill, 1941 sponsored by the Hon. *Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy* was passed and the Bengal Markets Regulation Bill was referred to a select committee at the instance of the Government. The sitting of the Council was very brief and there was no discussion on any of the two bills. The St. Thomas Bill amends the present Act in order to provide for two additional co-opted members on the Governing body of the School.

RAW JUTE TAXATION BILL

4th. SEPTEMBER :—The Bengal Raw Jute Taxation Bill was taken into consideration in the Council to-day. Moving that the Bill be taken into consideration, Mr. *Suhrawardy* said that the scheme of the regulation of the cultivation of jute had met with outstanding success, despite propaganda against the restriction scheme in the country-side by interested parties the cultivators had co-operated fully in carrying out the Government's scheme. In order to finance the carrying out of measures for the stabilisation of prices, the improvement of marketing and generally to further the interests of jute growers and industry as a whole, a considerable sum of money was required. As this money could not be found out of the ordinary revenue, the present Bill, which was expected to yield Rs 50 lakhs in normal years at the rate of two annas per maund of jute, had been brought forward. Mr. Suhrawardy maintained that under the prevailing conditions in the country on account of the war the incidence of taxation would not fall upon the growers and if they took the worst possible view it might fall upon them to a very limited extent. Mr. *W. F. Scottt Farr*, supporting the motion on behalf of the European Group, expressed the opinion that no one could quarrel with the principles underlying the measure. The primary object of the Bill was the stabilisation of the jute prices. Government's object was to put a check on fluctuations in jute prices. Any such scheme would be welcomed by the trade and what would be still more welcomed would be the indication from the Minister of the measures he proposed to undertake for the purpose. Several members from the Coalition Party spoke in support of the motion, while some members of the Krishak Proja Party opposed it. The House then adjourned.

BENGAL & DEFENCE MEASURES

5th. SEPTEMBER :—The question whether the Government of Bengal should bear the expenses to be incurred in connection with the defence measures, including those of the A. R. P. was discussed in the Council to-day on a non-official motion. The Council by a majority vote (European group dissenting) declared that the expenses should not be charged on the revenues of the province but should be borne entirely by the Government of India. Mr. *Lalit Chandra Das* moved the motion requesting the Government of Bengal to convey to the Government of India

and the appropriate authorities that all expenses for the defence of India, including those for Air Raid Precautionary measures should not be charged on the revenues of the province but should be borne entirely by the Government of India. Mr. Das said that the defence of India was a Central subject, the provincial Governments had nothing to do in the matter, and, as such, all the expenses should be borne out of the revenues of the Central Government. The Air-Raid Precautionary measures, the sinking of tube wells etc. were all connected with the defence of India. The civic guards performed semi-military services which had been necessitated by the war situation, and as such fell within the meaning of the defence of India. The money required for all these should therefore be borne by the Central Government.

The Atlantic Charter & Pakistan

The Council then considered another non-official motion of Mr. *Nur Ahmed* which was amended by Mr. *Abdul Quasem* welcoming the historic eight points joint declaration made recently by Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill which stated that "the constitutional issue in India should be settled with the least avoidable delay after the termination of the present war on the basis of agreement between the principal parties and the constitution of India should be framed on the lines indicated in the Lahore resolution of the all-India Muslim League—popularly known as the "Pakistan" resolution." When this motion was taken up all members excepting two belonging to the Opposition left the Chamber and there was only one member of the European group present at the time when it was put to vote. The two members of the Opposition recorded their emphatic protest against the motion. As a matter of fact the Coalition Party discussed and carried the motion when the House was almost deserted by the members belonging to the Congress, Independent, Krishak Proja, European and other parties in the House. The Council then adjourned till the 8th. Sept.

The Maternity Benefit Bill

8th. SEPTEMBER :—The Bengal Maternity Benefit (Tea Estates) Bill, 1941, was passed to-day. The system of paying maternity benefits to women employees in plantations, the objects and reasons of the Bill stated, was in vogue in the majority of the plantations, but it was considered that some sort of legislative compulsion was necessary to regularise the system and to extend it to those plantations where it did not exist at present. The Bill prescribed that maternity benefit which was compulsorily payable should consist of Rs. 12 in cash and the woman should be entitled to it in respect of period of four weeks preceding the expected date of her delivery and 4 weeks immediately following the date of her delivery, provided that the woman had worked in the factory on plantation of the employer from whom she claimed maternity benefit for not less than 150 days in the 12 months immediately preceding the expected date of her delivery. The Bill received unanimous support in the House.

Raw Jute Taxation Bill (contd.)

9th. SEPTEMBER :—The consideration clause by clause of the Bengal Raw Jute Taxation Bill, 1941, as passed by the Assembly, concluded in the Council to-day. Although there was a large number of amendments tabled on behalf of the Coalition Party and the Opposition, none of them was carried, and many were not moved at all.

An attempt was made by the Opposition to reduce the rate of taxation from two annas to one anna per maund. Mr. *B. K. Roy Choudhury* moved an amendment to that effect which was ultimately turned down by 6 to 29 votes. Supporting the amendment of Mr. Roy Choudhury, *Rai Bahadur Manmatha Nath Bose* pointed out that although the intention of the Government were to levy the tax on the jute-mill owners and the shippers, it was probable that it would ultimately have to be paid by the jute growers. From that point of view he pleaded that the rate should be lowered.

10th. SEPTEMBER :—The Bengal Raw Jute Taxation Bill, as passed in the Assembly, was adopted in the Council this afternoon without any modification. Several speakers of the Coalition Party, while supporting the objects and reasons of the Bill, urged the abolition of the Futka market. Mr. *W. F. Scott Farr* of the European Party, while fully agreeing with the principle of the measure, pointed out that the European Party found no fault with the contemplated expenditure

from the proceeds of the Bill for the purpose of jute regulation, so long as the Government bore in mind that to stabilise prices was not the same as to raise prices. He also pointed out that it was a jute regulation scheme and not a jute restriction scheme, and if prices were raised unduly, the Government would kill the goose that laid the golden egg. Replying to the debate, Mr. *H. S. Suhrawardy*, Finance Minister, said that the question of abolition of the Futka market had been considered once at the time of Sir John Anderson, and later, by the present Government. Sir John Anderson was not in favour of its abolition ; and after due considerations, the present Government had found out that it was to the interest of agriculturists that the Futka Market, which was useful for spreading prices, should not be abolished. The Minister expressed the hope that the Bill would result in the benefit to jute growers, for whom it was intended.

ABOLITION OF LOCAL BOARDS BILL

12th. SEPTEMBER :—The House passed a non-official Bill entitled, "The Bengal Local Self-Government (Amendment) Bill" with a minor modification. The aim of the Bill is to give power to the Government to abolish local boards without waiting for the consent of the District Boards concerned.

The House decided to circulate the Bengal Hindu Women's Rights to Agricultural Land Bill for eliciting public opinion by December 31 and concluded the monsoon session.

The Sind Legislative Assembly

Winter Session—Karachi—15th. to 23rd. December 1941

ADJOURNMENT MOTIONS RULED OUT

As many as six adjournment motions were tabled in the Sind Legislative Assembly which opened its winter session at Karachi on the **15th. December 1941** but the Speaker, *Syed Miran Mohammed Shah*, admitted only one tabled by Mr. *N. A. Bechar* (Labour) to discuss a sudden and big rise in the prices of articles of daily necessaries of life, inflicting miseries on workers and poor people generally caused on account of the outbreak of hostilities in the East between Britain and Japan.

Opposing the motion by a member of the Muslim League to discuss the Premier's acceptance of the membership of the National Defence Council, *Khan Bahadur Allah Baksh* said that he had already cleared his position in the course of a statement issued by him at the time of the acceptance of the membership. He was not concerned with the developments that had taken place afterwards in the country and the correspondence between the Viceroy and Mr. Jinnah. The Speaker ruled out the motion.

Among other adjournment motions ruled out by the *Speaker* was one by Dr. *Popatlal* (Congress) to discuss the action of the Government in acquiescing in the irregularity of the appointment of Mr. C. G. Hawes as Chief Engineer. Opposing it, the Premier explained that the Governor had exercised his power in making the appointment, but his Ministers had not acquiesced in it and the matter was still pending before the Ministry.

The Premier then presented the supplementary estimate for the year 1941-42, totalling over Rs. 1,70,000 and the House adjourned.

OFFICIAL BUSINESS

16th. DECEMBER :—Three Government Bills were disposed of to-day by the Assembly. The Bill further to amend the Bombay Irrigation Act of 1879 in its application to the said province as amended by the Select Committee, which was passed by the Assembly, provided for the recovery of Rs. 140 lakhs from the landholders of the Barrage area, being the water course charges payable in 20 annual equcated instalments with interest at the rate of 4½ per cent.

Another Bill adopted by the Assembly empowered the courts conducting enquiries into casualties under the Inland Steam Vessels Act. 1917, to make such order as it deems fit regarding the cost of investigations or any part thereof.

The third Bill amending the Sind Consumption of Intoxicants Restriction Act of 1940 in order to remove certain ambiguity was referred to a Select Committee.

Soldiers' Visit to Village

18th. DECEMBER :—The adjournment motion of Mr. *Mohamed Amin Khoso* to discuss the alleged attack by 600 military men on villagers of Fakir Jogoth in Karachi district, on the 14th. instant, was talked out in this evening. Mr. Khoso deplored the incident in strong terms. and demanded an immediate and impartial enquiry. He said that the Government should compensate the villagers who were helpless and afraid of soldiers.

Other speakers, including Mr. *R. K Sidhwa*, Mr. *Naraindas Bechar* and Miss *Jethi Sipahimalani*, Deputy Speaker, declared that the incident was a very serious one and that the Government should appoint a Committee of five members of the House and take drastic action on their recommendations. They had no desire to censure the Government ; on the contrary, they wanted to strengthen the Government's hands. The Government should also appoint an honest and impartial investigating officer.

Sir *Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah*, Minister for Law and Order, in a brief statement said that he had visited the place, met the villagers and gone to several houses. People had told him that about thirty or forty military people came there, collected all the males and kept them on one side. They tried to search every house, but the women concealed themselves. Sir Ghulam Hussain said that he had found some damage done in houses. Earthen pots, cots and doors were broken. An old woman complained to him that she had been beaten. He asked the police to give them police protection, so that the women might return to their houses. The Minister said that villagers could lodge a complaint as the other side had done or if members preferred it, he was prepared to have an enquiry held by a responsible police officer. He added that the military authorities were also holding an enquiry in the matter.

Mr. *J. Fraser*, a European member, opposing the motion, said that the Opposition members had unnecessarily made much of an incident which had been created by a section of the military force. They were condemning their own Indian soldiers who were one of the finest in the world.

The Premier, *Khan Bahadur Allah Bux*, replying to the debate, said that the members must understand that a court of enquiry was one thing, and making investigation another thing. If they wanted the Government to make legal proceedings in the matter, then he assured the House, the Sind Government would appoint an impartial and independent police officer to institute legal proceedings. He was at one with the House that the matter was serious. The military authorities, he said, were quite sympathetic, and had already instituted an enquiry into the incident. If any member wanted to present his view-point, he was prepared to hear him privately. A House Committee of enquiry, he pointed out, would not have powers to institute legal proceedings. The motion was talked out.

Taxation Policy of Government

"While defining my policy I make the position clear that before we think of national services, such as education and public health, the first concern of the Government would be to provide a square meal for the people in the mofussil. Every attempt has been made and will continue to be made to improve the irrigational system till we have reached the final stage", observed Premier *Khan Bahadur Allah Bux*, speaking on the taxation policy of the Sind Government when the Government Bill to enhance the licence fee for tobacco was under consideration in the Assembly. The Premier said, "Improvements to the tune of Rs. 54 lakhs have been carried out from the free balance which now amounts to Rs. 60 lakhs. He revealed that a reorganisation scheme under the police department now before the Government was estimated to cost Rs. 10 lakhs annually in addition to the expenditure of Rs. 40 lakhs. He added that the expenditure on national services had also increased, under education it had increased by twenty-five per cent while under public health it had increased by twenty per cent. A tax on tobacco was the most harmless tax, the Premier added. He informed the House that the burden of taxation would fall on the urban areas and not on the rural population.

Secretary to Govt. for Civil Defence

The creation of a special post of a Secretary to Government to undertake schemes for civil defence was announced by the Premier in the Assembly

which voted supplementary grants totalling Rs. 1,70,000. Increased expenditure under the Revenue head included the establishment of a new Sind P. W. D. Circle to investigate irrigational schemes for two additional Barrages. The police grants included the cost of expansion of the Karachi Police due to increased work, also the cost of flying squads to accompany running trains to check ticketless travel. Besides, a special police outpost has been opened at Tarai Jagirin village, in Hyderabad district, owing to apprehension of a breach of the peace. Other charges include the cost of a scheme for a hill station near Karachi and the staff required for revision of the Revenue Settlement in barrage and non-barrage tracts.

SPECIAL POWER FOR GOVERNOR

19th. DECEMBER :—An important statement concerning the constitutional implications of the exercise of special powers by the Governor in the day to day administration of Government was made by the Premier, *Khan Bahadur Allah Bux* to-day.

After recalling the controversy that preceded the acceptance of ministry by the Congress and the Viceroy's assurance with the full approval of the British Government in regard to the exercise of individual judgment by Governors, *Khan Bahadur Allah Bux* disclosed that before the arrival of the present Governor and when he last assumed the reins of office as Premier, the attitude of the former Governor in regard to the exercise of special powers was that, as far as possible, he did not desire whatsoever to interfere with the administration of the province. But the present Governor interpreted the exercise of these powers in a different way. "He feels that in all matters where under the Act he has to exercise individual judgment and in all matters wherein he has special responsibility, he must exercise his own judgment as also in all matters where he may hold an opinion different from that of the Ministers whether the matter be so important and the ministers' advice so perverse that his being guided by the Ministers' advice would be inconsistent with the exercise of his special responsibility or whether it is a mere matter of difference of opinion regarding certain day to day administration. His Excellency does not seem to appreciate that even in matters wherein His Excellency has special responsibility, the primary responsibility is that of the Ministers."

The Premier added that the Governor had even gone so far as to say that in the provinces where the Governors abstained from exercising those powers, it had been done not in accordance either with the instructions or policy of the British Government as such. If the present policy of the Governor was approved by the Viceroy and the British Cabinet, then it raised a constitutional issue. The House would agree with him that so far as the Ministers were concerned, they were responsible to the Legislature and they owed no responsibility to any one else and so far as the Governor was concerned, his position was that he owed responsibility to the Secretary of State.

The Premier declared that in view of the stand taken by the Governor there could be no question of give and take. "If the attitude which the present Governor has taken, namely, that irrespective of the issue, whether major or minor, he must exercise his individual judgment, then I think there will be a regular list to be prepared of all instances wherein interests would clash." The Premier added : "It means that it is a question of measuring strength between the Governor representing the British Government on one side and the people on the other. It will be impossible to assume for a moment that in the Congress provinces, with the advice on various matters wherein the individual responsibility of His Excellency was involved, there should have arisen no occasion or instance where the Governor had not differed from his Ministers, but it seems there they had to surrender and surrender not on merits but because of the power of the political party in those provinces. Now it clearly proves that the British Government is not prepared to part with powers. They wish to retain them as far as possible."

The Premier continued that the House could legitimately ask why the Ministers were continuing to be in office under these humiliating conditions. He said that when he went to Delhi last time, he took up this question with the Viceroy, complaining against the exercise of special powers. Under the public declaration of the Viceroy, it was made clear that where Ministers and the Governor disagreed, the Ministers were free to disclose the correspondence which had been carried on between the Governor and the Ministers. Therefore, when he came back, he wanted to bring all instances before the House but it had been suggested to him by the Governor that, in the first instance, it would be desirable

that cases of disagreement might be sent to the Secretary of State and they should await his decision.

Tne Premier declared : "Although it has been suggested to me, I personally feel that it is no use our resigning in a huff. Let us wait and since this offer had been made by the Viceroy, let us get some more information and have a clear-cut answer from the British Goverment to find out what their attitude is going to be. Then the House will be taken into confidence and apprised of all those instances which had taken place so far and then they should decide on merits whether the advice tendered by the Ministers was a right one, or whether the decision arrived at by the Governor was in the interests of this country or not. He concluded, "personally, we the Ministers have not yet come to a final conclusion but we are inclined to send those instances to the Secretary of State."

22nd. DECEMBER :—The Premier, *Khan Bahadur Allah Bux*, explaining his position, said : "It was far from my intention to refer the matter to the Secretary of State. The advice came from the Governor and the Viceroy." The Premier added that the Viceroy had suggested to him that the Governor's decision should not necessarily be taken as either right or wrong and that it was desirable that before they disclosed the files or made the matter public, it would be desirable to have some authoritative ruling on the issue. The Premier said : "I entirely agree with the House that I owe no responsibility to the Secretary of State and if it is the wish of the House that I should not wait for any authoritative interpretation from him and that I should disclose the files, I shall call a session of the House in January. I want that the decision might be arrived at without the least possible delay, and if I receive that within the next fifteen or twenty days, I shall place it before the House. But if the decision is not forthcoming, then I shall call a session of the House and place the whole matter before it."

CONGRESS MOTION DROPPED

Another adjournment motion given notice of by *Miss Jethi Sipahimalani* was not moved in pursuance of the Congress Party's decision not to press the issue. Miss Jethi said that in view of the fact that the Premier's statement admitted a series of interferences by the Governor it was fair that the statement should be discussed on its merits and she suggested that the Leader of the House should allot a special day for its discussion.

Sheikh Abdul Majid, moving his adjournment motion, criticised the Premier's statement, and accused him of sticking to office. He said that it was a big issue and the Premier was running to the Secretary of State for decision. He was responsible only to the House.

After Mr. R. K. Sidhwa, Miss Jethi Sipahimalani, Deputy Speaker, and Khan Bahadur Khuro had spoken criticising the Governor's interference, Mr. Nichaldas Vazirani, the Revenue Minister, declared that it was the first occasion when the Governor refused to be guided by his advice. He quoted from the Viceroy's declaration, which made it clear that under provincial autonomy, in all matters falling within the Ministerial field, including the protection of minorities and the Services, the Governor should always be guided by the advice of the Ministers. The House, at this stage, rose till the next day, the **23rd. December**, when after interpellations it was adjourned *sine die*.

The Assam Legislative Assembly

Winter Session—Shillong—1st. to 13th. December 1941

SUPPLEMENTARY DEMANDS PRESENTED

The winter session of the Assam Legislative Assembly commenced at Shillong on the **1st. December 1941** when thirteen adjournment motions came up. Mr. *Baidyanath Mookerjee* sought to discuss the Government's 'inadequate measures in flood-stricken areas of Sylhet district. This was opposed by the *Premier* on the ground that the allegations made in the motion were not correct. The *Speaker* reserved his ruling till the next day.

The *Premier*, who acted on behalf of the Finance Minister, *Khan Bahadur Saydur Rahman*, in view of the latter's indisposition, then presented a supplementary demand totalling Rs. 1,46,130, and a note on the present financial

situation of the province. He feared that the revenue deficit of Rs. 1,18,900 estimated in the original budget might reach about Rs. 21 lakhs.

Mr. *Rohini Kumar Chaudhury*, on behalf of the Revenue Minister, presented the report of the Select Committee on the Revenue Tribunal Bill (1941) and introduced the Land Revenue Regulation Amendment Bill 1941.

The Census in Assam

4th. DECEMBER :—The assurance that the Government of Assam would look carefully into the question of resorting and reclassifying the last census figures of Assam, was given by the *Premier*, replying to an adjournment motion moved by Mr. *Siddhi Nath Sarma* (Congress) to discuss "the arbitrary action of the Government in conducting and manipulating the last census operations, with the result that correct figures of followers of different religions stood concealed." The motion was talked out. The mover, in support of his contention, produced a letter alleged to have been written by the Census Superintendent, Assam, which disclosed certain instructions purported to have been given by the Assam Government regarding classification. Referring to the variation in different religions and communities, the mover said that the reduced figures of Hindus in the last census had given rise to an agitation throughout the country.

The *Premier* said that the Provincial Governments had absolutely no hand in the matter of census operations. He resented the remarks made by the mover and said that there was no cause for apprehension. Referring to the document produced by the mover, the Premier informed the House that he had no knowledge of it and if the Assam Census Superintendent had actually written anything like that, he did so on his own initiative.

Mr. *Gopi Nath Bardoloi*, ex-Premier, in supporting the motion, said that Sir Muhammad Saadulla had never argued a worse case than to day. He added that the Ministry had exercised a certain definite and clear jurisdiction on the census operation. Referring to the document produced by the mover, Mr. Bardoloi said that the Premier could not escape responsibility.

Mr. *J. J. M. Nichols-Roy*, ex-Minister, said that the present census figures were useless from the point of view of religion and public information. He demanded a re-sorting of the census figures.

Mr. *Rupnath Brahma*, the Minister in charge of Forest portfolio, speaking on behalf of the tribal people, opposed the motion, and said that the present census had been supported by the Tribal League.

Mr. *Rohini Chaudhury*, the Education Minister, said that matters relating to the census had never been discussed in a Cabinet meeting and there was no occasion to do so. He requested the mover to withdraw his motion.

The Premier, *Sir Muhammad Saadulla*, in his final reply, repeated his assurance. The Premier also indicated that the service ratio, as it stood, would not be affected by the present census. The motion was talked out.

Resignation of Education Minister

9th. DECEMBER :—The hon. Mr. *Rohini Kumar Choudhury*, Minister for Education, submitted this morning his resignation from the Cabinet to the Premier.

Notices of five no-confidence motions against the present Ministry were submitted by members of various groups before the commencement of the Assembly this morning. When the House met, the *Premier*, being called upon by the Speaker to make a statement on the extraordinary situation created by the resignation of Mr. Rohini Kumar Choudhury, announced his decision to tender the resignation of his Cabinet on December 12. Mr. Choudhury did not attend the session to-day.

The House granted leave to three of the no-confidence motions against the Ministry being moved. These motions stood in the names of Mr. *N. K. Dutta*, (Indian tea plantings), Mr. *Bepin Behari Das* (scheduled caste) and Mr. *Lalit Mohan Kar* (Independent Hindu). The House adjourned till December 13.

Resignation of Cabinet

13th DECEMBER :—When the Assembly met this morning, Sir *M. Saadullah*, the Premier, announced that he had tendered the resignation of his Cabinet. He referred to his statement made on last Tuesday and informed the House that in view of the resignation of Mr. Rohini Kumar Chaudhuri, he had decided that the whole Cabinet should resign on account of joint responsibility. As intended, he could not submit the resignation yesterday as the Governor, who was now touring the interior of the Assam frontier, could not be informed in due course. The Governor, he added, was expected to have reached Shillong yesterday, but according to the latest information

he was returning to the capital on December 15. In view of the absence of the Governor, he had sent in the resignation to the Chief Secretary yesterday and the matter was still pending. He informed the House that, as the Ministry was not functioning, they were not going to take part in any discussion in the House to-day. As the prorogation order from the Governor had not yet been received, Sir Saadullah asked the Speaker to adjourn the House till 2 p. m.

VOTE OF "NO CONFIDENCE" PASSED

Mr. *G. N. Bardoloi* then made a statement on the alleged lathi charge by the police on student demonstrators at Gauhati, whereafter the House took up consideration of the motion of no-confidence in the Saadullah Ministry, moved by Mr. *Naba Kumar Dutta.*

Before the motion was taken up, Sir *M. Saadullah* stated that as his Ministry had resigned and was not functioning his party was not going to take part in the discussions. He thereafter withdrew from the House along with other members of his Party.

Mr. *A. Whittaker*, Leader of the European Group, also informed the House that members of his Party were not participating in the debate as they were not sure whether a 'no-confidence' motion could be moved now in view of the fact that the Ministry had already resigned.

Besides the mover, Mr. *Gopinath Bardoloi*, Leader of the Opposition, Mr. *Ramnath Das*, former Minister, Mr. *Jaganti Marathi*, spoke in support of the resolution which was adopted by the House without any opposition after about fifteen minutes' discussion.

SUSPENSION OF THE CONSTITUTION

By a proclamation issued from Shillong on the 25th. December 1941, His Excellency the Governor of Assam suspended the constitution in the Province and took upon himself the administration thereof under Section 93 of the Government of India Act, 1935. The following is the text of the Communique issued from the Government House on the 25th. December :—

The hon. Maulvi Saiyid Sir Muhammad Saadulla, Prime Minister of Assam, having received on the 9th December, the resignation of one of his colleagues, Mr. Rohini Kumar Chaudhuri, tendered his own resignation and that of his whole Cabinet to His Excellency the Governor, on the 12th December last. On the 13th December a no-confidence motion was carried in the Assembly against the Ministry by 56 votes to nil. Those who voted in favour of the motion included Mr. Rohini Kumar Chaudhuri and two Parliamentary Secretaries. On his return from tour, on the 15th December, His Excellency saw Sir Muhammad and requested him and his colleagues, excepting Mr. Rohini Kumar Chaudhuri, to carry on with their duties until he could make other arrangements. He accepted the resignation of Mr. Rohini Kumar Chaudhuri.

The Governor at once sought to find a Ministry which could command a stable majority in the Legislature. In doing so, he kept before him the paramount necessity of ensuring that any Ministry which he selected should be in a position to prosecute to the full all measures necessitated by the war situation. His Excellency invited Mr. Gopinath Bardoloi, Leader of the Congress Party, to assist him in the formation of an alternative Ministry. Mr. Bardoloi informed the Governor that he was unable to take office, but stated that he was prepared to support Mr, Rohini Kumar Chaudhuri and his Group, should they take office. He made it clear, however, that his support so far as the war was concerned would be severely limited. His Excellency then sent for Mr. Rohini Kumar Chaudhuri who had informed him that he had become the leader of a party of 26 members of the Assembly.

A discussion with Mr. Chaudhuri made it indisputably clear that a Ministry formed by him with the conditional support of the Congress Party above referred to, could not be a stable one and that the instability would be most prominent in any matter which affected the war. His Excellency had to inform Mr. Chaudhuri that he was not satisfied with his prospects of commanding a stable majority, and would therefore be unable to ask him to take office. The only other party with a substantial following in the House was that of Sir Muhammad Saadullah, who had just been defeated on a no-confidence motion. Anxious to exhaust every possibility of forming a Ministry, His Excellency therefore sent for Sir Muhammad. But it became on examination abundantly clear that whatever might be the reorientation of votes in the future, Sir Muhammad could not command a majority

with which he could immediately face the Legislature, a test which it was clearly desirable, if not essential, that a Ministry formed under such circumstances should undergo. That possibility therefore failed.

Finally the Governor considered carefully the possibility of forming a small "All Party" Cabinet, whose main object would be to conduct the administration for the purpose of and during the war. An examination of this possibility, however, soon made it very clear that no such Ministry could be formed in the present position of parties, and he had therefore to reject this alternative. Having explored all alternative possibilities, he had no choice, but with the utmost reluctance, to bring into force the provisions of Section 93 of the Constitution Act. He has therefore issued the necessary Proclamation under that Section and taken upon himself the administration of the Province. Whenever he is satisfied that a Ministry is available, commanding the confidence of the Legislature and willing to assume the responsibilities of office and prepared to take its full part in the prosecution of the war, he will not hesitate to revoke the Proclamation.

MR. BARDOLOI'S STATEMENT

The following statement on the Assam Congress Party's position in respect of the political developments in the province was issued by Mr. *G. N. Bardoloi*, ex-Premier and Leader of the Assam Assembly, on the 22nd December :

During the past three weeks the political situation in Assam and the attitude of the Congress Party in the Legislature in particular have been the subject of so much confusion, speculation and misunderstanding that I consider it necessary to issue the following statement :—

The many acts of commission and omission by the last Ministry of Sir Mohammad Saadulla, particularly in reference to the Land Development scheme, University Bill, the Agricultural Income-tax Bill, the Census and other matters have stirred the public mind of Assam to such depths that the Congress M. L. A.'s who had abstained from attending the Assembly during the last 12 months had to face hostile criticisms for their failure to do their duty as Assembly members. Many of the Congress members in the Assembly, for reasons of health or other difficulties, were either prevented from offering satyagraha or would not re-offer satyagraha. The question that confronted us was whether these M. L. A.'s should continue their inactivity or should be allowed to resume their parliamentary activity. The offer of satyagraha being purely one of individual choice based on personal conviction the Congress Party and the President of the Provincial Congress after consultation with the District Committee, came to the conclusion that such members as did not offer satyagraha for one reason or the other and would be outside the jails should be allowed to attend the Assembly and participate in the discussions on the subjects mentioned above. The Parliamentary Sub-Committee was accordingly moved and permission was accorded to them to attend the whole session.

For a long time we had been hearing that all was not well in the Cabinet of Sir Saadulla. In the House, however, we were completely disillusioned ; we found that they presented a united front to our sallies and attacks just as any composite group would do. We were therefore surprised to find on December 9 at about 10 a. m. that Mr. Rohini Kumar Chaudhuri, the Education Minister, had resigned. On the 9th instant, an incident in the nature of indiscriminate assault on the students at Gauhati had taken place and it left us thinking whether this incident had something to do with the sudden resignation. But in the House, the Premier stated that Mr. R. K. Chaudhuri did not assign any reason for his resignation. Sir M. Saadulla also told the House that he would tender resignation of his Cabinet on the 12th when the Governor was to come back to Shillong, and would, therefore, not take any part in the proceedings. On the same day, at noon time, Mr. Chaudhuri wrote to me to say, "As many as 22 members of the Assembly, including most of the non-Congress members of the Congress Coalition Party have accepted my leadership for forming a Ministry and I expect that more members—Hindus and Muslims—will join us soon, We agree to follow the Congress policy and programme in the Legislative Assembly, excepting as regards war measures just like in Sind." And he requested me "to kindly obtain necessary formal permission from the Congress High Command", and added, "I assure you that should the Congress decide to accept office, I shall be too pleased to make room for them."

I should state in this connection that the non-Congress Coalition Group of our Party had formed a separate party of their own following our resignation in 1941.

The impending resignation of the Ministry announced by Sir M. Saadulla, and the letter of Mr. R. K. Chaudhuri was considered by me to be of too important a nature to be discussed by an ordinary party meeting. I accordingly decided on securing the advice of the President of the Assam Congress Committee and of Mr. H. C. Baruah, the outgoing A. P. C. C. President, as well as of Dr. Bhubaneswar Baruah, the President of the Gauhati D. C. C., before taking any decision on this important matter. I should also point out that the General Secretary of the Provincial Congress, Mr. S. R. Dutta and Mr. S. N. Sarma were both present at the meeting as Assembly members. After prolonged discussions, the overwhelming majority decided that, if Mr. Rohini Kumar Chaudhuri formed a Ministry, the party would lend support in carrying out measures consistent with the Congress policy and programme, excepting war measures ; but that freedom to offer satyagraha as directed by Mahatma Gandhi should remain. The meeting wanted me to secure permission from the Parliamentary Sub-Committee for the above decision. I accordingly met Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President, at Calcutta and also informed by wire other members of the Sub-Committee. According to his advice, we discussed the matter at a meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee on December 14 and 15. Subsequently, I received further instructions from the Sub-Committee as a result of which I am now in a position to announce that, if a new Ministry is formed, the Congress Party would not oppose it so long as Government would be carried on the basis of the Congress policy and programme excepting war measures. It is also open to such members of our Party to offer satyagraha as would like to do so.

For better elucidation of the Congress standpoint, I desire to mention that (1) our Party will function as an independent group and would not sit behind the Treasury Benches ; (2) will not take part in the actual forming of the Ministry (3) and after the Ministry is formed our party would not oppose it as the party of Mr. R. K. Chaudhuri has given an undertaking to carry on the Congress policy and programme except for war measures.

I further state for the information of the public that the Progressive Nationalist Party, of which Mr. Rohini Kumar Chaudhuri is the Leader, has given us the further assurance of the manner in which it would carry on the Congress programme to my satisfaction.

In my interview with the Governor on December 17, I clearly explained the attitude of our Party on the whole situation as explained above.'

I understand that the Governor gave an interview to Mr. Chaudhuri, Leader of the Progressive Nationalist Party. It is not of much interest to me what the Governor may be doing regarding the formation of a Ministry ; but it seems clear that the Governor cannot retain the Ministry of Sir M. Saadulla who have resigned and against whom a 'no-confidence' motion has been carried by 56 members in a House of 107. I also note that if the Governor acts with regard for the India Government Act and democratic principles he cannot disallow a Ministry from coming into existence simply because it has to exist on the suffrage of the Congress Party, which is not prepared to give support to war efforts.

The Punjab Legislative Assembly

Winter Session—Lahore—1st. to 5th. Dec. 1941

VICEROY'S COUNCIL EXPANSION

The winter session of the Punjab Legislative Assembly commenced at Lahore on the **1st December 1941** when an unsuccessful attempt to raise a discussion on the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council, through an adjournment motion, was made.

Sardar Lal Singh (Independent) sought the leave of the House to move adjournment of the business to discuss a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely "the intense discontent amongst the Sikhs caused by the non-inclusion of a Sikh member in the expanded Executive Council of the Viceroy."

Opposing the motion, Sir *Sikander Hyat Khan*, the Premier, categorically denied that he had any hand in the appointment of the new members of the Executive Council of the Viceroy, and said that if he had been consulted he would have been the first to suggest that a suitable Sikh should be appointed. He referred to the controversy which had raged in this connection for a long time, and said that not only he but his colleagues as well had denied that there was any question of supporting any individual or community.

After hearing the Premier, the Speaker ruled the motion out of order.

The *Speaker* also ruled out adjournment motions relating to the arrest and detention of Syed Habib, editor of a local Vernacular daily and the imposition of a punitive police tax on the Muslim residents of Lahore city.

The House referred to a select committee the Punjab Legislative Assembly (Salary and Allowances of Members) Bill which sought to fix an annual salary of Rs. 2,500 for each member.

The Assembly also passed the Colonisation of Government Lands (Punjab Amendment) Bill.

Sir *Manohar Lal*, Finance Minister, presented the first instalment of supplementary estimates aggregating to Rs. 78,31,790.

CONTROL OF ELECTRIC SUPPLY COMPANIES

2nd. DECEMBER :—When the House took up consideration of the Punjab Electricity Emergency powers Bill to day, which seeks to enable the Government to assume possession and control of electric supply undertakings in an emergency, Sir *Gokul Chand Narang* (Independent) raised a point of order that the Bill was ultra vires of the provincial Legislature, and he sought the ruling of the Chair. He said that, under Section 100 of the Government of India Act, 1935, the Bill could not be dealt with by the provincial Legislature as electric supply companies in the Punjab, being corporations, fell under Item 33 of the Central List. The Provincial Legislature, he added, had no jurisdiction to deal with a subject which was reserved to the Central Government.

The *Premier* said that the Government had brought forward the measure in the interest of the consumers. They were merely seeking to regulate the supply of electricity in an emergency. The Government had much wider powers under the Defence of India Rules to take possession of electric supply companies and they had recently exercised that power in the case of Rawalpindi Electric Supply Company.

The Advocate-General, Mr. *Saleem*, said that the Bill did not deal with the regulation and winding up of companies, nor did it seek to amend the Company Law. He maintained that the Bill was not ultra vires and that the Provincial Legislature was competent to deal with it.

The Speaker said that, in view of the importance of the question raised, he wanted to study the various legal aspects before giving his ruling. Consideration of the Bill was, therefore, postponed and the House adjourned till Thursday.

PRESERVATION OF COMMUNAL HARMONY

4th. DECEMBER :—A non-official resolution requesting the Government to adopt effective administrative measures and, if necessary, to undertake fresh legislation to deal with the activities of "mischievous elements in the population who are seeking to create panic or public alarm or promote communal strife" was discussed this afternoon.

Mr. *F. Few* (Anglo-Indian Ministerialist) moving the resolution, said that in view of the international situation it was imperative that they should take steps to check activities which were bound to prove a menace and danger to the peace of the Province. He drew the attention of the House to the refusal of the Madura Municipality to give facilities for training technicians in its workshops and said that such a thing should not be allowed to be repeated in this Province.

Sardar Santokh Singh, Leader of the Opposition, opposing the resolution, said that the Government enjoyed ample powers under the Defence of India Act to deal with any emergency. The enhanced powers which the Government wished to take now were intended to curb the activities of the Opposition and it would be suicidal to give further powers to the Government. He alleged that if there was any communal strife, the Government were responsible for it and referred in this connection to the activities of Ministers.

The *Speaker*, intervening, said that the conduct of Ministers could not be discussed except through a substantive motion.

Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Premier, participating in the debate, congratulated Mr. Few on bringing forward the resolution and appealed to the House to judge it on its merits. It was the duty of everybody, he said, to remove communal strife and replace it by a harmonious atmosphere. There existed, however, an atmosphere in the province in which some people wished to exploit communal slogans and to check their activities, the Government would use any weapon in their armoury, but if they found that they did not have sufficient powers they would ask for more. The Premier added that Mr. Few had rightly pointed out that they were passing through critical times and that the activities of mischief-mongers must be checked.

Referring to the criticism of the way in which the Government had exercised their powers, Sir Sikander said that they had acted judiciously in the use of the existing powers and he could say that they had not arrested a large number of persons who were on the border line. In conclusion, the Premier assured the House that the aim of the Government was to bring about a harmonious atmosphere as quickly as possible and he appealed to every Punjabi to strive to achieve that ideal. He suggested that all controversies should be hushed, at least for the duration of the war, and they should all work for final victory.

After four hours' discussion in which more than a dozen members participated, Mr. Few's resolution was carried by 70 votes to 17.

Control of Wheat Prices

The House then proceeded to discuss *Chaudhri Mahomed Hussain's* resolution recommending to the Government to convey to the Government of India, the Assembly's emphatic protest against the low level of wheat prices at which the Government of India have expressed their intention to institute control and further to convey to the Government of India the Assembly's considered view that in order properly and adequately to safeguard the interest of the grower, the duty on the import of foreign wheat should be restored to its previous level from April next."

Supplementary Demands

5th. DECEMBER :—The Assembly held a brief sitting this afternoon and voted, without much discussion, supplementary estimates aggregating to Rs. 77 70,860. These included Rs. 7,227,300 in respect of civil works and Rs. 30,000 for war durbars of His Excellency the Governor.

Sir *Manohar Lal*, Finance Minister, explained that the estimates for civil works included a sum of over Rs. 70 lakhs contributed by the Government of India.

When the Finance Minister moved the demand for Rs. 3,35 840 in respect of police, *Sardar Lal Singh* (Independent) raised debate by means of a cut to draw the attention of the Government towards what he alleged to be "regular terrorisation of villagers and atrocities committed by the police in the village of Jethuk and Chaoke in Ludhiana district in May last".

Malik Khizar Hayat Khan, Minister for Public Works, who is in charge of the Police Department, pointed out that the Government had received representations from the public of the locality that a gang of dacoits had created a reign of terror in the ilaqa. Special police were deputed and on investigation it was found that the dacoits were being harboured by Congressmen and that Midha, the leader of the gang, was a brother of the Secretary of a Congress Committee in one of the two above-mentioned villages. The Minister said that according to police reports unlicensed arms were recovered from the houses of some Congressmen and he regretted that those who professed the creed of non-violence should harbour criminals and keep arms.

The cut was rejected without a division and the demand was passed. The House then adjourned.

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Proceedings of

The Civil Disobedience Movement

The All India Hindu Mahasabha

The All India Muslim League

The National Liberal Federation

The All Party's Conference

AND

Provincial Political Conferences

July—December 1941

The Indian National Congress

Working Committee—Wardha—3rd. to 6th. November 1940

A meeting of the Working Committee was held at Wardha from November 3 to 6, 1940. The members present were Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Sarojini Naidu, Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajagopalachariar, Rajendra Prasad, Bhulabhai J. Desai, Jamnalal Bajaj, Shankerrao Deo, Profulla Chandra Ghosh and J. B. Kripalani, B. Pattabhi Sitramayya and Harekrushna Mehtab were present by special invitation.

Gandhiji attended the sittings of the Working Committee. The Committee discussed with Gandhiji the next step in the campaign of individual civil disobedience.

The Working Committee passed the following resolution :

CONGRESS PARTY IN THE CENTRAL ASSEMBLY

In view of the necessity to oppose the Bill introduced by the Government of India to finance the war, the Working Committee request the Congress members of the Central Legislative Assembly to attend and take part in the proceedings relating to the Bill.

The Civil Disobedience Movement

Gandhiji's Statements

1—FIRST STEP IN THE CAMPAIGN OF INDIVIDUAL CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

I have had three days' discussion with the Working Committee. During it, I unfolded my plan of civil disobedience in so far as I was able to envisage it. Although I have sole charge of the campaign, I could not think of taking the first step without consultation with the members of the Working Committee. In non-violent action one has to carry the co-workers with one, through the mind and the heart. There is no other way to enforce discipline or obedience to instructions. I must admit that it was not plain sailing for me. There was stubborn dissent from two members. I tried hard to carry conviction to them but I fear I failed. They will, however, yield obedience so far as it is possible for them for the sake of discipline. The difference of opinion solely centred round the quantity of civil disobedience and the restrictions with which it was hedged.

I disclose this part of the discussion to show that my plan will fall short of the expectations of those whom the dissenters represent. I would simply say to them : Wait patiently and see what happens. Carry out instructions to the best of your ability. Do nothing to thwart the plan. If your reason rebels against it you will serve the cause by seceding and educating the people along your own lines. That would be straight, brave and stimulating in that the people will learn to appraise the value of different methods. You will cause confusion by preaching from the Congress platform anything contrary to the official programme, especially when the whole organisation becomes like an army. It matters little whether one person offers civil disobedience or many. The rest have to render such support as they may be called upon to do.

The plan is simply this. Direct action will be commenced by Shri Vinoba Bhave and for the time being confined to him only. And since it is to be confined to individual civil disobedience and that too of him only, it will be so conducted by him as to exclude others directly or indirectly. But since it is concerned with freedom of speech, the public will be involved to an extent. It is open to them either to listen to him or not. But much will depend upon what the Government wish to do. In spite of all attempt to confine civil disobedience to individuals and for the moment to one only, they can precipitate a crisis by making it a crime to listen to him or read anything written by him. But I think and believe that they do not want to invite any trouble though they hold themselves in readiness to cope with every trouble that may face them.

I have discussed with Shri Vinova various plans so as to avoid all unnecessary friction or risks. The idea is to make all action as strictly non-violent as is humanly possible. One man's violence, veiled or open, cannot go beyond a certain limit, but within that limit it would be effective. One man's non-violent action would be despised and ridiculed by the non-believer in it. In truth, while the effect of a given violent action can be reduced to mathematical terms, that of non-violent action defies all calculation and has been known to falsify many that

have been hazarded. How far I shall be able to present an example of unadulterated non-violence remains to be seen.

Who is Vinoba Bhave and why has he been selected ?

He is an under-graduate having left college after my return to India in 1916. He is a Sanskrit scholar. He joined the Ashram almost at its inception. He was among the first members. In order to better qualify himself he took one year's leave to prosecute further studies in Sanskrit. And practically at the same hour at which he had left the Ashram a year before, he walked into it without notice. I had forgotten that he was due to arrive that day. He has taken part in every menial activity of the Ashram from scavenging to cooking. Though he has a marvellous memory and is a student by nature, he has devoted the largest part of his time to spinning in which he has specialised as very few have. He believes in universal spinning being the central activity which will remove the poverty in the villages and put life into their deadness. Being a born teacher, he has been of the utmost assistance to Asha Devi in her development of the scheme of education through handicrafts.

Shri Vinoba has produced a text book taking spinning as the handicraft. It is original in conception. He has made scoffers realise that spinning is the handicraft par excellence which lends itself to being effectively used for basic education. He has revolutionised takli spinning and drawn out its hitherto unknown possibilities. For perfect spinning probably he has no rival in all India.

He has abolished every trace of untouchability from his heart. He believes in communal unity with the same passion that I have. In order to know the best of Islam he gave one year to the study of the Quran in the original. He therefore learnt Arabic. He found this study necessary for cultivating a living contact with the Muslims living in his neighbourhood.

He has an army of disciples and workers who would rise to any sacrifice at his bidding. He is responsible for producing a young man who has dedicated himself to the service of lepers. Though an utter stranger to medicine, this worker has by singular devotion mastered the method of treatment of lepers and is now running several clinics for their care. Hundreds owe their cure to his labours. He has now published a hand book in Marathi for the treament of lepers. Vinoba was for years the director of the Mahila Ashram in Wardha. His devotion to the cause of Daridranarayan took him first to a village near Wardha and now he has gone still further and lives in Paunar, five miles from Wardha from where he has established contact with villagers through the disciples he has trained.

He believes in the necessity of the political independence of India. He is an accurate student of History. But he believes that real independence of the villagers is impossible without the constructive programme of which 'khadi' is the centre. He believes that 'charkha' is the most suitable outward symbol of non-violence which has become an integral part of his life. He has taken an active part in the previous Sytyagraha campaigns. He has never been in the limelight on the political platform. With many co-workers, he believes that silent constructive work with civil disobedience in the background is far more effective than the already heavily crowded political platform. And he thoroughly believes that non-violent resistance is impossible without a heart-belief in and practice of constructive work.

Vinoba is an out and out war resister But he respects equally with his own the conscience of those who whilst not being out and out war resisters have yet strong conscientious objection to participation in the present war. Though Vinoba represents both the types, I may want to select another who will represent only one type, namely, conscientious objection to participation in the present war.

It was necessary to introduce Vinoba at length to the public in order to justify my choice. This will perhaps be the last civil disobedience struggle which I shall have conducted. Naturally I would want it to be as flawless as it can be. Moreover, the Congress has declared that it will avoid all avoidable embarrassment to the Government consistently with its own existence. For that reason too, I had to strive to produce the highest quality irrespective of quantity.

But Vinoba must fail as I must if we do not represent the Congress, let alone the whole nation. And we shall certainly not represent either if they do not give us full-hearted cooperation which is ceaseless prosecution of the Constructive Programme. It is not vocal co-operation that is required. It is co-operaton in work that is needed. The signs of such co-operation will be phenomenal progress in spinning, complete disappearance of untouchability and increasing friendliness between the communities and an increasing sense of justice in every walk of life.

Unless rock bottom justice and equity pervade society, surely there is no non-violent atmosphere. Above all there should be no civil disobedience but what is sanctioned by me. This is a peremptory obligation binding on every Congressman. If it is disregarded, there is no cooperation.

The representative character belonging to Vinoba and me is then challenged. And I can say with confidence that if the full-hearted co-operation I want is forthcoming, not only will the issue of freedom of speech be decided in our favour but we shall have gone very near independence. Let those who will, take me at my word. They will have lost nothing and will find that they had contributed greatly to the movement of freedom through truthful and non-violent means.

Let me repeat the issue. On the surface, it is incredibly narrow—the right to preach against war as war or participation in the present war. Both are matters of conscience for those who hold either view. Both are substantial rights. Their exercise can do no harm to the British if their pretention that to all intents and purposes India is an independent country is at all true. If India is very much a dependency in fact as it is in law, whatever the British get from India can never be regarded as voluntary, it must be regarded as impressed. This battle of life and death cannot be won by impressed levies however large. They may win if they have the moral backing of an India truly regarded as free.

Non-violent Congress cannot wish ill to Britain. Nor can it help her through arms, since it seeks to gain her own freedom, not through arms but through unadulterated non-violence. And the Congress vanishes if, at the crucial moment, it suppresses itself for fear of consequences or otherwise by ceasing to preach non-violence through non-violent means. So when we probe the issue deep enough we discover that it is a matter of life and death for us. If we vindicate that right all is well with us. If we do not, all is lost. We cannot then win Swaraj through non-violent means.

I know that India has not one mind. There is a part of India that is war-minded and will learn the art of war through helping the British. The Congress has no desire therefore to surround ammunition factories or barracks and prevent people from doing what they like. We want to tell the people of India that if they will win Swaraj through non-violent means, they may not co-operate militarily with Britain in the prosecution of the war.

This right of preaching against participation in the war is being denied to us and we have to fight against the denial. Therefore while that right will be exercised only by those whom I may select for the purpose, all the other activities of the Congress will continue as before unless the Government interfere with them.

A question has been asked why, if I attach so much importance to quality, I do not offer civil resistance myself. I have already said that unlike as on previous occasions I do not wish to do so for the very good reason that my imprisonment is likely to cause greater embarrassment to the authorities than anything else the Congress can do. I want also to remain outside to cope with the contingency that may arise. My going to jail my be interpreted as a general invitation to all Congressmen to follow suit. They will not easily distinguish between my act and speech. Lastly I do not know how things will shape. I myself do not know the next step. I do not know the Government plan. I am a man of faith. My reliance is solely on God. One step is enough for me. The next He will make clear to me when the time for it comes. And who knows that I shall not be an instrument for bringing about peace not only between Britain and India but also between the warring nations of the earth. This last wish will not be taken for vanity by those who believe that my faith is not a sham but a reality greater than the fact that I am penning these lines.

2.—"HARIJAN" AND THE NOTICE OF THE PRESS ADVISER

On the 18th. instant, the Editor of "Harijan" received the following notice from the District Magistrate's Office, Poona :—

"I am directed by Government to advise you that no account of incidents leading up to Satyagraha by Vinoda Bhave and no report of his speeches or any subsequent developments should be published without previous reference to the Chief Press Adviser, Delhi.

"I would like to bring to your notice that this is in your own interest to avoid prosecution under Rule 38 of the Defence of India Rules."

Thereupon I entered into correspondence with H. E. the Viceroy. Correspondence is still going on but it is necessary for me to take a decision to-day for, if I did not, there may be waste of public money. In view of the reply hitherto received I have no course left open but to suspend publication of "Harijan", "Harijan Bandhu" and "Harijan Sevak". I cannot function freely I have to send to the Press Adviser at New Delhi every line I write about Satyagraha. It is true that the notice is only advisory and that therefore I am not bound to act up to it. But the consequence of disregard of advice is also stated in the notice. I have no desire to risk a prosecution against the Editors. The three weeklies have been conducted in the interest of truth and therefore of all parties concerned. But I cannot serve that interest if the editing has to be done under threat of prosecution. Liberty of the Press is a dear privilege apart from the advisability or otherwise of Civil Disobedience. The Government have shown their intention clearly by the prosecution of Shri Vinoba Bhave. I have no complaint to make against the prosecution. It was an inevitable result of his defiance of the Defence of India Rules. But the liberty of the Press stands on a different footing. I am unable to reconcile myself to the notice which, although in the nature of advice, is in reality an order whose infringement will carry its own consequence. I am sorry to have to disappoint the numerous readers of the three weeklies. Next week I shall be able to let the public know whether it is to be merely a suspension or an indefinite stopping of the three weeklies. I shall still hope that it will be merely a suspension and that my fear will prove to be groundless. But should it prove otherwise I may inform the public that Satyagraha is independent of press advertisement. If it is real it carries with it its own momentum and I believe the present Satyagraha to be very real. It will go on. I will not be provoked into any hasty action. I am still not ready with the next move. But as I have said in my previous statement, every act of Civil Disobedience is complete in itself. This press notice shows how effective it has been. Every act of repression adds strength to the reality. Satyagraha thrives on repression till at last the repressor is tired of it and the object of Satyagraha is gained. Whether, therefore, I take the next step or not and when I take it is a matter of no consequence to the public. Let those who sympathise with it follow implicitly the instructions, I have issued. I believe, and my belief has been tested repeatedly, that a thought deliberately thought and controlled is a power greater than speech or writing and any day greater than steam which is husbanded and controlled. We see the latter every day carrying incredible weights, even across steep precipices. Thought power overcomes much greater obstacles and easily carries greater weights. But let me give a practical hint to the non-believer in the power of thought, husbanded and controlled. Let everyone become his own walking newspaper and carry the good news from mouth to mouth. This does not mean what boys used to do in the past, viz., trumpeting about of bits of news. The idea here is of my telling my neighbour what I have authentically heard. This no Government can overtake or suppress. It is the cheapest newspaper yet devised and it defies the wit of Government however clever it may be. Let these walking newspapers be sure of the news they give. They should not indulge in any idle gossip. They should make sure of the source of information and they will find that the public get all the information that they need without opening their morning newspaper which, they should know, will contain garbled one sided information and therefore, not worth the trouble of reading. For it may be that even the public statements such as I am now issuing may also be stopped. It is the condition of life under an autocratic Government whether foreign or indigenous.

Sevagram, 24-10-1940.

3—VALEDICTORY STATEMENT ("HARIJAN")

You must have seen through my press notice that the publication of "Harijan" and the other two weeklies had been suspended. In it, I had expressed the hope that the suspension might be only for a week. But I see that the hope had no real foundation. I shall miss my weekly talks with you, as I expect you too will miss them. The value of those talks consisted in their being a faithful record of my deepest thoughts. Such expression is impossible in a cramped atmosphere. As I have no desire to offer civil disobedience, I cannot write freely. As the author of satyagraha I cannot, consistently with my professions, suppress the vital part of myself for the sake of being able to write on permissible subjects such as the constructive programme. It would be like dealing with

the trunk without the head. The whole of the constructive programme is to me an expression of non-violence. I would be denying myself if I could not preach non-violence. For that would be the meaning of submission to the latest ordinance. The suspension must, therefore, continue while the gagging lasts. It constitutes a satyagrahi's respectful protest against the gag. Is not Satyagraha giving an ell when an inch is asked for by the wrong-doer, is it not giving the cloak also when only the coat is demanded ? It may be asked why this reversal of the ordinary process ? The ordinary process is based on violence. If my life were regulated by violence in the last resort, I would refuse to give an inch lest an ell might be asked for. I would be a fool if I did otherwise. But if my life is regulated by non-violence, I should be prepared to and actually give an ell when an inch is asked for. By so doing I produce on the usurper a strange and even pleasurable sensation . He would also be confounded and would not know what to do with me. So much for the 'enemy'. I having made up my mind to surrender every non-essential, gain greater strength than before to die for the defence and preservation of what I hold to be essential. I was therefore wrongly accused by my critics of having advised cowardly surrender to Nazism by Englishmen when I suggested that they should lay down external arms, let the Nazis overrun Britain if they dare, but develop internal strength to refuse to sell themselves to the Nazis. Full surrender of non-essenials is a condition precedent to accession of internal strength to defend the essential by dying.

But I am not writing this to convert the English to my view. I am writing this to suggest to you that my surrender to the framers of the gagging ordinance is an object-lesson to you, the Reader, in satyagraha. If you will quietly work out in your own life the implications of the lesson, you will then not need the weekly aid from the written word in "Harijan." Even without your weekly "Harijan" you will know how I shall myself work out the full implications of giving an ell when an inch is wanted. A correspondent pleads with me that on no account should I suspend "Harijan", for he says his non-violence is sustained by the weekly food he gets therefrom. If he has really done so, then this self-imposed restraint should teach him more than a vapid continuation of weekly "Harijan"

Wardha, 7-11-1940.

4.—The Contemplated Fast

I have been receiving numerous telegrams asking me not to undertake the contemplated fast. Almost all of the telegrams are from friends who are concerned about my health and who think that if I am alive I can still render useful service to the country. There are one or two bitterly criticising me and telling me that fasting has no place in the politics of the country and that it disturbs the political atmosphere and impairs the efficiency of opposition to the government in the fight for freedom. I wish to thank both the friends and the critics. The members of the Working Committee and I also had a long discussion over the contemplated fast.

In view of the extension of individual civil disobedience the idea of the fast naturally remains in abeyance. But I must say nothing that I have heard has dislodged me from the position I have consistently held about the relevancy and propriety of fast in all walks of life including the political. I admit that is a new weapon. I admit also that the use of that weapon is not open to any but specialists even as the use of weapon of civil disobedience is not open to every body. But the use of civil disobedience is open only to those who are qualified for it. The use of fasting requires infinitely larger qualifications. I hold that I possess those qualifications. I have had God-given opportunities of training myself in this direction consciously since 1907, that means 34 years. But it cannot be taken mechanically. It can only be taken in obedience to the promptings of an unseen power, call it the inner voice, God or whatever other name you like to give to that power. I have mentioned the possibility of fasting because something within me is prompting me to it. I am myself fighting against it. I know that however willing the spirit may be the flesh is weak. I know that being unable to drink an adequate quantity of water during fasting it becomes almost unbearable specially in the initial stages. But however weak the flesh may be I know that the weakness can be conquered when that unseen power dominates me to the exclusion of every other force. That feeling has not yet come to me and until it does naturally there will be no fast. If it does come I shall myself feel powerless to listen to the kindly intervention of friends or the anger of fierce critics. Therefore I will beseech

all to hold themselves in patience and watch developments. Of course, it is open to everybody to help me in the crisis through which the country is passing. I have shown the numerous ways in which everybody, friend and critic, can help. I have no desire to make any elaborate statement indicating the ways in which people can help. Having stopped the publication of 'Harijan' weeklies I have lost all desire for making public statements. This I am compelled to make in order to thank numerous inquirers and to allay public anxiety.

Wardha, 7 11-1940.

5.—PAYMENT OF FINES BY SATYAGRAHIS

A very serious question confronts me in connection with the struggle. In many places magistrates have been imposing heavy fines on Civil Resisters, in some cases without option of imprisonment. Civil Resisters must not and cannot complain of whatever penalty is imposed on them and a Government will always take advantage of weaknesses of human nature. Hitherto I have advised that fines should not be volutarily paid but that authorities must be left to collect fines by distraint. The result during the last struggle was a great deal of heart burning and bitterness. Those who bought movables or immovables for a song incurred popular ill will. I hope that if Government wish to touch immovable property they will not sell but confiscate it. For whenever the struggle ends immovable property is bound to be restored to the original owners—the resisters. The late Bombay Government know how difficult it was for them to restore to the resisters the immovable properties that had changed hands. I have however discovered what may be termed a flaw in the reasoning that I had applied to the infliction of fines. I now feel that even as a resister courts imprionment he is expected to court any other form of punishment, i. e. fines. Punishment courted has to be joyfully suffered. Therefore when fines are imposed and the person fined is able to pay he must do so willingly. The result may naturally be that such a person will be fined again and again. If he persists in his resistance he may have no property left. This is nothing to be wondered at. As a matter of fact it is the essence of Civil Disobedience that the resister becomes indifferent whether the authorities take away all his property or not. Therefore all propertied persons who wish to join the struggle should do so well knowing that the whole of their property may be taken up by the Government. This is a struggle which has no ending except in success. Therefore those who may be fined should pay cash if they have it. If they have no cash and the Government attach their property it should be open to their friends to buy the same. This will be an effective check on the cupidity of those who would profit by exploiting others' loss and there will be no bad blood. One corollary to this reasoning is that even as I had declared that every inch of immovable property sold or confiscated by the Government would have to be returned to the Resisters so will every rupee taken in fines have to be returned to them on the struggle ending. It follows of course that those who pay the fines will have to offer Civil Disobedience till they are safely lodged in jail. It follows also that those propertied persons who do not wish to run the risk of losing their property must not join this struggle. I hope however that patriotic people who believe in the efficacy of Civil Resistance will not fight shy of losing all the possessions. Let them remember the words of Seth Jamnalal : "I have long since come to realise that much too heavy a price has been and is being paid by the few for the enjoyment of wealth and for the apparent safety on life. The price paid is the blood of the famishing millions and the manliness of those who should be ready to shed their blood for the defence of themselves, their families and their country."

Sevagram, 10-1-1941.

6.—INDEPENDENCE DAY

I hope that every man and woman in India, whether Congressman or other, will realise the gravity of the struggle and will resolve on the forthcoming Independence Day upon dedicating himself or herself to the service of the country in terms of the millions. Swaraj based on non-violence does not mean mere transfer of power. It should mean complete deliverance of the toiling yet starving millions from the dreadful evil of economic serfdom. This can only be attained by the propertied few identifying themselves with the millions and by their readiness to sacrifice their all for the latters' sake. It must be a Day of fraternisation, abolition of untouchability from our hearts, giving up spirituous liquors, self- spinning, and sale and spread of khadi and village industries. There

is to be no civil disobedience that day. For we must not invite disturbance of our meetings and processions, prabhat pheries on that day. The day may begin with Prabhat pheries, followed by flag hoisting and flag salutation. In the evening there may be processions terminating in public meetings where the pledge may be explained clause by clause and administered by the Chairman and solemnly accepted by the audience. Where there are already restrictions they must be obeyed. From such voluntary obedience comes the strength for and the right of civil resistance.
11-1-1941.

PLEDGE

"We belive 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 any 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 has ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually. We believe, therefore, 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 country 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 of Khadi, communal harmony and removal of untouchability. We shall seek every opportunity of spreading good-will 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 Hindus 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.

"Charkha 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, spin regularly, 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 pledge ourselves to a disciplined observance of Congress principles and policies and to keep in readiness to respond to the call of the Congress, whenever it may come, for carrying on the struggle for the independence of India.

"In view of the fact that individual Civil Disobedience has already commenced and that a large number of Congressmen have already been imprisoned all over India, it becomes the special duty of every Indian to concentrate with redoubled zeal on the constructive programme, without the fulfilment of which no civil disobedience, mass or individual, can help us to win and retain Swaraj. Concretely expressed constructive programme means the universalisation of handspining and Khadi and popularisation of village industries and village products. We recognise that effective spread of non-violence must bring communal harmony and complete eradication of untouchability in every shape and form."

7.—ARREST OF THE CONGRESS PRESIDENT

Long before his unexpected arrest Maulana Saheb had announced that before offering Civil Disobedience he would visit Sevagram and discuss with me important matters affecting the communal question as also such other matters. But it was not to be. Non-popular Rulers do not disclose their intentions to the people. They allow them to be inferred from their acts. Perhaps it is a legitimate inference to draw from Maulana Saheb's premature (from the Congress stand-point) arrest that they did not want him to meet me. There can be no cause for complaint in

this. They may not be expected to consult Congress convenience. But it is proper for Congressmen to realise that the rulers have no faith in Congress non-violence. Probably they do not consider me to be a knave, but they do consider me to be a fool. In so doing they only follow many others who think that Congressmen fool me and that the latter's nonviolence is but a cloak for hiding their violence, if it is not a preparation for it. Our struggle therefore consists in showing that our non-violence is neither a cloak to hide our violence or hatred, nor a preparation for violence in the near or distant future. Therefore our success depends not upon numbers going to jail but on the sum total of the purity and non-violence we are able to show in all our activities. Numbers can count only when they are of the right type. They will positively harm the movement, if they are of the wrong type.

For me there is no turning back, whether I have many or very few Satyagrahis. I would far rather be regarded as a fool but strong, than as a knave and a coward. Though the whole world may repudiate my claim I must repeat that the struggle is God-guided. I am but a humble instrument in His hand. Without His guidance, real or imaginary, I should feel utterly impotent to shoulder the burden I am supposed to be carrying.

Let me now say how I visualise the struggle. Maulana Saheb having gone, there is to be no successor appointed. Every acting President in a province must be approved by me. It is not necessary that there should be one. All representative Congressmen from members of Village to Provincial Committees are expected to be in jail if they are fit and approved by me. If they are not, by reason of health or otherwise, they cannot be expected to function except in rare cases and that too under my approval. No fresh elections are to take place to replace those who will have gone. The idea is ultimately for every Congressman to act on his own and be his own president but no body else's. That is the conception of a completely non-violent institution or society. Not much direction is required by those who have learnt the art of suffering. Every body knows the conditions he has to fulfil for acquiring fitness for offering Civil Disobedience. They can be easily complied with by any adult who is sound in body and mind. No difficulty as to action arises so long as I am left free. For nobody can resort to direct action without my consent My intention not to court arrest abides but the rulers may have a different plan. If it comes, it will be the real time of freedom from external control be it ever so nonviolent as also of true test for everyone. I am not to appoint a successor. Thus if I am arrested every one will be under the discipline of his or her own conscience. In theory therefore a time may come when millions will be judges of their own fitness to offer Civil Disobedince.

This is not a struggle which can be ended quickly. We are resisting an authority that is in itself struggling to fight for life against a stubborn foe. The authority is related to a nation which knows no defeat. Those whose life is in danger either readily yield on what they regard as non-essential, or fight to the end on what they regard as essential. Its refusal to concede our demand shows that they think that our struggle comes under the latter category. Therefore our struggle must be coterminous at least with the European. Hence every one who offers Civil Disobedience and gets a short term should know that on every release he has to repeat Civil Disobedience till the end of the struggle.

There are two tactics demanding attention. I have already issued a note about fines without the option of imprisonment

The other is that of not arresting Civil Resisters at all. In each case the resisters should march on foot in easy stages in the direction of Delhi. It may be even two or three miles per day. The resister will march taking such food as the villagers may provide.

Sevagram, Wardha, 12-1-1941.

8.—NATIONAL FLAG AND KHADI

I observe that in the Punjab people pay for and wear paper metallic tricolour badges. Now the tricolour has merit because of the material, that is, Khadi of which it is made and is a symbol of identification with the masses and of non-violence. Therefore badges must be made of Khadi. Metal and paper badges have no value for Congressmen save as superflous decorations. At this time of trial for us all I would expect Congressmen and those who are in sympathy with it to observe the necessary rules of conduct. No detail can be regarded as too trifling for attention. For an aggregate of details makes a principle.

Sevagram, 24-1-1941.

9.—LETTER TO ALL EDITORS

Sevagram, January 28, 1941

Dear Editor :

We have become so used to the Press gag that we hardly know that there is a partial paralysis of the press In the name of "war effort" all honest expression of opinion, if it is opposed to war effort as conceived by the official world, is effectively suppressed, unless an enterprising editor or publisher risks the loss of his press. Thus my own effort, if my honesty be not questioned, is the true effort to end all war and therefore in no way anti-British or pro-German. If public opinion desired suppression, the Press would on its own initiative exclude news and opinions disliked by the public. But in India the majority of Indian Editors would gladly publish all the news about Satyagraha if there was no gag.

I wish to use my case by way of illustration. For the conduct of the campaign and for the sake even of keeping it within restraint I have to issue statements from time to time. During four days two out of three such statements were suppressed. The reason assigned was as follows :

1.—"*16th January 1941.*

"I am writing this to inform you that Mahatma Gandhi's statement of January 13 regarding continuance of the civil disobedience movement was submitted for press advice by two of the press agencies but was not passed for publication.

"I am accordingly bringing the above fact to your notice."

2.—"*28th January 1941.*

I am writing this to inform you that Mahatma Gandhi's statement of January 9 regarding payment of fines by satyagrahis which was submitted for press advice by two of the press agencies. was not passed for publication, as being a prejudical report containing incitement to carry on anti-war civil disobedience.

"I am accordingly bringing the above fact to your notice."

I used to send my statements through the usual news agencies. But when I found that they were censored, I had to send my statements to selected newspapers and so they found place in some of them. You can judge for yourself whether they were objectionable news. This method of sending statements on chance publication is precarious. As I had no intention of extending civil disobedience to the special Press laws and ordinances I stopped the three Harijan weeklies whose chief aim was to propagate non-violence and what is known as the constructive programme. I do not want so far as possible to extend the scope of civil disobedience beyond the present limit. But I do not know that I can exercise that restraint if the Press abdicates its function of publishing relevant news. I therefore appeal to the Press not to succumb to the gag but to assert its independence by publishing all the satyagraha news in its fullness. Of course it is open to the editors to criticise and condemn the movement or the statements that may be issued. Editors can signify their disapproval of the gag by either publishing the offending statements and risking prosecution or even confiscation of the Press or by stopping publication of their papers altogether by way of protest. These are only two out of many ways for signifying your disapproval.

I observe that the Standing Committee of Editors is meeting on the 1st proximo. The Committee is expected fearlessly to vindicate the liberty of the Press. It must cease to be the power it should be if it submits to suppression of free public opinion.

I need hardly draw attention to the fact that in a subject country like India, the liberty of the Press is doubly precious. And your responsibility, if you represent British-owned press, is very great at the present critical moment in the history of this country.

I need hardly also draw attention to the fact that I represent un-adulterated non-violence whose spread can do nobody any harm. It is false and cruel to suggest that I could have anything in common with Nazism of Fascism because I happen to oppose Imperialism.

Yours sincerely,
(SD.) M. K. GANDHI.

10.—REPLY TO THE "TIMES OF INDIA'S" CRITICISMS REGARDING THE POLICY OF NON-VIOLENCE.

Sir,

Your word to me written so earnestly in your issue of February 7 demands a reply.

Inspite of your disbelief I must adhere to my faith in the possibility of the most debased human nature to respond to non-violence. It is the essence of non-violence that it conquers all opposition. That I may not express myself that measure of non-violence and the rest may express less is highly probable. But I will not belittle the power of non-violence or distrust the Fuhrer's capacity to respond to true non-violence.

The illustrations you have cited in support of your dis-belief are all unhappy because wholly inapplicable. A man is not necessarily non-violent because he lays down arms. The Czechs, the Danes, the Austrians and the Poles may have all acted most wisely but certainly not non-violently. If they could put up successful armed resistance, they would have done so and would have deserved well of their countrymen. Nor is it for me to blame them for submission when resistance became vain. It was, however, in order to meet such contingencies and in order to enable even the physically weakest persons not to feel powerless against physically strong persons fully armed with the modern weapons of destruction that Satyagraha was discovered and applied in South Africa in 1907. And it has since been successfully applied under varying and even baffling circumstances. You will please excuse me for refusing to draw a distinction in kind between the forces I have had to cope with hitherto and what I may have to cope with, if the Fuhrer attacked India. The prospect of his killing every Satyagrahi causes neither terror nor despair. If India has to go through such a purgatory and if a fair number of Satyagrahis face the Fuhrer's army and die without malice in their breasts, it would be a new experience for him. Whether he responds or not, I am quite clear that these Satyagrahis facing the army will go down to history as heroes and heroines at least equal to those of whom we learn in fables or cold history.

You are, however, on less weak ground when you doubt the honesty or non-violence of my companions. You are entitled to throw the Poona resolution in my face. I have already confessed that the Poona resolution would not have been passed but for my momentary weakness. As to the want of honesty or defective non-violence, I can only say that the future alone will show whether satyagrahis were only so-called or as honest and true as human beings can be. I can only assert that every care has been taken in making the selection to ensure a fair standard of non-violence. I admit, however, that hypocrites have undoubtedly crept in. But I entertain the belief that vast majority will be found to be true. The Congress president has been frank enough to define the limitations of his non-violence. But so far as I know his mind—and nobody does if I do not—his non-violence will be proof against any temptation within the limits defined by him.

I should undertake to engage in non-violent resistance to the Fuhrer if I had companions with the Maulana Saheb's circumscribed belief. Whether such non-violence can stand the test or not is a moot question. I have achieved success till now with such material,

You are incorrect in attributing to me a demand for unfettered liberty of the press or speech. What I have said if that there should be unfettered liberty provided that it is not inconsistent with non-violence. You say that Congress ministers' restrictive action went beyond the proviso. If it did, it was certainly against the declared Congress policy and can be no guide or criterion for me.

The unkindest cut is contained in the insinuation that my demand for free speech, subject to the proviso mentioned, was a device for squeezing political concessions from the British. There would be nothing politically wrong if political concessions were demanded even at the point of civil disobedience. But it is a matter of public knowledge that the Poona resolution has lapsed. And in so far as I am concerned, it remains lapsed so long as the war lasts. Civil disobedience would certainly be withdrawn if free speech is genuinely recognised and the status quo restored. I have never stated during previous movements that they were likely to be long drawn out. But I have done so this time because I believe that there can be no settlement with the Congress short of complete independence during the pendency of the war, for the simple reason that the Congress cannot commit itself to active help in the war with men and money. That would mean a reversal of the policy of non-violence which the Congress has pursued for the last 20 years and independence cannot come through any settlement while the war lasts. Therefore so far as I know the Congress will be satisfied with the fullest freedom to grow in non-violence. The Congress demand concerns all persons and parties.

You ask me in the face of all these facts whether it is fair or morally right

to pursue his (my) present campaign. You have answered the question yourself in the negative. But I may not accept your answer. In the first place, as shown above, I do not subscribe to your facts. Secondly, to accept your answer will be to declare my utter insolvency. I would be untrue to the faith I have unwaveringly held now for nearly half a century in the efficacy of non-violence. I may seemingly fail, but even at the risk of being completly misunderstood I must live and act according to my faith and belief that I am serving India, Britain and humanity. I do not wish well to India at the expense of Britain as I do not wish well to Britain at the expense of Germany. Hitlers will come and go. Those who believe that when the Fuhrer dies or is defeated his spirt will die, err grievously. What matters is how we react to such spirit—violently or non-violently. If we react violently, we feed that evil spirit. If we act non-violently we sterilise it.

You ask me to devote myself to internal unity. Well, my passion for it is as old as that for non-violence. Indeed, my first non-violent experiment outside the the domestic circle was to promote that unity. And I had considerable success. I ask you therefore to believe me that my effort for unity is not suspended but intensified by the present movement. The great beauty of non-violent effort lies in the fact that its failure can only harm those who are in it, while its success is sure to promote all round good.

Sevagram, 10-2-1941.

11.—JAIL INTERVIEW WITH THE CONGRESS PRESIDENT

I must warn the public against journalistic flights of imagination. No importance need be attached to my visits to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and there meeting quite accidentally Kunwar Sir Jagdishprasad, then Pandit Malaviyaji and the morning following Shri Vijaya Luxmi Pandit and finally Maulana Saheb Abul Kalam Azad. They were all of them friendly visits wholly unarranged when I left Sevagram for Allahabad. I had gone for one mission and that alone. What little other work I did was purely accidental. I refer to my meeting some students and Garhwali workers. Sir Tej Bahadur I went to see because he was ailing. We are old friends. He was to have come to see me but when I heard that he was ill I insisted on going to him. No doubt, we talked about the political situation and even more about the Hindu-Muslim problem. Sir Jagdish who dropped in and who was to dine at Sir Tej Bahadur's joined the conversation. But not the slightest political importance attaches to these conversations. We talked as individuals and not with regard to any mission. Sir Tej Bahadur is anxious (who is not) to end the present deadlock. He would give any thing to bring about Hindu-Muslim unity. He ascribes to me over-much capacity for bringing about unity. Sir Jagdish is no less anxious. But the talks were no more than a friendly interchange of views. As to the visit to Malaviyaji Maharaj the same thing happened He has aged. He ought not to talk about current events. He is too weak. But the country's affairs are his daily food. He will cease to think about them when he ceases to read and think of the Bhagwat and Gita. These things are the breath of his life and they will stop with the stoppage of his last breath. Who knows but that he will take them where the disembodied spirit goes ? It was a privilege to meet these friends but our talks have no bearing on the political situation in the country. And there could be none in the purely prison visits to the Maulana and Shri Vijaya Luxmi Pundit.

I know that the imaginary descriptions of such visits and the eagerness with which the public devour them show their desire for communal unity and a solution of the political deadlock. But mere desire will take us no nearer its fulfilment. For fulfilment can only come through common action on the part of those who share the desire. All are searching for common action. Speculation interferes with the search. So far as the Congress is concerned its policy and action based thereon are well-known. It is gross misrepresentation to suggest that the Congress is out for securing terms for itself. Freedom of speech is for all even as independence will be for all. The contents of the latter will be decided not by the Congress but by the vote of all. And if it is to be achieved non-violently it follows that the mere vote of the majority will have little play. The charter of independence must be the product of the willing consent of the minorities and other relevant interests which are not in conflict with the interests of the vast mass of Indian humanity.

Be this as it may in order that all the units may have full freedom of expression even against the war itself the Congress has embarked upon Civil

Disobedience. That is the contribution of the Congress to the fulfilment of the common desire. As an effort in direct action it must hold the field till a better is found.

Strong objection has been raised against my interpertation of the Bombay resolution. I regard it as a true interpretation. But it is that of an individual. I have no authority from the Congress to interpret or vary the Congress resolutions. That is essentially the function of the President, the Working Committee and finally the A. I. C. C. The only authority I have is to conduct the campaign of Civil Disobedience. But when the time for settlement comes it will be for the Working Committee to decide what the terms shall be. My contribution will be confined to advising the Committee. The Working Committee may reject the interpretation I have given. It or the A. I. C. C. may even alter the resolutions they have passed. Meanwhile let every one whether Congressmen or others be guided by the Bombay resolution and not by my interpretation. I have therefore, failed to understand the consternation created by my statement that there can be no settlement short of independence during the pendency of the war.

Sevagram 6-3-41.

12.—NATIONAL WEEK, APRIL 6—13, 1941

The National Week will be soon upon us. Its observance has a double purpose (1) to achieve self-purification through fasting on the 6th and 13th April and (2) to increase mass consciousness by greater concentration on constructive work. The sixth of April 1919 saw exhibition of a sudden and unexpectedly high spirit of Swadeshi and mass manifestation of communal unity and a determination on the part of Congress Hindus to get rid of the canker of untouchability from Hinduism. Swadeshi centred itself on Khadi as it was the central village industry of a universal character. During the twenty years since 1919 the constructive programme has widened. The other village industries have found expression through the A.I.V.I.A. Education has been linked with the villagers through Hindustani Talimi Sangha. There has been greater concentration on impressing women in the national service and therefore regarding them as valued co-workers on a par with men. The widening and working of the constructive programme is the only way in which active non-violence can express itself. Civil disobedience comes, if it must, at the end of the constructive programme, never in the beginning. We saw through experience that we had to retrace our steps in 1919 as Civil resistance had been resorted to without preparation through constructive service. Disobedience of laws can never be civil unless the resisters have learnt the art of voluntary obedience. This is impossible without tangible, co-operative work requiring exact discipline and voluntary and whole hearted obedience to rules and regulations.

Civil resistance is merely lawful and obligatory only in some cases whereas constructive work is obligatory on all who belong to a non-violent organisation. And civil resistance can be effective only when it is backed by constructive effort on a mass scale. Success of civil resistance can be measured by the success of constructive effort. Therefore I hope that all Congress workers will during the National week 6th to 13th April devote their time to the constructive programme. Khadi and other village industries have always played a prominent part in the programme. For all young and old, men and women, can take part in it and the work can be measured in arithmetical terms. It is to be hoped that the response will be much greater than ever before.

13.—TALK WITH THE "TIMES OF INDIA'S" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

I have very carefully listened to the advance press copy of 'The Times of India's" leading article which must have appeared this morning in Bombay. I acknowledge the friendly tone of the article, and I wish I could have given an encouraging reply ; but I cannot.

I adhere to all that I said at the initiation of the struggle. When I launched out, I had no foolish illusion about a sudden miracle happening. It was conceived to be, and it remains a silent declaration of unquenchable faith in the power of non-violence even in the midst of circumstances so terrible and so baffling as face the world today.

I believe more in the efficacy of the incalculable force of an inscrutable Divinity than in the efficacy of the calculated and calculable forces that the combined powers of destruction can bring into play on this little planet. That incalculable force has somehow or the other to act through human agency. How and when I cannot say. Whether that agency is the Congress or not, I cannot

say. I proceed upon the faith that today the Congress is the only organisation, however imperfect, however wanting in faith as an organisation, still the only organisation that stands defiantly for peaceful measures.

That being my position, so far as I am concerned, there is no drawing back. Whether civil disobedience is offered by one or many is of no moment. It must continue against all odds. Congressmen can certainly repudiate it in more ways than one. It will then cease to be an organisational movement, and therefore I will admit it will cease to be effective in any shape or form. But I would be content if I still retain the faith to be the solitary witness of the power of non-violence.

I must resolutely deny that this movement, whether in conception or in execution, is communal or anti-Muslim or anti-English. There is sufficient evidence for those who want to notice it to show that extraordinary precaution is being taken to keep the movement within limits and absolutely innocuous.

Many Government people have admitted that it is wholly ineffective according to their conception. The writer of the article has said as much from his standpoint. And both are right. It was never intended that it would create an appreciable impression upon the war effort, but it is a moral, and from that standpoint a grand protest against the conduct of the war in the name of a free people. It is a token of the yearning of a political organisation to achieve the freedom of 350,000,000 people through purely non-violent effort and therefore to affect the future destiny of the world. Again an ambitious claim, but it is there.

If I can help it, the Congress will disdain freedom at the sacrifice of a single legitimate interest that is consistent with the interests of the dumb millions, whether they are Hindus, Muslims or others. I must deny that if the Congress had held on to Office in the seven provinces the Pakistan cry would have been less loud than it is today ; but the giving up of office had an infinitely more moral basis than the avoidance of a tussle with Muslim interests or any other interests. The fundamental basis was India's dissociation from the war effort to which it was never invited to be party. This is putting it in its lowest term and in bald political language. As you know, my own basis is still more abstract, still more moral and still more universal, but on that account nonetheless real or less practical.

I make bold to say that when the clash of arms has ceased and we have settled down to peace, permanent or impermanent, history will record that the Congress fight in its totality was a supremely moral fight and free from any injury to man's dignity.

To conclude this very unsatisfactory reply, as it would appear, to a friendly gesture. I want to plead one thing. Would friends ask me at this supreme moment in the lifes of the world and my own life, to deny a faith that has sustained me for nearly half a century ? And let me interpolate one thought, however unwelcome it may be. I am convinced that if Britain will only be true to India then, whether the Congress withdraws the struggle or not, everything can be settled satisfactorily But unfortunately British statesmen have chosen the wrong path and have put imaginary obstacles in the way of India's freedom. But that is a chapter on which I have no desire to dilate.

Wardha, 19-4-1941.

14.—Communal Riots

Hindu Muslim riots that have broken out in many important places in the country must have saddened all sane people. My grief however is special. The Congress influence seems to have been practically unfelt during the dark days.

We have proved ourselves barbarians and cowards in these places. Arson, loot and killing of innocent people including children have been common in almost all the places. Thousands have run away from their homes for fear of their lives.

Congress influence was not to be measured by the number of members on the Congress register but by its leavening quality. It has been shown clearly that the influence is negligible in riots and the like. Individual cases apart, the Congress produced little or no influence over either the Muslims or the Hindus in the affected areas. From the accounts received it seems that Muslim fanatics in Dacca and Ahmedabad did their worst in inflicting damage on Hindu property by looting and burning with a deliberation that showed premeditation. Hindus, instead of boldly standing up and facing the mischief-makers, fled in their thousands from the danger zone. And where they did not, they were as barbarous as the assailants. These were all untouched by the Congress non-violence. And yet these are the men who form the bulk of the Congress meetings.

If the Congress has no control over the masses on such occasions, there is not much value in Congress non-violence as a positive force. The Congress cannot take charge of the Government if the British suddenly withdraw. They are not likely to do so without a desperate effort. But British valour cannot make Congressmen brave or fit for shouldering the responsibility of Government.

At the present moment the British Government is preoccupied. It is a marvel how they hold sway over four hundred million people. Their amazing self-confidence and their skill in the use of destructive weapons enable them to hold India in bondage. But they may not be expected to keep the peace even to the extent they do in normal times. They will ensure their control anyhow but they will allow us to kill one another and come in only when that control is in danger.

Congressmen's course is clear. They must examine the contents of their non-violence. If it does not go as far as the regulation of inter-communal and such other relations, it is of no use for the acquisition of Independence. I prophesy that without pervasive non-violence of the brave, when the question of real transfer of power comes, it won't be the Congress who will have the privilege and the responsibility of delivering the goods. The power will descend to those who are able to make effective use of violence.

In Europe two forces, equally matched in destructive skill and bravery, are ranged against one another. The goal before both is domination. In spite of all the will in the world I have found no difference in kind between the two. The difference in degree does not interest me. The British heel is bad enough for me. As a man wedded to independence and non-violence, I must fight Nazism and Fascism equally with the enslaving British Imperialism. But has the Congress really the non-violent strength even to fight this imperialism which we know through and through? Hitherto it was a case of seizing power bit by bit. But every Indian politician knows that there never was the slightest move on the part of the British to part with real power. And now we have it in its nakedness from Mr. Amery that we may expect no such thing peacefully from British authority. We have to fight for it either violently or non-violently, whether it is the Congress or the League or the Hindu Mahasabha that fights for it. I am satisfied that the two sectional organisations will never win Independence for the masses, Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Sikh, Parsi, Jew. The Congress is the only organisation that has laboured for national solidarity from the beginning. But that labour will be vain if the Congress does not prove true to its trust. I do not mind Congressmen changing their creed in spite of many leaders being in jail or openly leaving the Congress. I can see my way to rebuilding the Congress with five true men with whom there is neither Hindu nor Muslim nor any other. Religion is a personal matter. It ought not to affect the political field.

Then what should a Congressman do? He must resolutely refuse to take sides and defend with his life and without the use of violence the person who is in distress as did for instance three women in Ahmedabad. I have no doubt there are many such individual instances unknown to me. Cowards will never bring peace or independence. He must therefore tell the masses never to fly from danger and that if they cannot follow his way they must defend themselves in the best way they can. What is required is a brave heart—a possession which is in nobody's giving and which therefore can never be taken away. He must instil into his neighbours the lesson that even violence can be both decent and indecent. It is no bravery to kill unawares an innocent person because he does not belong to one's religion or to burn his property Those who do so disgrace their religion and themselves and positively mar the effort for Independence.

Let me give some further illustrations of what a Congressman should do in given circumstances.

A Congressman has no enemy. While he will not seek the protection of the police or the military, he will not interfere with them in the performance of their duty but he will not hesitate to lose his life if need be in checking them when they are partial or exceeding their authority. This will appear a dangerous doctrine But it is not if it is enforced fully. For if the Congressman concerned has erred, he will be the sufferer and not the police or the military. I know that a youngman because he was brave, by timely interference, saved perhaps a hundred lives by simply holding the bridle of an officer's horse and telling him in firm accents, that he may not give the order to fire and that he—the youngman —would reason with the crowd and disperse them

Supposing there is a Hindu procession which has a right to pass through a Muslim locality and a Congressman has no influence over either, he will

still give his life in begging a passage from the opposing Muslims. The immediate result may be zero. But the Congressman will have left a legacy of non-violent bravery. It will be good practice in non-violencce. Let us learn from the British people the art of recklessly losing life and property. The same rule applies to a Muslim procession passing through a Hindu locality. We shall never learn the art of mutual forbearance and toleration till some of us, though perfectly innocent, have staggered Indian humanity by losing our lives.

A crowd is bent upon setting on fire the property of one community or another or desecrating a mosque or temple. Congressmen whether one or many will give their lives to prevent mob fury.

A stray man attempts to stab a passer-by. At the risk of his life, a Congressman will pluck the knife out of the hands of the would-be miscreant.

Congressmen may gasp on reading this note and particularly the illustrations and say 'impossible'. well, attainment of independence is still more impossible whether by violent or non-violent means. But what seems impossible to one lacking faith will become possible to those who have faith. And it is said that faith can move mountains. I know this, that neither independence nor communal unity is possible without ample sacrifice, bravery and self-confidence which is but another name for faith.

Sevagram, 4-5-1941.

15.—Bihar Riots

I have just read an account of the unfortunate riots in Bihar. As soon as a wire was received on the 3rd instant by Rajendra Babu from Shri Sachidanand Singh that a dangerous situation was developing in Bihar, he responded by hastening to Bihar.

The account of the riots makes painful reading. I have studied the various statements regarding them also. Rajendra Babu has gone to Bihar to put in the whole of his weight in favour of sanity and peace. This is his first wire to me after reaching there : "Situation improving but still panicky uncertain. Mathurababu, Shah Sahib touring myself proceeding with volunteers". I know that he will give a good account of himself. Peace will somehow be restored if it has not been already by the police and the military. But this can only be a superimposed peace. Rajendra Babu's as every Congressman's and for that matter every sane citizen's business is to find out the cause of the riots. Unless this is done, there is no likelihood of permanent peace. I observe that the riots started with the resentment over the observances of the anti-Pakistan Day. Pakistan and Anti-Pakistan observances and the like have come to stay. As national consciousness grows and ambitions rise righ, such observances will multiply. But why can we not conduct ourselves decently inspite of these ? Why should we be so utterly intolerant as not to suffer one another's views ? And then why should we show our intolerance as if we were savages ?

I am quite convinced that the chief burden for the voluntary preservation of peace lies on the shoulders of the Congress, the oldest, the best organised and the most popular organisation in India. It must be admitted that the vast majority of Congress members are Hindus and Bihar is a predominantly Hindu province. Therefore it should be comparatively easier for the Congress to ensure peace there without the aid of the police and the military. It should be a point of honour for the stronger party to protect the weak against harm to life or property. It is a difficult task but it has got to be tackled. When I lay this burden on the Congress, I do not mean to suggest that the Congress alone should or can do it. The Congress has to invoke the assistance of all parties, the Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha and others. Each may have its political programme. But if we are not intent upon imposing our respective programme on the opponents by force of arms, expressed today through goondaism, surely we may all agree that we shall settle all our differences through negotiation and peaceful effort including arbitration. The Congress may fail to produce joint action. If so, it will be a noble failure. It must, however, continue to work even single handed, if its non-violence has any meaning in it.

At present Bihar is the province that can lead the way and set the example. Rajendra Babu has a gentle and unique hold in his province such as no other leader has. He is the hero of the earth-quake days when the whole of India put its trust in him. May he have too the privilege of being the messenger of peace in Bihar and through Bihar may be throughout India.

Sevagram, 7-5-41.

16. CORRESPONDENCE WITH SHRI K. M. MUNSHI

Shri K. M. Munshi wrote to me the enclosed from Naini Tal to which I sent a reply in Gujarati of which the original and translation are herewith enclosed. In pursuance of the correspondence Shri K. M. Munshi came to me as soon as it was possible after his return to Bombay. In the course of the discussion I discovered that whilst he accepted in the abstract the principle of Ahimsa with all its implications he felt the greatest difficulty in acting upto it, the more so as with his intimate knowledge of Bombay he was sure that he could not carry the Hindus with him, much less the Muslims and others. He knew that the numerous Hindus who were under his influence would look to him for guidance and would seek his advice. He saw no way of convincing them that they could defend themselves through Ahimsa. As a political weapon therefore of immediate use in the midst of the riots which looked more like a miniature civil war, he could not make any effective use of Ahimsa. With him the question was not one of interpretation of Congress resolutions but of being truthful to himself and to the country. In view therefore of the following resolution passed at Poona by the A.I.C.C. explaining the Wardha statement, I advised him that the only dignified and brave course for him was to resign from the Congress and attain freedom of action unhampered by restrictions entailed by the Congress non-violence :

The Poona Resolution

"The A.I.C.C. has considered the statement issued by the Working Committee from Wardha on June 21, 1940 and confirms it. The A.I.C.C. is of the opinion that as explained therein, while the Congress must continue to adhere strictly to the principle of non-violence in the struggle for independence, it is unable, in the present circumstances, to declare that the principle should be extended to free India's national defence.

"The A.I.C.C. desire to affirm that the Congress organisation should continue to be conducted on the principle of non-violence and all Congress volunteers are bound by their pledge to remain non-violent in the discharge of their duty and no Congress Volunteers Organisation can be formed or maintained except on that basis. Any other volunteer organisation for the purpose of self-defence with which Congressmen are associated must likewise adhere to non-violence."

I told him that there came a time in every Congressman's life when being a Congressman dragged him down. That was when there was conflict between thought and action. For the spring of non-violent action was non-violent thought. If the latter was absent the former had subjectively little or no value. Therefore it was good for him, the Congress and the country that he should resign and mould his action from moment to moment as he thought proper. And by his action he would open the door for those Congressmen to resign whose practice could not accord with their thought. The Congress was conceived to be a non-violent and truthful organisation in which there should be no place for those who could not honestly conform to these two conditions. Strange as it might appear the practice of non-violence seemed more difficult than of truth. For the fruits of untruth were more indetectable than those of violence.

My advice appealed to Shri Munshi. And he has decided to accept it. He will go because he could not be disloyal to the Congress he has so long served. And it does not at all follow that his resignation means that from being a meek and mild man he suddenly becomes a fierce man vowing vengeance on those whom he may consider to be opponents or that he becomes a communal anti-nationalist. I have no doubt that for him every non-Hindu whose only home is India is as much Indian as a Hindu born and bred in india. I congratulate him upon taking the step he will and I have every hope that his resignation from the Congress will enable him to utilise his faculties so as to make a decisive contribution towards the the establishment of lasting peace in Bombay.

Sevagram, 25-6-1941.

Staff House, Naini Tal, 26th May, 1941

My dear Bapu :

Please excuse the language, but as my thoughts have, in this instance, taken shape in English, they had best be expressed through that medium.

I am seriously perturbed since yesterday morning, when I read your letter to Shri Bhogilal Lala in the morning papers. I will quote two material paras :

(1) "Those (Congressmen) who favour violent resistance (by way of self-

defence) must get out of the Congress and shape their conduct just as they think fit and guide others accordingly."

(2) "A Congressman may not directly or indirectly associate himself with gymnasia where training in violent resistance in given."

Forgive me, if I cannot reconcile myself to these injunctions.

Since Pakistan has been in action at Dacca, Ahmedabad, Bombay and other places it is clear that such riots are going to be the normal feature of our life for some years. If the war comes to India's frontiers or the British machinery of maintaining order weakens they will perhaps grow more frequent and intense. If a division of India is sought to be enforced, by internal or external agencies, through organised violence, if life, home and shrine and the honour of women is threatened by goondaism, organised resistance in self-defence appears to me to be a paramount and unalienable duty, whatever the form such resistance may take.

Do you include, the Akhadas in the "Gymnesia where training in violent resistance is given"? I may inform you that for the last over fifteen years I have been associated with the Akhada movement in the Presidency both directly and indirectly. I presided over two Conferences—one at Bombay and the other at Poona—to organise it on a systematic line. I have still unofficial connection with several Akhadas. I deem them an essential machinery for training our race in the arts of self-defence. During the last many years, they have played a great part in giving to us some self-confidence to resist goondaism.

Inspite of great efforts which I have made since yesterday I have failed to convince myself that my views as expressed in an article I wrote a fortnight ago and published in Social Welfare of the 22nd require a revision.

I am sending you a copy of the article for ready reference. Since I came to you in 1930, you have been more to me than a political leader ; You have been to the whole of our family a father ; you have been a beacon for the last ten years, lighting us on the path of the little spirituality that I can lay claim to. Hence, the pain I feel in confessing that I have searched in vain for a way out of this conflict.

I can, of course, keep quiet or can acquiesce in what you say ; or can for fear of losing my Congress association and your confidence—both precious possessions of my life—voice your sentiments, and go my way or do nothing. But something in me rebels against such a course. You have been to me the embodiment of truth, and I would lose my self-respect, my right to pray to God, if I pretend to follow you with such mental reservations.

I cannot pledge myself not to preach, help, organise or sympathise with organised resistance to violence in self-defence by all possible means. I do not want to be dishonest to myself, nor to the country, whose integrity is now threatened. Nor, believe me, do I desire to deny myself your inspiration and guidance.

In this dilemma, please let me know what I should do.

Yours.
(Sd.) K. M. MUNSHI.

THE MAHATMA'S REPLY

Sevagram, May 29, 1941.

My dear Munshi :

I have your transparent letter. I don't mind your having written it in English. I would not for a moment tolerate your suppressing your thoughts or simply parroting my views. It would not become either of us.

You have the fullest liberty of thought and expression. If there is an error, there is nothing to prevent us from correcting it. But do remember that non-violent resistance is far superior to violent resistance. And if that is so, how can a votary of non-violence resort to violence ? I have already made it absolutely clear that violent resistance becomes the duty of those who have no faith in non-violence.

But I would ask you not to worry about these things while you are there. Go to Kosani and soothe your eyes with the darshan of the Dhavalgiris snows. Do stay there longer, if you must, for the sake of your eyes. There is no hurry at all. This work will be there awaiting you no matter when you return after full recovery. Do come on your return to Bombay.

BAPU'S BLESSINGS.

STATEMENT OF SHRI MUNSHI

I had the benefit of detailed discussion with Gandhiji and many friends on the present situation in the country. After mature deliberation I feel that the interests of the country demand that with my views on the question of self-defence

I should not continue any longer to be a member of the Congress. Any other course would neither be honourable for me nor fair to the country or the Congress.

Gandhiji would not think of my offering satyagraha, in the present uncertain and enfeebled condition, of my health. I could not think of working a 'Peace Brigade' in Bombay, not having the requisite spiritual strength. At the same time to pursue any work other than that of helping to arrest the progress of the blood fued that is going on before one's eyes is flying away from duty. I feel that in the dark days which lie ahead of India I would be of no use to the country unless I pursued the path of duty in the light which God has been pleased to vouchsafe to me.

This decision has been rendered rather difficult by the personal bond which subsists between Gandhiji and several leading Congressmen on the one hand and myself, but I would not be worthy of their confidence if I remained in the Congress with a mental reservation on the cardinal point of Congress faith as Gandhiji understands it. My only satisfaction has been that Gandhiji, with his usual generosity, has helped me to reach a decision which is consistent with my own view as to the direction in which my immediate duty lies.

17.—PUNJAB AFFAIRS

When Mian Saheb Iftikhar-Ud-din, President of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee and Dr. Gopichand were with me the other day Mian Saheb told me that there was some misunderstanding among some Congressmen about certain things which required clearing. I should have dealt with them earlier. But pressure of work and my limited capacity for disposal are responsible for the delay. I take them up now.

When the Punjab Bar patriotically took up the honourable role of *amicus curiae* and decided to bring before their High Court for revision the cases of satyagrahis in which in their opinion obvious injustice was done. I was delighted, not for the sake of the relief such revision might bring, but for the sake of the Punjab Bar and of purity of justice. Whilst satyagrahis must be indifferent to the sentences pronounced against them, they must welcome exposure of injustice especially when it is brought about at the instance of disinterested parties. When, therefore, Ismet Begum wired and wrote to me that her husband was much displeased and disturbed over the prospect of revision, I urged her not to interfere and asked her to tell her husband that there was nothing wrong about the revision and that if he was discharged it would be open to him to offer civil disobedience again. Of course, the matter wears a different and ugly aspect when satyagrahi prisoners request the *amicus curiae* that they should take up their (prisoner's) cases. Such conduct would be quite countrary to the satyagraha code.

Complaints are being made in several parts as in the Punjab that the new lists of satyagrahis are not being passed as fast they are sent. There is no lack of despatch in the Punjab or any other province as to the lists. But I am in no hurry to pass them. I repeat for the thousandth time that the present civil disobedience is not only not designed to embarrass authority but care is being taken as far as possible to avoid all embarrassment. The merit as also the strength of the struggle consists in reducing embarrassment to the minimum whilst the British are engaged in a deadly life and death war. Moreover, since our struggle is going to be indefinitely prolonged—I give no less than five years,—there need be no hurry to fill the jails. Mere filling of jails can bring us no nearer our freedom than we are now. The virtue lies in the people learning through the restricted civil disobedience the necessity of discipline, suffering and self-sacrifice. Every true example of satyagraha acts as a leaven working itself in the mass mind. During the initial stages I was purposely lax in scanning the lists. The result was that many crept in who had done no constructive work. Some had even no faith in it. These are a burden on the organisation and positively hinder the march to freedom. I have said repeatedly that constructive work is the foundation for civil disobedience. It promotes discipline and conduces to the growth of non-violence in the worker. As time advances Congressmen must therefore expect increasing stiffness on my part. The conditions will be the same. Strictness will be the same. Strictness will be confined to the enforcement. This is but natural if we are to grow from strength to strength and if we are to make the struggle increasingly purer. I can conduct it on no other terms.

Then Mian Saheb mentioned to me that some Congressmen had adversely criticised his move for achieving among all parties in the Punjab agreement about

eschewing goondaism in the pursuit of their respective programmes. When the Mian Saheb told me that there was just a possibility of such an effort succeeding I at once told him to make it and suspend for the time being his own civil disobedience and of those whose assistance he might consider necessary for the arduous task. Some Congressmen seem to have taken exception that Mian Saheb had invited to his meeting non-Congressmen and even communal leaders. The objectors forget that it is the essence of Mian Saheb's move to bring together all the opposite elements and see whether they could agree to eschew goondaism for the achievement of their respective purposes. Nor could there be in such a meeting decisions by counting heads. The end contemplated could only be achieved by the willing consent of the parties. In any event Congressmen should know that Mian Saheb has undertaken this difficult mission in consultation with me and with my whole hearted consent. I hope that he will receive the closest co-operation of all Congressmen.

He is impatient to offer civil disobedience. As the head of the Congress in the Punjab he thinks that his primary duty is to offer civil disobedience. I have told him that there is no such universal rule. On the contrary it is his clear duty and of those whom he may select to refrain so long as he and they feel that they can contribute their mite to the attempt to eradicate goondaism.

There remains the question of those who were prematurely released owing to the Punjab High Court decision about the insufficiency for the purpose of conviction of mere notices to offer civil disobedience. When I learnt about the decision I had informed Mian Saheb that he should not be in a hurry to send them to jail and that when he paid his contemplated visit to Sevagram I should discuss the question with him and decide. He came and I advised that those who were not wanted for the peace move should re-offer civil disobedience.

Sevagram, 6-7-1941.

18.—"KHADI JAGAT"

The sphere of 'Khadi Jagat' is co-extensive with that of the activities of the All India Spinners' Association. Theoretically speaking the activities of the A. I. S. A. are unlimited. At present it provides employment to 224,421 spinners, of whom 167,996 are Hindus, and 56,425 are Muslims, along with 20,643 other artisans, such as ginners, carders, dyers, weavers and washermen. The A. I. S. A. represents all those Hindus, Musalmans and others who are engaged in the various processes involved in the production of Khadi, as also those who use Khadi. Although these people are at present a mere drop in the ocean of Indian humanity they are numerous enough to be scattered throughout the length and breadth of the country. The A. I. S. A. is entirely a philanthropic institution. It is the largest institution of its kind in India and perhaps in the world. If the expectations formed about this institution materialise, the A. I. S. A. should represent the whole of the dumb and semi-starved milions of India. And if that event comes about it would represent the aspirations of the whole of submerged world. The bloody massacre going on in the present war is probably a demonstration of the fact that industrialism will lead the world to destruction in the end. Enlightened revival of handicrafts alone can save it. But here I am talking of the future and God alone knows what the future has in store for us. All the same there is such a thing in the world as human endeavour and the endeavour of the A. I. S. A. is to propagate the spirit of Khadi throughout India. Then alone can we get rid of the grinding pauperism of India's masses. The word Khadi must be taken in its wider sense here. For such extensive work, we require a much greater number of workers than have been hitherto available. Those who are aleady engaged in this work have to cultivate greater capacity for sacrifice. They must cultivate the habit of study in a scientific spirit. Their knowledge must be steadily progressive.

The wheel is the centre of this activity because it alone can give employment and living to the millions of women. The wheel includes the Takli. It is not to be taken merely as thg widow's main stay. It has been conceived as a symbol of India's economic uplift, Hindu-Muslim unity and therefore even of her independence in terms of her millions. Thus the science of Khadi is a lofty study. Many experts are required to dedicate their energies in an organised manner for the furtherance of the cause. These include economists as well as highly skilled mechanics. A mason can build a village house, but it requires an engineer to plan and build a bjg building or a big dam. Much more talent, knowledge, application and research are required to improve the village implements than to build a bridge on the Ganges. When we are able to attract people of this type by our renunciation

and methodical research, we will able to make rapid and far reaching progress, not till then.

Looking at it from this point of view 'Khadi Jagat' is not an insignificant venture. It was because I regarded it as an ambitious venture that I supported the proposition of undertaking it. I hope, therefore, all the articles published in this magazine will be of the required standard and be ernestly studied by the A. I. S. A. workers, and those interested in the uplift of the villages.

One thing I must not omit. The Association has increased the wages of the spinners without any demand from the spinners themselves and in utter disregard of the market wages. This will be always looked upon as a creditable adventure for the A. I. S. A. Khadi lovers have helped the Association in this philanthrapic move. The price of Khadi was bound to go up, but these friends willingly paid the extra price. Consequently, Khadi workers have a double duty to discharge. They must see that in the first place the spinners get the full wages according to the standard laid down by the A. I. S. A. Secondly, the customer buying Khadi should be charged the minimum price compatible with the rise in the wages. There should be no attempt at making profit. If at some place profits have accrued they should be spent with the permission of the A. I. S. A. in lowering the price of Khadi or otherwise in the interests of the poor. The progress of Khadi does not depend upon the ups and downs of the market. It depends upon the purity of our transactions. If our transactions are pure they must result in at least three things :

(1) We shall attract spinners and artisans,

(2) The number of Khadi wearers will increase and the necessary money will flow in, and

(3) Greater number of workers will be attracted.

I say this on the strength of 55 years of public service. It will be the endeavour of the 'Khadi Jagat' to achieve the three ends or in other words 'Khadi Jagat' will strive to induce in the workers an ambition for greater purity, greater dedication and greater knowledge.

19—TALK BETWEEN MAHATMA GANDHI AND THE PRESIDENT OF THE MAHARASHTRA P. C. C.

Q. I. Very few names from the 3rd list of Satyagrahis from Maharashtra (193 out of 1,072) are approved and permitted to offer satyagraha. This permission business seems to be unduly delayed, and the satyagrahis are thus put to much inconvenience.

A. I propose to introduce a change in the technique about the passing of these lists of Satyagrahis. From the date on which the name of a prospective satyagrahi if forwarded to me for sanction by a P. C. C., the satyagrahi concerned has to stop his private activities and has to devote himself wholly to the working out of one or more of the items of the thirteenfold constructive programme, which expression is to be understood in the widest sense as explained in my article headed "Implications of constructive programme" in the issue of "Harijan" dated the 18th of August, 1940. Every prospective Satyagrahi is expected to keep a Log-Book (or Diary) in which he will daily enter the work done during the course of the day and the Log-Book shall be submitted to me through the P. C. C. concerned at stated intervals, say, fornightly, or monthly. After going through the Diaries I shall grant permission for Satyagraha to deserving persons. Others will have to follow the said course till they get permission. The satyagrahi may not expect any financial help from the Congress. I know that on this very strict basis the number of satyagrahis will be reduced to a very large extent but what I am keen on is quality and not quantity. I shall not feel sorry if the number is reduced to any extent. Moreover, whilst so many satyagrahis are wandering about, I am anxious not to add to the list of wanderers.

Q. 2. Don't you feel that you are unfair to the prospective satyagrahis in prescribing such a severe preliminary test to them only, while you allowed their predecessors in on a comparatively simpler test ?

A. I don't think I am unfair. One thing that you must remember is that the movement is evolving. Exigencies of the situation may demand varying conditions.

Q. 3. Has the President of the P. C. C, any duty towards the Satyagrahis when they come out of Jail.

A. Yes, he certainly has. He has to ask them to repeat satyagraha and find themselves again in jail say, within about a week from the date of their

release. The P. C. Cs. need only report to me cases demanding special treatment and the instructions that will be issued by me in these cases should be followed and executed by the P. C. Cs.

Q. 4. How long will this process go on ?

A. Indefinitely, that is to say till we achieve our goal. Deep down in me there is a feeling that the struggle will become progressively fiercer and we must pass through all such trials. In this respect we must take a lesson from the British who, inspite of all the severe losses and heavy odds against them, have maintained a fine morale and are determined to carry on. We may not do less.

Q. 5. If any Satyagrahi, who has enrolled himself on the original basis, feels unable to accept the new basis, which will be the honourable way out for him ?

A. He is free to withdraw his name and there is no disgrace attaching to any such honest withdrawal. I must not be deceived. To deceive me is to deceive oneself and the nation. Every honest person can and should withdraw his name. He may continue to render whatever other services he can to the country. He does remain and does continue a Congressman as before. Congress does require and does appreciate his services also. But he just can not remain on the Satyagrahi list as it is now envisaged.

Q. 6. Can we start and develop a Volunteer organisation under the present circumstances ?

A. By all means ; the only condition is that it shall be organised only on the basis of non-violence, unadulterated non-violence. No trifling with non-violence will do and therefore no laxity in that respect can be tolerated. One more point—the said organisation should be pro-congress and yet independent of the Congress. It can be allied institution like the A. I. S. A., etc.

Q. 7. Can decent violence in self defence under emergencies by any member of such volunteer organisation be toletrated as an exception ?

A. No, it cannot be. No such exception can be contemplated or provided against in advance in an organistation which is started specifically on the sole basis of non-violence. Such a person will have to leave the organisation.

Q. 8. "Non-violent resistance is the best method ; failing that even violent decent resistance is tolerable but cowardice is unthinkable and condemnable" that is what you have been preaching in this respect. But what you now say does not square with your above dictum.

A. That dictum is meant for those millions that have not yet accepted the creed of the Congress. I cannot apply to those organisations that are founded on the basic creed of non-violence. Those who desire to effect a change in the basic creed of non-violence must either change their General or go out of the organisation.

Q. 9. The Congress being largely suspended as an organisation, what should be our policy this year as regards the annual enrolment of membership ?

A. Under the circumstances there can be no obligation to enrol membership in the usual manner. New applicants if they so desire, must however, be enrolled as members and there should be no objection to realizing annual subscription from old members wherever practicale.

Q. 10. Do you desire the starting of Peace-Brigades ?

A. Certainly I do. Sometime ago (vide "Harijan" 18th June, 1938) I made certain concrete suggestions in that respect. I know very few will be found, at least in the beginning, to enlist in such an organisation. A beginning may, however, be made by any small number or even singly. Such an organisation cannot be conducted on the lines of democracy. It can only be a body of persons with a definite purpose. If the pioneers are the right sort of people they may gather followers in due course.

Q. 11. What should be our attitude towards elections to local bodies ?

A. As a rule elections to such bodies should not be run in the name of the Congress. There may be no objection to Congressmen fighting the same on their individual responsibility. But this is a question which can be authoritatively decided upon only by Rajendra Babu and Acharya Kripalani.

Q. 12. Can enrolled satyagrahis fight such elections individually ?

A. No. I am quite clear on this point.

Q. 13. What should be done in the case of those satyagrahis who have already put in their candidature for such elections ?

A. They have either to withdraw from the election or from the satyagraha pledge ; they cannot retain both.

Q. 14. What should be the Congress attitude towards the registration of voters to the Legislatures—which lists are now under preparation—both central and provincial ?

A. The Congress must pay full attention to this work. Congress may not ignore it.

20.—LETTER TO THE 'TIMES OF INDIA"

Sevagram, Wardha,
July, 31, 1941.

Dear Sir,

This is the concluding portion of your leaderatte in the "Times of India" 29th instant : "Either he has been lax in interpreting his own rules of satyagraha or he has been deceived by the majority of those whose names were submitted. Mr. Gandhi can best say which of these alternatives is the right one." I suggest a third alternative. I have neither been lax in the interpretation of my rules of satyagraha nor have I been deceived by anybody. You have omitted to read one sentence in my admission : "it is inevitable." From the very inception of the movement in 1920 non-violence has been a policy and not a creed. I said in Bombay speaking at the A. I. C. C. meeting on the reversal of the Poona resolution that with the majority non-violence was a policy. The weakness was therefore inherent in the movement. It should not be forgotten that I am trying the great experiment of using non-violence for the political freedom of the country. With me no doubt non-violence is an end in itself, though it is also a means for the attainment of the freedom of the country. With the vast majority of Congressmen it is and must remain a means. The weakness is thus inherent though none the less regrettable. The marvel is that in spite of the weakness, twenty years' experience has not weaned Congressmen from the non-violent policy, though it is open to it to change it any time.

In the light of the information I have provided, you will perhaps admit that the case you have made up against the Congress and me falls to the ground.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M. K. Gandhi.

21.—STATEMENT REGARDING INTERVIEW TO 'LOOK'

I have seen a press report of an interview said to have been given by me to an American Magazine called "Look". It is pure fabrication. I never knew before now of even the name of the Magazine. My attitude remains what I have repeatedly stated. The Congress will not be satisfied with anything less than Complete Independence.

Sevagram, 4-8-1941.

22.—ORDER ON SHRI KHURSHED BEHN

Khurshed Behn Naoroji is the youngest grand daughter of the late Grand Old Man of India. In common with her other sisters, she has dedicated herself to the service of India, in truth, of humanity. She felt the call some years ago to go to the Frontier Province and work among the Pathans there and spread the gospel of non-violence. She took part also in the last civil disobedience campaign. Last time she was in the Frontier was in connection with dacoities and kidnappings. She is a brave and fearless woman, and so she had planned to work, if she could, even in the tribal area, and come in contact with the dacoits, and wean them from their error. For months she worked within the province and was trying to cross the border with the permission of the Government. But she did not get the permission, though the authorities with whom she came in contact recognised her worth, transparent honesty, and utter absence of secrecy about her movement in the Frontier Province. This is clear from the letters she holds from the officials. Being tired of waiting she notified the Frontier Government of her intention to cross the border. But she was arrested, tried and sentenced to a fine of Rs. 100/- or imprisonment for three months in default thereof. She preferred the latter and on her finishing the term of imprisonment she was externed from the Frontier Province, and interned in the Island of Bombay. She protested against the order and corresponded with the authorities. I give below her last letter.

Sir Richard Tottenham,
Addl. Secy. to the Govt. of India,
Sir,

78, Napean Sea Road,
Bombay, 31st March 1941.

With reference to the Government of India order No. 75/7/41 Political (I),

dated 18th February, 1941, which was served on me just before my release from the Peshawar Central Prison on 4th March, 1941, I have to state as follows :

I consider the language of the order vague and the restrictions unjustifiable in view of the activities in which I was engaged. I place these few facts before you.

For nine months prior to my arrest on 4th Dec. 1940, I had been working in the Bannu District of the N. W. F. Province, trying to instil into the minds of the people the ideal of non-violence. I went about from village to village meeting Pirs, Maliks, Khans, as well as dacoits—all honour to many of them who gave a patient hearing to my talks. I spoke to them on the cowardice, of cruelty of carrying away or killing defenceless men, women and children. I argued with dacoits and tribesmen on the inhumanity of killing one's fellow beings. I strove to make villagers responsible for the collective security of the villages. I asked the Hindus to show more courage, and try and create a living bond of sympathy between themselves and their Pathan neighbours. I begged of the Pathans to live upto their traditions of protecting the weak and opposing brute force even from their own kinsmen. The abovementioned facts may be verified through Government officials in the district concerned, in the N. W. F. Province.

After due intimation to the authorities, I was proceeding to Walo Tangi in Tribal Territory on 4th Dec. 1940, to try and obtain the release of some Hindu kidnappers, among whom was a woman, when I was arrested. I had intended to spend some time there, if necessary, until I had accomplished my object.

During all my talks, private or public, to the Frontier villagers as stated above, at least one C. I. D. officer was always present and heard what I said, and which in all probability was reported to the Government department concerned.

I, therefore, take the liberty to ask if my conduct or speech in the N. W. F. Province, such as I have described, could by any stretch of imagination be considered to be prejudicial to the efficient prosecution of the war, to the defence of British India, or to the public order.

I regard my work in the Frontier Province to have been essentially humanitarian. I feel sure that I could not have been banished from the N. W. F. P. for the activities described by me. If the Government have information to the contrary, they have been entirely misled. I should be given an opportunity of rebutting evidence which has led to the passing of the order against me.

May I expect an early reply ?

Yours truly,
Sd/-. K. A. D. Naoroji.

The authorities turned a deaf ear to her protest. So she decided to break the order of internment if she could not get relief and consequently gave the following notice to the authorities :

Dear Sir,

With reference to your last letter after careful consideration I have failed to find the slightest justification for restricting me to the Island of Bombay.

I am prepared to understand in these times of stress for the British Government the prevention of my entry for the time being in not entering the Frontier Province. But I find it hard to reconcile myself to being cooped up in the Island of Bombay. My whole soul rebels against what I hold to be manifestly unjust and wholly unnecessary. It insults my intelligence. Unless, therefore, the restriction order is confined only to the Frontier Province and my freedom of movement is left otherwise undisturbed and unless I receive an answer amending the order as requested by June, 30, I propose to disobey it,

Yours truly,
Sd/-. K, A. D. Naoroji.

Shame, I suppose, and probably also, because they felt that they could not justify their high-handed action in confining the internment to Bombay they relaxed the order so as to cover the whole of the Bombay Presidency.

That brought her no relief. She resented the underlying distrust. As will be seen from the correspondence I have reproduced, she was quite willing to accommodate the authorities by not going to the Frontier Province. But she could not possibly tolerate the idea of being confined to the Bombay Presidency. There was no reason whatsoever why she should not be allowed to go to Wardha to confer with me, or to go to Allahabad to see the Kamala Nehru Hospital of which she was till the other day one of the active trustees and secretaries, or to travel to any other part of India, where she has many friends, and where she

could be of great service in many of the constructive activities going on in the country. At last being utterly dissatisfied with the inexplicable treatment meted out to her she gave notice to the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, on 31st July, 1941 of her intention to proceed to Wardha on the 1st of August if she was left free. So on the morning of the 1st she was without trial, shall I say, kidnapped to the Yarwada Central Jail.

This action of the Government baffles me, and is a significant and searching commentary on the so-called expansion of the Viceregal Council and what not. The public should understand the Khurshed Behn's action is no part of the War resistance campaign. But the public is hardly aware of the fact that many persons have been arrested and detained without trial although so far as I am aware there is no charge against them of having offered war resistance either as part of the Congress campaign or outside. They are being detained for reasons of which neither they nor the public have any knowledge. Is Khurshed Behn's case an index of what has been done in the other cases ?

Sevagram, 4-8-1941.

23.—NON-VIOLENCE AND DACOITIES

I have read a press summary of a letter said to have been written to me by 48 persons from Gujarat Jail. The question asked in the message is : "Could it be possible for any member of Congress to use violent means against a violent dacoit under grave and provocative conditions, and yet remain in the Congress fold ?"

Of course it is possible. It is even possible for people to remain in the Congress although they deliberately break every Congress rule. But if I am asked whether such persons should remain in the Congress my answer would be an emphatic no. That is for public conduct. No law has been laid down by the Congress as to private conduct. The Congress will refuse as it should to judge the conduct of a person who resists by force a robber robbing his property or an assailant molesting his daughter. But the Congress resolution passed at Poona lays down that a volunteer organisation for the purpose of self-defence organised by the Congress or with which Congressmen are associated must adhere to non-violence. Whether persons who break the rule or even preach the use of violence by Congressmen in such cases should be turned out of the Congress is a different question. My personal attitude is clear. I would not turn out such persons from the Congress. My letter to the Delhi President of the Congress Committee has been misquoted or misunderstood. I deliberately advised against expulsion from the Congress. I have always held that it is an action to be adopted in rare cases. I know some persons have interpreted my advice to Shri Munshi as expulsion. I regard the step taken by him as that of a high souled man. He had taken no inert action. He had conscientious scruples. He referred to me for advice and in his own interest and that of the Congress I advised him to go out of the Congress. There was no coercion even remotely indirect. His retirement was wholly voluntary and dictated by purely moral scruples. I have no reason whatsoever for repenting my advice which I should unhesitatingly repeat in every such case.

The rest of the message does not call for any notice.

Sevagram, 5-8-1941.

24—BLANKETS FOR SOLDIERS

It is a good augury that votaries of non-violence often raise nice questions of principle. Man advances through such spirit of enquiry, provided a condition precedent is fulfilled. The inquiry should not be like that of a person, who strains at a gnat and swallows a camel. Niceties profit only him, who is ever vigilant in major matters and whose practice keeps pace with the progress of the principle.

Let me illustrate what I mean. A certain Khadi Bhandar received an order for woollen blankets from the military. The Bhandar authorities asked me whether they could accept it. I replied that they could. The question of principle raised was whether it did not amount to helping war.

As a matter of abstract principle, it will have to be conceded that the acceptance was a breach. But at that rate, we must leave India and every country engaged in the war. Because, we help war in purchasing the very food we eat. We do the same, when we travel by train or buy postage stamps. Our use of the currency itself is an aid to war. In fact we are hardly able to do any act, which is free from the taint.

The truth is, that no one is able to act upon a great principle, like that of non-violence, in its entirety. Like the geometrical line, it can be only imagined, but never drawn. In practice, we have to be content with drawing only such fine line as we can with our instruments. There is no wall which can be called straight in Euclid. And yet, walls have stood the test of time for thousands of years. It is the same with ahimsa. We must put it into practice as best as we can.

It was easy for me to forbid the sale of the blankets. It was a question of only a few thousand rupees, a small amount for an institution selling in terms of lakhs. But the prohibition would have been a matter of shame for me. I could have done so only by concealing my real view of the matter. Where should I draw the line from which such prohibition should commence? If I were a grain merchant, should I decline to sell it to soldiers? Or, if I were a chemist, should I refuse to sell quinine and other drugs to them? If I should, what could be the reason for my doing so? Does my ahimsa prevent me from entertaining such custom? In other words does it require of me to look into the occupation of my customers? The clear reply is that provided I deal in goods which conduce to the welfare of society, I may not look into the occupations of my customers. This means, that I may sell my innocuous articles even to soldiers.

(Translated from "Khadi Jagat" for Sept. 1941.)

25—Our Struggle—A Review

I have been chary of issuing statements for the guidance of satyagraha. The deciding reason has been to have them to be self-guided where they are not guided by local leaders. But this chariness can easily be overdone. Time seems to have arrived for a brief review especially as several leaders who have been discharged have met me and there has been much speculation about the trend or the result of these talks. The public should know that those who were not wholeheartedly with the Bombay resolution have come out with their doubts confirmed. Similarly those who never had any doubts have become firmer than ever before in their opinion. As for me I never had any doubt as to the correctness of the Bombay resolution and have none about the correctness of the steps hitherto taken in pursuance thereof. If I had, I could not, would not, have led a fight involving not only the fate of the Congress but even of the nation as a whole. There is one saving grace in non-violent action. Unlike violent action it being good in itself can never do real harm.

Complaints reaches me (1) that there is marked deterioration in enthusiasm; (2) that fewer people are coming forward now than before; (3) that those who are discharged are not seeking imprisonment again; (4) that there is no discipline among many satyagrahi prisoners some of whom have no notion of nonviolence or truth; (5) that the treatment of C class prisoners is inhuman in that the food given is bad in quality and deficient in balance. The result is that the majority of prisoners have suffered in health, making it impossible for many on discharge to seek imprisonment again without adequate rest and repair. There are too complaints about want of newspapers, books and proper sanitation; (6) That the policy of non-embarrassment is unintelligible, as the rulers themselves do not appreciate it, and the fight therefore should be intensified without regard to embarrassment. (7) That there is no life left in the Congress—there are no meeting, there are no demonstrations, no other activity, and that there should be a change of policy and programme even resuling in the resumption of full parliamentary programme including ministries i.e. reversion to the Poona Offer with suitable modification.

(1 & 2) I shall consider the first two together. Enthusiasm that is froth is of no use in non-violent action. Showy demonstrations and the like have a value in the initial stages. Continuous feverish activity can only promote violence and therefore retard the steady march of non-violent action, call it battle, if that word is preferred. That fewer are coming forward is but natural. For it must be recalled that Civil Disobedience is individual and restricted to representatives be they even elected members of village or firka committee. The list of representatives being limited it must one day be exhausted. I have no doubt that if I made a general call and relaxed the conditions of enrolment I should be overwhelmed by applications. I have no machinery to examine such applictions. In reality it will be mass action which does not admit of individual examination and choice. That will not come before the close of the war. There is neiter warrant nor atmosphere for mass action. That would be naked embarrassment and a betrayal of non-violence. What is more it can never lead to independence. Mass action at this stage without

communal unity is an invitation to civil war. If civil war is to be our lot, it will come but if I know the Congress mind, it will never come at the wish or invitation of the Congress.

(3) This complaint is partially valid. It is true that some of those who have been discharged are reluctant to go back. This is a novel experience for India. I had to do it in South Africa. The struggle demanded it there as it now does here. Self-suffering has no limit. In former Civil Disobedience the occasion had not come to send the same resisters to jail again and again. In the present one it is inevitable. Any other course would reduce the struggle to a farce. The alternative suggested is that substitutes should be found for those who would not go in again. Surely that is not the way of suffering. And how can we think of gaining independence without a full measure of suffering ? The greater the cause the richer the suffering. Therefore in this struggle they only will count who will seek imprisonment again and again, come what will. They may be very few. That will not matter. Of course those who are ill, will naturally not be required to go till they are restored. Some have interpreted literally my statement that the discharged satyagrahis may take about a week before they go. Each case has to be judged on merits. Shri Vinoba went in twice within 72 hours of his discharge. He had to come to me before reoffering Civil Disobedience. Hence even that little delay. Shri Pyarelal took nearly a month before going in for the third time. There were unavoidable causes which need not occupy the reader's time and attention. I have mentioned two cases which I was personally regulating. They exemplify the elasticity I refer to. There is no shame or harm in unavoidable delay. Hypocricy and camouflage must be avoided at all cost. In Satyagraha there is no waste of men or time or labour provided that Satya is adhered to in its entirety. I can otherwise utilise the services, as true soldiers of Truth, of men and women, who will wholeheartedly carry out instructions. Thus those who cannot for some just reason court imprisonment, should engage themselves in corporate constructive activity. Difficulty arises because many Congressmen though they profess to believe in C. D. have no faith in the constructive programme. I must proclaim from the housetop for the thousandth time that constructive programme is an integral part of the national movement and therefore also of the C. D. C. D. without the backing of the constructive programme is criminal and a waste of effort. All cannot go to jail. But all must work the constructive programme. Even in armed conflict armies are powerfully helped by the civil population. Imagine the fate of British forces, if their effort was not co-ordinated with that of the civilians. I was therefore delighted that there was a wide response from the prisoners and the other Congressmen this time in the matter of spinning during the spinning carnival. I dare to believe that if Congressmen were enthusiastic believers in communal unity and removal of untouchability and the like, there would be no communal discord and there would be no antagonism such as it is from Harijans. We are makers of our own destiny. It has been somewhat justly said that if I am a good general, I must not grumble about my men For I must choose them from the material at my disposal. I plead guilty. But I have qualified my admission by the adverb 'somewhat', for I laid down the conditions from the very inception of the programme of non-violence. My terms were accepted. If from experience it is found that the terms cannot be worked, I must either be dismissed or I must retire. I retired but to no purpose. The bond between Congressmen and me seems to be unbreakable. They may quarrel with my conditions but they will not leave me or let me go. They know that however unskilled a servant I may be, I will neither desert them nor fail them in the hour of need. And so they try though often grumblingly, to fulfil my condition. I must then on the one hand adhere to my conditions so long as I have a living faith in them, and on the other take what I can get from Congressmen, expecting that if I am true, they will someday fulfil all my conditions and find themselves in the enjoyment of full independence such as has never before been seen on earth.

(4) There are two sides to the complaint about indiscipline. I must here confine myself to satyagrahi prisoners only. I would naturally like the other political prisoners to attend to what I say.

It is wrong to say that there is universal indiscipline among Congressmen or that all are unfit to be called satyagrahis. Cases of grave indiscipline have been brought to my notice I know that violent men have crept into the organization under the guise of non-violence. But I know also cases of exemplary discipline. Every body knows that there are in the movement and among the prisoners faithful Congressmen. I am conducting the struggle in their name and for their sake. It

is through them that we may expect to win. This should mean no reflection on those who are weak but true. Even a child of seven who performs its allotted task faithfully will be entitled to the same credit as those who may cheerfully mount the gallows, if thereto called.

What is happening now is a process of automatic selection. Those who cannot stand the test will stay out without dishonour. Hypocrites and smugglers will be cast out because they will not stand the real heat or they will be rejected when found out.

(5) C class prisoners is almost a baffling question. I have said more than once that classification is bad in itself. But the Congress has come to no decision on the question. Meanwhile we must do the best we can. There is no manner of doubt in my mind that the treatment of C class prisoners is unhuman. I do not wish to blame either the Government or the prison officials. I admit that theirs is a thankless task. For ages almost, they are used to only one tradition. Their mind refuses to grasp the distinction between criminals and political prisoners. They would make no distinction between prisoners guilty of crimes and those who rebel against constituted authority. For them the politicals are worse than the others. But pressure of public opinion has compelled distinction. The result is highly unsatisfactory. The will on the part of the officials is lacking. Satyagrahis who seek imprisonment cannot with any dignity quarrel with the treatment they get except when their honour is attacked. An irresponsible Government which the British Government in India is may as it often does defy public opinion. Satyagrahis have still to court imprisonment. It is one of the gateways to liberty. They cannot stipulate as to the condition of jail-life.

But weak as public opinion is, it can express itself with effect on a matter of pure humanity. I have suggested that medical men should give the lead in this matter. I understand that a movement on their part is quite likely. It is cruel to distinguish between the food of the different classes. The needs in the majority of cases of the political prisoners are identical. I suggest that the rations of all political prisoners should approach what is known as balanced diet with the permission to replenish it at prisoner's expense. As to sanitation and other matters a non-official medical committee should make recommendations which should be given effect to at once. There should be identity of treatment in all the provinces.

Having said this I must warn satyagrahis against hungerstrikes or the like. It is their duty to conform to the jail regulations in so far as they do not come in conflict with known rules of honour, not self-made ones by hyper-sensitive temperaments. These ought not to court imprisonment. I suggest that it is a satyagrahi's first code of honour that he will conscientiously carry out jail discipline with the reservation just mentioned. Satyagraha is a process of silent conversion. Indiscipline and nagging are wholly inconsistent with the ambition of conversion. I am repeating these views of mine not without fear and trembling. For I know that jail officials have often quoted them on wrong occasions against satyagrahi prisoners. Of course in all I have said there is nothing against carrying out constitutional agitation for jail reforms even as to the so-called criminals. A Satyagrahi is a universal reformer. For him there is no distinction between criminals and non-criminals. He is out to render service to the whole of humanity to the extent of his ability and opportunity.

There is the question of newspapers and books. These are as important as food. Some would do without food but not without newspapers and literature. I hold that deprivation of this amenity is additional punishment for a political prisoner.

(6) Although I have dealt with the question of non-embarrassment in my previous statements, I see that it still continues to agitate many Congressmen. For one thing, it is part of the Bombay resolution and effect should be given to it. It is inherent in non-violence. But it is also expedient. By causing embarrassment at this stage, the authorities must resent it bitterly and are likely to act madly. Of course it would be different, if we had resorted to armed rebellion. Then the saying 'their difficulty becomes our opportunity', would apply. It is obvious that exactly opposite rule should apply when an opposite method is adopted. It is worse than suicide to resort to violence, i.e., embarrassment under cover of non-violence. We may not be "temperate and furious" at the same time.

But then to be logical you must give up C. D. altogeher," says the critic. To give up C. D. would be folly. C. D. is itself completely non-violent action. It is a duty in the face of violence without parallel. C. D. in the present case

means assertion of the right to speak against participation in this war or all war. If we cannot do even this much when the occasion demands it, we might as well give up non-violence. C. D. is the assertion of a right which law should give but it denies. If performance of a duty causes embarrassment, it cannot be helped. It is my duty to give up drink. It would cause some loss to the tavern-keeper. I am helpless. The authority can easily avoid embarrassment by recognising the elementary right of non-violent free speech. Consideration whether the policy of self-imposed restraint creates an immediate impression on the authority is irrelevant. Belief that it must ultimately is inherent in belief in non-violence itself. We may not bear ill-will against the bitterest opponent.

(7) I do not share the belief that there is no life left in the Congress. "Still waters run deep." Congressmen are too much attached to the Congress to let the institution die of inanity. There seems to be no life because we have no spectacular show in the shape of parliamentary programme or mass C. D. Things are going according to plan. C. D. is restricted to selected individuals. It will be further restricted to those who re-offer C.D. as often as necessary. It does not matter if the number is reduced to ten or two. The two will represent the whole Congress. Does not one ambassador represent his people ? One can be multiplied infinitely. Parliamentary activity has been almost stopped also according to plan. It may be, in my opinion should be, stopped completely. But I do not wish to rush things. Members of Local Boards have in many cases been withdrawn according to plan.

Then what are the Congressmen to do if they cannot or will not be allowed to offer C.D. and there is no parliamentary programme ? The answer is simple. There are only two things for Congressmen to do. All to carry on the thirteenfold constructive programme and some selected few to offer C.D. in addition. C.D. is a mighty weapon to be wielded effectively by only a few in the first instance. Constructive programme is to be worked by all Congressmen and even non-Congressmen if they will. How can people shut their eyes to its paramount importance ? Even parliamentary programme without it is a mere farce. We have had it till 1920. I do not deny its usefulness even as a farce is useful. But there is no such thing as a farce without the backing of a play. In 1920 the nation came into its own. Constructive programme was described in so many words to be a preparation for C.D. Parliamentary programme was given up toto. The nation lost nothing by it. Parliamentary programme will have its definite place when we have a parliament of our own. Let it not be forgotten that this is expected to be a fight to the finish. It is true that C.D. will be suspended if genuine free speech is granted. If we do not find ourselves free at the end of the war resumption will be a certainty. But that is idle speculation. If we do our present duty whatever the circumstances that face us at the end of the war we shall be found ready.

Let me glance at the constructive programme. There is communal unity. It is worth much more than the whole parliamentary programme. Without it, the latter is useless. It becomes a field for interminable wrangling. Complete heart unity takes us almost straightway to independence. Let me not be told that there will be no unity at all or not in our life-time. I must refuse to believe the negation so long as there are some Congressmen working for unity. If the Congress cannot, I know that no other institution can. For every Congressman whatever his faith must equally represent in his own person every Indian no matter what his faith is. In that sense he belongs to all religions.

Then take untouchability. I repeat that if untouchability lives, Hinduism and with it India dies. Is that not a programme worth living for, dying for ?

And the spinning wheel whose every turn brings India nearer her destiny ? Surely it can fully occupy every day of every Congressman. And the wheel being the centre of our solar system it includes all the planets in the shape of village industries.

The wheel brings us at once to the emancipation of India's manhood, Kisans, labourers and all those who are weary and heavy-laden. If this all-inclusive and mighty programme is not understood and appreciated by Congress they do not know the a. b. c. of non-violence nor do they know the elements of C. D.

This programme gives ample scope for public meetings, demonstrations, exhibitions and the like. No official Congress Committees need function for co-ordinating these activities. Wherever five earnest Congressmen are found they can group together and organise them.

Congress will now see why I contemplate no change in the programme as it is going and why I am full of hope for the future of the country.

Sevagram, 28-10-1941.

Pandit Jawharlal's Statement before the Court

I have been told that the charge against me is based on the reports of three speeches I delivered in the Gorakhpur District early in October last. Copies of these reports, and in one case a translation into English, have been given to me. I have read these and I cannot congratulate the persons who were responsible for the reporting These reports, though presumably taken down in shorthand, are scrappy and incomplete, confusing and often making little sense. I am a lover of words and phrases and try to use them appropriately. Whatever my opinions might be, the words I use are meant to express them intelligibly and in ordered sequence in them, and is likely to obtain an entirely distorted impression of what I actually said.

I make no complaint of this reporting and I do not suggest that deliberate distortions have been made. But I do not want to make it clear that what I said was in many respects entirely different from what the jumble of words in the reports would lead me to imagine. If this is so in the reporting of my speeches, when particular care is taken and the more qualified men are employed, I cease to wonder at what happens when the speeches of others are reported by totally unqualified persons, and these are made the basis of charges in courts of law.

It is not my intention to give details of the many errors and mistakes in these reports. That would mean re-writing them completely. That would waste your time, Sir, and mine, and would serve little purpose. I am not here to defend myself, and perhaps what I say in this statement will make your task easier. I do not yet know the exact nature of the charge against me. I gather that it has something to do with the Defence of India Rules and that it relates to my references to the war and to the attempts being made to compel the people of India to take part in the war effort. If that is so, I shall gladly admit the charge. It is not necessary to go to garbled reports to find out what I or other Congressmen say in regard to India and the war. The Congress resolutions and statements, carefully and precisely worded are there for all the world to know. By those resolutions and statements I stand, and I consider it my duty to take the message of the Congress to the people of India.

As a matter of fact, ever since the Congress came to the conclusion that, in order to give effect to the Congress policy, satyagraha or civil disobedience should be started, I have endeavoured to check myself in my utterances and to avoid what might be termed satyagraha. Such was the direction of our Chief, Mahatma Gandhi, who desired that the Satyagraha should be confined to particular persons of his choice. One such person was selected and he expressed in public utterances the Congress attitude to the war, laying some emphasis on the Congress policy of non-violence. It was my good fortune to have been selected to follow him and to give expression to the Congress viewpoint, with perhaps greater emphasis on the political aspect. It had been decided that I should do so, after giving due notice to the authorities, from November 7 onwards, in the district of Allahabad. That programme has been varied owing to my arrest and trial, and the opportunity to give frank and full expression to the Congress policy in regard to the war has come to me earlier than I anticipated.

If I was chosen, or before me Shri Vinoba Bhave was chosen for this purpose, it was not to give expression to our individual views. We were symbols of the people of India. As individuals we may have counted for little, but as such symbols and representatives of the Indian people, we counted for a great deal. In the name of those people we asserted their right to freedom and to decide for themselves what they should do and what they would not do ; we challenged the right of any other authority, by whomsoever constituted, to deprive them of this right and to enforce its will upon them. It was monstrous that any individual or group of individuals, deriving no authority from the Indian people and not responsible to them in any way, should impose their will upon them and thrust the hundreds of millions of India, without any reference to them or their representatives, in a mighty war which was none of their seeking It was amazing and full of significance that this should be done in the name of freedom and self-determination and democracy, for which, it was alleged, the war was being waged. We were slow in coming to our final conclusions ; we hesitated and parleyed, we sought a way out honourable to all the parties concerned. We failed and the inevitable conclusion was forced upon us that so far as the British Government or their representatives in India were concerned, we were still looked upon as chattels to do their will and to continue to be exploited in their Imperia-

list structure. That was a position which we could never tolerate, whatever the consequences.

There are very few persons in India. I suppose, whether they are Indians or Englishmen, who have for years past so consistently raised their voices against Fascism and Nazism as I have done. My whole nature rebelled against them and, on many an occasion, I vehemently criticised the pro-fascist and appeasement policy of the British Government. Ever since the invasion of Manchuria, and subsequently in Abyssinia, Central Europe, Spain and China, I saw with pain and anguish how country after country was betrayed in the name of this appeasement and the lamps of liberty were being put out. I realised that imperialism could only function in this way ; it had to appease its rival imperialisms, or else its own ideological foundations were weakened. It had to choose between this and liquidating itself in favour of democratic freedom. There was no middle way.

So long as appeasement applied to Manchuria, Abyssinia, Czecho-slovakia, Spain and Albania, "to far-away countries about which few people had ever heard," as the then Prime Minister of England put it, it did not matter much and was faithfully pursued. But when it came nearer home and threatened the British Empire itself, the clash came and war began.

Again there were two alternatives before the British Government and each Government engaged in the war—to continue to function in the old imperialist way or to end this in their own domains and become the leaders of the urge for freedom and revolutionary change the world over. They chose the former, though they talked still in terms of freedom and self-determination and democracy. But their conception of freedom was even in words, limited to Europe, and evidently meant freedom to carry on with their Empire in the old way. Not even peril and disaster have weakened their intention to hold on to their Empire and to enforce their will upon subject peoples. In India we have had over a year of war government. The people's elected legislatures have been suspended and ignored and a greater and more wide-spread autocracy prevails here than anywhere else in the world. Recent measures have suppressed completely such limited freedom, as the press possessed, to give facts and opinions. If this is the prelude to the freedom that is promised us, or to the 'new order' about which so much is said, then we can well imagine what the later stages will be when England emerges as a full-blooded fascist State.

I am convinced that the large majority of the people of England are weary of empire, and hunger for a real new order. But we have to deal not with them but with their Government and we have no doubt in our minds as to what that Government aims at. With that we have nothing in common and we shall resist it to the uttermost. We have therefore decided to be no parties to this imposed war and to declare this to the world. This war has led already to wide-spread destruction and will lead to even greater horror and misery. With those who suffer we sympathised deeply and in all sincerity. But unless the war has a revolutionary aim of ending the present order and substituting something based on freedom and co-operation, it will lead to a continuation of wars and violence and uttermost destruction.

That is why we must dissociate ourselves from this war and advise our people to do likewise and not help in any way with money or men. That is our bounden duty. But even apart from this, the treatment accorded to the Indian people during the past year by the British authorities, the latter's attempts to encourage every disruptive and reactionary tendency, their forcible realisations of money for the war from even the poor of India, and their repeated affronts to Indian nationalism, are such that we can never forget them or ignore them. No self-respecting people can tolerate such behaviour, and the people of India have no intention of tolerating it.

I stand before you, Sir, as an individual being tried for certain offences against the State. You are a symbol of that State. But I am also something more than an individual. I too am a symbol at the present moment, a symbol of Indian nationalism, resolved to break away from the British Empire and achieve the independence of India. It is not me that you are seeking to judge and condemn, but rather the hundreds of millions of the people of India, and that is a large task even for a proud Empire. Perhaps it may be that though I am standing before you on my trial, it is the British Empire itself that is on its trial before the bar of the world. There are more powerful forces at work in the world today than courts of law ; there are elemental urges for freedom and food and security which are moving vast masses of people, and history is being moulded by

them. The future recorder of this history might well say that, in the hour of supreme trial, the Government of Britain and the people of Britain failed because they were drunk with the wine of imperialism and could not adapt themselves to a changing world. He may muse over fate, of empires which have always fallen because of this weakness, and call it destiny. Certain causes inevitably produce certain results. We know the causes ; the results are following inexorably in their train.

It is a small matter what happens to me in this trial or subsequently. Individuals count for little ; they come and go, as I shall go when my time is up. Seven times I have been tried and convicted by British authority in India, and many years of my life lie buried within prison walls. An eighth time or a ninth, and a few more years, make little difference. But it is no small matter what happens to India and her millions of sons and daughters. That is the issue before me and that ultimately, is the issue before you, Sir. If the British Government imagines that it can continue to exploit them and play about with them against their will, as it has done for so long in the past, then it is grievously mistaken. It has misjudged their present temper and read history in vain.

I should like to add that I am happy to be tried in Gorakhpur. The peasantry of Gorakhpur are the poorest and the most long-suffering in my province. They are the products of a hundred and fifty years of British rule and the sight of their poverty and misery is the final condemnation of the authority that has dealt with them these many years. I am glad that it was my visit to Gorakhpur district and my attempt to serve its people, that has led to this trial.

I thank you, Sir, for your courtesy.

District Jail, Gorakhpur.
November 3, 1940. Jawaharlal Nehru.

Statement of the Secretary, Womens Department, A. I. C. C.

Shrl Sucheta Devi's Statement Before the Court

I am a believer in non-violence. I consider all Violence and War as stupidly vicious and wicked. If individual murder is wicked, cold, calculated mass murder in war, for whatever cause, is infinitely more wicked. The human body is God's temple. To lay violent hands upon it is to desecrate that temple. Moreover, we women, all over the world through our organisations have repeatedly declared our opposition to war. Ours is the role of creation and not of destruction. The mothers therefore cannot tolerate the butchering of the Nations' youth to satisfy the ambitions of politicians. We look upon all wars as unjust and sinful. I therefore have not only conscientious objection to war but am an active war resister. I consider it my duty to persuade my brothers, in all peaceful manner, to desist from helping war, and thus save them from the sin of mass murder and carnage.

The height of wickedness is to oblige unwilling people to indulge in mass murder. I believe the present day wars are due to economic exploitation, power politics, national and racial arrogance. India does not suffer from these vices. We want to train our people so that they may not be victims of these vices. We give the necessary training by the way we conduct the struggle for our independence. The Congress resolutions on war have all declared that India has no quarrel with its neighbours with whom it wants to live in peace and amity.

The responsibility for the present war rests with the politicians of Europe. They have brought it upon innocent people for their imperial ambitions. They have increased its horrors by prostituting science to the service of war, by piling up armaments and inventing novel and cruel ways of destruction of life and property. England and France, the victors in the last war, are as much responsible for the present conflagration as Germany and Italy. Being victors the former had it in their power, to arrange the world on a more equitable basis, but instead they repudiated all the promises made during the war and perpetrated through their peace treaties worse injustice and confusion than existed before. They starved and humilated the vanquished. They cut territories and people at will or for their own imperial designs. They disorganised the economic life of central Europe. They

created the League of Nations ostensibly to eliminate war, but they sabotaged the League. They made disarmament, the only guarantee for peace impossible. They by their unreasonable demands on Germany destroyed the Weimar Republic and helped Hitler to mount to power. By their conduct at the time of Japanese aggression in Manchuria, Italian conquest of Abbyssinia, and Spanish civil war, they encouraged forces of aggression and evil. By its policy of appeasement and opposition to alliance with Russia, England encouraged Hitler. The allies, therefore, along with the axis powers are responsible for the present war and history will record this fact.

Anyway, wherever the responsibility for the present war may lie, is in no way responsible for the misfortune. To drag her therefore in the wickedness of others is a crime against the Indian people. It is to make them instruments of mass murder, for which they do not get even the 30 silver coins, the wages of betrayal and sin. I believe no nation has covetous designs on India. Even if there be any who have such designs, we should, in all fairness, be allowed to oppose them in the manner we consider best. And we have already in our struggle for freedom, shown what way we consider best. We have dissuaded our youngmen from the way of the pistol and the bomb. We have given them an efficacious and powerful weapon in Satyagraha.

England prides itself that it has at last found a leader under whom it can fight for the safety of its homes and the liberty of its people. But Indians with the same self-same ambition of establishing their liberty, are considered as sedition mongers, disturbers of the peace and rebels. The English youths may leave their schools and colleges to fight on the battefield for their freedom but it is not proper for the Indian youths to demonstrate against a monstrous sentence, which has shocked even Englishmen, passed upon one of the bravest, most patriotic and most beloved sons of India. If England is proud of its Churchill we have more reason to be proud of our leaders, inasmuch as they wage non-violent fight and oppose tyranny and wickedness with their suffering and sacrifice.

I do not believe in a double set of moral values one for individual and social conduct and another for political and international relations. Gentlemanly conduct must be the same in the family, the club, the market place, as at an international diplomatic table. Untruth and deceit are low and reprehensible in both the cases. It is therefore that Mahatma Gandhi, our Leader, has asked us not to offer Satyagraha in secret but to inform the authorities of what we intend to do. From the ordinary political view point this may appear foolish but our values are moral and our politics are an integral part of our life. We believe that here as elsewhere honesty is not only the best policy but also the best diplomacy. Holding these views I do not recognise the authority of this court in political cases.

7-12-1940.

Arrests and Convictions of Shri Vinoba Bhave, Pandit Jawaharlal and Vallabhbhai

Shri Vinoba Bhave's Arrest

Shri Vinoba Bhave offered satyagraha on October 17, 1940 by delivering an anti-war speech before a rural audience in the village of Paunar, seven miles from Wardha. He voiced in simple language India's protest against her forcible participation in the European war. Shri Vinoba was allowed to carry on his anti-war propaganda for four days but on the fifth day in the early hours of the morning of October 21, a warrant of arrest was served on him at Deoli. He was tried the same day at Wardha and sentenced to three months' imprisonment.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's Arrest and Conviction

On his way back from Wardha where he had gone to meet Gandhiji Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was arrested at Chheoki in the evening of October 31 under a warrant from Gorakhpur. The news of his arrest spread rapidly throughout the country. There were spontaneous demonstrations all over the country, Hartals in cities and towns and strikes by students in universities, colleges and schools. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's trial took place at Gorakhpur. He was sentenced to four years' imprisonment.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's Arrest

The second phase of the movement started with the arrest of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel in Gujarat. On 17th November, he gave notice to the District

Magistrate of his intention to shout anti-war slogans on the day following. Before, however, the next day dawned he was arrested at about 9 the same night under 109 Defence of India Rules.

Arrest and Conviction of The Congress President

Satyagraha was suspended by Gandhiji during the X'mas week. The motive behind the suspension was to do nothing which would cause inconvenience to the officials and disturb the happy and jovial atmosphere during the x'mas celebrations. As though to reciprocate his gesture, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was arrested at Allahabad on December 30. The country answered the arrest of the Congress President by hartals and demonstrations in all parts of the country. The Congress President was tried in Naini Jail and sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment.

In an extempore statement before the court the Congress President pleaded guilty to the charge. He said that as the President of the Indian National Congress it had been his duty to explain to the people Congress policy with regard to war. That policy was one of complete non-co-operation with the war effort going on in the country. If what he had done, was an offence, he had committed the offence and what was more, he had asked thousands of people to do likewise.

Dr. Rabindranath Tagore's Reply to Miss Rathbone, Woman M.P.'s Appeal.

I have been deeply pained at Miss Rathbone's open letter to Indians. I do not know who Miss Rathbone is, but I take it that she represents the mentality of the average 'well-intentioned' Britisher. Her letter is mainly addressed to Jawaharlal and I have no doubt that if that noble fighter of freedom's battle had not been gagged behind prison bars by Miss Rathbone's countrymen, he would have made a fitting and spirited reply to her gratuitous sermon. His enforced silence makes it necessary for me to voice my protest even from my sick bed.

The lady has ill-served the cause of her people by addressing so indiscreet, indeed impertinent, a challenge to our conscience. She is scandalised at our ingratitude,—that having 'drunk deeply at the wells of English thought' we should still have some thought left for our poor country's interests. English thought, in so far as it is representative of the best traditions of western enlightenment has indeed taught us much, but let me add, those of our countrymen who have profited by it have done so despite the official British attempts to ill-educate us. We might have achieved introduction to Western learning through any other European language. Have all the other peoples in the world waited for the British to bring them enlightenment ?

It is sheer insolent self-complacence on the part of our so-called English friends to assume that had they not 'taught' us we would still have remained in the dark ages. Through the official British channels of education in India have flowed to our children in schools not the best of English thought but its refuse, which has only deprived them of wholesome repast at the table of their own culture.

Assuming, however, that English language is the only channel left to us for 'enlightenment,' all that 'drinking deeply at its wells' has come to is that in 1931, even after a couple of centuries of British administration, only about one per cent. of the population was found to be literate in English,—while the U.S.S.R. in 1932, after only fifteen years of Soviet administration, 98 per cent. of the children were educated. (These figures are taken from the Statesman's Year-Book, an English publication, not likely to err on the Russian side).

But even more necessary than the so-called culture are the bare elementary needs of existence, on which alone can any super-structure of enlightenment rest. And what have the British who have held tight the purse-strings of our nation for more than two centuries and exploited its resources, done for our poor people ?

I look around and see famished bodies crying for bread. I have seen women in villages dig up mud for a few drops of drinking water ; for wells are even more scarce in Indian villages than schools. I know that the population of England itself is today in danger of starvation and I sympathise with them, but when I see how the whole might of the British navy is engaged in convoying food vessels to the English shores and when I recollect that I have seen our people perish of

hunger and not even a cartload of rice brought to their door from the neighbouring district, I cannot help contrasting the British at home with the British in India. Shall we then be grateful to the British, if not for keeping us fed, at least for preserving law and order ? I look around and see riots raging all over the country. When scores of Indian lives are lost, our property looted , our women dishonoured, the mighty British arms stir in no action, only the British voice is raised from overseas to chide us for our unfitness to put our house in order.

Examples are not wanting in history when even fully armed warriors have shrunk before superior might and contingencies have arisen in the present war when the bravest among the British, French and Greek soldiers have had to evacuate the battle-field in Europe because they were overwhelmed by superior armaments—but when our poor unarmed and helpless peasants, encumbered with crying babes, flee from homes unable to protect them from armed goondas, the British officials perhaps smile in contempt at our cowardice.

Every British civilian in England is armed today for protecting his hearth and home against the enemy, but in India even lathi-training was forbidden by decree. Our people have been deliberately disarmed and emasculated in order to keep them perpetually cowed and at the mercy of their armed masters. The British hate the Nazis for merely challenging their world mastery and Miss Rathbone expects us to kiss the hand of her people in servility for having riveted chains on ours. A government must be judged not by the pretensions of its spokesman but by its actual and effective contribution to the well-being of the people.

It is not so much because the British are foreigners that they are unwelcome to us and have found no place in our hearts as because while pretending to be trustees of our welfare they have betrayed the great trust and have sacrificed the happiness of millions of India to bloat the pockets of a few capitalists at home. I should have thought that the decent Britisher would at least keep silent at these wrongs and be grateful to us for our inaction, but that he should add insult to injury and pour salt over our wounds, passes all bounds of decency.

Santiniketan, 4-6-1941.

Shri Bhulabhai Desai's Speech in the Assembly

(*Delivered on Tuesday, 19th November, 1940 while Opposing the Finance Bill*)

Sir, it is for good reasons that, after an absence of some 18 months, I stand before this House in order to be able to express our view as to the issue which has now been raised by means of the Bill, small in itself, but importing a very large controversy. Had it not been for the fact that it involved those issues we would still have continued, not-with-standing all comments, our attitude of protest with which we marked abstention from the proceedings of this House ever since the month of August last year. It was on radio Sir, that for the first time we heard that a Finance Bill or a Supplementary Finance Bill had been introduced in this House and that its express purpose was to find at least a part of the money required for what the Finance Member described as extra-war effort and extra-war expenditure. The issue therefore, having been directly raised, it becomes our bounden duty not only to be present here, but to do our best and speak in the name of those whom we represent, not merely in this House or the other but from the point of view of this question of India's duty of participation in this war effort. It is for that reason that immediately I heard on the radio the purpose and object of the Bill, I thought it my duty to call all my colleagues there in order that, with their support, I may be able to state our case before this House, not merely within the narrow precincts of this place where, it is said, privilege rules, but to the wider atmosphere and the wider audiences which now can be reached throughout the length and breadth of this world within less than a few minutes ; and no ordinances and no Criminal Law Amendment Act and no gagging of the press will prevent our voice reaching the ears of the people of this world. At all events we would have done a duty to conscience explaining our attitude, not in a spirit of bare justification but in a spirit of reason, whether it prevails or it does not do so. It is for that valid reason that I make no apology whatever for attending this House after such a long absence and putting the strain of coming post-haste on many comrades who have come from far South and far North and far East and far West, which alone will explain, if any doubt exists here, the representative character of the pronouncement that we in our humility presume to make before this House for its acceptance.

During the course of the debate that has taken place there have been pictures given of Heaven on Earth and appeals have been made to hopes and fears and flatteries and cajolings, but there is no place for any of these. Each one must conceive it his duty to the best of his light and to pursue it in a spirit of absolute firmness. I am not, therefore, saying that the view that we take is necessarily the right one and, therefore, I will not, in the course of the remarks that I propose to make, question the sincerity of any individual person as to the view that he holds. But a criticism and analysis of the ideas that go behind it or the motives that furnish it must not be mistaken for a criticism of any *bona fides*. I say this for this reason that the apologists for the participation of India in the war have restored to what you may call different types of personal criticism, to Congress criticism, to Ministerial criticism, and also to a possible hope for India in the future. It is a very wide range ; at the same time it is not my desire, beyond a reasonably limited time, to occupy the House. The fact remains, however, that the introduction of this measure, whatever may be the view of those who thought this an opportune time to produce it, was a most unwise thing to do. The first and foremost reason is that it was claimed, at all events until this issue was put forward directly, that India was participating in the war,—a declamation for the purpose of the consumption of the world. And if they wanted to keep up that illusion, they might have been wiser if for a mere two crores of rupees they had not brought up this Bill for this express purpose. And it is still more unwise having regard to the fact, that, by reason of events which have occurred, if not entirely the very debate in the House of Commons on India's contribution to the war effort has had to be wisely postponed. So long as they alone spoke, it was quite easy to represent to the world that India was with them in this war effort but as soon as others were allowed to speak or to express their opinion, a different tale would have had to be heard. From that point of view, I submit, Sir, that it was extremely unwise, unless it be that they believed that like other measures during the absence of the Congress, of which Mr. Griffiths spoke, perhaps there would be a vote of the House and there would not be a word here except hallelujahs the best of which was exhibited only a few moments ago. It was on that hope or in that belief probably that it was intended to test, as a thin end of the wedge, whether any propaganda value can be created by a measure of this character. It is unfortunate from the point of view of the objective ; it is fortunate from the point of view of those like me who have had at least an opportunity in this House to be able to say what I believe sincerely, equally sincerely with others, India thinks of this war.

As soon as the war was declared, no doubt by reason of the constitutional right which the Governor-General had, within a few hours of the declaration of the war in England, it was stated by the Governor-General that India was at war with Germany. Of course no longer is Germany the only enemy, but that it was the state of affairs at the time the war was declared. And not-with-standing the fact that this right was exercised as a matter of right of a subject race and over a subject race by a dominent Power, still in this House there are those who argue that this not an imposed war. The only apology which Mr. Griffiths offered to this House was, in the language, the representative character of the Assembly did not House been consulted in the month of September ?" The Congress was absent from the House and, therefore, in his language, the representative character of the Assembly did not exist. While trying to give an explanation, he yielded more than he intended to do. He first yielded to what is perfectly right—that without the presence of the elected members, or at all events a large number of elected members, the House was unrepresentative ; and so it was ; and it is said that, that was a good excuse for not consulting India. It is perfectly right that constitutional privileges and rights exist, but it is always the part of wisdom to exercise such rights discriminatingly, and this brings me to the reason why we have abstained from the proceedings of this House for the past year.

Before we decided on this course, the Indo-British Pact was before this House. It was rejected by the vote of this House. A Bill was brought in with a view to give effect to what the British Government thought was the proper agreement to make in the name of India, despite the vote of India ; and it passed through the usual stages of a rejected Bill and a recommended Bill and ultimately became law merely by the exercise of that prerogative, and we then felt—and I expressed it from this very place—that if our only use in this House is, in so far as executive matters, external affairs and defence are concerned, that we are useful when we agree and that we are useless when we disagree, you may

have the powers, but that does not mean that they are always to be exercised whenever you are defeated—and we felt then that apart from a few legislative measures which could not be certified the British Government had adopted an attitude of implacable opposition to our using the powers which they possessed and that they wished to govern this country as if there was no other section in the Government of India Act except the wide irresponsible powers of executive which they possessed. If that use was to be made of the constitution and if the vote of the House were to be a mockery, then we felt that after remaining for a sufficiently long period here we had, in so far as propaganda value was concerned, served our purpose. It was for that reason that we did not think it worth while to spend our time any longer here, and now we have come only, as I said, because we feel that the issue raised is one on which we feel our duty to express an opinion, the opinion of those whom we represent.

On the declaration of the war by the Governor-General in the name of India, a statement was made so far as we were concerned, by the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress ; and by that statement we have always stood, and it is not a statement in the name of any side, in the name of any section. If the war is a war "to defend the *status quo*, the imperialist possessions and the colonies and vested interests and privilege, then India can have nothing to do with it. If, however, the issue is democracy and a world order based on democracy, then India is intensely interested in it. The Committees are convinced that the interests of Indian democracy do not conflict with the interests of British democracy or the world democracy. But there is an inherent and ineradicable conflict between democracy in India and elsewhere and Imperialism and Fascism. If Great Britain fights for the maintenance and extension of democracy then she must necessarily end imperialism in her own possessions, establish full democracy in India and the Indian people must have the right to self-determination."

We took up that position then and having taken up that position by that position we have stood since. And we said further, "The Working Committee, therefore invite the British Government to declare in unequivocal terms what their war aims are in regard to democracy and Imperialism and the new order that is envisaged, and particularly how these aims are going to apply to India and to give effect to them at present." Therefore, from the time that the war was declared, imposed war as it was, we are still awaiting to see the reaction to our statement.....

An Honourable Member : What is the date of that ?

Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai : The date of that is September 14, 1939. So that, immediately on the issue being considered by those whom I have the honour to represent, we took up an intelligible—at least I hope it is intelligible—and a definite position as to the terms and circumstances under which alone, even if this war was an imposed war, we shall make it our own. We began with the fact that it was an imposed war. No amount of argument can get rid of the fact that it was an imposed war, for whatever poor apology might be offered for the declaration of war by Britain and for involving us in the declaration of war—and I do take note of the fact that after it was followed by the Dominions—the fact remains that Ireland is not at war and is neutral : the fact remains that by the skin of their teeth one of the parties in the South African Parliament succeeded in getting a vote against neutrality so that it does not require any examination of the constitutional position of the Statute of Westminster in order to see that in fact and in practice what is called the British Commonwealth of Nations, eliminating of course England herself, have elected of their own free will to join or not to join, according to the dictates and the requirements of their own policies. While, therefore, this was an imposed war which on the very ground that it is an imposed war we want to resist—we were still not unmindful of the fact that if this war was going to be, not in order that England may defend India as her property—if that is the war, undoubtedly, there is no man in this House who can get up—not even the European—and say, "Yes, this is your war, take part in it." The position and problem, therefore, is extremely simple. The problem is that unless it is made India's war it is impossible that you will get India's support. By that position we stand today, as we stood on that day.

Considerable discussion, thereafter, took place : declarations of policy were made from time to time and it would occupy the time of the House too long if I took them all over the historical background of which a few glimpses were given by the Honourable Mr. James. But he asked at the end of it all. "The Viceroy

made you an offer, made India an offer—I take it. But you wanted them to part with power." And he said in the last sentence. "What use was going to be made of that power ?" Now, Sir, in so far as this political issue which I do not wish to dilate upon has been made one of the arguments during the course of this debate, I cannot possibly avoid it at the risk of being misunderstood. It is a curious commentary that the members who spoke on behalf of the Government barely referred to it. It was reserved for the representatives of the defenders of England in India to raise the issue in a more definite way. True, one must not take notice of anything as we are told. Why should you think of the past ill-deeds, misdeeds or defaults—and now you must fight ? But says Mr. James that is perfectly true, you must fight. Therefore, it is not the British Government alone but the representatives of Britain in India who get up and say "oh you want power, you want to bargain with us ? This is not the time for bargaining ; you won't get it." If racial arrogance ever went any further, it was this ; for it was not the Government that was speaking. It was the representatives of Britain in India who said : "Oh, we want to retain power, and you be our instruments in fighting the war"—an extraordinary bargain of which I make a present to those friends. He says : We retain the power and you as our instruments fight the war". If that is the bargain, I reject it off-hand, in every manner possible. What is the good of telling us that this is our war except by fear-mongering, to which I shall come in a few moments or by painting a picture of heaven on earth—that some day it will come true. Neither of those arguments has any value in view of the past experience in Indian history. It is not a matter of comment. I am not reflecting on anybody's *bona fides* ; but after all, man would not be a man, man would not be a wise man, if he did not profit by experience.

In the last war, India gave her whole-hearted support, including Mahatma Gandhi, including myself. I went about lecturing with my friend Sir Thomas Strangman. A million and a half men and seven hundred million pounds were provided, and at the end of the war we know what happened. And yet the same phrases were used as are used today, the same hopes of maintaining the freedom, of bringing it back, the freedom of small races or subject races ; the same abuse, deserved or undeserved, of the Huns, and yet they hugged each other at the Treaty of Versailles. These abuses do not deceive anybody. This wild thing ceases to be wild as soon as you make peace, when it suits your interests. Therefore, it is a very poor argument indeed to tell us that this is a war of civilization against darkness, If civilization means India's perpetual subjection, it is not civilization to me, and if it is not civilization to me, it is enough for me to say, "It is you and your civilization, you defend it", because your civilization means—Yes, you raise up a picture in poetry of good things either from scriptures or from poetry or from philosophy. Having got that picture you drew the trick, which is usually known as a missionary's or juggler's trick. The missionary generally raises a picture of heaven making you believe he has given it to you by the mere fact that he has raised a picture, whereas a juggler gets up and says, "Here is all earth, now you see a mango tree, you see a mango, why don't you eat it ?" Excuse me, this method of approach or even quoting the Bhagvat Gita which you do not understand, will not be of any avail. I thought suffering chastened the heart. At least that is what the Book of God, according to Christians, says ; but suffering has mostly made you more astute and less likely to give in. If power is not given to me, you may be quite certain that not merely shall we not assist, because it is not given, but because you must realize that without power you cannot implement your responsibilities.

The position, therefore, is we want to make it quite plan to this House and to the world that it is sheer hypocrisy to say you praise democracy. Who objects to it ? Of course, I yield to none in my praise of democracy. But whose democracy ? Your democracy, my democracy ? If it is your democracy and my subjection, then it is a hypocritical phrase. If, on the other hand, it is a joint democracy, we are always willing as equal allies to fight this war, as the very statement made within a week of the declaration of the war, shows that there has never been any backsliding on the part of India, but at the same time you cannot make a cat's paw of India, time after time, time after time. A time must arrive when they must realize that we can only fight if it is a fight for your freedom as well as mine. But if you think that the Sikhs who defended the battle of Marne last time are also going to do the same thing at your bidding, you may purchase them. You may think it is a very hard word which says they are mercenary, but that is the only way in which one can describe them. Either a

man fights voluntarily for his own country or freedom, or fights for somebody else's freedom at least with my money. Now what is the dictionary meaning of a man who fights for somebody else, except mercenary? You may put up righteous indignations and ever everything else, but the description is quite apt and right. Unless every Indian thinks he is defending his own country, his own freedom, the only alternative is he is fighting as a mercenary. It is not a phrase, it is a fact. These are not phrases, These are facts. What you want is phrases; what you want is principles. No amount of declamation, no amount of getting eloquent over them, no amount of quotations will get rid of the fact that declamation cannot possibly take the place of action, and unless British policy, as we invited them so to do on the 12th August last year, was to be reversed, we must remain where we are, and they must do their best to fight.

Then it is said: "Oh, but this is a purely political argument, it is wrong to bargain at a time of stress like this. How can we ever make, in the language of Mr. Amery, such a radical change in the constitution of a country during the course of the war?" You can argue, so long as you can afford to argue. That is my value of phrases of this kind. I need hardly remind the House, for these are historic events which will go down, that when stress comes you not only can change a constitution, but you do something which was never even dreamt of, share with another country yourself all your possessions and your liberty. That is the offer, as Mr. Churchill said, with which he went to France three days before she collapsed. If that could be done, the change of constitution in India could not be done. Indeed it could not be done, because it was not intended to be done.

And now let us deal with the question that has been raised as to the effect—"Oh, but forget the misdeeds of the past, trust the future and why argue about it; we are in difficulties, all of us or both of us, and what will happen to you if we are defeated?" That is the fear argument, as I call it. Now I want the House to analyse briefly the elementary ideas underlying this fear argument. The question is, is India's war effort, to which you now invite us—if it exists it doesn't matter because there is nothing to invite us to—if in addition to war effort, India's moral co-operation has any value, the question is, has it any effective value? Is it going to make all the difference, according to our estimate today between Britain's success and Britain's defeat? If it has that determinative value, has it ever occurred to those in Britain, or to my friends who represent them here, that it has all that value and what would you not give us to take it? If it is going to turn the balance, as I said, what would you not give to take it? Supposing a people, one-fifth of the human race—and in the language of the Hon'ble the Finance Member, "When the war began India's main assets were an enormous supply of man-power and an abundance of raw materials." If it is going really to turn the scale of war, supposing India for a moment were an independent country—you have wooed many small countries with no resources and with very doubtful credentials—and supposing India were a free country and came and made this offer of an alliance to you and said, "We believe it is a war for democracy; we love freedom, you love freedom; let us join hands and fight". Would any statesman in England, however diehard he may have been, have dared to consider or waited to consider, much less rejected such an offer? In other words, you reject an offer by India, merely because India says, "We can only offer an alliance as a free country." The crux of the matter is there. No. What you want to do is, in the language which we used at the commencement of the war, that this is still a war to fight for the status quo so far as India is concerned, we do not wish to rely on any promises whatever. Promises may be given bona fide, and yet we have the experience that they are not kept. It is for that reason that after long waiting, after long discussion, after many consultations, at least the Congress put forward an offer of joining in the war effort even on a lesser basis in so far as the immediate issue was concerned, and we said, if you form a National Government at the Centre and put upon them the responsibility for the purpose of India's defence and such further action as may be needed in so far as the protection of democracy is concerned, India was prepared to co-operate. Many of my friends have mistaken this as if it was a Congress demand in the sense that it was for the benefit of the Congress that the demand was made. No doubt, it was a statement on behalf of the Congress, but I trust it is recognised and realized that what was demanded was a National Government, and the phrase which came out was not a phrase unknown to the Secretary of State himself. In fact, a few days before the demand was made at all events, the proposition was formulated, Mr. Amery, in a generous mood, of course, trying to describe his

expanded or intended expanded Executive Council, said, "We want in India a National Government"—and these are his very words—"like the one we have in England". All right that is precisely what we want. Do you mean it ? Or you call an apple something else, you call a stone an apple, and say, "Why don't you take it ? We have offered it to you." If Mr. Amery meant what he said, that is precisely what we asked, and there should have been no difficulty in doing so. It is not a democratic majority Government that we asked. We did not say, "Eliminate the figure-heads and that will leave us 103 or 102, and then we will form a Government out of them which has a majority." We never said such a thing. That might have been a Congress demand, that might have been a question of Congress demand, that might have been a question of Congress Government, but we said, "What we mean, all we demand is a National Government like the Government you have in your own country. It will reflect every single representative of this country, for after all, if under the constitution of 1935 elections have any meaning, it certainly is this, that there is not a single man or woman who has a right to vote who is not represented by one or other of my Hon'ble friends in this House apart from the nominated officials and nominated non-officials". So that what we demanded was a very simple, easily flexible, workable arrangement. We wanted no revolutionary change during the course of the war. What was the result is known to everybody. And now, apart from the Congress, apart from those who spoke, every single individual representing public opinion has realized that what Britain wants is that we should lend our name, we should lend our moral support, we should place all our material resources and that we should be their instruments in carrying on this war and popularizing them ; in other words, that we should work for our masters. That demand, I am quite certain, will not be met and cannot be met.

Then it is said, "well never mind that. Power is not to be given, but the fear theory still remains." As to one fear theory if our assistance is decisive it is up to you to make any sacrifice if you call it sacrifice. It is very easy for a man to say, "Oh, I have responsibilites created by myself by the conqest of this country." Well, you have those responsibilities but you can also shed those responsibilities if you care to. But if the keeping of the responsibilities means, "Oh yes, I have got your house, but you are not yet agreed when the house is to be given back to you, as to which one will be occupied by one brother or sister or anybody else. and, therefore, I prefer to keep the house." That is the argument as the man in-the-street understands it. The man-in-the-street is not clever, is not astute, but he is shrewd enough to understand what that offer actually translated means. The offer actually translated means this : "we do not wish to give, we want to make a comouflage to give it and if you are taken in, well and good, and if you are not, we can carry on. "Well, you carry on, you carry on at your peril. No doubt, you may carry on, at my cost, against my will but at least I will not sell my Soul, I will not sell my mind and I will not sell my country. Those are the things that I will not do. For you, you may say, you may flatter yourself, as, indeed one of the speeches showed, that India is with us." All right, if India is with you, why say anything else ? But I will read to you what those in England think, whether India is with you. This is what the "Daily Herald" says as regards the way in which India is with you. That is the message that the "Daily Herald" gave at London on November 7. It is talking of the failure of the Governor-General to invite the co-operation of the Indian people. At the end, it says :

"All discussions of India's contribution to the war is overshadowed by the breakdown of the Viceroy's negotiations with the Congress. Members of Parliament must make it plain to the Government that Parliament and the people want a new effort made, if necessary by new methods, to reach an agreement. Their message to the statesmen of both sides should be : Try yet again to build the bridge across the gulf which, to the delight of our enemies, lies darkly between you". That is the appreciation of British statesmen and British jounalists and anything against it is of little value ; because if they did not realize its reality and its gravity, they would not have given the warning which they have done, even at this last hour.

As for my friend the Leader of the House, it is not for me to compliment him, for indeed he needs none. He is all courtesy. His speech was well documented, well docketed, as indeed it was bound to be, with his usual industry and skill. What did he do ? He says, "I will tell you where I agree with you. If you want to tell the truth, I agree with you. If you want self-Government, I agree with you" and he calls it the background of an agreement. If it were not for him who was speaking, it would be very difficult to believe that such an argument would pass muster. I agree with you in everything that you want, and

having agreed with you so far, now you must not want anything more. I agree with you in everything. I will give you chapter, quotations, Bible, everything else included, and what more do you want ? He says : "You are a very greedy person, Mr. Desai, and now you must walk into my parlour and assist me." That is the argument, broadly, baldly and correctly analysed. We cannot fall into such a snare. Of course he was there to defend a lost cause, and why should he not do it to the best of his ability ? I have every admiration for that, but at the same time I wish to present to those who do and can understand what is the net result of that argument. He then gave six principles and they were hastily written down as if merely stating them were the same thing as putting them into force. He said : "You want self-government. Yes, I agree." It was a distribution of self-government sweets in this House. He ought to have known better, and the country knows better. Merely saying that you agree with all I want is not the same thing as giving me all I want. The next thing, he said, was, "Don's remember the misdeeds of the past. As a good man you should forget it. There is a good man on one side, and bad as I am, let me have what I have." That is the next agument that was used in the course of a lucid speech but the argument was as falacious and fictitious as it was lucid. That was the background. It is the biggest wrong committed for all time. That is the background, and the foreground. Then when you come to the actual ground, he says ; "Nothing doing." That is the speech that he delivered and then he said : "Oh, but India is assisting. What about the young men who are enlisting and who are anxious to be enlisted whenever we put up a notice ?" He says : If they are Congressmen, there is nothing more to say. If they are not Congressmen, they are against you ; India is against you." That is the dilemma he put forward. Have you heard such a specious argument before, because few men come and apply for jobs, therefore, India is assisting him in the war as a participant and a willing and equal participant ? It is only he who can dare to put forward such an argument, but the position there is quite simple.

My friend the Commerce Member said, "Oh, the Corporatian of Madras rejected the proposal for a fund by two votes" and Mr. Satyamurti did this, that and so on. I have no desire to go into any personal acrimony of any kind. He says that the "Madras Mail" came out with an appeal and collected much money. Shall I say and present to him and to the Government that it represents the tinsel patriots created by the Madras Government ? Their parentage is enough to show where they stand. It is perfectly useless to tell me that an Anglo-Indian newspaper put out some sort of appeal. He says to that appeal there was some response and that was India's answer to the call for contributions. It is the argument of a clever journalist and if he were one he would certainly be employed as the Minister of Information and Propaganda. But as a Commerce Member surely he ought to have shown a better sense of humour than that, because he certainly ought to have seen that it is no use telling me that Mr. James contributed a pound, if he did. It is extraodinary how for want of arguments in a lost cause you should be driven to this. Don't do it.

Then I come next to another argument *ad hominem* which is justified up to a point. Quotations were given without giving names, keeping it as a sort of surprise. I have seen this sort of thing at port Said where a man covers something with a piece of cloth and slowly brings out a chicken . We were treated to a large number of quotations, thus rousing the curiosity of the House as to where they come from. Ultimately, we were told, it was from Satyamurti, from Munshi, from somebody else and of course, on the top of all that there was Mahatma Gandhi's statement but, perhaps, my Honourable friend is aware, while he had the sympathy which he expressed, of the very first interview he gave the day after the declaration of war. Nobody has gone back upon it. If you mean that sympathy can be evoked merely by appealing to sentiment, without your doing anything on your part, then I think it is a grave mistake, but not only that. I go further. I wish to give you a quotation so that you may understand. There is no inconsistency in politics if you find that your very best appeal or your very modest demand does not meet with a response. What is the good of making long quotations ? Things said when the war was first declared were rightly said. There is no inconsistency in saying that you will not do what you pretend you want to do. You say you are fighting for democracy, all right. Prove it. Here is India waiting for democracy to be established in this country and at that time I tell you. "Yes" I think it is a just war. Have I, in giving credit to you for honesty, made a mistake ? It is an extraordinary way of quoting things ! A man talks to me. I tell him. "Yes I believe you ; I think this time at all events you will be

right, but I ask you to say that you should make that declaration and you also should implement it now as an earnest"—because now without an earnest there is no bargaining, Mr. James. No, it is not a contract, in which he says, "I promise, promise, promise," and ultimately the promise is never fulfilled. No. It will only be either a real bargain or nothing—no illusions, no delusions, no promises in which there should be any grievances—so that we honestly believe. And are we to be blamed for giving you the credit that you meant it too ? The respect for Mahatma Gandhi after all does not disappear because he disagrees with you. Of course you may or may not agree with him, but I hope you will have to maintain that respect for him. That is what he said on February, 17 1940, in "Harijan" after making every effort to see that this war for democracy is applied and implemented in this country, and he said this :

"The Builders of the British Indian Empire have patiently built its four pillars —the European Interests, the Army, the Princes and the Communal Division"—and after going over the whole of the arguments and all the declarations which were made by the Viceroy and everybody else including the subsequent statement (in the Lords) by Lord Zetland, he said this : "If it is fairly correct. the issues are quite clear. Between the two—the Nationalist and the Imperialist—there is no meeting ground."

Sir, you may be proud to call yourselves "Imperialists," so you are, to hold in bondage a race of men fully one-fifth of the human population. Indeed it is an object of pride but don't you make a mistake about it. That is our quarrel with you. Imperialism must necessarily involve—of course you try to find another phrase, the "Commonwealth of Nations," but as I have always said, that means that "your wealth is yours and mine is yours too," so far as I was concerned. Imperialism has always meant—I learnt a little bit of it and taught it too—that necessarily, in the structure of Imperialism, there will be different components, there will be inferior sections whose resources are at your disposal—and it is that which we wish to destroy : and, therefore, although you call yourselves by another name you won't change your facts Either we have a common freedom to fight for, or we have no common freedom to fight for. So Mahatma Gandhi says :—

"The more the nationalists try to deal with them as if they were problems for which they were responsible, the firmer must they become."

Then follow words which I think should appeal to every man who believes in any vision, in any sincerity, in any moral uplift or moral effort :

"I cannot conscientiously pray for the success of British arms if it means a further lease of life to India's subjection to foreign domination. I write this last sentence with a heavy heart."

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan : On a point of explanation Sir, the bulk of those quotations were during May, June and July of 1940—three months after this declaration.

Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai : I do not know that, that is an explanation but I will leave it at that if my friend wants it. I will tell him this that even after these—I will explain the matter in a few moments, I do not wish to take longer than I intend, some of the quotations were undoubtedly afterwards and it took a lot of time to go through them but I will give the substance and the answer too. Even after writing this sentence, he did not believe that it was his part at all events not to embarrass the British Government in its efforts, without of course of co-operation in it, because the first act of non-co-operation was the resignation of the Congress Ministries; on that there was no hesitation. We did not wish to take any part in it, we did not wish to be responsible for it, we did not wish to be mere instruments. Then it is true that even after this disappointment, knowing that there was no question of co-operating left, still he did not wish to embarrass the Government, and at the time when these statements were issued and they undoubtedly hold good to-day, you may believe it or not, it is his desire not to embarrass, but as he put it, and as I am here to-day to endorse it before this House, a desire not to embarrass must not end in self extinction. You cannot exploit my desire not to embarrass you to the extent of my suppressing myself altogether. I cannot be a willing instrument, because I do not wish to embarrass you. In fact the true case is that you embarrass yourselves by not meeting the other side in the manner in which you ought to, reasonably and honestly and if you really mean it, sincerely mean it. Therefore, you cannot use the other man's goodness as a cloak for other people's hypocrisy. Being a pacifist, of course, he never loses faith in human nature. It is a failing of a man of faith that he continues to have faith. But that failing must have limits in its

applications to human life add politics. That is how this statement came to be made.

What will happen to us if Germany comes? Those who argue thus give small thought to what they say. They have not realized that if they are defeated and Germany comes, they are defeated too. In that case, they will have to look after themselves instead of looking after me. They say: "What will happen to you if Britain is defeated?" I ask: "What will happen to you if you are defeated?" That is one of those arguments which has always puzzled me. The "Times of India" started it some fourteen months ago without understanding it. If you are defeated, then you are defeated and then your liberties are gone and along with them mine too. Therefore, let us not argue things in that strain. It is a wrong appeal; it is entirely erroneous and is entirely uncalled for. Say that it is our common war, if you can dare say so. Say: "It is your war as much as mine because your liberty as much as mine is in jeopardy." We have a very good Indian proverb. I ask my children to manipulate the grindstone and the Poles the Czechs and the Greeks are going to get the flour. That is not the lesson which my grandmother taught me. My friend went over the whole geography and mentioned so many countries. He also said: "After all we went to Munich and surrendered."

Very often I am told: "Why don't you realize the realities of things?" If by that you mean the poignant reality of my continuous subjection, then I am fully conscious of that reality and I make a present of that reality to my friends who ask me to look at it. It is too real, it is too painful, it is too poignant, it has gone on too long and I am not prepared to look at it. My desire is not as I said, to enter into a personal argument. But those who ask us to look at realities and say that India is not ready and she cannot defend herself, do they seriously ask me to believe that these two crores of rupees are seriously intended for the purpose of aiding the war effort of Britain? Do you seriously tell me that? Britain is spending 14 crores of rupees a day.

An Honourable Member: Eleven Crores.

Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai: That is what they say. If you like, let it be 11 crores or even 9 crores, but if you calculate it properly, it is really 14 crores. My arithmetic is generally correct. When they are spending 14 crores a day, do you mean to tell me that these 2 crores of rupees during four months are going to aid the war effort? Certainly not. This is an absolute camouflage. It is merely intended for world propaganda in order to say that India is also assisting in war effort It is intended for nothing else. England could give 2 crores. My friends could put up 2 crores. They have got many crores and they are all mine, Why don't they put up these 12 crores if you want them for the war effort? In that case, there will be no Finance Bill and there will be no trouble. But the truth is that this money has nothing to do with war effort. I am one of those who understand propaganda a little. I read the papers and hear the Radio every day. Even a 50-rupee or a 500-rupee donation is to be heard on the British Radio.

Of course we are helpless and unprotected. I fully realize that we will not become protected in a few months. It is no use telling me what will happen then. It is not my desire to take very long, the time of the House. I will only say this, that whatever my friends may assure, the fact remains that the Egyptian Parliament has sat, the King's speech has been read and nothing further has been heard. There was a question raised about the declaration of war by Egypt. Four Ministers who were for it resigned and nothing happened since. The Prime Minister is dead. May his soul rest in peace why or where or how, I do not know. But the fact remains that Egypt has not declared war. The arguments which you want to weight with other friends have an untrue foundation and an unreal foundation. All the Muslim world today is neutral, and rightly so. It is no use telling us in this country that the Muslims are with Britain in this war. It is untrue and will remain untrue until the contrary has been proved, not by statements but by acts of these high politicians. If my friends would examine this with the idea of enlightened self-interest as they appeal to my enlightened self-interest, they have a chance. But so long as they maintain their present attitude we shall certainly not be able to support by way of token or otherwise a measure of this kind in India to test the question of India's participation in the war. We shall, Sir, fight as Allies with such power as we have got, but we shall not fight as instruments. I oppose the Bill.

The All India Muslim League

Working Committee meeting—Bombay—24th. August 1941

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League met at 11 a. m. on the 24th. Augnst 1941 at Bombay at the residence of Mr. *M. A. Jinnah*,

The following members were present : Mr. M. A. Jinnah (President), Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan (General Secretary), Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim, Sir Abdulla Haroon, Sardar Aurangazeb Khan, Mr. Bakhat Jamal Khan, Mr. Mohammed Isa, Malik Barkat Ali, Chaudhuri Kaliquz-Zaman, Nawab Mohammed Ismail Khan, S. A. Rauf Shah, the Raja of Mahmudabad, the hon Mr. Hossain Imam, Maulvi Latifur Rahman, Mr. Abdul Matin Chaudhury, Sir K. Nazimuddin, Maulana Akram Khan and Haji Abdul Sattar Sait.

At the outset, it is understood, Mr. *Jinnah*, the President, acquainted the Committee with his recent interview with His Excellency the Viceroy on the constitution of the National Defence Council and the expansion of the Executive Council. Mr. Jinnah is stated to have criticised some of the members of the Muslim League, including the three Premiers (the hon. Sir *Sikander Hyat Khan*. the Punjab Premier, the hon Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Huq*, the Bengal Premier, and the hon, Sir *Maulvi Saiyid Muhammad Saadullah*, the Assam Premier, who have joined the National Defence Council. Mr. Jinnah is understood to have made a statement emphasising the need for taking disciplinary action.

Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan, the General Secretary, then read out two communications, one from Mr. Fazlul Huq, the Premier of Bengal, and the other from Sir M. Saadulla, Premier of Assam, explaining their viewpoints. Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, the Premier of the Punjab, personally explained to the Committee his position.

There was then a general discussion, in which a number of members participated. The discussion had not concluded when the Committee adjourned.

Resolutions—Second Day—Bombay—25th. August 1941

League Premiers Called to Resign

The Working Committee of the All-Indian Muslim League, which resumed its session on the next day, the 25th. August, passed a resolution calling upon Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Sir Mahomed Saadulla and Mr. Fazlul Huq, Premiers of the Punjab, Assam and Bengal respectively, to resign from the National Defence Council. The resolution also announced that Sir Sikander Hyat Khan and Sir Mahomed Saadulla have already expressed their willingness to resign from the National Defence Council. Mr. Fazlul Huq was given ten days' time to resign from the National Defence Council. The following is the text of the resolution adopted by the Committee :—

"After full discussion and consideration, the Working Committee are unanimously of the opinion that the hon. Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, the hon. Mr. Fazlul Huq and the hon. Sir Mahomed Saadulla, should resign from the National Defence Council. In view of all the facts placed before the Committee by the President, including the message of His Excellency the Viceroy sent to him through the Governor of Bombay on July 21, 1941, the hon. Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, the Committee is glad to note, has decided to tender his resignation from the National Defence Council and the Committee have been informed telephonically that the hon. Sir Mahomed Saadulla has also decided to resign from the National Defence Council. The question, therefore, of disciplinary action against Sir Sikander Hyat Khan and Sir Mahomed Saadulla does not arise.

"The hon. Mr. Fazlul Huq has communicated that he would like to have time to consider the matter. If he also resigns from the National Defence Council within ten days and informs the President accordingly, no further action will be necessary. Failing the receipt of a satisfactory reply from Mr. Fazlul Huq by the President within the time aforesaid, the Committee hereby authorise the President taking such action as he may deem proper and necessary."

Resolutions—Third Day—Bombay—26th. August 1941

Viceroy's Council "Canvassing" Objected to

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League which concluded its sitting on the 26th. August released the following resolutions :—

"The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League deplore that His Excellency the Viceroy should have gone out of his way to canvass the members of the Muslim League for securing their association with the scheme of expansion of the Executive Council and the constitution of the so-called National Defence Council within the terms of the offer of the 8th of August, 1940, behind the back of the leader of the organisation, knowing full well the express decision of the Council of the League rejecting a scheme on similar lines by its resolution dated the 28th of September, 1940, which was duly communicated to him by the President.

"Further, the Committee condemn the observations of Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State for India, made in the House of Commons, in his speech on the 1st of August 1941, to the effect that he was glad 'to think that regardless of party leaders and in defiance of party discipline, patriotic Indians have come forward to work for India's defence, thereby casting a serious reflection on the patriotism of those who do not approve of the scheme, and lauding the conduct of those who have been deliberately and by various manoeuvres weaned to commit a breach of party discipline.

"The Working Committee are of the considered opinion that the recent decision to resuscitate and impose upon India, the scheme of expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council and the setting up of a National Defence Council was undertaken as a concession to the demands of the Hindus in utter disregard of the wishes of the Muslims of India and the solemn promises made to them and is intended to mislead public opinion in Great Britain and abroad.

COMMUNAL RIOTS INCITED BY HINDUS

"The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League are deeply concerned at the widespread riots in the country during the year and their recrudescence at several places soon after order was restored, which distinctly suggests an organised attempt on the part of the Hindus to crush the Muslim morale in places where they are in a minority and urge the Government to take serious note of the situation, which has arisen on account of the speeches delivered from the Hindu platforms, inciting people to violence in their endeavour to create organised opposition to the just demands of the Muslims of India and to demonstrate that communal riots were not only confined to the Congress Government regime.

"Further the Working Committee have received with surprise and alarm the information from its provincial bodies that the attitude of Government officials generally has been unsympathetic in meeting Muslim demands and removing their just grievances. The Working Committee urge the Government to redress their grievances in this respect and to adopt adequate and effective measures for the protection of their lives and property.

"Further, the Working Committee draw the attention of the Government of India to the highhanded and arbitrary orders of the Government of Bihar in connection with the observance of the Bihar Sharif Day and the banning of the publication of the Bihar Sharif Enquiry Committee Report and declining to appoint special tribunals in order to secure fair trial and justice for the Mussalmans."

INDO-BURMA AGREEMENT CONDEMNED

"The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League condemn the recent Indo-Burma Agreement, concluded without consulting the Indian Legislature or the Provincial Governments concerned and other responsible public opinion in the country, with the result that the vital economic interests of India in general and the trading interests and civic rights of the Muslim community in particular, enjoyed by them for over a century, have been sacrificed and irreparably damaged. The Working Committee urge the Governor-General and the Secretary of State for India not to ratify the aforesaid Agreement, and thus remove the serious discontent, which it has caused in all Indian trading circles and the offence it has given to the self-respect of the peoples of India."

"The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League considered the request of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League for defying the orders of the Bihar Government imposed upon the Mussalmans in connection with Bihar Sharif disturbances. The Committee postponed their decision till further information was available."

OBJECTION TO MR. AMERY'S STATEMENT

"The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League are amazed and alarmed that Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State for India and a responsible Minis-

ter of the Crown, should be permitted to make pronouncements which amount to a breach of faith with Muslim India and to resile from the declared policy of the British Government, viz., that the constitutional issue will, in no way, be prejudged by His Majesty's Government and that the solution of the constitutional issue will be dependent upon an agreement between the principal parties, as the following extracts from his speeches and the announcement of the Viceroy dated the 8th of August 1940, clearly disclose :—

" '(1) Viceroy's announcement dated the 8th of August 1940 :—

"There are two main points which have emerged. On these two points His Majesty's Government now desire me to make their position clear.

"The first is as to the position of minorities, in relation to any future constitutional scheme. It has already been made clear that my declaration of last October does not exclude the examination of any part, either of the Act of 1935, or of the policy and plans on which it is based.

'His Majesty's Government's concern, that full weight should be given to the views of the minorities in any revision, has also been brought out. That remains the position of His Majesty's Government. It goes without saying that they could not contemplate the transfer of their present responsibilities, for the peace and welfare of India to any system of Government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life.

'Nor could they be parties to the coercion of such elements into submission to such a Government.

'The second point of general interest is the machinery for building within the British Commonwealth of Nations, a new constitutional scheme, when the time comes. There has been very strong insistence that the framing of that scheme should be primarily the responsibility of Indians themselves, and should originate from Indian conceptions of the social, economic and political structure of Indian life.

'His Majesty's Government are in sympathy with that desire, and wish to see it given the fullest practical expression, subject to the due fulfilment of the obligation, which Great Britain's long connection with India has imposed upon her, and for which His Majesty's Government cannot divest themselves of the responsibility.

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

'2. Mr. Amery's statement dated the 14th August 1940 :—

'Agreement, or consent, is indeed the foundation of all free Governments, of all true democracy. Decision by majority is not so much of the essence of democracy as a practical convenience which presupposes, for its proper working, an antecedent general consent to the constitution itself. It has indeed in most federal constitutions been limited in various ways in order to safeguard the separate interests of the federating elements. To describe the need for such agreement as a veto on constitutional progress is, I think, to do an injustice to the patriotism and sense of responsibility of those concerned. Agreement means not veto by any element but compromise, and willingness to compromise, in India as elsewhere, is an essential test of the sense of responsibility on which free Government must be based.'

'3. Mr. Amery's statement dated the 22nd of April 1941 :—

'It was that the framework of India's future constitution should be devised by Indians themselves and not by this House. That was a far-reaching and indeed, revolutionary announcement, the full importance of which has not, I think, even yet been fully appreciated either in this country or in India.

'Even more important in this connection is the stipulation that the constitution itself, and also the body which is to frame it, must be the outcome of agreement between the principal elements in India's national life. That is an essential pre-requisite to the success of the future constitution. For, if Indians cannot agree upon the kind of constitution they are prepared to work, how are they likely to agree upon the actual working of it ?

'I have dwelt deliberately upon Indian responsibility in the matter : for unless Indians are prepared to face that responsibility now, they will fail to face it hereafter. Any agreement imposed by us from without cannot survive the withdrawal of our power to enforce it. Only a real agreement, freely reached, can stand that test.'

"The Working Committee strongly condemn the adverse criticism and remarks of Mr. Amery in his recent speech in the House of Commons with regard to the Lahore resolution of the All-India Muslim League, popularly known as Pakistan resolution, without examining the scheme embodied therein and the circumstances which have driven the Muslims to demand partition of India into zones predominantly Muslim.

DEMAND FOR ASSURANCE FROM BR. GOVT.

"The Working Committee call upon His Majesty's Government to reassure the Muslims of India that His Majesty's Government will stand by their declarations and pledges, solemnly given by the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India on behalf of His Majesty's Government.

'If this assurance reaffirming the declaration, which has been shaken by the recent ill-advised utterances of the Secretary of State for India, practically prejudging and condemning the Muslim League scheme of partitioning India, is not forthcoming within a reasonable time, the Muslim League will be compelled to revise, of necessity, its policy and adopt such measure as it may deem necessary to resist any departure from the solemn pledges and assurances, and the responsibility for the consequences that may ensue on account of this gross breach of faith will entirely rest on the British Government."

FIAT TO SIR SULTAN AHMAD

The Working Committee also adopted resolutions calling upon Sir Sultan Ahmad, member-designate of the Viceroy's Council, the Nawab of Chhatari and Begum Shah Nawaz, members of the National Defence Council, to resign from these respective bodies. The resolutions run as follows :—

"The Working Committee have considered the explanation of Sir Sultan Ahmad. It seems that he has not realised the gravamen of the complaint, namely, that while he was a member of the Council of the All-India Muslim League he has associated himself with the scheme of the expansion and reconstruction of the personnel of the Viceroy's Executive Council, as notified in the communique dated July 21, 1941, and the constitution of the National Defence Council, which is a part and parcel of the scheme as has been explained by the highest authority, the Secretary of State for India, in his statement in the House of Commons on July 22, and further amplified by his speech and his reply to the debate in the House of Commons on August 1, 1941, in which he makes it quite clear that the appointment of Sir Sultan Ahmad to the Executive Council was a part of the scheme.

"In view of these facts, Sir Sultan Ahmad, having associated himself with the scheme against the express decision of the Muslim League and its general policy, the Committee are of opinion that Sir Sultan Ahmad should resign his appointment to the Viceroy's Executive Council within ten days, failing which the Committee hereby give full authority to the President to take such action as he may deem necessary and proper."

NAWAB OF CHATTARI'S CASE

"The Working Committee, after considering the explanation of the Nawab of Chhatari, are of opinion that he, while still a member of the Council of the All-India Muslim League, by accepting the membership of the National Defence Council, has acted against the express decision of the Muslim League and its general policy, and call upon him to resign his membership of the National Defence Council.

"If the Nawab of Chhatari resigns the membership of the National Defence Council before he takes charge as the President of His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Council of Ministers and communicates the fact to the President no action will be necessary. In case the Nawab of Chhatari fails to submit his resignation from the National Defence Council within the time prescribed, the President is hereby given full authority to take such action as he deems necessary and proper."

BEGUM SHAH NAWAZ'S CASE

"The Working Committee, after considering the explanation of Begum Shah Nawaz, are of opinion that she, while still a member of the Council of the All-India Muslim League, by accepting the membership of the National Defence Council. has acted against the express decision of the Muslim League and its general policy, and call upon her to resign her membership of the National Defence Council.

"If Begum Shah Nawaz resigns the membership of the National Defence Council within ten days and communicates the fact to the President, no action will be necessary. In case Begum Shah Nawaz fails to submit her resignation from the National Defence Council within the time prescribed, the President is hereby given full authority to take such action as he deems necessary and proper."

Working Committee—New Delhi—26th October 1941

POLICY TO BE ADOPTED IN ASSEMBLY

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League commenced its session at New Delhi on the 26th. October 1941, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, presiding.

The meeting considered how best to demonstrate in the Central Assembly session, beginning to-morrow, Muslim India's resentment and disapproval of the manner in which the expansion of the Governor-General's Executive Council was carried out, the National Defence Council was constituted and the attitude of the Viceroy and His Majesty's Government revealed by these acts.

The meeting appointed a committee consisting of Mr. Jinnah (President), Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan, Nawab Mohammed Ismail, Mr. G. M. Syed and Maulana Mohammed Akram Khan to decided in what manner Muslim India's feeling should be expressed in consultation with the Muslim League Party in the Central Legislature.

The meeting also considered Mr. Fazlul Huq's letter of resignation sent to the Honorary Secretary of the League. The meeting was attended by the following members: Khawaja Sir Nazimuddin, Home Minister of Bengal, Maulana Akram Khan, Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab, the Nawab of Mamdot, Malik Barkat Ali, Sir Abdulla Haroon, Begum Mohammed Ali, Mr. Abdul Matin Chowdhury, Assam Minister. Kazi Mohammed Isa, Chowdhury Khaliquzzaman, Nawab Mohammed Ismail Khan, the Raja of Mahmudabad, Sirdar Aurangzeb Khan, Seth Sattar Sait, Mr. G. M. Syed and Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan.

Resolutions—Council Meeting—New Delhi—26th October 1941

VENUE OF THE NEXT SESSION

With a record attendance of members from all parts of India, particularly Bengal and the Punjab, the Council of the All-India Muslim League began its session this afternoon, Mr. M. A. Jinnah presided. Prominent among those present were the Raja of Pirpur, Malik Khizar Hayat Khan, Mian Abdul Haye, the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca, Mr. Suhrawardy, Begum K. Rahman, Begum Aizaz Rasul, and Maulana Hasrat Mohani.

The meeting unanimously adopted the resolutions of the Working Committee passed at Bombay on August 24, 25, 26, and at Delhi this morning.

During discussion on the Bombay resolution, Mr. *Sher Ahmad Khan* from the Punjab sought to move an amendment urging that the British Government should unequivocally declare that the principles laid down in the Anglo-American peace aims popularly known as 'Atlantic Charter' should apply to all the Muslim States.

The Chair held that the Working Committee's resolutions could not be amended. They could either be confirmed by the Council or rejected. He therefore, ruled the amendment out of order.

The Council, by a majority, decided to proceed with the election of two Joint Secretaries and elected Khan Bahadur Momin from Bengal and Mr. Mahbub Ahmed from the Punjab to be Joint Secretaries of the League for the year.

The meeting also empowered Mr. Jinnah to select the venue and fix the dates for the next annual session of the League.

In the course of discussion, it was urged that the Province where the session was to take place should be given adequate time to prepare.

The Nawab Bahadur of Dacca proposed that the next session be held at Calcutta.

Another speaker wanted to know which of the Provinces had extended an invitation to hold the next session. Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan said that every Province was eager to welcome the League to hold its session within its borders.

Mr. Jinnah declared amidst cheers that to-day the position of the League was such that it would be welcomed in every place in India. "I am grateful to the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca," he added, "for extending Bengal's invitation, and I assure him that his invitation would not remain unavailed of. I

know Bengal is a very strong Muslim Leaguer." He suggested that the Council should give the necessary powers to the Working Committee to fix the date and venue of the next session.

The Council eventually decided to give those powers to Mr. Jinnah himself.

BRITISH ACTION IN IRAN

The rest of the sitting was devoted to a discussion on two non-official resolutions dealing with British action in the Middle East, and particularly Iran, and the League's determination to maintain the freedom, integrity and honour of Islamic countries.

Shaikh Ahmed from the Punjab attempted to argue that the resolution of the Working Committee passed at Bombay was sufficient for the purpose of expressing Muslim sentiments : but he was interrupted with shouts of "Sit down : we don't want to hear you", until he resumed his seat.

Mr. *Jan Mohammed* (Calcutta) and *Maulana Zafar Ali* (Lahore) supporting *Maulana Badayuni's* resolution, urged Indian Muslims to take measures to protect Islamic countries.

Sir *Sikander Hyat Khan*, Punjab Premier, declared that he yielded to no one in his love of the Muslim countries, but he wanted the meeting to consider the whole question dispassionately and calmly and give a lead to Indian Muslims and not lead them astray. He said that at the meeting of the Working Committee in Bombay, he had counselled patience and careful consideration. The Committee, nevertheless, passed its resolution, and he emphasised that so long as he remained a member of the Working Committee that resolution was binding on him as much as on anyone else.

Referring to Iran, Sir Sikander said that the ex-Shah was pro-Nazi. He was at this stage greeted with prolonged shouts : ("We don't want any attacks on Reza Shah") until Mr. Jinnah intervened and urged the meeting to hear all points of view patiently as became a "parliament" such as he considered the meeting to be.

Sir Sikander proceeded to declare that there was no representative of Iran at the meeting. Who, he asked, dethroned the Sultan of Turkey ? Not the British but the Turks themselves. The dethronement was at the time regarded as a calamity by Indian Muslims but it had actually proved a blessing for the Turks. Similarly, those present at the meeting did not know what the actual conditions in Iran were. Then again, Indian Muslims were not signatories to the Saadabad Pact and must bear in mind that those who were signatories to that Pact had done nothing to help Iran. Surely, there must be some reason for that.

Sir Sikander declared his conviction that Iranians were in favour of the action taken by the British in Iran ; and Iranians ought to know what was good for them. He referred to a report that Iran was about to sign a treaty and he urged that Indian Muslims should wait to see whether the terms of that treaty ensured the independence and sovereignty of Iran.

Sir *Currimbhoy Ibrahim* (Bombay) supported the Punjab Premier's observations and held that the resolutions before the meeting were not practical.

The *Raja of Mahmudabad* said that he knew that no Muslim outside India had ever expressed a word of sympathy with Indian Muslims and yet Indian Muslims had poured money and blood in support of non-India Muslims. He felt that Indian Muslims were correct in their attitude and he therefore supported the resolutions.

Sardar *Aurangazeb Khan* asserted that the Bombay resolution of the Working Committee was sufficient for the present. He had not concluded his speech when the meeting adjourned.

Resolutions—2nd. Day—New Delhi—27th October 1941

EXPANSION OF VICEROY'S COUNCIL

The Council of the All-India Muslim League and its Working Committee concluded their sessions at 11 p.m. on the **27th. October 1941** after passing two official resolutions and after confirming two other resolutions of the Working Committee including one relating to Mr. Fazlul Huq.

The resolution demanding that the portfolio of Haj in the Governor-General's Council should always be under a Muslim was rejected. It was pointed out by the Opposition that the League after having expressed 'no confidence' in the Muslim members of the Governor-General's Council and after declaring them as not representative of Indian Muslims, could not demand that the portfolio of Haj should

be entrusted to one of them. As a matter of fact the League said they had asked that no Muslim should serve on the Governor-General's Council.

The resolutions relating to the collection of a League Fund of ten lakhs of rupees and to the efforts at recruitment of Imams to the Muslim League were dropped for want of seconders.

In regard to non-official resolutions condemning the attitude of Mr. Fazlul Huq, Mr. Jinnah said that every member of the Muslim League was entitled to have justice done to him and therefore they had adopted a procedure outlined in the resolution passed by the Working Committee. They could not have passed judgment on Mr. Fazlul Huq without giving him the fullest opportunity to give his explanation. They had stated the Working Committee would decide what charges they had against him and had given him full opportunity to send his explanation. After hearing him, the Working Committee would decide what action if any should be taken against him. The non-official resolution against Mr. Fazlul Huq was therefore dropped.

In adjourning the session *sine die*, Mr. Jinnah declared that Muslim India and the Muslim League were marching on and no power could stop their onward march. The following resolutions were adopted :—

"This meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League while endorsing the decision of the Working Committee and the steps taken by the President of the All-India Muslim League in connection with the expansion of the Executive Council of H. E. the Viceroy and the so-called National Defence Council congratulates the Working Committee and the President of their decision and proper steps taken in the matter, and severely condemns the action of hon. Dr. Sir Syed Sultan Ahmad and Begum Shah Nawaz, in refusing to accept the mandate of the Working Committee and in insisting to remain on the said Councils in flagrant disregard of the wishes of the Muslims.

"The Council further declares that the Muslims taken in the Expanded Council of H. E. the Viceroy and the so-called National Defence Council are in no way representative of and cannot in any way represent the interests of Muslims.

"This Council further condemns the attitude of the Government in this connection which is only to create a rift in the ranks of Muslims.

Communal Tension Condemned

"This meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League deeply deplores the serious riots at Amraoti and Nellore which clearly indicate that they were not merely the outcome of sudden communal outbreaks but were the result of calculated design to undermine the morale of the Muslims in areas where they are in microscopic minority. In view of these riots and several others in other provinces, the Council urges the Government to forthwith devise strong measures to check the growing tendency of lawlessness and terrorism of the Hindu majority and to afford effective protection to the Muslim minorities in the provinces."

Another resolution appointed a Committee to recommend and report on a sheme for collection and proper administration of funds accruing from Zakat Fitra and the sale of skins of Qurbani.

British Action in Iran

The Council passed a resolution moved by Maulana *Mohammed Abdul Hamid Badayni* dealing with the British and Soviet Governments' action in Iran.

Sardar *Aurangzeb Khan*, a member of the Working Committee, continuing his yesterday's speech, compared the resolution with that passed by the Working Committee at Bombay and asserted that the Bombay resolution was more effective and better worded. He, therefore, urged that there was no necessity to pass any further resolution to supplement the Bombay resolution.

Mr. *Jinnah* accepted closure at this stage and before putting the resolution to vote said that Maulana Badayuni's resolution really touched the subastantial point. The Bombay resolution, he pointed out, had been passed on the eve of the Iran incident. Many things had since then happened. He agreed with those who argued that Mussalmans in India were poor and helpless and had no sanction behind their resolutions but they had every right to express their feelings and sentiments. "However poor and wretched we might be, there is no doubt that Indian Musalmans have full sympathy with their Muslim brethren wherever they may be", he declared.

It had been the avowed and declared policy of the Allies to destroy aggression and protect and safeguard the sovereignty of small nations. That was their

principal aim Indian Mussalmans had no voice in the administration of their country. They did not know what the facts were. They were therefore, apprehensive about the Muslim countries and it was up to the British Government to remove those fears and apprehensions of Indian Muslims by definite deeds. This was all that the resolutions asked for.

It was true that the Working Committee passed a resolution on the same subject at Bomday, but much had happened since then and the Council was entitled to pass a substantive resolution on the subject.

The House then passed the resolution only a few hands from the Punjab group being raised against it.

MR. FAZLUL HUQ'S CASE

The Council endorsed the resolution of the Working Committee in regard to the allegation contained in the letter of Mr. *Fazlul Huq* resigning from the Working Committee and the Council as untrue and offensive and casting serious aspersions and calling upon him to withdraw those allegations within the next ten days. A meeting of the Working Committee was summoned to meet here on November 16 to consider, among other things, what action is called for against Mr. Fazlul Huq in the light of his explanation. The resolution is as follows :—

"The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League considered the letter dated September 8 addressed to the Secretary of the All-India Muslim League by Mr. Fazlul Huq tendering his resignation from the Working Committee and the Council of the All-India Muslim League and also the letter of Mr. Fazlul Huq dated October 26 received to-day in which he says :—

'I feel that the matter relating to my letter addressed to you (Secretary of the All-India Muslim League) should be disposed of in my absence. My presence in the discussion may put some members of the League in an awkward position if I were to be present at the time the criticisms are made when this letter comes up for discussion. I shall be grateful if you convey my regrets to the President that I shall not be able to attend the meeting.'

"The Working Committee consider that the following allegations contained in Mr. Fazlul Huq's letter are untrue, offensive and cast serious aspersions on the President, the Working Committee and the Council of the League and Muslim Leaguers of the Provinces where Muslims are in a minority :—

1. 'I maintain that this action of the President was unconstitutional in the highest degree. 2. 'The Working Committee endorsed this action of the President because they had no alternative before them. If they had refused to ratify the President's action it would have amounted to a vote of 'no-confidence' in the President and this contingency, the Working Committee were not prepared to face. It is for this reason that the Working Committee passed the resolution, a copy of which you have forwarded to me calling upon me to resign unconditionally from the National Defence Council.' 3. 'But before I conclude, I wish to record a most emphatic protest against the manner in which Muslim interests of Bengal and the Punjab are being imperilled by Muslim Leaguers in the Muslim Minorities Provinces.' 4. 'As a mark of protest against the arbitrary use of powers vested in its President, I beg to tender my resignation from the membership of the Working Committee and the Council of the All-India Muslim League. Much as I deplore this course I feel that I cannot usefully continue to be a member of a body which shows scant courtesy to Provincial leaders and which arrogates to itself the functions which ought to be exercised by provincial executives.' 5. 'The President of the All-India Muslim League has singularly failed to discharge the heavy responsibility of his office in a constitutional and reasonable manner.' 6. 'Recent events have forcibly brought home to me that the interests of Muslim India are being subordinated to the wishes of a single individual who seeks to rule as omnipotent over the destiny of thirty-three millions of Muslims in the Province of Bengal, who occupy the key position in Muslim India.'

"The Working Committee, therefore, calls upon Mr. Fazlul Huq to withdraw these allegations and express his regret within ten days of the receipt of this resolution by him. On the expiry of this specified time, the Working Committee will decide what action is called for after considering any explanation that Mr. Fazlul Huq may offer either in writing or in person and for this purpose and for any other business, the Working Committee will meet at its Central Office at 11 a. m. on November 16"

Resolutions—Working Committee—New Delhi—16th. November 1941

MR. FAZLUL HUQ'S EXPLANATION ACCEPTED

The next meeting of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League commenced at New Delhi at ~~11~~ a.m. on Sunday, the **16th. November 1941.** Among those present were Mr. Jinnah, Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan, the Raja of Mahmudabad, Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman, Nawab Mohd. Ismail Khan, Qazi Muhammad Isa, Malik Barkat Ali, the Hon'ble Mr. Hossein Imam, Begum Mohammad Ali and Sir Currimbhoy Ibrahim.

The agenda before the meeting was consideration of Mr. Fazlul Huq's letter and discussion of the general political situation.

While the Muslim League Working Committee was in session more than a dozen Khaksars, carrying placards asking the Muslim League immediately to demand from the Government the release of Allama Mashriqi, entered the League office. They, however, were asked to wait outside till the meeting was over. The Committee concluded its sitting late in the evening after passing the following resolutions :—

"The Working Committee considered the following letter of explanation of the Hon'ble Mr. Fazlul Huq, dated November 14, received by the Hon. Secretary of the All-India Muslim League :—

"I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of October 29 forwarding for my information a copy of resolution No. 2 adopted by the Working Committee of the Muslim League and confirmed by the Council of the Muslim League at meetings of both the bodies held on October 27 at Delhi.

I regret the delay in sending you my reply. It has been due entirely to the poor state of my health and I did not feel justified in replying to a communication of such serious importance without giving the matter most anxious consideration.

No one knows better than the President himself that I have always been a loyal member of the League, have never hesitated to carry out its mandates and once a decision was constitutionally adopted by it, has never hesitated to obey it, even though that decision might not personally commend itself to me. If there were any doubts in regard to this point my resignation from the National Defence Council amply proves it.

It is an irony of fate that of all those who have given of their best to build up the only national organisation of the Muslim India, I should have been the object of so much misunderstanding and so much uninformed criticism. It appears that portions of my letter have hurt the feelings of the President and some of my other friends. I convey to them, through you, my assurance that nothing was further from my intention than to hurt the feelings of or to cast aspersions on any one and I hope that my assurance in this respect will be accepted and the matter considered as closed."

Sd. Fazlul Huq."

"The Working Committee excuses the delay in not sending the reply within ten days on the ground of his ill-health as the matter was of such serious importance that it required his anxious consideration. The Working Committee notes Mr. Fazlul Huq's earnest re-affirmation of his loyalty to the Muslim League and his statement that he has never hesitated to carry out the mandates of the League, the latest instance in proof thereof is his resignation from the National Defence Council in obedience to the decision of the Working Committee. The Working Committee further notes his assurance that nothing was further from his intention than to hurt the feelings of or to cast aspersions on the President or the Executive of the League and others concerned ; and as Mr. Fazlul Huq requests the Working Committee, his assurance should be accepted, it is resolved that no further action should be taken in the matter".

EXPANSION OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

The second resolution runs :

"The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League regrets that the British Government has not only failed to accept the offer of co-operation made by the Muslim League by its resolution dated June 17, 1940 but in utter disregard of it, has expanded the Governor-General's Executive Council by associating with it persons representing nobody except themselves. This ill-advised and unfair action on the part of the Government, in the opinion of the committee, was due to the fact that the British Government was not prepared to concede the just

demands of the Muslim League even when the Congress Party was engaged in obstructionist tactics and civil disobedience and refused to even consider any agreement within the framework of the present constitution. The Working Committee therefore urge upon the Government that no further steps be taken or adjustments be made in the future even within the framework of the present constitution and law without the approval and consent of the All-India Muslim League and once more warn the Government that any action in this connection without the approval of the Muslim League will be deeply resented.

"The responsibility for the consequences that may ensure will be entirely that of the Government."

By another resolution the Working Committee appointed Nawab Ismail Khan, Mr. Hussain Imam, Sir Nazim-ud-Din, Kazi Mohammed Isa and Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan to form the Parliamentary Committee as required by a resolution of the Working Committee meeting held at Madras in April 1941.

A Sub-Committee consisting of Nawab Ismail Khan and Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan was set up to consider and decide the appeals to the Working Committee from the various branches of the League organisation.

ALLAMA MASHRIQI'S RELEASE

"The Working Committee wish to draw the attention of the Government that the prolonged and indefinite incarceration and detention without trial of Allama Mashriqi is causing grave concern not only to the members of Khaksars organisation but to the Mussalmans generally. In view of the changed situation the committee urges upon the Government of India to reconsider their policy and release Allama Mashriqi without delay".

Another resolution passed by the Working Committee says : "The Working Committee are of the opinion that some of the proposals contained in the joint report of the Indo-Ceylon Exploratory Conference are open to serious objections and adversely affect the rights of Indians in Ceylon. The committee call upon the Government that such modifications as would guarantee and ensure those just right of Indians should be made in those proposals before an action is taken in the matter".

Resolutions—Working Committee—Nagpur—26th. December 1941

RESOLUTION ON POLITICAL SITUATION

The final meeting of the Working Committee of the Muslim League for the year 1941 was held at Nagpur on the 26th. December with Mr. Jinnah in the chair. Those present were : Kazi Mahomed Isa (Baluchistan), the Raja of Mahmudabad (U. P.) Chaudhri Khaliquzzaman (U. P.), Mr. Abdul Matin Chaudhri (Assam), Sir K. Nazimuddin (Bengal), Mr. Hussain Ispahani (Bengal), Mr. Rauf Shah (C. P.), Mr. Barkat Ali (Punjab), Mr. Abdul Sattar Seth (Madras), Mr. Hussain Imam (Bihar), and Nawab Liaqat Ali (U. P.), the Secretary.

A warning to the British Government that any departure in the policy and the declaration of August 1940 or any declaration by the British Government which affects the demand of Pakistan or which proceeds on the basis of Central Government with India as one single unit and the Mussalmans as an All-India minority, shall be strongly resented, was uttered by the Working Committee of the League in the main resolution of which the following is the full text :—

"The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League has read with satisfaction the statement made by His Excellency the Viceroy on December 15, 1941, at Calcutta reaffirming the policy enunciated in the Declaration of August 8, 1940, which laid down *inter alia* the following principle for the future constitution of India : "There are two main points which have emerged. On those two points His Majesty's Government now desire me to make their position clear. The first is as to the position of minorities in relation to any future constitutional scheme. It has already been made clear that my declaration of last October does not exclude the examination of any part either of the Act of 1935 or of the policy and plan on which it is based. His Majesty's Government's concern that full weight should be given to the views of minorities in any revision has also been brought out. That remains the position of His Majesty's Government. It goes without saying that they could not contemplate the transfer of their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life. Nor could they be parties to the coercion of such elements into submission to such a government'.

His Excellency further made it clear in the Declaration of August 8, 1940, that it was for the representatives of India themselves to reach a basis of friendly agreement, firstly on the form which the post-war representative body should take and secondly upon the principles and outlines of the constitution itself. This policy of the British Government was reaffirmed by the Secretary of State for India in his speech during the debate in the House of Commons on April 22, 1941, in the following words 'that the framework of India's future constitution should be devised by Indians themselves and not by this House. That was a far-reaching and indeed revolutionary announcement, the full importance of which has not, I think, even yet been fully appreciated either in this country or in India. More important in this connection is the stipulation that the constitution itself and also the body which is to frame it must be the outcome of agreement between the principal elements in India's national life. That is essential pre-requisite to the success of the future constitution.

"The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League at their meeting held on September 22, 1940, expressed their satisfaction at the Declaration as the principles enunciated therein covered consideration of the demand of the Mussalmans for division of India which was made long before the Declaration, at Lahore on March 23, 1940, and is popularly known as the Pakistan scheme. Since then responsible Ministers of the Crown, Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State for India, and Mr. Churchill, the Prime Minister, have from time to time amplified and confirmed the policy underlying the Declaration, thereby assuring the hundred million Mussalmans of India that the British Government was fully alive to the realities of the political situation in India and realised that any decision opposed to the natural aspirations of Mussalmans as a separate entity would hasten a catastrophe and make peaceful administration impossible.

"The Working Committee, however, are deeply concerned and alarmed that while the policy of the British Government still remains the same as laid down in the Declaration of August 8, 1940, there is a growing tendency in a section of the British press and politicians who, under the stress of war against the Axis Powers and the entry of Japan in the arena, are urging the Government to revise the policy hitherto followed and to start a policy of appeasement of the Congress by making a fresh declaration in utter disregard of previous statements and promises by the Mussalmans of India and in ignorance of the nature and extent of the political, religious and cultural differences existing between the major communities in India, namely Hindus and Muslims.

"The Working Committee, therefore, consider it necessary to warn the British public and the Government that any departure from the policy and solemn Declaration of August 8, 1940, and pledges given therein to the Mussalmans would constitute a gross breach of faith with Muslim India and that any revision of policy or any fresh declaration which adversely affects the demand of Pakistan or proceeds on the basis of a Central Government with India as one single unit and the Mussalmans as an all India minority shall be strongly resented by the Muslims who will be compelled to resist it with all the force at their command which would, at this critical junction, among other things necessarily result in serious impediment of the country's war efforts, which have so far been largely carried on with the help and support of Mussalmans, because of the policy and attitude hitherto adopted by the Muslim League in order not to embarrass or impede war efforts so far as possible."

League's Attitude to War Effort

The second resolution begins with the words "in view of the fact that the entry of Japan in the war on the side of the Axis powers has brought danger much closer to India and has forced into greater prominence the question of the defence of India, the Working Committee consider it necessary to reiterate that the Muslim League, from the very beginning, has expressed their willingness to share the responsibility of the defence of the country". The resolution quotes the various resolutions passed by the Committee to that effect and mentions the attitude taken by the Congress in this matter. The resolution then says that the League on June 17, 1940, passed a resolution which clearly showed that the League all along adhered to the policy enunciated by its President in November 1939. The resolution concludes : "The Working Committee once more declare that they are ready and willing as before to shoulder the burden of the defence of the country singly or in co-operation with other parties on the basis that real share and responsibility is given in the authority of

Government at the Centre and in the provinces within the framework of the present constitution, but without prejudice to the major political issues involved in the framing of the future constitution."

ACTION AGAINST MR. HUQ APPROVED

By another resolution, the Committee note with satisfaction the action taken by the President in expelling Mr. *Fazlul Huq* from the League "for the betrayal of the League organisation and the Musalmans generally." The resolution calls on every League "not to rest content until the present Ministry which is composed of various elements antagonistic to the cause of Muslims in Bengal and of which Mr. Huq is a mere titular head is overthrown".

The last resolution urges the C. P. Government that "having regard to the recent action of the Government in releasing satyagraha and other political prisoners and having regard to the internal political situation the prosecution against Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan should be withdrawn and he should be released".

The Lyallpur Pakistan Conference

Presidential Address—Lyallpur—20th. July 1941

The following is the text of the Presidential Address delivered by *Malik Barkat Ali*, M.A., LL.B., M.L.A., Advocate, Lahore, and Member, Working Committee, All-India Muslim League, at the Pakistan Conference held under the auspices of the Muslim Students' Federation at Lyallpur, on 20th. July, 1941 :—

As you all know, we are meeting to-day under the shadow of a terrible war between Hitlerism on one side and the British Empire on the other. From all accounts, it is undoubtedly a life and death struggle between the two belligerents. It is clear from the progress of events since 3rd September, 1939, when war was formally declared between England and Germany, that it is not merely a local or ephemeral issue like that of Danzig or the passage to East Prussia, but the very question of existence which is to-day locking the British Empire in this deadly combat in the course of which the flower of the nation and all that is best and dear is being offered in sacrifice to the God of War. Hitler is bent with his carefully and scientifically planned war machine to achieve the break up of the mighty British Empire, and obviously no scruples weigh with him. Luckily, the British Lion, although originally asleep, is shaking off its slumber and the remarkable and wonderful manner in which the English people, although totally unprepared for the war when it came, are throwing themselves into the fight, shows that the ancient and ingrained spirit of the British Nation has not been sapped by luxury or comfort or tainted with cowardice and selfishness or satiated and withered by dotage or decay. In a situation of this kind, our duty as citizens of a Great Empire, which has given us peace and perfect security, is obvious. As soon as the war began, our Qaid-i-Azam declared in the name of the Mussalmans that we had no sort of sympathy with Hitlerism or Nazism or Facisism, that we hated these creeds and that despite serious grievances, nothing would be done to cause any embarrassment to the Government, so long as it was engaged in the prosecution of this bitter war. The Mussalmans have honoured this pledge given on their behalf by the Qaid-i-Azam. Those in a position to give monetary aid and assistance have rendered that assistance undeterred ; those in a position to offer the maximum sacrifice have done so undaunted and unhampered. None has come in the way, none has come forward te preach any boycott. This is as it should be. The Qaid-i-Azam had, however, declared that in case Government was anxious to secure the wholehearted support of the community, it was necessary that a sense of satisfaction should be created in the minds of the Muslim masses, that their grievances and in particular the excesses and atrocities from which they had suffered at the hands of Congress Governments in the seven provinces should be redressed and rectified, and further, that Muslim leadership should be trusted and taken into confidence and the power and authority of Government should be entrusted to and shared with the accredited representatives of the Muslim nation on equal and self-respecting terms. The Qaid-i-Azam had given the further assurance that as Government had agreed to a denovo examination of the entire policy and

plan of the Government of India Act, 1935, when the time came for the drawing up of a final constitution of India soon after the conclusion of the war, and had also agreed that they would not transfer their present responsibility for the peace and welfare of India to any system of Government "whose authority is directly denied" by the Muslims nor be parties to their coercion by such Governments, he would not press the issue of Pakistan for immediate acceptance but would reserve it for discussion at the Round Table later. It is to be regretted that these most eminently reasonable terms have not been accepted by the representative of the British Government in this country. His Excellency Lord Linlithgow, no doubt, fully understood the point of view put forward by Mr. Jinnah ; it cannot be said that Mr. Jinnah was not able to put forward his claim before him with perfect clarity ; but it appears that, dominated by a fear of the Congress and animated by a strong desire to appease Mahatama Gandhi and the Congress, His Excellency halted in the course of his negotiations and ultimately ended by offering Mr. Jinnah two seats in his Cabinet, with full freedom to Mr. Jinnah to nominate the holders of those seats. Mr. Jinnah indignantly refused this offer and there the matter stands. The result is that the response of the Muslim nation to the war effort has not been as full as it should be. The Government knows this. It is true that various elements in the national life of Mussalmans are rendering all the aid in their power to the British Government, just as various elements in the national life of the Sikh and Hindu communities are rendering all the aid in their power, notwithstanding the ban imposed by Mahatama Gandhi and the Congress. I think, it is a great compliment to the British Government and its enlightened methods of administration that it should have been able on the basis of its own good will to get, out of the various communities and sections of India, the help it has received. But you and I and the British Government all recognise that much greater and far more powerful help is needed and should have been forthcoming, at any rate so far as the Muslims are concerned, if the Qaid-i-Azam had been taken into confidence and his proposals accepted. It is axiomatic that no people can render spontaneous and enthusiastic help unless they are made to feel that it is their own war and that it is their freedom which is at stake. I must say that this feeling is not yet prevalent, though, not doubt, some Indian Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs and others who must support Government at all costs and in all situations, are preaching that this war is India's war and that the Freedom of India is as much at stake as the Freedom of England. Their preachings meet with no response. It is time that Government, who are, no doubt, aware of the realities of the situation, should take stock of the condition of things as they exist, and acting in a bold, courageous and trustful spirit, call to their councils men of the calibre and influence of the Qaid-i-Azam and invest them with real and substantial authority, as equal partners so that the defence of India may be adequately and nationally mobilized. The war clouds are gathering thick on the Indian horizon ; the change in policy indicated by the unprovoked, wanton and sudden attack on Russia, with whom a Non-Aggression Pact had been concluded about two years ago, shows that India will soon be enveloped in the flames of war. The old policy of working through those who would demur under all circumstances and who for that reason would have you and the outside world believe that they are the only people who are active and therefore count and matter, like the proverbial few grashoppers who make the forest ring with their clink, thinking that they are the only inhabitants of the Earth,—must go. Let the watchwords of the new policy be Trust in those who really represent the nation. It is only in this wise that the nations of India can be moved into a robust and real defence of their Freedom. The times through which we are passing are not ordinary times. The world seems to be rushing along at a giddy pace covering in days and months the track of centuries and those who are accustomed to see it spinning leisurely along its destined course, should open their eyes and let not a second go waste.

Cabinet Expansion

It is being stated that the Viceroy's Executive Council is going to be expanded so as to contain a non-official Indian majority and that Mr. Amery will be shortly making a statement which will prove a landmark in the constitutional history of India. So far as the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council is concerned, it is obvious that with the Congress and the Muslim League out of it, the expansion would serve no useful purpose beyond providing jobs to those who are already co-operating. Of course, there is nothing to prevent the Viceroy from taking this step, but in view of the gravity of the international situation, it would be wise to

leave well alone and to persevere in the course announced by the Government after the failure of the Government negotiations with the leaders of the Congress and the League. There is certainly a danger in the adoption of a different course. The reaction on Muslim public opinion of the step which the Viceroy is stated to be taking, must be adverse. With the Congress already in the opposition, the path of wisdom lies in not antagonising Muslim League opinion. As regards the contemplated statement to be made by Mr. Amery, it is of course difficult to express any opinion about its merits or demerits before it has actually appeared in print. All I can say is that the previous attitude of Mr. Amery that Indians must first reach a settlement among themselves of the outstanding constitutional questions has everything to commend it, and I trust that Mr. Amery will stand by it and not yield to any sort of pressure manoeuvered by that second line of defence of the Congresa organisation, namely, the Liberals led by Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. Mr. Amery cannot conceal from himself the fact that these Liberal Elders do not count a single Mussalman of standing among them and that the difference between them and the Congress leaders, so far as Muslims are concerned, is a difference between Tweedledum and Tweedledee.

PAKISTAN, HISTORICAL RETROSPECT

I will now come to the subject of Pakistan which is the cherished centre and coveted focus of your desires, and for popularising which, you have called this Conference. The foes of Pakistan and some others from amongst our own camp, who want to win cheap popularity at the hands of our Hindu countrymen to whom Pakistan is at the moment a sort of poison cup, have spread so many false-hoods about Pakistan that is is necessary at the outset to give a true historical retrospect of the events that have led to and have culminated in the demand for Pakistan as the only solution of India's difficulties and the only guarantee of this vast sub-continent taking its proper place amongst the free and independent nations of the earth. You will remember that in the early nineties of the 19th century when British statesmen decided to endow India with the beginnings of popular Government in local bodies, the question of separate electorates came to the fore. Originally, with their experience of elections in a homogeneus society, which never knew of any such distinctions as to separate the Hindu from the Muslim, they started with joint electorates. But joint electorates had not been long in operation when the cry for separate electorates was raised by the Muslims everywhere. When the Morley-Minto Reforms were in the air, a deputation of leading Muslims, including the late Maulana Mohammad Ali, waited upon the then Viceroy, Lord Minto and pressed for separate electorates for Muslims as the essential machinery for filling the seats to be fixed for them. The demand was conceded and even Lord Morley with all his traditions of the purest liberalism had to admit in his speech made on 23rd February 1909 in the House of Lords that the Muslim demand for separate electorates would be met in full as, in the words of this Philosopher-Statesman, "the difference between Hindus and Mohammadans is not a mere difference of articles of religious faith or doctrine. It is a difference in life, in traditions, in history, in all the social things as well as articles of faith that constitute a society." Again, at the time of the Montagu Chelmsford Reforms, the question of separate electorates was considered by Lord SouthBorough Franchise Committee and it was decided that separate electorates were indispensable and could not be scrapped. The question was again considered by the Simon Commission and they reached the conclusion that "it is impossible to shut one's eyes to the force of the argument that the mere reservation of seats to secure a guaranteed amount of representation for the Muslim community is far from securing the return to the Legislatures of Muslims who would be regarded by their constituents as authoritative and satisfactory representatives." Separate electorates are still the order of the day. While the Muslims were thus adamant in their demand for separate electorates, the Congress and the Hindus offered full-throated opposition to it and continued to condemn the system as the very negation of nationalism. And in theory indeed this was so. And yet the Muslim Community would never agree to the elimination of separate electorates. Separate electorates, no doubt, postulate two separate people with radically different and irreconcilable cultures and interests, whether political or economic.

MUSLIMS STAND FOR UNITED INDIA

I should like you, however, to remember that all this time, the Mussalmans of India, while insisting on separate electorates, were anxious and eager to keep

up the unity of India, and the best amongst them continued to preach that the Muslims of India must regard themselves as part and parcel of the great Indian nation. In the efforts to regain for India its birthright of Freedom, Indian Muslims, though returned on a separate ticket, stood shoulder to shoulder with Hindu Nationalists and suffered cheerfully all kinds of restraints and privations which befall all those who strive for liberty. Stray voices, here and there, no doubt uttered the warning that the Hindus and the Muslims were two separate peoples, with their differences rooted deep in history and in the teachings of their respective faiths, but the Muslim community as a whole continued to believe in its destiny as a part of the Indian nation, and its leaders continued to play their part in India's struggle for Freedom. The greatest of these leaders on whose words even the Congress hung before the movement passed into the control of Mahatma Gandhi was no other than the Qaid-i-Azam.

In December, 1930, for the first time, the late Dr. Sir Mohammad Iqbal, in the course of his presidential address delivered at Allahabad as President of the 21st Session of the All-India Muslim League, put forward in a concrete form his proposal for the partition of India into Muslim India and Hindu India. When putting forward this proposal he clearly defined his position. He said : "I lead no party ; I follow no leader. I have given the best part of my life to a careful study of Islam, its law and polity, its culture, its history and its literature. This constant contact with the spirit of Islam, as it unfolds itself in time, has, I think, given me a kind of insight into its significance as a world fact. It is in the light of this insight, whatever its value, that while assuming that the Muslims of India are determined to remain true to the spirit of Islam, I propose not to guide you in your decisions but to attempt the humble task of bringing clearly to your consciousness the main principle, which, in my opinion, should determine the general character of these decisions." Dr. Sir Mohammad Iqbal was perfectly right in the caution he gave in these introductory remarks, namely, that the solution of the Indian communal problem which he was offering as the result of his constant contact with the spirit of Islam, its history, its laws and its literature, was purely his own and even that, not as the leader of any party ; for at that time the accepted constitutional position of the All-India Muslim League from the date of its foundation up till then was that India was an integral unity, the common homeland of both Hindus and Muslims, and that the goal of the political effort of the All-India Muslim League was "the attainment of full responsible Government for India by all peaceful and legitimate means with adequate and effective safeguards for Mussalmans". It was at this time and in these environments, with the All-India Muslim League regarding Hindus and Muslims as the common sons of Mother India, that Dr. Sir Mohammad Iqbal flung his proposal. I will quote his very words. He said :

"The units of Indian society are not territorial as in European countries. India is a continent of human groups belonging to different races, speaking different languages and professing different religions. Their behaviour is not at all determined by a common race-consciousness. Even the Hindus do not form a homogeneous group. The principle of European democracy cannot be applied to India without recognising the fact of communal groups. The Muslim demand for the creation of a Muslim India is, therefore, perfectly justified. The resolution of the All Parties Muslim Conference at Delhi is to my mind wholly inspired by this noble ideal of a harmonious whole which, instead of stifling the respective individualism of its component wholes, affords them chances of fully working out the possibilities that may be latent in them. And I have no doubt that this house will emphatically endorse the Muslim demand embodied in this resolution. Personally I would go further than the demands embodied in it. I would like to see the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sindh and Baluchistan, amalgamated into a single State. Self-government within the British Empire, or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North West India Muslim State appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims at least of North West India."

This proposal essentially based on the Partition of India into Hindu India and Muslim India, naturally caused consternation not only in the ranks of the Congress but also in the ranks of the leaders of the Muslim League. The first leader on the Muslim side to dissociate himself from it was no other than the Qaid-i-Azam, for he had given his whole life to the ideal of a free United India and had laboured hard to achieve this consummation. He felt that his whole dream of rearing the fabric of a United India would be shattered to pieces and he

accordingly lent no support to this proposal. Others also of the same school of thought, including myself, if you will pardon this personal reference (I have reasons for making this personal reference which I will disclose later)—who had been brought up and nurtured in the traditions of a United India, the common motherland of the Hindus and Muslims, put themselves in the opposition to Dr. Sir Mohammad Iqbal's proposal of partition. We laboured hard to keep the Partition of India at a distance, and with the enthusiasm of crusaders would not let the Muslim public come near it. We continued to labour at this ideal of a United India for ten long years. When, as a result of the deliberations of the Round Table Conference the conception of a Federation of India, both Indian India and British India, was put forward by British statesmen, and was enthusiatically received and supported by Congress opinion, we, subject to certain modifications, agreed to it. Federation postulates and is based on the Unity of India. Here, in fairness of the late Dr. Sir Mohammad Iqbal, I must say that even he in that very address in which he was putting forward "the formation of a consolidated North West Indian Muslim State" as the "final destiny of the Mussalmans at least of North West India," accepted the scheme of Federation, subject to the modifications which the Muslim League leaders were pressing, namely : (1) that the residuary powers must be left to the self-governing States, (2) that the Central Federal State should exercise only those powers which were expressly vested in it by the free consent of federal States, (3) that Federation should be confined to the States or Provinces of British India, and finally (4) that the representation of the Muslims in the Central Legislature should be 33⅓ per cent., exclusive of the share allotted to the Muslim States entering the Federation.

DREAM OF UNITED INDIA SHATTERED

True to its goal of a United India, the All-India Muslim League in October, 1937, at its session at Lucknow changed its constitution and adopted as its goal "the establishment in India of full independence in the form of a federation of free and democratic States in which the rights and interests of the Muslims and other minorities are adequately and effectively safeguarded in the constitution." This continued to be the constitution of the All-India Muslim League until it was changed again into Pakistan at Madras in April, 1941, in accordance with the resolution passed on 23rd March, 1940 in the Historic Session at Lahore. I must here read out to you the words of this memorable and epoch-making resolution moved by Mr. Fazlul Haq, the Premier of Bengal and unanimously adopted in the open session of the League.

"This Session of the All-India Muslim League emphatically reiterates that the scheme of Federation embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, is totally unsuited to and unworkable in the peculiar conditions of this country and is altogether unacceptable to Muslim India."

"Resolved that it is the considered view of this session of the All-India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principles, *viz.* that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be constituted with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority as in the North Western and Eastern Zones of India should be grouped to constitute "Independent States", in which the Constituent Units shall be autonomous and sovereign.

"That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in the units and in the regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them, and in other parts of India where the Mussalmans are in a minority, adequate effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution for them and other minorities for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them.

"This session further authorises the Working Committee to frame a scheme of constitution in accordance with these basic principles, providing for the assumption finally by the respective regions of all powers such as defence, external affairs, communications, customs and such other matters as may be necessary."

You will see that by this Resolution the All-India Muslim League jettisoned for ever the Federation Scheme envisaged in the Government of India Act, 1335, and adopted Pakistan as the goal of its future political activity. Mind you,

this Pakistan that the Muslim League vizualizes is even wider than the Pakistan that the late Dr. Sir Mohammad Iqbal featured. Dr. Sir Mohammad Iqbal featured a Pakistan consisting of Sindh, Baluchistan, N.-W. F. Province and the Punjab amalgamated into a single State. The Pakistan featured in the Lahore resolution of the All-India Muslim League consists not only of one amalgamated State on the North West of India but it also speaks of another such independent State on the Eastern Zone of India, namely Eastern Bengal and Assam where a clear Muslim majority bloc exists.

Why Did League Leaders Change

The question arises, why did the All-India Musslim League which from its foundation right upto 1937 had been placing before the Muslims of India the goal of a free and independent United India, with Hindus and Muslims as common citizens of the State, the joint custodians of the honour and integrity of this vast country, should have turned an absolutely new leaf in its history and should have adopted the very scheme of Partition actually put forward by Dr. Sir Mohammad Iqbal in 1930, which at the time it was put, the League Leaders opposed and condemned as "sounding the death knell of all that was noble and lasting in modern political activity in India" and which the League continued to oppose right until 1937. I propose to answer this question, as shallow minds, not at all acquainted with the evolution of great ideas and how they penetrate and the changes effected in public opinion under the stress of abnormal and deeply moving situations, have lightly attributed this great psychological change in the ideals of the leaders of the Muslim League to such parochial and absurd considerations as inconsistency. One says that the leaders of the League are mere chameleons ; another says that their attitude in 1930 showed a better and saner mind and that what they are preaching to-day is just the opposite of what they were preaching ten years ago. I believe, this kind of criticism calls for an answer and I give it.

True, that ten years ago, we of the Muslim League were wedded to the ideal of a United India and that we had laboured throughout for preserving the integrity and inviolability of India. Why have we changed ? We have changed, let our critics bear in mind, because our experience of the Congress Governments in the seven Congress governed Provinces from July 1937 to October 1939, when they were in power, shattered all our confidence in the good faith of our Hindu countymen. The Deliverance Day that we celebrated on 22nd December 1939 marked our final rupture with Hindu India and relegated us back to the position of those who had always preached that Hinduism and Islam were two separate cultures, that Hindus and Muslims were two separate nations and that the coalescence of the two was an impossibility. We trusted you, according to our good natures, as far as it was possible for human nature to do so ; we disregarded the repeated warnings we have had in the past ; *pace* the opposition to the grant of Reforms to the N.-W. F. Province, the opposition to the creation of Sindh and Baluchistan as separate provinces, the controversy over the lodging of Residuary Powers and finally the opposition to the grant of Muslim majorities in the Bengal and Punjab Legislatures. But we continued to cherish the dream of a United India, refusing to believe what seems to have been ordained by an unalterable Destiny, namely, that the Dream was one emanating from the Gate of Ivory. It was only after those terrible experiences of July 1937 to October 1939 with the apostle of Non-Violence presiding over and auspicicating the Governments which had committed those unnameable atrocities with his blessings, that we were compelled to bid goodbye to all our cherished hopes and beliefs, to forswear our past convictions and to come down to Mother Earth to realise the plain simple truth, realised earlier by the late Lala Lajpat Rai and others on the opposite side that the Hindu is Hindu and the Muslim is Muslim and never the twain shall meet. If anybody is responsible for this psychological transformation, it is not the Muslim Leaders : it is the Congress Hindu Mentality.

Charge of Inconsistency Refuted

There is also one other explanation of this revolutionary transformation in the ideology of Muslim leaders which some of our critics, particularly the learned Editor of the *Tribune*, are unable to understand. They cite our previous attachment and devotion to the goal of a United India and our present allegiance to the Destiny of Pakistan as signal and palpable instances of political inconsistency. In politics, consistency has always been regarded as the virtue of fools, or to use the words of a famous writer, as the hobgoblin of small minds. Who does not know that that

grand old Man of Victorian Era, Mr. Gladstone, began his Parliamentary career as a Tory conservative and ended as a notable Whig liberal leader. It was I believe Mr. Edmund Burke, that great orator and statesman, who in a moment of great illumination said that there is no such thing as principle in politics but that it is circumstances which impart to every principle its true colour and discriminating effect. But this matter apart, the change in our ideology from prior to 1937 to that after 1937 is susceptible of a very easy explanation and is perfectly justifiable in the eyes of political philosophy. To say that this change is without moral justification, because previously we held different opinions, and must be attributed to a dishonest drift in our opinions, is a mistake. It is not that we began to worship a new destiny all of a sudden and for the first time. The course of Indian political history from the foundation of the Congress in 1885 right up to the year 1937 shows that the Muslims and the Hindus have continued as two separate streams, running parallel to each other and never mixing. Separate electorates, fixation of representation not only in the local bodies and legislatures but also in the public services and a host of other demands crystallised in the famous fourteen points of Mr. Jinnah and finally the consciousness that we are a people 80 millions strong with a common faith, a common outlook and with a concept of equal brotherhood seldom attained in the history of human civilization by any other human group—are not all these factors and influences the foundation and inspiration of that very Pakistan that we demand to-day as the culmination of our political life ? And is there in truth any inconsistency in these demands and our present claim of Pakistan ? As one views the unfoldment of Muslim political effort, Pakistan appears the appropriate culmination thereof. No one need therefore accuse Muslim leaders of inconsistency, when, after dreaming of a Free United India, which they find impossible of achievement, they turn to the achievement of another Destiny in perfect keeping with their past political desires. The charge of inconsistency levelled at us by our foes is devoid of all point and substance. Indeed, as Dr. B. K. Ambedkar whose thought-provoking and enlightening work, "Thoughts on Pakistan" I will commend to all votaries of this New Destiny, remarks : "So obvious is the destiny that it is somewhat surprising that the Muslims should have taken so long to own it up. There is evidence that some of them knew this to be the ultimate destiny of the Muslims as early as 1923...In 1924 Mr. Mohammad Ali speaking on the resolution on the extension of the Montague Chelmsford Reforms to the N. W. F. Province which was moved in the session of the Muslim League held in Bombay in that year is said to have suggested that the Mahommedans of the Frontier Province should have the right of self-determination to choose between an affiliation with India or with Kabul. He also quoted a certain Englishman who had said that if a straight line be drawn from Constantinople to Delhi, it will disclose a Mohammedan corridor right up to Saharanpur.

"Nothing seems to have been said or done by the Muslims about this scheme between 1924 and 1930. The Muslims appear to have buried it and conducted negotiations with the Hindus for safeguards as distinguished from partition, on the basis of the traditional one—nation theory. But in 1930 when the Round Table Conference was going on, certain Muslims had formed themselves into a Committee with headquaters in London for the purpose of getting the R. T. C. to entertain the project of Pakistan. Leaflets and circulars were issued by the Committee and sent round to members of the R. T. C. in support of Pakistan. Even then nobody took any interest in it, and even the Muslim members of the R. T. C. did not countenance it in any way. If opposition to one common Central Government be taken as a principal feature of the scheme of Pakistan then the only member of the R. T. C. who may be said to have supported it without mentioning it by the name was Sir Mahommad Iqbal who expressed the view at the third session of the R. T. C. that there should be no Central Government for India and that the provinces should be autonomous and independent dominions in direct relationship to the Secretary of State in London."

"There is another explanation of this delay in putting forth the scheme of Pakistan. It is far more possible that the Muslim leaders did not until very recently know the philosophical justification for Pakistan. After all, Pakistan is no small move on the Indian political chess board. It is the biggest move ever taken for it involves the disruption of the State. Any Mohammaden, if he had ventured to come forward to advocate it, was sure to have been asked what moral and philosophical justification he had in support of so violent a project. The reason why they had not so far discovered what the philosophical justification for Pakistan is, is equally understandable. The Muslim leaders were, therefore,

speaking of the Mussalmans of India as a community or a minority. They never spoke of the Muslims as a nation. The distinction between a community and a nation is rather thin and even if it is otherwise it is not so striking in all cases. Every State is more or less a composite State and there is, in most of them, a great diversity of populations, of varying languages, religious codes and social traditions, forming a congeries of loosely associated groups, No State is ever a single society, an inclusive and permeating body of thought and action. Such being the case, a group may mistakenly call itself a community even when it has in it the elements of being a nation. Secondly, as has been pointed out earlier, a people may not be possessed of a national consciousness although in every sense of the term they are a nation."

Again, in another place, this learned and impartial writer says :—

"Be that as it may, the fact remains that the Muslims have undergone a complete transformation and that the transformation is brought about not by any criminal inducement but by the discovery of what is their true and ultimate destiny. To some this suddenness of the transformation may give a shock. But those who have studied the course of Hindu-Moslem politics for the last twenty years cannot but admit to a feeling that this transformation, this parting of the two, was on the way. For the course of Hindu Muslim politics has been marked by a tragic and ominous parallelism. The Hindus and Moslems have trodden parallel paths. No doubt they went in the same direction. But they never travelled the same road. In 1885 the Hindus started the Congress to vindicate the political rights of Indians as against the British. The Moslems refused to be lured by the Hindus in the Congress posing for and speaking in the name of all Indians. Between 1885 to 1906 the Muslims kept out of this stream of Hindu politics. In 1906 they felt the necessity for the Muslim community taking part in political activity. Even then they dug their own separate channel for the flow of Muslim political life. The flow was to be controlled by a separate political organization called the Muslim League. Ever since the formation of the Muslim League the waters of Muslim politics have flown in this separate channel. The Congress and the League have lived apart and have worked apart. Their aims and objects have not always been the same. They have even avoided holding their annual sessions at one and the same place, lest the shadow of one should fall upon the other. It is not that the League and the Congress have not met. The two have met but only for negotiations, a few times with success and most times without success. They met in 1915 at Lucknow and their efforts were crowned with success. In 1925 they met but without success. In 1928 a section of the Muslims were prepared to meet the Congress. Another section refused to meet. It rather preferred to depend upon the British. The point is they have met but have never merged. Only during the Khilafat agitation did the waters of the two channels leave their appointed courses and flow as one stream in one channel. It was believed that nothing would separate the waters which God was pleased to join. But that hope was belied. It was found that there was something in the composition of the two waters which would compel their separation. Within a few years of their confluence but as soon as the substance of the Khilafat cause vanished, the water from the one stream reacted violently to the presence of the other, as one does to a foreign substance entering one's body. Each began to show a tendency to throw out and separate from the other. The result was that when the waters did separate they did with such impatient velocity and determined violence—if one can use such language in speaking of water—against each other that thereafter they have been flowing in channels far deeper and far more distant from each other than those existing before. Indeed the velocity and violence with which the two waters have burst out from the pool in which they had temporarily gathered have altered the direction in which they were flowing. At one time their direction was parallel. Now they are opposite. One is flowing towards the east as before. The other has started to flow in the opposite direction towards the west. Apart from any possible objection to the particular figure of speech, I am sure, it cannot be said that this is a wrong reading of the history of Hindu-Muslim politics. If one bears this parallelism in mind he will know that there is nothing sudden about the transformation. For if the transformation is a revolution, the parallelism in Hindu-Muslim politics marks the evolution of that revolution. That Muslim politics should have run a parallel course and should never have merged in the Hindu current of politics is a strange fact of modern Indian History. In so segregating themselves the Muslims were influenced by some mysterious feeling the source of which they could not define, and guided by

a hidden hand which they could not see but which was all the same directing them to keep apart from Hindus. This mysterious feeling and this hidden hand was no other than their pre-appointed destiny, symbolized by Pakistan, which, unknown to them, was working within them. Thus viewed, there is nothing new or nothing sudden in the idea of Pakistan. The only thing that has happened is that, what was indistinct appears now in full glow, and what was nameless has taken a name."

These quotations from the pen of a dispassionate and philosophically minded third party should open the eyes of our critics to the realities of the situation and they should pause before they repeat parrot-like the childish criticism that Muslim leaders are guilty of inconsistencies and have gone back on their nationalist professions of the past.

Objections to Pakistan Answered

I will now pause to consider some of the objections that have been hurled against this scheme. There is in the first place the criticism of Mahatma Gandhi that Pakistan amounts to a vivisection of Mother India. It is really difficult to understand this spiritual criticism of a saint of non-violence. Inspite of Pakistan, Mother India will remain and not disappear. It is not that any part of Indian territory will be snatched away to some other place. Even now, there are the divisions of India. We have provinces which have very little in common linguistically, politically, socially and culturally. Pakistan will be the name for a combination of some of the provinces of India. The Congress has often advocated the demarcation of boundaries of Indian provinces according to linguistic and other affinities. If that is not vivisection of Mother India, how is Pakistan a vivisection.

Political Unity Endangered

Allied to this is the objection that Pakistan will end the political unity of India. This criticism has largley come from the English rulers of India. You will remember the following words of Sir Hugh O 'Neil, Parliamentary Under Secretary of State for India, uttered in the House of Commons : "The proposal to divide India into regions, would shatter the whole conception of Indian unity, gradually and laboriously built up by the British system over a long period of years." To the same effect were the words of Mr. Amery when in advocating the slogan "India First" he spoke of preserving unimpaired the essential unity of India. Now what is this political unity that is being so boosted ? It is simply that artificial unity which the British by the force of their arms have imposed upon India, namely a Central Government having the control of the entire country. British statesmen are never tired of repeating that they would any day confer dominion status even of the Statute of Westminster variety, if Hindus and Muslims could agree together on a constitutional plan. And they know that this agreement is impossible as whatever Reforms have been granted in the past, have been granted not because Hindus and Muslims were united on them but because England chose in her political wisdom to grant them British rule, although it has undoubtedly imposed a political unity on India in the sense of India being subject to one Government, has never been able to make of India a united nation. English Rulers themselves recognise that if England were to withdraw from India to-day, India would become a prey to internecine strife and relapse into that "Tawaiful Malookee" (anarchy) which fell upon her after the dissolution of the Moghul Empire. The present political unity can thus endure so long as the British or some third party is there to keep the Hindus and Muslims in chains, so that they may not spring upon each other. There is, therefore, nothing in this artificial political unity to serve as a rampart to the cause of Indian Freedom. It certainly serves the Englishman's interest and that is why he insists on it so much, but it cannot serve the two peoples concerned, for they cannot achieve self-expression and self-determination otherwise. As has been said very pertinently, the present political unity only serves to lock two warring nations in the bosom of one country and one constitution, and the sooner this artificial unity is dissolved and the two different groups started on their separate careers of self-determination, the better for both. The price expected of us for this political unity is much too high and certainly not worth the result.

Design Behind Pakistan-Tyrrany Over Others

Again, it is said that the object of Pakistan is really to obtain a territory where the Muslims may be in a position to freely "tyrranise over the Hindus or

gain dominance over them." There could be no blacker falsehood than this and I am really sorry that there should be people in this country who are capable of uttering such a foul and wicked accusation. In fact, I find that in the *Tribune* of 8th July 1941, the following qustion has been put to me in the course of the leading article :—

"Will Malik Barkat Ali explain for our benefit with what object except that of exercising uncotrolled domination over the non-Muslim minorities in their so-called majority provinces are the Muslim Leaguers trying to convert those provinces into independent and sovereign Muslim States."

I will gladly attempt to answer this question. We Mussalmans are asking for Pakistan as through Pakistan we will have an opportunity for self-expression and self-determination. Self-expression and self-determination are accepted political ideals and the birth right of every people who can be called a nation. We are a people of 80 million strong and as good luck will have it, nearly 60 millions of us are living together in contiguous territories and are not interspersed. We are socially a unity and not cut up into different layers. We are knit together by the ties of a common faith which is not merely a religion to us but a cultural source and treasure. It is not merely the community of commercial or economic interests alone that binds us. Such a community can disrupt when interests conflict. We are further held together by a much more powerful bond, the bond of sentiment which in the words of Rennan is "at once a body and soul." A Zoolverin, according to him, is not a fatherland. As that great student of History, James Bryce, says :

"The permanence of an institution depends not merely on the material interests that support it, but on its conformity to the deep rooted sentiment of the men for whom it has been made. When it draws to itself and provides a fitting expression for that sentiment, the sentiment becomes thereby not only more vocal but actually stronger and in its turn imparts a fuller vitality to the institution."

As we Mussalmans are a people conscious of a spiritual and social unity, we desire to see such unity expressed and realised under a single Government. Now, is such a desire a crime and does it mean any tyrrany or domination over others ? We give to our Hindu countrymen the same Destiny. We give them gladly the opportunity for self-expression and self-determination in that part of India, ¾ths, which shall be Hindu India The charge that Muslims are animated by a desire to tyrranise over or obtain unjust domination over others is false in the extreme and is belied by the traditions of Muslim History. I assure my Hindu friends that we Pakistanees, if ever that consummation is achieved, shall treat them as our brothers and sisters, that their properties shall be as secure and sacrosanct as our properties and that their happiness and content shall be our constant aim and desire.

Lever for Political Bargaining

It is also said that Pakistan is a bargaining manoeveur put across the counter with the object of getting further communal gains, or as the 'Civil and Military Gazette' says in its leader of 8th July, 1941 "a lever for political bargaining." The Qaid-i-Azam has so often repudiated this charge that I am surprised at the persistency with which it continues to be repeated. What are those communal gains which the other party can agree to give to us ? And if there are none such, it follows that this accusation is equally devoid of the truth.

Which Pakistan ?

I will notice one other criticism that has been advanced by some Muslim friends. They ask Muslim audiences as to what they understand by Pakistan. They tell them that there is one Pakistan formulated by the late Jamal-ud-Din Afghani, another by the late Dr. Sir Mohammad Iqbal, another by Mr. Rehmat Ali and another by an Englishman, and then ask the question : "which Pakistan you mean or want." I understand that the Panjab Premier actually put this very question to a gathering of Muslim students which had gathered to hear him on the 5th of this month in this very town of Lyallpur. Sir Sikander repeated this question in another place and he got his answer. I should have thought that that answer was enough to silence his doubts, but since he has repeated that question publicly, I should like on your behalf to give him the necessary answer. Let Sir Sikander know that Jamal-ud-Din Afghani was not the author of any scheme for a Pakistan in India. He undoubtedly spread the Pan-Islamic idea with a view to save Turkey from the designs of the Christian Powers of Europe but beyond that he formulated no concrete proposal for a Pakistan in India.

Dr. Sir Mohammad Iqbal undoubtedly put forward in 1930 the constitution of a North West Muslim State consisting of the Punjab, the Sindh, the N.-W. Frontier Province and Baluchistan and he also expressed his view at the third session of the Round Table Conference that there should be no Central Government for India and that the provinces should be autonomous and Independent Dominions in direct relationship to the Secretary of Satate in London. Mr. Rehmat Ali was a follower and ardent admirer of Dr. Sir Mohammad Iqbal and he elaborated his plan of a North West Muslim State by including in it the Kashmir State. The Pakistan plan of the Muslim League is envisaged in the resolution of All-India Muslim League passed at Lahore on 23rd March, 1941. This plan visualizes or provides for two autonomous Muslim States, one on the North West Zone and the other on the Eastern Zone of India. No native State is included in any of these two Pakistans. It should be clear to anybody that the Pakistan that the Muslims of India are after, is the Pakistan as envisaged in the League resolution mentioned above. And if Sir Sikander wants an answer to his posers I can tell him that the only Pakistan now before us is the League Pakistan and that Pakistan alone.

Minority Question Still Remains

There is one further objection advanced against our Pakistan Scheme which I should also like to discuss and answer. It is said that the problem of minorities for which Pakistan is offered as a solution, will still remain, as the authors of the Pakistan proposal do not contemplate any wholesale exchange or shifting of populations. There will be Muslims in Hindu India just as there will be Hindus in Muslim India, and that the provision even of mandatory, effective and adequate statutory safeguards for minorities will be no solution, as *exhypothesi* the provision of adequate, effective and mandatory statutory safeguards for the Muslims or other minorities in a scheme of self-Government for a United India is not acceptable to the Muslims. Those who put forward this objection forget in the first instance that the idea of Pakistan has not been conceived solely as a solution of this perrenially recurring minority problem which has been baffling all attempts as constitution-making for India. The inspiration and the motivating force behind Pakistan is the burning consciousness and the irrepressible desire that the Muslim nation shall see its genius and its soul reflected in the glory of Government, and all those institutions of social happiness which are a part and parcel of the machinery of a durable and lasting Government. Have Indians not peace to-day under the British Crown ? Have they not been enjoying in the past a rule of law approximating as nearly as is possible to the rule of law obtaining in England ? And have they not the promise that soon after the war, England will be endowing India with all the apparatus of a Self-Governing Dominion, giving to Indians as much Freedom as the Englishman enjoys in his own country ? And yet do these declarations and promises satisfy Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru or Mahatma Gandhi ? Why not ? Because inspite of all these declarations and promises, and far beyond them something still remains in the innermost recesses of their political consciousness which the English man can never give and which if not attained, will leave the peace of their soul disturbed and their happiness unconsummated. That something is what such undefinable expressions as self-determination and self-manifestation connote. This is the Muslim's reply to those friends who would give him all the safeguards that may be needed for the protection of his religious economic, political, administrative and other interests. Mahatma Gandhi has been promising a blank cheque and yet that blank cheque, whatever it may mean, has given no satisfaction to any Muslim. No promise of the fullest protection can suppress this natural and inevitable urge for self-manifestation and self-expression. That is why the Muslims demand a complete release from the control of any centre, no matter how aenimic. It is of the essence of Pakistan that there shall be no centre, and that the Muslim States, which will be carved out to satisfy the Muslims' natural urge and desire for self-manifestation, shall be completely free and sovereign. To say, therefore, that Pakistan is designed and offered as a solution primarily of the minority question in India, is really a misstatement of the problem. Undoubtedly, Pakistan will settle the bulk of this minority question, leaving only a small part behind, which perhaps will get itself automatically solved, as soon as the Hindus and Muslims are set in their separate houses as complete masters. The sense of neighbourliness and the obligation to jointly shoulder the responsibility of keeping India free and immune from all foreign domination will act as powerful checks to restrain both the Hindu and the Muslim

from molesting any of their Muslim or Hindu subjects. And if Hindus or Muslims still persist in each other's persecution, natural laws will come into operation and put an end to any such intolerable state of affairs. No one need be afraid of wars between Hindu India and Muslim India, but if ever they come, they will certainly act as powerful solvents of the poison which must have accumulated to make those wars possible. Have wars not taken place in Europe and has the possibility of war rendered any the nearer the dream of a European Federation ? No big Power of Europe contemplates any European Federation nor have the possibility of wars reconciled any of them to the idea of entrusting their Freedom and their independence to any composite super-state. Is India not as big as Europe minus Russia and why can't be there two powerful states, Hindu India and Muslim India, to settle their differences, if ever they arise, by the process of diplomatic negotiation, and in the end, by the arbitrament of the sword, if all other methods of settling the dispute fail ? I can quite see that Mahatma Gandhi with his doctrine of Non-violence and those who follow him. will run away and refuse to be parties to such speculation. But remember, that the doctrine of non-violence is but a rule of the vegetable kingdom and has no place in the story of Nations. If nations reject and deride or offend against the moral law, there is a penalty provided which must overtake them. The penalty may not come at once but rely upon it, the great Italian was not a poet only but a Prophet when he said :

"The sword of Heaven is not in haste to smite
Nor yet both linger."

I repeat, therefore, that the objection to Pakistan that it leaves unsolved the minority or Hindu-Muslim question is based on a complete misunderstanding of the inspiration and the motive force behind Pakistan. We certainly do not contemplate any wholesale migrations of populations, but there is nothing to prevent those Hindus and Muslims who may not like to live under Muslim or Hindu Government, to migrate to and settle under their own national Governments. Perhaps, as the result of experience, this migration may become inevitable. Has not Europe resorted to wholesale migrations of the populations to end the racial troubles which have so often afflicted her in the past. and a disregard of which led to those pogroms and blood-curdling butcheries that disfigure the pages of European history ? Let us take a lesson from Europe and cease to indulge in such frivolities when face to face with the master problem of self-determination for the two big nations of India.

Resolutions

1. That this meeting of the Pakistan Conference held under the auspices of the Lyallpur Muslim Students' Fedaration, hereby records its most unshakeable and complete confidence in the leadership of the Qaid-i-Azam and declares that if any political group or party in India wants to secure the friendship of the Muslims of India, it must first deal with and negotiate with the Qaid-i-Azam who alone is in a position to speak with authority and deliver the goods on behalf of Indian Muslims.

2. That this meeting of the Pakistan Conference held under the auspices of the Lyallpur Muslim Students' Federation hereby dissociates itself from the unfortunate sentiments to which Sir Sikander gave expression in his speech at Lyallpur on the 5th of July 1941 and repudiates as utterly untrue his definite and categoric statement that the Pakistan idea is motivated by a desire to tyrannise and secure domination over the Non-Muslim Minorities living in the Pakistan area. This Conference assures all Non-Muslims of the desire of the Pakistanees to live on terms of the fullest amity and brotherliness with their Non-Muslim neighbours and takes this opportunity of declaring that the only idea behind Pakistan is that of Self-Determination not only for the Muslim Nation of India, but also for the Hindu Nation, coupled with the earnest desire that the country may achieve real freedom and a truly honourable place among the free and self-governing countries of the world.

3. That this meeting of the Pakistan Conference held under the auspices of the Muslim Students' Federation deems its duty to impress upon the British Government the real truth that if it is anxious to secure the full and whole-hearted support of the Muslim Nation as a body and not of a few individuals for its War Effort in that life and death struggle in which it is at present engaged with the dark forces of Hitlerism, it must engender a spirit of confidence and trust in the mind of the Qaid-i Azam and give him the necessary assurance about the

future of the Muslim Nation so that all doubts and suspicions may be dispelled and the Muslims enabled to play their part as worthy sons of Islam with the Hindu and Muslim Nations running their respective Governments in accordance with their true genius and the undying spirit of their historical traditions and their cultural heritage.

The Lucknow Pakistan Conference

Presidential Address—Lucknow—29th November 1941

The view that Pakistan had existed in India for nearly twelve centuries and that the Muslim League was only seeking constitutional sanction for it in the future, was expressed by Nawab Sir *Shah Nawaz Khan* of Mamdot, in the course of his presidential address at the Pakistan Conference held at Lucknow on the 29th. November 1941.

The region lying to the west of the river Jumna, comprising the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province, Kashmir, Sind and Baluchistan, he said, had for nearly twelve centuries, been inhabited by the Muslims and as such was their National Home, or Pakistan. Even to-day, the Muslims constituted 80 per cent of the total population of the area and had no cultural or social affinities with the inhabitants of Hindu India. Since the Mutiny, however, attempts had been made to create an artificial unity culminating in the Government of India Act of 1935.

The speaker said that the Act, which was the first instalment of the so-called responsible government granted to India, conceded to the Muslims separate electorates, weightage in minority provinces and safeguards. Separate electorates were to continue for ten years, after which they were to be replaced by joint electorates, if experience justified the change. Though separate electorates had, in a small measure, safeguarded the national and political life of the Muslims, the Hindus could not tolerate it, and were trying their utmost to put an end to the system.

The Nawab of Mamdot ridiculed the concession of weightage and said that it had had the adverse effect of crippling the Muslim majorities in the Punjab and Bengal without appreciably improving the lot of the Muslim minorities. As regards safeguards it might be said that they had proved a dead letter in view of the refusal of the Governors in the Congress Provinces to interfere against the "atrocities" of the Congress Governments.

The bitter experience of the working of the Act of 1935, said the Nawab, had forced the Muslims to seek an effective remedy, so that they could lead an honourable life without in any way encroaching upon the legitimate interests of others.

The Muslims, he concluded, wanted complete autonomy for all provinces, so that Hindus and Muslims alike should enjoy freedom to direct the destinies of their respective majority provinces, but with statutory safeguards for the legitimate interests of the minorities, who should not be left to the mercy of any individual or community.

Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan's Plea

Inaugurating the conference, Nawabzada *Liaqat Ali Khan*, General Secretary of the All-India Muslim League, in the unavoidable absence of Mr. M. A. Jinnah, hailed Pakistan as the Muslim Charter of Independence and appealed to the Muslims to rally under the banner of the Muslim League and stand by their demand. The cry for Pakistan, he said, had reached beyond the frontier of India, indeed all corners of the world : it meant that the Muslims in India should break the bonds of slavery and emerge a free people in the new world.

The Nawabzada referred to the ridicule hurled at Pakistan by Congressmen and others and asserted that even threats of bloodshed and mass murders would not swerve the Muslims from their path. Mr. *K. M. Munshi*, he stated, had abandoned his faith in non-violence which he had advocated for twenty years. Mr. Munshi had stated that India had always been a united whole ; the only time when India had a semblance of unity was under Moghul rule and British rule and both achieved it by force. Soon after the Pakistan resolution had been passed at Lahore, the Nawabzada went on, Mr. Gandhi had stated that fifty thousand Muslims assembled at Lahore could not effectively represent the ten crores of Muslims in

India. He challenged Mr. Gandhi to find out any method by which it could be determined whether the majority of Muslims were behind it : he added that Mahatma Gandhi should also be prepared to join hands with the Muslims in securing their demand for Pakistan if it were found that the majority of Muslims were for it.

The cry had been raised that by dividing India her condition would be reduced to that of present day Europe, a prey to power politics. The Muslims had no other way but to have separate zones, he concluded. He would tell the Hindu leaders that if they thought they could frighten the Muslims, it was absurd ; he would urge them to think over and see for themselves how just and equitable were their demands.

Resolutions—Lucknow—1st December 1941

A resolution reiterating the demand for Pakistan and expressing readiness to sacrifice everything to achieve it was adopted at the Conference, which concluded its session on the 1st. December.

Qazi Muhammad Isa of Baluchistan, moving the resolution, said that Pakistan was the best cure for the communal malady. The Muslims would not have been afraid of the Hindus if a decision were to be taken by the sword and not by mere counting of hands. Pakistan did not mean that there would be war with Hindu India. There would be mutual treaties and treaties were better than safeguards.

Mr. *Karimur Raza Khan*, M. L. A., said it was impossible for Muslims to live honourably except under Pakistan. The sooner Hindus realised it the better. Muslims were determined to have Pakistan and would brook no opposition.

Mr. *Aziz Ahmed Khan*, M. L. A., said office acceptance had turned Congressmen's heads. Instead of trying to govern impartially, they took every possible advantage of their position and trampled upon the just rights of Muslims.

Maulana Hasrat Mohani said he wanted to know whether the two-centre idea of the present Pakistan scheme meant the domination of the Pakistan centre by the British Parliament. He would never accept such a scheme. He would only accept the Pakistan scheme if the idea was that of a free Paksitan, in a free India. He believed in "complete independence" and for the very reason he had left the Congress fold.

The All India Hindu Mahasabha

Working Comm.—Resolutions—New Delhi—11th & 12th October 1941

BAN ON BHAGALPUR HINDU MAHASABHA

The 5th meeting of the Committee was held at New Delhi on the **11th & 12th October.** The following resolutions were passed :—

"This Meeting of the Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha records its emphatic protest against the action of the Government of Bihar in imposing an unjust and illegal ban under the Defence of India Act and Rules on the forthcoming Session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha which was announced in April last to be held during the ensuing X'mas vacation at Bhagalpur. (Bihar.)

This Working Committee is of opinion that such unwarranted restrictions on the exercise of the legitimate Civic Rights of the Hindus inevitably put a premium on goondaism and tend to encourage the reactionary elements which are anxious to create trouble.

This Working Committee is further of opinion that the resources of the State should be exercised against potential mischief-makers and not against citizens who want to exercise their fundamental, civic and constitutional Rights in a lawful manner.

This Working Committee consequently urges upon the Government of Bihar to reconsider and withdraw the ban so as to enable the Hindu Mahasabha to exercise its legitimate rights of free association undisturbed.

This Working Committee after taking into consideration all facts and also the correspondence that passed between the President Veer Savarkarji and the

Government of Bihar hereby resolves that the All-India Hindu Mahasabha Session be irrevocably held on the 24th, 25th, 26th and 27th December, 1941, at Bhagalpur.

This Working Committee hereby directs the Reception Committee of the forthcoming All-India Session and the Bihar Provincial Hindusabha that they are to proceed in right earnest with adequate arrangements for holding the said Hindu Mahasabha Session on the above mentioned dates and place for making the Session a success worth of Hindudom.

This Working Committee appeals to all sections and classes of Hindus and to all other Freedom-loving citizens of India to extend their whole-hearted co-operation to the Reception Committee and to attend the Session and to make it a success".

THE ATLANTIC CHARTER

"This Working Committee appreciates the fact that the Cablegram sent by Veer Savarkar, the President of the Hindu Mahasabha to President Roosevelt should have proved to be a compelling factor which made Mr. Churchill to tear off with his own hand the altruistic mask under which the Atlantic Announcement sought to camouflage the allied war-aims and to confess that Anglo-American Alliance was out to fight against all Imperialistic aggressions but the British one and to liberate all other Nations but India.

This blunt confession on the part of Mr. Churchill acquiesced in by America will disillusion those Indians, Congressites and others, who fancied at the very out-break of the War that Britain was out in defence of Democracy and Freedom all over the World and does vindicate the unerring view the Hindu Mahasabha took which has declared again and again ever since the breaking out of the war that every one of the belligerents including even Russia and America was out for self-interest and self-aggrandizement alone. India too must consequently adopt that policy alone which safeguards and promotes her own National Interests."

DETENTION WITHOUT TRIAL OF HINDU SABHAITES

"This Meeting of the Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha strongly condemns the C. P. and Berar Governments for having detained without trial Mr. Dwarka Prasad Shrivastav, President, Damoh Hindu Sabha and Damoh Municipal Committee and member of the Provincial War Council under the Defence of India Act.

This Working Committee further warns the C.P. Government that its policy of harrassing prominent Hindusabha leaders in the provinces is bound to alienate the sympathies of those Hindus who are extending responsive co-operation in war-efforts at present.

This Working Committee further calls upon the C.P., Mahakoshal and Berar Hindusabhas to take up this problem in their hands and agitate for unconditional release or a trial, in an open Court, of Mr. Shrivastav and assures the Provincial Hindusabhas its fullest co-operation in the agitation."

PROHIBITION OF IMMERSION PROCESSIONS

"This Meeting of the Working Committee records its protest against unfair and unjust orders of the Government of Bengal against interfering with the Religious and Civic Rights of the Hindus particularly in connection with the Durga Poojah Immersion processions at Dinajpur, Mymensingh and Budge Budge which constitute an unwarranted encroachment on the rights of the Hindus about conducting religious processions along the public highways in the province of Bengal.

This Working Committee urges upon the Government of Bengal not to pursue this policy of discrimination against the Hindu community in Bengal and calls upon the Bengal Ministry to withdraw restrictions and prohibitions upon the Niranjan processions in the different parts of Bengal. This Working Committee records its heartfelt sympathies with the citizens of Dinajpur, Mymensingh and Budge Budge and appreciates their bold stand in refusing to submit to the unwarranted restriction sought to be imposed by the authorities which had deeply wounded the Religious Feelings of the entire community throughout India. This Committee calls upon the Hindu Community throughout India to stand by the Hindus of Bengal in any struggle that they may initiate to vindicate their elementary Civic and Religious Rights."

NELLORE HINDUS FELICITATED

"This Working Committee offers its heartfelt congratulations to the Hindu citizens of Nellore who under the directions of the Nellore Hindusabha unflinchingly faced all sorts of prosecutions and offered legitimate resistance in the exercise of their Rights and self-defence and in vindication of their Civic and Religious Rights which were wantonly violated by the local officers. The Working Committee notes with pride the glorious part played by the Hindu women of Nellore in this heroic struggle.

This Working Committee is firmly of opinion that the communal disturbances in various parts of India are the results of an organised conspiracy on the part of re-actionary Moslem politicians with the object of creating, even at the cost of a Civil War, independent Moslem States in India. This Committee notes with dismay the weakened policy of the British Government with regard to these attempts at breaking up the unity and integrity of India. This Committee has no doubt whatsoever that irrespective of any policy that the British Government may adopt, it is the fundamental, sacred and religious duty of the Hindus to maintain the Integrity and Unity of their Motherland and for this purpose to organise themselves and to be prepared to undergo any amount of suffering and sacrifice."

The Twenty-third Session—Bhagalpur—25th. December 1941

The Hindu Mahasabha's decision to hold its annual session for the year 1941 during Christmas week in Bihar was taken at the time of the last session held in Madura. The Bihar Government later banned the holding of the session at any place, including Bhagalpur, situated within certain districts of the Province at any time between 1st December 1941 and 10th January 1942 on the extraordinary plea that, as Bakr-id fell within that period, it was necessary to ban the meeting so as to avoid the possibility of communal clashes. Muslims form only ten per cent of the population of Bihar ; and in Bhagalpur which contains less than 100,000 people probably the Muslims do not exceed a fifth of that number. To ban the annual session of an all-India organisation on the score that it might lead, in so small a locality, to communal disturbances which the forces of law and order would be unable to cope with was preposterous enough. But, even after the Maha Sabha authorities had agreed to hold the session between the 24th and 27th of the month of December, two clear days before Bakr-id began—the authorities persisted in refusing to allow the meeting to be held on those dates, though they were prepared to modify the order by permitting the session to be held after the 3rd January. Inspite of the ban and the mass arrests of leaders and delegates including the president, the session was held and we give below an official account of the session :—

Official account—Resolutions—1st Day—25th December

The following "official account of the twenty-third Session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha" was issued by the General Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha from Bhagalpur on the **25th December 1941** :—

The twenty-third session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha was held amidst great enthusiasm at 1 p.m. to-day, in the spacious compound of Debi Babu's Dharmasala, Mr. *Lall Narayan Dutt*, Treasurer of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha Working Committee, presided. About two thousand delegates from all the provinces of India and a large number of visitors and volunteers attended the session. The President first told the gathering the advice given to him regarding the session, by Dr. Moonje and other leaders who are now in jail.

Mr. *Manoranjan Chowdhury*, of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha, who came along with the Hon. Dr. S. P. Mookerjee from Calcutta, described to the audience how Dr. Mookerjee was intercepted and detrained at Colgong.

The President moved a resolution recording profound sorrow at the demise of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, Sir Ganganath Jha, Pandit Madhusudan Jha, the Maharajadhiraj of Kolhapur, Swami Padmanandaji, the Maharajadhiraj of Manipur and Mr. Kali Kumar Ghosh of Bengal.

The second resolution, which was moved by Mr. *Manoranjan Chowdhury* and supported by Mr. *Ganpat Rai*, stated ;

"The session of the All-India Hindu Maha Sabha asserts the elementary and inalienable right of the Hindus to hold meetings and voice their feelings for the

protection of their political, civic and religious rights and strongly condemns the action of the Bihar Government and the attitude of the Governor in banning the All-India Maha Sabha Session at Bhagalpur.

"This session further demands the immediate recall of the Governor of Bihar for wanton interference with the rights of the Hindus."

The resolution was passed unanimously with acclamation.

The following resolutions were also passed :

(1) "This session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha condemns the action of the Bihar Government in arresting Veer V. D. Savarkar, President-elect of the twenty-third Session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, Dr. S. P. Mukherjee, Working President of the Mahasabha and Finance Minister of Bengal, Dr. B. S. Moonje, Bhai Parmanand, Mr. Padamraj Jain, Mr. N. C. Chatterjee, Mr. B. G. Khaparde, Raja Maheswar Dayal, Dr. Vardarajulu Naidu, Rai Bahadur Harish Chandra, Kumar Ganganand Singh, Pandit Raghavacharya, Mr. Raveneshwar Misra, Major P. Bardhan, Rai Bahadur Gunindra Krishna Rai, Mr. Asutosh Lahiry, M.L.A., Bengal, and other leaders, delegates and volunteers who intended to attend the meetings of the session, and demands their immediate and unconditional release.

(2) "This Conference demands the immediate release of all political prisoners and detenus throughout India.

(3) "This session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha reiterates its policy regarding the militarisation and industrialisation of the country.

(4) "This session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha welcomes the formation of a Coalition Ministry in Bengal and calls upon the Hindus of that Province to support Dr. S. P. Mukherjee in his attempt at redressing the legitimate grievances of the Hindus of Bengal.

(5) "This session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha authorises Veer V. D. Savarkar and in his absence Dr. S. P. Mookherjee and in his absence Sir Manmath Nath Mookherjee to appoint the All-India Working Committee of the Mahasabha for the next session.

(6) "This session of the All-India Hindu Maha Sabha offers its hearty felicitations to the Hindus of Bihar and all other Provinces throughout India, who have given a splendid and spontaneous response, by coming in large numbers to Bhagalpur and making the session a success in spite of all difficulties created by the Government."

Those who addressed the session, included Sardar Gobind Singh, Mr. Nand Gopal Choudhury, Mr. Sri Kumar Mitra, Mr. Saurendra Rai, Mr. Gokul Deshpande and Mr. S. N. Penshal.

The deliberations continued for two and a half hours, in a peaceful atmosphere, after which the President and some other delegates left the place to attend a meeting at Lajpat Park. The meeting, however, was being continued by some young men, when a police Sergeant with some constables entered the compound, and arrested the following four persons :—Mr. Nagendranath Nandi, Mr. Gokulchandra Das, Mr. S. N. Penshal and another.

Meetings were held at each quarter of the town and processions were being led by youths, though armed constables and mounted police were guarding the streets.

About a thousand delegates and volunteers were arrested up to date. Many, who were arrested to-day, were discharged shortly after being taken to the police station.

Official account—Resolutions—2nd Day—26th. December

The following is the 'official account' of the second day's sitting of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha held at Bhagalpur on the 26th. December and issued by Mr. *Manoranjan Choudhury*, Assistant Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha :—

According to previous arrangements five batches of Prabhat Pheries started from Debi Babu's Dharamsala this morning. Of these, one batch, consisting of about 500 delegates, mostly from Bengal, was led by Mr. Nagendranath Das Sharma and others. When this procession had reached Chawk Bazar at about 8, the police asked the members of the party to disperse and, on their refusal, they were dispersed by the police resulting in injuries to several persons. Forty-seven delegates were arrested including Mr. *Srikumar Mitra*, Secretary of the Burdwan District Hindu Mahasabha. The arrested persons were escorted to the police outpost and were detained till about noon during which time they held a meeting within the compound of the police outpost and passed resolutions. They

were afterwards taken in a prison van to Sabour, about five miles from Bhagalpur, and were forced to get down at about 2 p.m. They returned very late in the afternoon to Bhagalpur.

"The second day's session was held at about 10 a.m. in Debi Babu's compound under the presidentship of *Lala Narayan Dutt.*

"Mr. S. L. Karandikar, M.L.A., (Bombay), Mr. Durga Prasad Panday, Sardar Govind Prasad Dutt and the President addessed the meeting which later adopted several resolutions.

'Shortly after, the District Magistrate with a police force entered the compound and arrested thirty-six persons, of whom thirty-two were subsequently released.

Several meetings were held and many processions taken out in various parts of the town. The mounted police force dispersed some of the gatherings, resulting in injuries to many.

At about 4 p.m., to-day about a thousand persons were proceeding in a procession with Hindu Sabha flags, shouting slogans, when in front of the Palace Hotel, the police ordered them to stop. The processionists, however squatted on the road and tried to hold a meeting there. On the command of an officer, the mounted police rushed on the men squatting, who then took shelter in adjoining houses."

Civil Resistance Called off

After concluding the 3rd day's session of the All India Hindu Mahasabha at Bhagalpur on Saturday the **27th. December**, Mr. *G. V. Ketkar*, Secretary and last 'dictator' of the Mahasabha issued the following officially calling off the Civil Resistance campaign.

'The 23rd Session of the Hindu Mahasabha at Bhagalpur is concluded this evening and for the further guidance of the delegates and volunteers assembled at Bhagalpur and for guidance of the Hindu citizens of this place, I quote here the following pertinent extract from the detailed instructions issued by President *Veer Savarkar* on the 10th of December. It is as follows :—

'After continuing thus for four days, the campaign of Civil Resistance throughout the district of Bhagalpur including the town of Bhagalpur and inspiring the millions of Hindus throughout Bihar with the message of Hindu Mahasabha, the dictator of the movement shall declare the Session closed on the 27th of December and the campaign of Civil Resistance be called off. Thereupon our delegates and volunteers who find themselves free, should return to their respective places after the 27th December, without waiting for any further orders.'

"I request all delegates, volunteers and citizens to follow these instructions to the very letter. I also point out that the above instructions apply to those who are now in jail and who may be released.

The Presidential Address

The following are extracts from the undelivered address of Sj. *V. D. Savarkar*, the president elect of the Mahasabha :—

I acknowledge gratefully the honour you have done to me and the trust you have placed in me in offering the Presidentship of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha this year for the fifth time in an unbroken succession. It is a matter of public knowledge that this year also when the time for electing the President for the next year drew near, I had made it clear to almost all provincial leaders and workers that this time at any rate I should be allowed to withdraw from the Presidential panel. I was even determined to resign after the election,—but just then the Government made it clear that they were not prepared to raise the ban on the Annual Session of the Hindu Mahasabha at Bhagalpur. This Government ban compelled me also to banish altogether from my mind the thought of resigning the Presidential office. This ban constituted such an intolerable, uncalled for and unjustifiable humiliation to the Hindu honour as to render it imperative on the part of every Hindu sanghatanist to try his level best to get it removed by all legitimate means within his or her reach. My duty also as the elected President for the very session at Bhagalpur was clear. It was to stick to my guns.

When the All-India Session of the Moslem League was held at Madras this year, the Government prevented the Hindus under Section 144 from holding meetings, carrying lethal weapons or assembling in more than five persons so that the Session of the League might pass off well in spite of the fact that anti-Hindu speeches and resolutions were delivered and passed in it. Now, at Bhagalpur,

when the All-India Session of the Hindu Mahasabha it to be held, the Government, instead of calling upon the Moslems to keep themselves within the bounds of law and order, have put a ban on the Hindu Mahasabha Session itself making it criminal on the part of the Hindus to exercise their fundamental rights of citizenship !

Discriminating and Anti-Hindu Policy

Throughout India the same discriminating, partial and anti-Hindu policy is adhered to and Hindu processions, immersions of images and conferences are held up to placate the fanatical goondaism on the part of aggressivs Moslem sections.

The ban placed on the Hindus Mahasabha Session at Bhagalpur is also justified by the Government with unabashed frankness by stating that they had to do so for no other urgent or justifiable reason, but to enable the Bakri-Id festivities of a handful of Moslems in a solitary town like Bhagalpur to pass off well. If the Session of the All-India Hindus Mahasabha is held before the Bakr-Id, the Government contention is that even this legitimate exercise of the right of association by the Hindus may inflame communal passion of the Moslems ! If the Government suspected such a contingency, it was their duty to take every precaution to hold in check and chastise this aggressive and intolerant fanaticism that gets inflamed at the sight of the exercise by other communities of their legitimate rights. The Christians who are to celebrate their Christmas during those very days never get inflamed at the sight of a number of All-India Conferences held by the Hindus and other communities throughout India. But on the contrary, these Christian holidays like the Hindu holidays provide special facility for such All-India Sessions.

Legality of Ban

In addition to this unjustifiable nature of the ban, its legality also is seriously questionable. Whatever powers are to be exercised by the Provincial Governments in order to maintain public safety and order under the Defence of India Act are to be exercised, "for the purpose of securing the Defence of British India" and in case 'such exercise is called for, for the efficient prosecution of war'. Now, by no stretch of imagination can the Government maintain that the Session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha is likely to disturb public order or endanger public safety in the manner of standing in the way of the efficient prosecution of war or securing the defence of British India. Add to this the fact that of all outstanding All-India organisations, the Hindu Mahasabha alone has been the foremost advocate of extending responsive co-operation to the British Government in this war in so far as the question of Indian defence is concerned. The case, therefore, cannot be said to be covered by the Defence of India Act and consequently the ban that is placed on this session under this Act is *ab initio* illegal. This legal view taken by some of the foremost lawyers in the land proves that the Government of Bihar has not only committed a political blunder, but even a legal one

Assertion of Civic Rights

The Mahasabha has consequently resolved to hold its session at Bhagalpur itself on the scheduled dates in assertion of the civic rights of citizenship in general and of Hindus in particular. The time has come when the Hindus must correct the erring notion under which the Government labours that Hindus can be made to tolerate any aggression on their civic and religious rights and can take all kicking more kindly than the chauvinistic Moslem fanaticism and that this is the cheaper way of maintaining the so-called peace and order. The Hindus must now learn to record practical protest against any such anti-Hindu policy on the part of the Government or on the part of any one else whenever and wherever such cases humiliating to Hindu honour crop up, by all legitimate means within their reach, even if in this their attempt to exercise their legitimate and fundamental rights of citizenship, the Government at times threatens most unjustly and illegitimately to cow down the Hindus by flourishing the police budgeon, in their face.

Nevertheless, I must make it clear that the Mahasabhaites are going to Bhagalpur to hold this session even if the ban is not raised in time,—not with any the least desire to throw a challenge to the Government or to flout the legitimate authority in any wanton manner. We shall all rally round the pan-Hindu flag raised at Bhagalpur with the only object of asserting our civic

rights of free association. We shall give no justifiable reason whatsoever to inflame any communal passions or do anything beyond asserting our inalienable civic rights without trespassing on those of other communities in the interest of peace and order which, when interpreted in an impartial and constitutional sense, the Hindu Mahasabhaites are as anxious as the Government to maintain. Even if we are banned and opposed by physical force on the part of the Government, we are all determined to offer ourselves to get arrested or to face the worst without any show or use of physical resistance to the Government authorities on our part, beyond the civil resistance implied by our assertion again and again of our legitimate right to continue the sessional activities

I earnestly hope that inasmuch as the cause the Hindu Mahasabha is going to fight out at Bhagalpur is essentially the cause of civic liberty so far as the question of resisting, with all legitimate means, this ban is concerned—not only all Hindus irrespective of party affiliations but even our Christian, Parsee and Jewish countrymen, in fact every Indian citizen who values the cause of the fundamental right of citizenship of free association and realises that the Government policy of bribing fanatical goondaism at the cost of the legitimate rights of honest and law-abiding citizens, constitutes a common danger to all citizens alike, will extend their sympathy and co-operation and strengthen the hands of the Hindu Mahasabhaites.

I tender on behalf of Hindudom as a whole our most loyal homage to His Majesty the King of Nepal as a defender of the Hindu faith, the sovereign of the only independent Hindu kingdom to-day, the foremost representative of the glorious Hindu past and the hope of a still more glorious Hindu future. Fortunately, for the Hindus the Government of Nepal has to-day at its helm a personality in whose hands the Hindu interests are bound to be safe. His Highness the Maharaja Yudhasamsher Jang Bahadur, the present Prime Minister of Nepal, realises more than any one else that the future of the Hindu kingdom of Nepal is indissolubly bound up with the future of Hindudom as a whole. Hindus in fact are a national unit and it is given to Nepal to-day to shape its destiny. The war opens out immense possibilities before us even if it threatens to surround us on all sides with imminent dangers. Keeping the ultimate goal of Hindu regeneration in view it was no doubt wise under the present circumstances that the Hindu kingdom of Nepal should have chosen to ally herself with the British Government during this war and sent our brave Goorkha armies to protect Indian frontiers and some other theatres of war to check new alien invasions. The British Government too would do well to recompense this effective assistance they receive at the hands of His Majesty the King of Nepal by restoring to Nepal at least those districts in Bihar and on the borders of Punjab which were a part of the Kingdom of Nepal only a century ago and were then annexed by the British.

It is encouraging to note that the land forces of Nepal are already so efficient and up-to-date as to match the forces of any nation in the world in warlike qualities and dogged resistance. But we are anxiously waiting for the day when even the aerial forces of Nepal will be as efficient, up-to-date and powerful enough to protect not only herself but even Hindudom as a whole.

The second point to which I want to attract the attention of the Government of Nepal may seem comparatively less urgent but is nevertheless far from being negligible. The Government of Nepal should make it clear to all concerned that no anti-Hindu activity or designs would be tolerated in Nepal and should watch ceaselessly so as not to allow any non-Hindu section and especially the Moslems to grow in numerical strength in Nepal beyond what it recorded a century ago.

Growth of Hindu Movement

Taking stock of events during the last year it can be incontrovertibly asserted that the Hindu movement led by the Mahasabha has progressed with Herculean strides throughout India. The Shuddhi work, the effective and successful efforts to remove untouchability, the census campaign it conducted throughout India, the defending of the civic and religious rights of Hindus at hundreds of localities, the successes in scores of electoral contests to the Central Assembly and to the local Municipalities or boards which the Mahasabhaites won in Maharashtra, Assam, Bengal, and in several parts of India and even the couple of electoral defeats the Mahasabha had to undergo as the one in Berar.—to all of them point out incontrovertibly that the Mahasabha is rapidly growing

into a power that could no longer be unde-rated with impunity and that it has already grown formidable enough to hold in check the anti-Hindu forces that had been let loose on India and ran riot unchallenged during the last fifty years or so. But the crowning achievement of the Mahasabha movement has been, more than these direct and detailed events, the indirect influence which its ideology and propaganda exercised on the Hindu mind to such an amazing extent as could only be fitly described as a mental revolution. The unparalleled enthusiasm displayed by crores of Hindus, classes and masses, when they welcomed the President of the Hindu Mahasabha and several of its veteran leaders in all quarters of the country proved to demonstration that the Hindus as a people have shed that inferiority complex, which had been their greatest curse inflicted by themselves and that they have returned to their national self-consciousness as Hindus. This mental revolution could not have found a better expression to voice forth its significance than that "Hindusthan—Hinduonka !!"

This awakening of the Hindu spirit which the Mahasabha movement brought about has already been able to effect breaches even in the Congress citadel from within and thousands of those Congressite Hindus who had altogether forgotten that they were Hindus under the baneful influence of the pseudo-nationalistic opiates of the Gandhist school of thought are already searching their hearts and are blessing the Mahasabha in their inner-most hearts for fighting for the Hindu cause and are sooner or later destined to fall as willing captives into our hands.

Muslim League Foiled

The third outstanding achievement of the Hindu Mahasabha has been that it has already proved to be a formidable opponent to the inordinate ambition of the Moslems in general and the Moslem League in particular. Whether it be the question of the extension of the Executive Council or the formation of the National Defence Council or the Defence Advisory Committee, the Moslem Leaguers have themselves admitted that they have been discomfited and their swollenheaded claims left unheeded. Mr. Jinnah resents that Mr. Amery should have betrayed him in not keeping up the Government 'promise' of not turning down the full-fledged Pakistan scheme and should have even gone to the length of delivering sermons on 'India First'.

On the whole the time has come when our Muslim countrymen should realize that even in their own interests they should accept the inevitable and should cease amusing themselves with airy nothings. They must know that they are in a minority and that there is not the slightest chance now left for them to reduce the present majority of the Hindus in any appreciable measure. They cannot expect a single seat more either in the Legislature or in the Government Cabinets than what their population strength to-day entitles them to have and so far as their claim of cutting off the Punjab and other provinces from India to form them into Pakistan is concerned, well they should take it as feasible or otherwise as much as the claim of the Hindus to annex Afghanisthan to Hindusthan once again so as to extend the boundaries of Hindudom right up to Hindukush !

Mahasabha and the Legislature

Without touching the day-to-day activities in hundred and one directions which the Hindu Mahasabha branches have to carry on all over the country in connection with Shuddhi, removal of untouchability, meeting the local grievances of the Hindus at every town and village, I want to emphasize here categorically on the only two most outstanding and urgent items on which for the next few years all Hindu Sanghatanists must concentrate their attention and their energy. The first of these items constitutes the electoral plank of the Hindusabha platform and the second the militarizing one.

The Hindu electorate must vote for only those Hindus who stand openly on a Hindu Mahasabha ticket under the Hindu Flag and pledge to guard Hindu interests. Thereby alone they will invest the Hindu Mahasabha with an undeniable status as the first and the foremost representative body of the Hindus and the Hindus would be able to capture whatever political power there exists to-day and is bound to be secured in future in the Legislatures. Unless and until the Congress is not deprived of the right of representing the Hindus in the Legislatures, it is dead certain that the special interests of the Hindus must go the wall in the long run.

So long as the electorates are based on communal distinction the Hindus can never have their special interests and aspirations represented in the Legislatures

unless and untill they elect only those candidates who stand on a clearcut Hindu Mahasabha ticket, who owe no allegiance to any organization which is not pledged wholly and solely to safeguard and promote the special interests of Hindudom as a whole. To the Hindus all over India, there can be no distinction between the so-called national interest and the Hindu interest. Because what is after all the ideology the Hindu Mahasabha represents ? Independence of India, indivisibility of India, representation in proportion to the population strength, public services to go by merit alone and the fundamental rights of freedom of worship, language, script, etc., guaranteed to all citizens alike are some of the basic principles on which the Hindu Mahasabha takes its stand. It realises that the best interests of the Hindus themselves demand under the present circumstances that the Indian Nation and the Indian State should be based on these fundamental foundations.

The conception of any genuine Nationality also that takes no account of any communal or credal super-arrogations into consideration, can go no further. That is why the Hindu Mahasabha claims that there can be no conflict or clash between Hindu interests and the interests of the Indian Nation as a whole.

The Hindu Mahasabha seeks not an inch more than what is legitimately due to it or than what it is willing to concede to all non-Hindu minorities in India in strict proportion to their population strength. But it follows from this very just and legitimate conception of true Nationalism that the Hindu Mahasabha should not yield an inch of what is legitimately due to the Hindus on ground of national equity to the Muslims or anyone else simply because they do not happen to be Hindus. But the Congress, the Forward Bloc and all such organizations in India have sinned against this conception of real Nationality under a false notion of geographical nationality.

If the Congress or the Forward Bloc do not want to call themselves as representative bodies of the Hindus alone and claim to represent the Indian Nation as a whole, the only logical and honest policy for them would be not to seek election on behalf of the Hindu electorate alone as they invariably do at present. So long as the electorates are divided communally, these bodies who call themselves national should refuse to stand for election on behalf of any of those communal electorates. They should wait till a real national electorate is ushered into being. But this double dealing and misguided policy on the part of the Congress or the Forward Bloc or any of these so-called national bodies have done an incalculable harm both to the Hindu interests and the national interests as well. The result of this pseudo-nationalistic error on the part of the Hindu Congressites with all its Blocks and their heads was the Hindus were left entirely unrepresented as Hindus all round. The second most important and urgent item on which the Hindu sanghatanists all over India must bend all their energies and activities is the programme for the militarization of Hindus. The war which has now reached our shores directly constitutes at once a danger and an opportunity which both render it imperative that the militarization movement must be intensified and every branch of the Hindu Mahasabha in every town and village must actively engage itself in rousing the Hindu people to join the army, navy, the aerial forces and the different war industries.

Militarization of Hindus

Militarization and industrialisation of our Hindu nation ought to be the first two immediate objectives which we must pursue and secure to the best of our power if we want to utilise the war situation in the world as effectively as possible to defend the Hindu interest.

Again it must be noted that Japan's entry into the war has exposed us directly and immediately to attack by Britain's enemies. Consequently whether we like it or not, we shall have to defend our own hearth and home against the ravages of the war and this can only be done by intensifying the Government's war effort to defend India. Hindu Mahasabhaites must, therefore, rouse Hindus especially in the provinces of Bengal and Assam as effectively as possible to enter the military forces of all arms without losing a single minute.

If but you act up according to these instructions I guarantee that the future of our Hindu race, our religion and of our nation cannot fail to be even more glorious than our ancient past had been. The great war to-day has dwarfed all other issues and no one can say with certainty who will emerge successful out of this world chaos. But one thing can still be said as the most probable to happen i.e,, if but the Hindus stick to this immediate programme and take advantage to

the fullest extent possible of the war situation, pressing on the movement for the militarization of the Hindu race, then our Hindu nation is bound to emerge far more powerful, consolidated and situated in an incomparably more advantageous position to face issues after the war—whether it be an internal anti-Hindu civil war or a constitutional crisis or an armed revolution.

The Assam Hindu Sabha Conference

Special Session—Gauhati—21st. November 1941

THE WELCOME ADDRESS

The special session of the Assam Provincial Hindu Sabha Conference was held at Gauhati on the 21st. November 1941 in a spacious pandal in front of the Judge's Court, Mr. *V. D. Savarkar*, President, All-India Hindu Mahasabha, presiding.

In course of his address as Chairman of the Reception Committee Rai-Bahadur *Durgeshwar Sharma* extended a hearty welcome to the guests and delegates, which was followed by a brief reference to the harmony and peaceful atmosphere in which till recently the different communities in the Hindu-fold used to live in the Province. But, continued the speaker, in recent days things have been taking different shapes and some of the Hindus are being stigmatised as backward and are being kept aloof from the Hindu-fold itself. He therefore, made a fervent appeal to the Hindus to rise up to the occasion and to save the community from the ruin that is on us.

The Rai Bahadur added : "I have been talking of peace all the time but it is gone. The canker of Communalism has been let loose among us. Vigorous attempts are being made to reduce the political importance of the majority community into an insignificant minority.

"In the last Census, the Hindus dwindled enormously. An immigration project, dressed up as a Development Scheme, is in simultaneous operation. They are both co-related. The object of these moves is to sacrifice the Hindu for the benefit of the Mohammedans. The seeds of conflagration has been sown."

Dwelling on the question of a separate University for Assam vis-a-vis the Assam University Bill of the present Ministry which is at present on legislative anvil, the speaker observed : "A University has been conceived for us and its very idea quite naturally carries a glamour about it. A communal ratio is proposed to be fixed in the Executive of the University. But no communal ratio has yet been fixed in the number of graduates of different grades which this University will be required to turn out. But it can be arranged. The advancement of learning is going to be adjusted into a communal ratio. This is the education we are going to be regaled with."

Referring to the War, the Rai-Bahadur said that it offered an opportunity to the Hindus who should without reserve, join the military service ; "for, we are," he said, "out to win the War." The speaker also sympathised with the British in this hour of their need.

In conclusion, the Chairman lamented that hitherto they had not received any sympathetic consideration from the Government whenever they had made requests on matters of vital importance to the Hindus of the province ; but now he hoped that their collective efforts would not go in vain.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Rising to address the Conference amidst cheers, *Veer Savarkar* expressed satisfaction that the Pan-Hindu consciousness, which was now visible all over Hindusthan, had reached its easternmost province of India in such a degree. Assam Hindus, continued Veer Savarkar, should not lament that they were not looked after by the Hindu leaders of India. On the other hand it was evident, according to the speaker, that they (Assam Hindus) were not conscious of their own existence. Refering to the position of the Hindus in Sind, the Punjab and Bengal, the President said that in those provinces the Hindus were now alive to their problems. In Assam, however, in spite of miscalculation by the Government

to reduce the Hindu majority into a minority they still remained a majority and there lay the bone,

Criticising the Congress policy towards the Hindu interests, *Veer Savarkar* observed that the plight of the Hindus in the riot-affected areas in recent months would amply prove utter callousness of the Congress in this respect. This proved the fact that the Hindu cause suffered in their hands. He, therefore, made it perfectly clear that the Hindus had no alternative but to join the Hindu Mahasabha in large numbers. He suspected that there was a move on the part of the Congress to compromise on the Pakistan issue and this was due to the weakness of the Congress organisation. Should that happen, continued Veer Savarkar, it would seriously affect the Hindu cause and their very existence in Hindusthan.

He also observed that the Congress regimes in some of the provinces could not, in the name of majority rule, effect substantial reforms for the betterment of the Hindus. Concluding the President emphasised that the Hindu Mahasabha was no communal organisation for the fact that they were in majority in Hindusthan while others like the Muslims were in minority.

Bengal Provincial Hindu Conference

Tenth Session—Burdwan—29th. November 1941

THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

The Tenth Session of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Conference was held at Burdwan on the 28th. November 1941, under the presidency of Dr. *Shyama Prasad Mukherjee*, who in the cause of his address said :—

"Though Hindu-Muslim differences have been accentuated in recent years mainly on account of the clever and manipulating policy of the British Government, the Mahasabha does not ignore the broad fact that even before the advent of British rule, Hindu-Muslim clashes and antagonism marred the administration of India during many periods of her long history. The Mahasabha believes that Hindu Muslim unity will come, not by one placating the other in an irrational manner, not by one dominating over the other in a wicked way, but by an open recognition of the fact that both occupy the position of India's children, and though there are some important spheres of their lives where differences may be manifest, there is a fundamental unity between both, and by the maintenance of their combined welfare will India's lasting prosperity be achieved. The differences that exist between them are to be mutually respected so that neither party may have any reasonable cause of suspicion against the other. But joint action is possible only on the acceptance by all parties of Indian indivisibility and on their readiness to admit the due share to the country that the Hindus justly claim for themselves, primarily responsible as they are for their country's welfare and prosperity. The Hindus by weakening themselves will not help the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity. A strong and virile Hindu movement must to-day be a necessary part of India's political life. Only this will make the saner elements among the Muslims realise that a harmonious communal relationship is essential for the safety and welfare of Muslims themselves and it is not a matter which is the primary concern of Hindus."

Dr. Mukherjee then referred to the position of Hindus in Bengal, and said : "In political sphere the constitution has been so framed that they have been reduced to a state of servility in the land of their birth.....An economic system has grown up in the province which has kept the Bengali Hindus outside its useful sphere, and to-day they are at their wits' end and know not how to carry on their bare existence. Government is supported by reactionary elements which little care for the welfare of the province. It has taken a special delight in depriving the Hindus of their vital and legitimate rights. The wrongs done to the Hindus in connection with the recent census operations, illustrate the extent to which the authorities may stoop for crippling the Hindus. The atmosphere demands the steady and growing influence of the Hindu Mahasabha in this province."

Dr. Mukherjee referred to the various hardships from which Hindus of Bengal were suffering, and said : "If the Hindu Mahasabha grows, it will also try to establish such understanding and relationship with the progressive elements in all other communities as would lead to a happier and prouder Bengal. It is a matter of deep anxiety to all well-wishers of the province that at a time when the inter-

national situation shows growing signs of violent disruptions, communal relationship in Bengal should be marked by mutual distrust and ill-will."

Concluding, Dr. *Shyama Prasad Mukherjee* referred in detail to the war situation in relation to India and observed : "England could yet secure India's good-will, if in her dealings with this country, she genuinely placed India's national interests in the forefront. Even to-day she unmistakably shows her determination not to part with real power and India according to her plan, must plan, must play the role of the second fiddle. After having itself sown with care and ingenuity the seeds of discord and disunity which have grown to-day into a monstrous demand of Pakistan, Government now asks with an air of supreme innocence for previous agreement among different elements in the country as a condition precedent for constitutional advance. Did such absence of agreement ever in the past stand in the way of State decisions on important constitutional issues contrary to India's real welfare ?

Was the Communal Award agreed to by all parties ? Were the forms of Government and other provisions contained in the Acts of 1920 and 1935 the results of agreement ? Has the recent extension of the term of the Legislatures been sanctioned with the knowledge and approval of all ? Did the new scheme of the Viceroy's Expanded Council wait for the blessings of all parties ? It is only when the selfish interests of England are at stake and real power has to be parted with, that absence of agreement is trotted out as supreme obstacle. In every country, there are groups of Quislings always available to act at the bidding of the interloper against its genuine national interests and—to our utter shame—India is no exception to this."

2nd. Day—Resolutions— Burdwan—30th. November 1941

FRESH CENSUS FOR ASSAM

The concluding day's sitting of the Conference commenced at 3 p.m. on the 30th. November, Dr. Shyama Prosad Mookherjee presiding. More than thirty resolutions were adopted on various matters concerning the Hindus of the province, the political situation in the country and social and economic problmes.

The Conference demanded a fresh census in the province under the exclusive control of the Central Government, free from all interference by the Provincial Government, as also a test census at an early date, and called upon the Government not to reconstitute any local self-governing bodies on the basis of the recent census operations.

Speaking on this resolution, Mr. *N. C. Chatterjee*, on behalf of the Hindus of Bengal, appealed to the Government to preserve as a national memento the enumeration slip of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore. The speaker had been reliably informed that the poet refused to record his caste in answer to question No. III on the slip, and had recorded himself as a Hindu. He announced that over 66 lakhs of people in the province had responded to the request of the Hindu Maha Sabha not to record caste.

Other Resolutions

'The propagandist utterances of the Secretary of State for India and of the Government of India attributing sinister fifth columnist activities to Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose without any evidence whatsoever," was condemned by the Conference, which demanded the withdrawal of "such irresponsible accusation."

A resolution declared that the "Ministry of Bengal does not enjoy the confidence of the Hindus," and called upon all nationalist forces in Bengal to combine "in order to remove the present Ministry from power."

Sangathan work among the Hindus, the Communal Award and its annulment, the education policy of the Bengal Government, the Pakistan Scheme, militarisation of Hindus, the Bhagalpur ban, religious instruction to Hindu prisoners in jail and music before mosque formed the subject matter of orther resolutions adopted by the Conference.

Protesting against the statement made by Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India, in the House of Commons, "which is definitely misleading and does not correctly represent the facts regarding the recrudescence of disturbances in the Dacca town consequent upon the recent "Id" procession, the Conference, by another resolution regretted that the Government of Bengal had "misled the Secretary of State for India and through him the British public."

Dr. Mookherjee, in his concluding speech, called upon the young men of Bengal to attend the Bhagalpur session of the All-India Hindu Maha Sabha. He

regretted that besides "non-Hindus and the Government of the country, many Hindus were hostile to the Hindu Maha Sabha. We are not against the Muslims who are sons of Bengal," he said, "but we only want to defend our interests."

The Akhand Bharat Conference

Presidential Address—Lahore—30th. November 1942

Any attempt to disturb the territorial integrity of India in the interests of short-range strategy during the period of the war, or as a long range policy, will be resisted by every Nationalist, of whatever community or creed, declared Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta,* M. L. A. (Central), in his presidential address to the Akhand Bharat Conference held at Lahore on the **30th November 1941** :—

Mr. Jamnadas Mehta said that the Pakistan movement really originated in 1905 when Lord Minto persuaded a number of muslim zamindars and other subservient sections of the Muslim community to wait on him in a deputation, under the leadership of H. H. the Aga Khan, to put forward a demand for separate rights and privileges for Muslims. This led to the introduction of separate electorates for the legislatures and local bodies and communal representation in the public services. The process of separatism, thus started, culminated in the demand of the Muslim League for the partition of India as embodied in the Lahore resolution of 1940.

Analysing the Pakistan scheme, Mr. Mehta said that Mr. Jinnah and his friends would not remain in a federated India because of the majority, but they did not hesitate to demand a federation of their own in which the Muslims were in a majority. Why should the minority in a Muslim Federation, asked Mr. Mehta, accept majority rule, and added that if there was any justification for dividing India into two federations, there was an equal justification for dividing it into ten. On a parity of reasoning, the Hindus and Sikhs in the Punjab might as well refuse to live in a federation where they were in a minority and would be justified in demanding a partition of the Punjab. This, in its turn, might lead to a further division, because the Muslims in the Hindu area would ask for a further division, and the process would continue until a Pakistan was established for every street and every mohalla. Mr. Mehta characterised Pakistan as an absurd scheme, and expressed the hope that every true Nationalist in the country would oppose it tooth and nail.

Resolutions

The Conference adopted a resolution reiterating its opinion that, despite the diversity of religions, India was an indivisible unit both geographically and politically, that the economic and political interests of all the peoples residing in India were common, and that any partition of the country was bound to create and accentuate constant friction between the various communities, leading to internecine wars and consequent exposure to foreign aggression.

The resolution characterised the Pakistan scheme as unpatriotic, fantastic, impracticable and fraught with great dangers to the political, social and economic progress of the country.

The Conference further expressed the view that the Pakistan scheme was but the logical culmination of the divide and rule policy pursued by the British rulers of this country, and warned them against perpetrating the greater crime of supporting it.

The resolution was moved by Master Tara Singh, the Akali leader, and supported by prof. Abdul Majid Khan, Rai Bahadur Mehr Chand Khanna of Peshawar and Sir Gokal Chand Narang, a former Minister of the Punjab.

The National Liberal Federation of India

Twenty-third Session—Madras—26th. December 1941

THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

The Twenty Third Session of the National Liberal Federation of India commenced its three days' sitting in Rasika Ranjan Sabha Hall, Mylapore, Madras on the **26th. December 1941** under the presidency of *Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy*, Ex-Minster, Government of Bengal.

Sir Bijoy Prasad said that the Liberal Federation had a noble tradition and a rich record of service and had a great part to play in shaping the political destiny of India. "We shall be straying away from a correct perspective if a belief ever gains ground that the Liberal Federation has played out its role and that it should now make room for intolerant factional organisations" They were meeting under the shadow of a serious danger of foreign aggression to their country. The Japanese menace which had been threatening India and Burma for the last several months had at last come on them. Defence of the motherland was their first and foremost concern.

After paying a tribute to *Dr. Rabindranath Tagore*. "who was the most powerful liberalising agent in the realm of thought", Sir *C. Y. Chintamani* and Sir *Bijoy Chand Mahtab, Maharajadhiraja of Burdwan*, whose death occurred in the last year, the President went on to discuss the political situation in the country. "The primary political question is: how to preserve the democratic method in the political system of the country. The situation in our country is worsened by the appeals made by extremists who are impatient of democratic conditions. We are faced with a situation where the political party formulates principles or policies in advance of public discussions and refuses to compromise under any circumstances. The multiplicity of parties and groups in our country shows that the spirit of co-operation and compromise is inadequately developed. The Constitution Act of 1935, in its working, gives us a glimpse into the trends of the party-government in India. It does not augur well for the future. When the elections under the new Constitution Act were fought, it was found that the Congress Party came out generally successful at the polls, and in seven provinces they obtained majorities to their credit. The Congress Party did not fail to exploit their splendid electoral victories to the strengthening of their position, and they could easily extract an assurance from His Excellency the Viceroy that there would be no undue interference with their administration. They accepted Ministry. But it is striking that in the matter of formation of Ministry and in pursuit of Ministerial work, the Congress Party showed a definite leaning towards fascist methods. They did not take in into account that the peculiar conditions of the country, arising from communal electorate and different minority interests, ruled out the case for one party government. They recruited Ministers from their own party ; they abandoned other parties and even refused their co-operation.

"As a political theory, a homogeneous cabinet with unity of purpose is effective and useful, but as a political strategy it led to disastrous results. All other non-Congress parties felt that under the Congress regime they had no access to power, nor should they be given any opportunity to serve. Frankness requires it to be stated that if the Congress Ministry had been thrown open to the members of the non-Congress Hindus and Muslims, their administration could not have left lacerated feelings in any section of the community so as to create political animosities and antagonisms of so acute a type as is found in non-Congress organisations. The Congress threw political wisdom to the winds and hugged abstract political theories, which, in practical politics, proved a great handicap. If the Congress could continue in power, they might have mown down opposition to a considerable extent. But again in obedience to abstract reasoning they left their positions of vantage. Every nationalist will deplore the Congress going out of power at the dictate of barren idealism."

The President then traced the genesis of the new Constitution Act of 1935 and said that the time-table in the instalment of reforms in India was so disappointing and irritating that the country was easily thrown into a cauldron of discontent due to a sense of frustration. It showed a total lack of imagination

on the part of the British. Sir Bijoy Prasad explained how the technique of constitutionalism must be employed in the circumstances of India. "We should be governed by the objective conditions of the country. I feel that our political struggle, to be effective and fruitful, must move around the orbit of constitutionalism ; it must seize every vantage of power for further conquest of the State machinery."

A Constitutional Convention

"In sober realism, the transference of political power to India can only take place through the consent of the British nation. Because, in theory, the Imperial Parliament is the sole Constituent Assembly of the British Empire. All this does not rule out the wresting of political power or the creation of proper sanctions for achieving the desired political goal. If the political system is to be suited to the new needs and demands of the country, it must be fashioned by Indians themselves. Historically, a Constituent Assembly is convened to frame the constitution of a new state and is understood to be committed to three basic postulates : (1) it is a sovereign body ; (2) it is to function on the free will of a free people ; (3) its decisions are final. Such a concept of the Constituent Assembly is related to the phenomenon of revolution. But in our country the objective conditions being different, the Constituent Assembly should meet as a constituent convention, and in order that the Constitution framed may be related to the demands of the new situations obtaining in the country, the convention should derive its powers from the people. But the Convention elected for the definite purposes of drafting the fundamental laws of the country, should neither be unwieldy ; nor should it be made a party question to establish the supremacy of a particular party. Situated as we are, we suffer from certain limitations in the matter of election of National Convention. The country has not up till now gone through the training of universal franchise ; the political immaturity of the ordinary voters will be evident from the high percentage of illiteracy in the land. In the circumstances, the national Convention for the specific purpose of drafting the constitution should consist of a small body of people elected either by the executives of the different political organisations of the country or by the provincial legislatures on the basis of proportional representation. Those who are revolving round the orbit of Communal Award and deriving political importance therefrom would naturally view with distavour any democratic proposal for the framing of India's future constitution. But this much they should concede that a majority decision, at least on matters not affecting their fundamental rights, should not be resisted. The National Convention should cease to exist after its allotted task is gone through. On the analogy of the Dominions, the Constitution as framed by the National Convention, may receive the imprimatur of approval by the Provincial or Central Legislatures before ratification by the British Parliament. Under the present conditions, the authority and the initiative for summoning a National Convention lie with the Government of India, and ultimately with the British Government, but the demand for such a Convention can be adumbrated by the different political parties and the provincial legislatures."

Turning to the Pakistan movement, the President said : "The Pakistan movement, as propagated by the Muslim League, is a challenge to the fundamental unity running through the whole continent of India ; it is a repudiation of the unity of purpose which underlies the external multitudinous ramifications of society, it encourages an attitude towards life where emphasis is placed on differences and incompatibilities in scorn of the impulse of cohesion. The Pakistan movement is undemocratic as it perpetuates the two-nation theory in the political, economic and social planes. The true way to maintain Hindu-Moslem unity is 'by according due respect to the true distinctness of the different parts.' Hindu-Moslem friendship is to be viewed not as a mere device for political necessity but, as Poet Rabindra Nath Tagore stressed, 'it is for the sake of our humanity, for the full growth of our soul that we must turn our mind towards the ideal of the spiritual unity of man.'

Failure of reforms

"It is a constitutional tragedy of the highest kind that the Government of India Act, 1935, which granted a federal form of Government, could only be applied to the provinces whereas the Central Government continued to be in the old habiliment of the Reforms of 1919. Provincial autonomy without the integrating influence of a federal form at the Centre was incongruous. With an irresponsible

executive in the Centre, Provincial Autonomy incensed provincial jealousies and introduced elements of disintegration involving an assault on the fundamental unity of India. The decentralising influence of provincial autonomy was complicated by the fact that the barge of the Indian Constitution was towed to the Communal Award. With such a handicap, no constitutional machinery can function smoothly and effectively. I do not criticise the Award so much in the matter of allotment of seats, although in a democratic form of government votes are counted and not weighed, as I do in the matter of repudiation of the principle of citizenship. We are under the Award not so many citizens owing allegiance to the mother country to be returned to the Legislatures by our countrymen, but we shall have to remain confined in the compartment of religion for electoral and legislative purposes. The failure of the present Constitution is evident from the release of the forces of retrogression. The country is, therefore, impatient for new effective, political reforms.

"It is true that there is the promise of the British Government to the grant of Dominion Status of the Westminster variety within the shortest period of time after the conclusion of the war. There is no doubt that we Liberals stand for Dominion Status, as contemplated by the Statute of Westminster, 1931. It is difficult to forecast what order will emerge out of the present mighty conflict of competing ideas. After the war, the Statute of Westminster may undergo changes ; and the nature of Dominion sovereignty may be suitably modified to strengthen the enduring character of the Commonwealth. With this we are not at present concerned. The Federation should claim for India the attainment of the status and functions of the Dominions within a brief and definite period after the termination of the war. I would, therefore, urge that there must be an unequivocal declaration by the British Government that after the war India shall no longer be treated as a dependency and that our constitution shall give us the same status and powers as that of any other unit of the British Commonwealth. If the Dominion Status is hedged round with restrictions and safeguards interfering with the full play of the functions of responsible Government, the Federation must stand up to resist them. No cabinet dictatorship should be installed with an irremovable Executive as the guiding spirit.

Vague Conditions

"The mere pledge of Dominion Status does not inspire enthusiasm amongst our countrymen because it is fastened round with three vague conditions: (1) there is no definite time limit at the end of which the pledge will be redeemed ; (2) the transfer of political powers should be consistent with certain historic and other obligations which the British Government have towards India ; (3) the right of self-determination will be conceded in the event of agreement amongst Indians themselves. This three-fold brake emphasised in the recent declarations of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India has rendered the pledge illusory and incapable of being redeemed. The history of British rule in India is strewn with many a broken pledge, and they have honoured such pledges only when the Indian national demand proved inexorable. It is a sad comment on British statesmanship. The declaration by the British Prime Minister that the Atlantic Charter so far it relates to the right of all peoples to choose the form of Government under which they will live, will not be applicable to India has disappointed Indians greatly, and it has deepened their suspicion that Great Britain is not sincere about her war aims and in her declarations that this struggle is for the creation of a new world order and for the vindication of Democracy.

The Viceroy's Council

"The Liberal Federation has recognised that the present time is not congenial for bargaining, though India's grievances are profound and many, and it specifically asked that the 'Central Government should be so reconstructed as to have by convention a fully national character' and 'the British Government should not ordinarily intertere with any policy that has the support of such an Executive and the Central Legislature. All this could be done within the limitations of the Constitution Act of 1935. But the demand for political reforms during the period of war met with routine answers from the Viceroy and Secretary of State. The vague pledge of Dominion Status was recalled and everything was promised after the war in an indefinite manner. The effective part of the reply was the expansion of the Viceroy's Council without introducing therein an element of responsibility to the country. I do not deny that His Excellency the

Viceroy has got a team of able individuals in the expanded Council. Ability loses its effectiveness in the barren channel of non-responsibility. Moreover, the policy is executed in a half-hearted way. The portfolios of Defence and Finance should also have been entrusted to non-official Indians, enjoying the confidence of the country. If the Viceroy's Council is fully replaced by responsible non-officials and if the rule of collective responsibility without undue interference with the policy adopted by the Executive Council are stressed and followed, public confidence might be slowly established. The sooner the present dyarchical arrangement in the Executive Council is removed, the better for all concerned. I am sure that the Indian members of the Council will soon realise the difficulties of working under such a system and will feel greatly handicapped by the presence of colleagues who are neither responsible to the people nor are in a position to approach important issues from the national point of view.

Principle of Functional Representation

"The Communal Award, we have found, strikes at the basis of citizenship. Rights of citizenship are derived from the fact that citizens are members of society. The scheme of the Communal Award is strung on a different note : the common life is subordinated to the communal life ; the social well-being is sacrificed to group interests. The Liberal Federation cannot but fight for the rights of citizenship. The conception of citizenship, it must be noted, is a functional one. We possess rights as means of achieving social welfare. Our rights are related to functions, and they are to be respected by the State because of their social implications. If this modern sociological approach is accepted, it will be found that functional representation in the legislature should be accepted as the alternative to communal representation. It is contended by critics that functional representation is a reactionary move. They forget that the functional theory of right is the heart of the modern concept of the State. The method of representation is to be judged by the test if the free will of citizens is reflected in the legislature. It is an erroneous contention that functional representation will bring together a miscellaneous group of representatives, eager for advancing their occupational interests. Representatives are not expected to act as mere delegates and vassals ; they are as much interested in social welfare as the representatives of geographical areas. But functional representation has certain merits, especially in a country like India. It will teach our people that our rights are correlative with functions ; it will do away with unwieldy geographical areas ; it will help political consciousness and emphasise the need for organised action."

Turning to the problem of defence, Sir *B. P, Singh Roy* said : "A very large portion of Indian revenue is required for military expenditure and it will be most unfortunate if the policy of greater Indianisation with consequent reduction of British troops and the strengthening of Indian air and naval forces are not pursued with zeal and foresight. The present rate of progress in the matter is disappointing. The potential resources of the country have not been carefully husbanded to consolidate the land, air and naval forces of India. To-day we are rich with resources but weak in materials ; our contributions to the successful prosecution of the war on behalf of the Allies are limited by the short-sighted policies in respect of armament and industrialisation. But in pushing on our demands, we should not forget that the transfer of political power is more important than the question of Indianisation in the Army.

A National Army

"The war has already reached our frontiers. To stand by and watch the vandalism of infamous aggressors invites disasters on us. Our grievances against British rule are great and grave, but we have a duty to our own country. We cannot calmly see our country overrun by plunderous hordes. This is not the time to bargain on the doctrinal plane, although we should not stop impressing the British Government that for fuller utilisation of the willing co-operation of India the settling of political accounts is urgent. As realists, we cannot remain indifferent to the need for co-operation in war efforts and to the necessity of political adjustment. I am happy to find that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru after his recent release has made a significant statement that in the grouping that exists there is also no doubt that the progressive forces of the world are aligned with the group represented by Russia, Britain, America and China, and that he 'wished well to the group which contains the progressive forces.' It registers a definite swing of opinion in favour of co-operation and removal of all impedi-

ments to common action for a common cause. The war has focussed our attention on the need for a National Army. It has quickened our desire for self-reliance for the growth of national life in all its aspects. I cannot conclude my observations on the world-war without paying our tribute of respect to the fighting Indian troops."

The President next dealt with the problems of Indians overseas and the draft Indo-Burma aid, Indo-Ceylon Agreements and hoped that Mr. Aney's assurance that he would get the two agreements modified suitably would be implemented."

TRANSFER OF POWER

In conclusion, the President said : "In the sphere of politics the transfer of power to Indians is necessary, in the field of economics, primary efforts should be the augmentation of national wealth with equitable distribution amongst all the dynamic factors of production ; in social matters, we should rise from the slough of listlessness and make our society more vigorous and responsive. But signs are not wanting that the political objective is being neglected in the scramble for group-supremacy ; that economic legislations are directed towards the growth of class antagonism without paying heed to the creation of national wealth ; and that social apathy and instability are perpetuated by a false concept of individualism. We must overcome the spirit of brooding dissatisfaction that prevails in the country. I feel that the time is high for an active rally around the flag of constructive nationalism for the attainment of our objectives. I trust the Federation will keep this in mind. Bande Mataram."

Resolutions—2nd. Day—Madras—27th. December 1941

BAN OF MAHASABHA CONDEMNED

A resolution condemning the action of the Bihar Government in banning the Hindu Mahasabha Session at Bhagalpur was adopted at to-day's session of the Federation.

Condolence resolutions touching the death of Sir C. Y. Chintamani, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, the Maharajadhiraja of Burdwan and Messrs. S. P. Basu of Calcutta and S. B. Gokhale of Nagpur wers moved from the chair and adopted, all delegates standing.

The *Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri* then moved the following resolution on the happenings at Bhagalpur.

"The National Liberal Federation of India deeply deplores the turn that things have taken regarding the session of the Hindu Mahasabha that was to have been held in Bhagalpur. The ban placed on it by the Bihar Government is a denial of one of the fundamental rights of citizenship for which there was no justification in the circumstances. The Federation holds that it was the duty of the Bihar administration to afford protection to a lawful meeting of citizens from any apprehended molestation or disturbance. The Federation condemns emphatically the arbitrary action of the Government that has driven the President of the Hindu Mahasabha and many distinguished members of it into an exceedingly difficult situation in which they have by their conduct earned the sympathy and respect of their countrymen."

The resolution, Mr. *Sastriar* said, was worded in mild terms and his speech should also be similarly worded. Bent and broken as he was by age, his sluggish blood, he found, ran somewhat swiftly as he moved the resolution. The ordinary rule was that people must be assisted by the Government to perform their lawful duties and exercise their lawful rights. Where a disturbance of such exercise was possible, the Government, if it was fore-warned, should also forearm itself and provide the necessary assistance to those wishing to exercise their rights. In certain cases, he admitted, it might not be possible to prevent a disturbance or hold it in check sufficiently to let the exercise of the lawful right and in such abnormal cases the law permitted the police to ban a lawful meeting and let the disturbers of public peace prevail for the time being. Such cases however were rare, at any rate, should be rare where vigilance was common in the protection of people employed in the lawful occupations.

Mr. *Sastri* then narrated the events culminating in the arrests of Hindu Mahasabha leaders and said that the action that Mr. Savarkar and other leaders took merited the approbation of all independent and honourable citizens (loud applause). Mr. Savarkar was "a man of peace" and he decided that three days before the Bakrid, the Mahasabha should conclude its sessions, thus affording an

interval long enough to let passions subside and the city fall into its usual mood. This, however, did not satisfy the local administration and it decided to ban the meeting until things should settle down, i. e., until the 6th January. Mr. Savarkar's patience was exhausted. The speaker said he was not well acquainted with Mr. Savarker and had met him only once at "one of those infructuous pacificatory tea's organised by Sir Chimanlal Setalvad." On that occasion he had expected to see a gentleman perverse, obstinate and loud but found "a thin-looking quiet Maharashtra chap speaking slowly and deliberately, seldom raising his voice and always apparently in full possession of his mind and knowing exactly what he wanted." In his talk there was nothing to remind one of his unparalleled experiences. His life was marked by the greatest hardships and considerable amount of what might be called "undeserved persecution." There was no note of bitterness in his speech, nothing certainly anti-Government or anti-British. Mr. Sastri said he at once conceived a great admiration for the man and his own estimate of the person had been confirmed by Mr. Savarkar's behaviour during this trying episode. For, Mr. Savarkar did all he could to see that the matter passed off quietly and the Mahasabha was allowed to exercise its unquestioned right of meeting. He gave no offence whatever so far as Mr. Sastri could see.

"There might be differences of opinion as to what he should have done in the circumstances", Mr. *Sastri* said, "but I am one of those who hold that upon the whole Mr. Savarkar's conduct and that of his colleagues merits the approbation of all independent and honourable citizens. I do not think they could have done less". Mr. *Sastri* than dealt with the piquant situation that followed the arrest of many eminent delegates including Dr. S. P. Mookerjee, a Minister of Bengal and said that the Administration of Bihar had raised more trouble by trying to prevent the meeting than they would have had to face if they had allowed it to continue. The local Muslim community had, to add to the complication, expressed their sympathy with the organisers of the Mahasabha and at least a section of them joined in the hartal organised as a demonstration against the action of the administration. The Muslim community did not welcome the stamp of disturbers of public meetings that was sought to be put upon them by the Administration and announced that they were certainly not the fanatical or irresponsible set of citizens they were represented to be. The news of the holding of a meeting inside the jails under the chairmanship of "our irrepressible friend, Dr. Moonje" and the passing of a number of resolutions at that meeting and another meeting held at Bhagalpur by the delegates provided further "extra-ordinary news."

If there was the smallest justification for the Bihar Government's apprehensions, Mr. *Sastri* said they should have received some sort of confirmation as the meetings were held and the resolutions were being passed. But it did not appear that the local Muslim community was in the least disturbed nor did they go anywhere near those assembled at the meeting.

It, therefore, appeared to him that without proper reasons, the Bihar Government set about doing "this perfectly irregular and arbitrary act" of preventing the exercise by citizens of their rights.

Referring to a possible objection that the Liberal Federation, as a non-communal organisation, could not consider such resolutions, Mr. Sastri said that it was true that the Federation had so far done no more than watch such happenings "most interestedly and most concernedly", but matters had now gone too far. Time after time, things of this kind had taken place, and, within his knowledge, extending to a fairly considerable period, "the sufferers and victims have always been one community." Without the least hesitation, the Federation should act similarly if and when fellow citizens of the other communities, Muslims or Christians or Parsis, got into a scrape of this kind. They would not then, he was sure, be behind-hand in going to their rescue and support. But, so far as he could see, this statement was not likely to be put to test : for no Government would or was likely to take such action. At any rate, that was the prevailing belief amongst them. "While we are willing," Mr. Sastri said, "to stand by any community whose exercise of lawful rights is called into question, we cannot hold our hands and watch while the Hindu community is treated in this way."

In fairness to the Muslim community of Bhagalpur, Mr. *Sastri* added, they did not seem to have then or now by their conduct given the slightest room for the fear that had brought about the present awkward situation. Mr. Sastri reiterated the view that Mr. Savarkar and his colleagues could not have done any less than they did so. Some might ask whether the Federation supported, knowingly and deliberately, the action of the Hindu Mahasabha delegates in

disobeying the lawful order of the Bihar Government. The resolution said that these leaders had by their conduct earned "the sympathy and respect" of their countrymen. It did not use any strong or inappropriate language. For his own part, he would go further ; but, the Federation had always been known for its moderation both in language and conduct. He would not dare commit it to anything stronger. He commended the resolution as being in its wording appropriate and in keeping and as not committing the Federation in future to any course of conduct which might be considered either in the nature of general truculence or disobedience of a lawful command.

Concluding, Mr. *Srinivasa Sastri* said that he was always disposed to allow for the difficulties of those who held charge of the heavy portfolio of law and order It was always a difficult and a very trying charge. Very often, it might become necessary for them to use force—and they were at perfect liberty to use it as and to the extent it might become necessary. But in the use of this force the officers of the Government had to see that the character and the habits of the population they were in charge of were all led into proper channels. "If they exercise their functions upon such occasions in such a way that the disturbers of public meetings, the men who threaten to misbehave, are encouraged while those who submit to order and who are generally mild are penalised,—if that kind of thing happens often—then the political education of the citizens takes a wrong turn. People learn the unfortunate lesson that rebellion will pay and that habitual submission to order will not meet with proper reward". Mr. Sastri therefore hoped that those in authority would regard these words as "friendly advice" and exercise authority "in defence of the right and not in defence of the wrong" (Cheers).

Sir *Cowasji Jehangir* seconded the resolution which was supported by Dr. *R. P. Paranjpye* and carried unanimously.

PAKISTAN CONDEMNED

Mr. *E. Vinayaka Row* moved the following resolution:

"The National Liberal Federation of India is emphatically opposed to any idea of dividing India into Pakistan and Hindustan on communal basis. Such a division in the opinion of the Federation is anti-national, inimical to unity and cohesion of India and entails the danger of disintegrating the national units, resulting in complete disruption of the nation."

Mr. *Vinayaka Rao* at the outset pointed out that the Liberals did not want to admit political claims based on communal grounds. He also referred to the fact that at every stage of constitutional progress the Muslim demands were being put up higher and higher. He next analysed the Pakistan scheme as explained in the resolutions of the All-India Muslim League, and said that it was unworkable and harmful even for the Muslims themselves. The best safeguards for all communities would be an All-India Federal Constitution. Pakistan was a mirage which should not be pursued any longer.

The resolution was put to the House and carried.

OPPOSITION TO COMMUNAL ELECTORATES

Mr. *M. D. Altekar* moved the last resolution on the order paper for the day. The resolution affirmed that the aim of India's political evolution should be democracy not based on considerations of race, or creed ; that the Federation was opposed to the permanent existence of communal electorates and the present communal award and that, as it would not be practicable to effect the reforms immediately, steps should be taken to eliminate separate communal electorates by the creation of joint electorates with reserved seats for a definite period.

A good deal of the mischief that had assumed dangerous forms to-day, the speaker said, could be traced to the introduction of separate electorates. This system bred a certain amount of religious and credal fanaticism as a result of which nationalism suffered. In a country where nationalism had to be evolved out of various elements, there was grave danger to that objective in having a system which gave prominence to race and religion and not to nationalism. The Federation could not disavow democracy although that ideal was being assailed on all sides and Mr. *Churchill* himself would not take India with him in his fight for that ideal. Separate electorates militated against democracy and the healthy development of democratic institutions and nationalism.

The resolution was put to the House and carried.

Resolutions—3rd. Day—Madras—28th. December 1941

RESOLUTION ON THE WAR

Sir *Chimanlal Setealvad* moved the first resolution on the War to-day which was as follows :

"The National Liberal Federation of India feels that the war of aggression started by Nazi Germany, supported by Fascist Italy and Imperial Japan has proved to be a great menace to freedom, peace and tranquillity in the world. The Federation is of the opinion that the forces of progress and justice in this conflict are represented by the Allied Powers such as Great Britain, America, Soviet Russia and China.

"The Federation feels that the present Far East War situation has brought India into the front line of the conflict and therefore appeals both to the Government and the people to view the situation realistically, and mobilise the resources of the country in men and material, to protect the lives of India's teeming millions from the imminent danger which threatens the country. At the same time it feels that the unity between the Government and the people required for the necessary effort will not be possible unless a new psychological atmosphere is created by a change in the policy of His Majesty's Government towards India, which is urgently called for."

Sir *Chimanlal* said that the country was now passing through very anxious times. With the entry of Japan into the war, danger had come to the very door of India. One never knew, but any of the towns of India might be attacked at any time by sea or air. It seemed to him that the people had not yet awakened to the seriousness of the situation. We were still quarrelling amongst ourselves, debating Pakistan, separate electorates and Indians in Burma when Burmans were running away from Burma. He felt that these questions should be put in cold storage for the time being and realising the real gravity of the situation we should take immediate measures such as we could to defend our country.

"The virtual dictator of the great political party of India", the speaker continued, was preaching non-violence under any circumstances and asking his countrymen to allow themselves to be slaughtered by the enemy if he should come to India and offer him no resistance. Other people were taking the cue from this "great dictator of a great political party." The Bombay Corporation, for instance, had not taken A.R.P. measures with regard to the thousands of children in the Corporation schools of that city and had done nothing to protect the water-supply or provide alternative means for such supply. There were others, who talked of independence, dominion status and what not, and were trying to make a bargain that if Britain declared independence, India might join the war. All these people, he feared, did not realise the situation. Our interests, Sir Chimanlal said, were bound up with the interests of England ; if England should fall, what would happen to India, and the talk of dominion status, independence, Pakistan and all the rest of it ? All that would be in the melting pot. The resolution therefore appealed to the people to do all they could to join the war effort in order to save their wives, children, home and property and country. Unless this war was won, India would have a very bad time indeed.

Sir *Chimanlal* said that he was not, however, unmindful that Britain had behaved badly, towards India in the past. If Britain had fitted us for defence and trusted us, to-day India would have raised forces consisting of millions that would defend not only India, but the commonwealth and Britain herself. But regrettable to say, British Government had not done that. They had not industrialised India in the manner in which they should have done, in which case India would have been the real arsenal of the Commonwealth. While the indictment could legitimately be levelled by us against Britain, for the moment we have only to remember that all controversies in the face of the present menace had to be put into cold storage and that we have to work together to defend our countrymen, our property and homes. In doing so we would not be obliging Britain, but defending our own country. While the resolution made this appeal, it also called upon the British Government that in order that the war effort in India may be intensified, and that the people might get enthusiatic, it was necessary for the Government to make a proper gesture and ensure to India by definite promises and acts that at the end of the war the position of India in the Commonwealth would be one of perfect equality with every other dominion and with Britain herself. He commended the resolution for their acceptance.

The resolution was then put to the House and carried.

INDIA AND THE ATLANTIC CHARTER

Sir *P. S Sivaswami Aiyar* moved the resolution relating to the constitution for India :

"The National Liberal Federation of India protests against the Prime Minister's speech excluding India from the scope of the Atlantic Charter and the recent speeches of Mr. Amery and Lord Linlithgow reiterating the determination of His Majesty's Government to make no change in their policy towards India.

"The Federation while regarding the recent expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council by the appointment of additional Indian members as a step in the right direction, considers it as entirely inadequate to meet the needs of the situation. It is of the opinion that the Central Government should be so reconstructed as to have a fully national character. The Executive Council should consist entirely of non-official Indians who should take charge of all portfolios including those of Defence and Finance. The reconstructed Government should deal with all questions of policy on the basis of joint responsibility, and the British Government should not ordinarily interfere with any policy that has the support of the Indianised Executive and the Central Legislature.

"In regard to all Inter-Imperial and International matters the reconstructed Government should be treated on the same footing as Dominion Governments. The Federation further demands that in order to remove the doubts and apprehensions that have been created as to the genuineness of the intentions of His Majesty's Government regarding the future constitutional status of India, it should be immediately declared that India will enjoy the position of equality in regard to both status and functions with England and the Dominions within a period not exceeding two years after the conclusion of the war.

In the opinion of the Federation, the gravity of the International situation makes the acceptance of the demands put forward above, a matter of urgent importance. It is necessary at this juncture that the Government should take bold and statesmanlike steps to bring about a unity between the people and the Government in the best interest of both India and England."

Far from failing to realise the gravity of the situation, said Sir *Sivaswami Aiyar*, the Federation fully realised it and wanted that it should be realised similarly not merely by the people of this country but by the Government also. That, he said, was the substance of the resolution, which was consequential on the previous one. That the gravity of the situation was fully realised by the people was proved by the exodus that was occurring in the last few days from Calcutta and Madras. What, however, did not appear to be sufficiently realised was how it should be dealt with and what steps should be taken in this connection. The resolution drew attention to the measures which in their opinion were necessary to meet the situation as it had developed.

After explaining the scope and implications of the resolutions, Sir Sivaswami Aiyar said that at several meetings he addressed, the question was often asked, "You exhort us to fight for this country. Whose country is this ?" The question might seem foolish but it reflected the real feeling in several minds which made itself audible. It was necessary that all people should be made to feel that in fighting in this war, they were really fighting for themselves and their own country. It was necessary to create a feeling of identity of interest between the people and the Government—he doubted if any one would today say that such identity did exist—and the Federation would be justified in pointing out that conviction of such unity of interests could be brought about by measures of the kind formulated in the resolution. The Federation did not ask that the constitution should be framed straightaway. The Federation realised fully that during a war it might not be possible. The resolution, therefore, confined itself to a few important matters, which could be dealt with without any change in the constitution. The Declaration of August 1940 which the authorities were fond of harping upon at every stage gave a veto to the Muslim community in regard to introduction of responsible government and freedom for India ; that was how Muslim spokesmen themselves interpreted it. Though the Government had stated that no change would be introduced unless the major communities agreed the Government had themselves departed from that attitude and notwithstanding the failure of the communities to agree, expanded the Viceroy's Council. The resolution suggested that the move was a step in the right direction. But, the mere transfer of a few harmless portfolios. All the portfolios should be transferred to Indian non-officials. Nothing would satisfy the country as to the willingness of the authorities to transfer power

than the vesting of the portfolios mentioned in the resolution on Indians. The steps suggested were essential to convince people about the sincerity of Britain's intentions by India. What the country to-day wanted was "some positive translation of promises into deeds."

The resolution was then put to the House and declared carried.

TRANSFER OF DEFENCE PORTFOLIOS

Mr. *H. N. Kunzru* moved the next resolution relating to Defence. The resolution reiterated the demand for a radical change in the defence policy of the Government of India and for proper preparations for the security of India by entrusting defence to an Indian commanding the confidence of the people and organising the defence forces on a national basis. The resolution also urged that the policy of Indianisation in all grades of the Army, Navy and Air Force should be implemented and that classification of people as martial and non-martial should be given up and the Army recruited from all Provinces and classes to a greater extent than now,

Mr. *Kunzru* said that the war had shown that Self-Government had no meaning unless the people had the power to maintain it. Our ability to rule ourselves would depend, to no small extent, on the suggestions contained in the resolution. It was not merely Indians, but Australians and New Zealanders also were dissatisfied with the present state of their defences. India had no government of her own and, therefore, was not able to pursue national policies in connection with the development of her defence arrangements. She had, therefore, all the more reason to be dissatisfied with the existing situation. The resolution insisted that defence forces should be placed under Indian control and should be nationalised. Our great misfortune had been that so far, the shaping of policies had been in the hands of persons who were not sympathetic of our aspirations and were unable to envisage our problems from the national point of view. Hence the demand that steps should be taken even at this stage to secure the safety of India. He could not admit the view that it would be against our interests for an Indian Defence Member to have charge of defence. If Burma could have a Burman Defence Member, he saw no reason why India should not be given an Indian Defence Member. The Defence Member would concern himself with questions of policy and in regard to recruitment, training, and discipline of the Army, he would be guided by the Commander-in-Chief.

Giving next figures for Emergency Commissions, Mr. *Kunzru* said that only 23½ per cent of them had been given to Indians and one and a half per cent to Anglo-Indians, while the remaining 75 per cent had gone to British candidates. This clearly showed that the British Government had not changed their previous policy, and that they were prepared to train Indians as officers only in the last resort. Again Commissions had been given mostly in the infantry and the cavalry. Very few Indians had been given Commissions in the artillery or in the technical branch. The branches of the Army which required scientific knowledge had gained considerable importance since the commencement of this war. But the excuse held out was that the right type of Indians was not available. This was an old excuse and they would be perfectly on safe ground if they refused to accept it. He had also been told that British soldiers had been promoted from the ranks to commissioned posts in the Sappers and Miners, though they had no knowledge of engineering. Such being the case, how could they accept the charge that Indians with the requisite qualification were not available ?

Proceeding, Mr. *Kunzru* said that while the Air Force would be Indianised, within a short time, the same position had not been accepted with regard to the Royal Indian Navy. Only one out of three vacancies used to be given to Indians. Even under the present emergency the proportion of Indian Officers to European Officers was three to five. Mr. *Kunzru* also regretted that the British Government had not made efforts to carry on propaganda for recruitment to the Navy to the same extent as they had done in the case of the Army and the Air Force. If this had been done young men would have come forward in greater numbers to join this important branch than at present.

After pointing out that the old theory of martial and non-martial races had broken down, Mr. *Kunzru* asked what the Government had done to develop the martial spirit of the Bengalees and the Madrassees now that there was war in the East. He added that if the British Government wished to get from Indians the utmost support, they must take a leaf out of the book of the Chinese and, completely trusting Indians, assure them that their freedom was not a matter of

years but only of months and weeks, and that in fighting for the defence of Great Britain and other countries they would be fighting for their own defence. If Britain could be prevailed upon to accept this policy the result would be marvellous.

OTHER RESOLUTIONS

Six resolutions were moved from the Chair and adopted unanimously. The first resolution urged Indianisation of the Supply Department, pressed on the Government of India and the Provincial Governments to foster the industrial development of the country and establishment or expansion of basic chemical and other industries under Indian control and management. It further expressed the view that special attention should be paid to the establishment of small-scale industries, and urged the taking of all possible steps to develop ship-building, aircraft, automobile, locomotive and other key industries in the country.

In the second resolution the Federation urged that the cases of persons detained under the Defence of India Act or under any other special powers of the Government should be submitted to a Committee of High Court Judges in each Province for review, from time to time.

The Federation expressed apprehension that the steps so far taken by the Government in organising civil defence would prove neither effective nor adequate and called upon the Government to take immediate and more effective measures for strengthening the Civil Defence Organisations in existence and called upon all people to co-operate fully and whole-heartedly in the protection of their hearths and homes.

The Federation, by another resolution, expressed its full sympathy with the natural and legitimate aspirations of the people of Indian States for civil and political liberties and urged the Rulers of States to concede to their subjects freedom of speech, press, association, and worship as well as representative Government as a prelude to Responsible Government.

The next resolution disapproved of the joint report of the Indo-Ceylon delegations on the ground that it ignored the assurances given by Ceylon from time to time to Indians of equality of political and legal rights in Ceylon. The resolution expressed the emphatic opinion that Indians should enjoy the same rights as regards free entry, carrying on of business or following professions etc. as citizens of the United Kingdom. No distinction should be made regarding employment in governmental or quasi-governmental bodies between children of persons holding domicile of choice and those holding certificates of permanent settlement and that these should have the same rights as other citizens of Ceylon and that Indians already in Ceylon should have unrestricted right of entry and freedom regarding employment.

On the Indo-Burma Agreement, the Federation expressed the opinion that it was inconsistent with statutory and other pledges given to India and appealed to the Government not to issue an Order-in-Council unless the pact was suitably modified and its discriminatory and humiliating provisions regarding Indians were removed.

ELECTION OF OFFICE-BEARERS

The following office-bearers were elected for the ensuing year :—

President: Sir *Bijoy Prosad Singh Roy* ; Vice-Presidents : Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar, Sir V. N. Chandavarkar : Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastriar ; Sir Moropant Joshi ; Dr. R. P. Paranjype, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Mr. J. N. Basu, Pandit H. N. Kunzru, Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, Sir Cowasjee Jehangir and Mr. P. N. Sapru. Secretaries: Messrs. *M. D. Altekar*, N. C. Bharucha and Nibaran Chandra Ray.

The Federation accepted the invitation of Mr. *T. R. Gadre*, seconded by Mr. Mr. P. Kodananda Rao, to hold the next annual session at Nagpur. The session of the Federation was then dissolved.

The Non-Party Political Leaders' Conference

Presidential Address—Poona—26th. July 1941

The Non-Party Political Leaders' Conference commenced at Poona on the 26th. July 1941. Sir *Tej Bahadur Sapru*, in his presidential address, gave a lead to the Conference as to the attitude it should adopt on the problems facing the country.

Sir Tej Bahadur spoke for sixty minutes and severely criticised the Secretary of State and the British Government in regard to their attitude towards India's demands and particularly, the announcement of the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council "to meet the pressure of work created by the war." Dealing with the allocation of portfolios to the new Indian members, Sir Tej Bahadur *Sapru* said : "The meaning of it is obvious. The three portfolios, Defence, Home and Finance, are portfolios with which power and initiation of policy are associated. We resent very strongly, and I think there is hardly any Indian who will not resent it, that in regard to the distribution of portfolios, Indians should have been dealt with so unfairly. We were particularly anxious that the Defence Portfolio should be transferred to us." Sir Tej maintained that anyone of the eight Indian members was competent enough to hold any of the three portfolios now withheld from Indian hands.

The President welcomed the inclusion of these eight Indians in the Executive Council of the Viceroy and deprecated any idea of rejection. He said : "I am not a believer in the ascetic idea that we should give up everything. We should seize as much power as comes into our hands and ask for more."

Tark Before the New Members

Discussing the task ahead of the new Executive Councillors, the President said : "Their primary task will be to render every assistance in the prosecution of the war, but while doing so, they cannot forget the internal situation in the country. They will have to bring pressure to bear upon the holders of those portfolios of power which have been withheld from them, as peaceful conditions have got to be restored inside the country and the time and energy of the people which, at the present moment, are being wasted in fruitless slogans and cries must be harnessed towards constructive work. They will have to advocate and press for a policy of conciliation. It can be no pleasure to anyone of us that many thousands of our countrymen should be in jail. It is true that they have gone to jail because they wanted to go to jail, they were obliging enough to go to jail, but I still maintain that in the existing conditions no Government can afford for a long time to defy or ignore the pressure of public opinion in this matter, and whatever may be my views with regard to the Satyagraha Movement—I am a confirmed sinner in that respect—I do hold very strongly that so long as thousands of men are in jail, so long will the Indian mind be diverted from constructive channels to fruitless channels. It will be up to the members of the new Executive Council to discuss this question with their colleagues and do their best to restore normal peaceful condition. I have no doubt that they are men strong enough to do it. A mere expression of hope by them will not do. What is necessary is that those who are now going to the Executive Council should interest themselves in this matter."

The President referred to the appointment of a separate Minister in the United Kingdom to deal with matters connected with reconstruction of society after the war and said that similarly the work of reconstruction in India should be taken in hand ; reconstruction of our political life, particularly our economic life.

Sir Tej Bahadur *Sapru* also emphasised the need for the Indian members of the expanded Executive Council to interest themselves in bringing about communal harmony in the country and said : "I think the greatest service which men who have been appointed to the Executive Council can render to the country is to take some steps, with the authority belonging to their office, with the resources at their disposal, to bring about harmony and goodwill between the warring communities of India. It should be made to appear to the people of this country that the Government are really anxious that the communities, which have been warring so far, should bury the hatchet and should approach each other with a view to establishing harmonious relations and an atmosphere of peace. Unfortunately, the history of our

country has been full of despair in regard to this matter. I do not think we can allow the communal situation as it has developed in certain parts of the country to deteriorate still further. I have always maintained that in a matter of this character it is not only our duty to render every service that we can, but also it is the duty of the duly constituted Government to place itself at the head of the movement so that the people will understand that the Government is genuinely anxious that there should be peace and harmony in this country."

THE BOMBAY CONFERENCE

Earlier in his speech, Sir Tej Bahadur *Sapru* exhaustively reviewed the events that occurred since the Bombay meeting of the Conference in March last. He recalled the Bombay Resolution and said : "According to the Resolution passed by the Conference, I submitted a copy of the Resolution, together with a memorandum to the Viceroy and subsequently interviewed him and had a long and friendly talk on the various subjects covered by the Resolution. Events have moved very fast since then on the international side. As you all know the war has been approaching nearer India and there is not one amongst us who does not realise the danger to which India is exposed. If for no other reason at least for the reason that it is up to us that we should make the best of our opportunities and contribute the utmost we can towards the war effort. We had a vivid realisation of the dangers at that time when we met in Bombay, and it was because of that feeling that we ventured to tell the British Government and the Government of India that the policy they had hitherto followed was a very narrow and short-sighted one which circumstances in the country did not justify and which would not tend to arouse enthusiasm for war effort. We said so in plain and unvarnished language and that is our conviction even now."

Sir Tej Bahadur *Sapru*, proceeding, said, that the Bombay Conference was exposed to criticism on certain sides, but it also met with a substantial measure of support from all sides. He had carefully followed the trend of opinion as expressed in the Press throughout India, "I do not think" he said, "I am putting the case too high when I say that the vast majority of Indian newspapers took a very fair view of the Conference at Bombay and gave it a substantial measure of support even though some papers might have thought that we did not go far enough."

Sir Tej recalled the debate in the House of Commons in April last and said that the stand taken by the Bombay Conference had found supporter in the British Parliament, in persons like Sir George Schuster and Sir Stanley Reed. The British Press also, generally speaking, was sympathetic. There was a growing feeling in England that in the midst of many preoccupations, His Majesty's Government had got to tackle the Indian problem and tackle it in a generous and bold, statesmanlike spirit.

Repudiating the suggestion made in certain quarters that the Conference was sailing under false colours, that it was a pale shadow of the Congress or the Hindu Mahasabha , Sir Tej said : "There is no iota of truth in the statement that this Conference was called in the interests of any particular political party. It was a Conference of independent men, who thought that, in the circumstances that had arisen in the country, it was clearly their duty to give a warning to the Government. The Conference had also been assailed on the ground that it was a gathering of old, estimable people, who occupied no representative character. We never claimed a representative character. We do not say that we have been elected by any class of men. As citizens and taxpayers of this country, we had a right to say what should be done and what should not be done. Speaking for myself, I say I represent myself, which is saying a great deal more than what many people can say of themselves. A leader is yet to be born in India who can lead me by the nose. (cheers.)"

PROGRESS SHOULD NOT BE HINDERED

Replying to the argument by certain officials and politicians that it was absurd for anyone to demand or to expect during the war that anything big could be hoped for or achieved, unless the two major political Parties came to an agreement, the President said : "The position we took up then was that nothing would please us more if the two Parties could come to a settlement at once. Nothing would please us more if the two Parties could come to a settlement with the British Government. We said it then and we say it now that everyone of us will step aside. (Cheers.) We are not working in a spirit of rivalry. But we maintained at that time, and we maintain now, that events should not be allowed to wait upon

the pleasure of any particular Party, howsoever strong it may be, or leader, howsoever distinguished he may be. The rest of the country should not be penalised, because certain individuals do not come to a settlement between themselves. It was in this spirit the Bombay Resolution was passed."

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru referred to Mr. Amery's speech in the House of Commons in April last and said : "When I read the speech for the first time, I was disappointed, but when I read it for the second time I found that Mr. Amery was emphatic that nothing was to be expected in India until the two major communities settled their differences, and when I further read it I found Mr. Amery's anxiety in advising us that the best thing for us to do was not to go on with the Conference, but to bring about a Central Party and a rival party. I saw he was on the way to surrender. I do not think he has surrendered. It would be giving a false impression if I suggested that Mr. Amery has surrendered. British politicians do not easily surrender, and particularly Conservatives, and Mr. Amery is a very distinguished member of the Conservative Party. But they have got to yield to the pressure of public opinion, both in England and India and that they must yield sooner or later. I have no doubt in my mind. I am clear, that if we go on pressing our demand, the time is not very distant, even for Mr. Amery, to find a suitable formula and say that for these reasons he is taking another step."

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru recalled the background of the Bombay meeting and also referred to the background of the present meeting and said that when they met in Bombay there was a general feeling of depression and frustration all over the country. People did not know what to do. People felt that there was no reasonable likelihood of the two major parties coming to an early settlement, or the British Government or the Government of India showing any signs of mobility. But in the month of July 1941 His Majesty's Government in England and the Government of India had shown some signs of mobility.

Indianisation of Executive Council

The President recalled the Bombay Resolution and referred to the criticism in certain quarters that it had suggested certain impracticable or revolutionary proposals and said: "There was not a single section in the Government of India Act which required that a certain number of persons to the Executive Council should be Indians and certain others Europeans. The statutory qualification laid down was that there should be three members who had put in ten years' service under the Crown in India. This did not lay down that they should be Europeans only or Indians only. Therefore if to-day His Majesty's Government decided to appoint all eleven members to the Executive Council from among Indians it would no more be irregular or constitutional than it would be if they decided to appoint eleven Europeans. I, therefore, do not see how exception can be taken to our proposal for appointment of all members from among Indians. I can understand the criticism if it is argued that it is impolitic to do so (cheers). The policy of the British Government at the present moment is that there must be a certain element of British Services in the Executive Council which, in its turn, implies that the British Government is not prepared to trust you. We frankly resent this. We say if the British Government has not not been wise so far, although it should have been wise long ago, it is time that during the present war, when the greatest challenge has been thrown at its supremacy, it should prove wise. There is nothing unconstitutional in appointing an Indian National Government, particularly when this Government is going to be responsible to the Crown during the duration of the war, just as the present members are."

Equality of Status

Referring to the criticism about asking for equality of status for India's representatives at International and Imperial Conferences, the President said that there was no constitutional impropriety in the proposal, as India was already represented in the League of Nations. India had her own High Commissioners in various countries and the Government of India had decided to appoint an Agent-General to the Government of India in the United States. There was therefore nothing revolutionary in the proposal, particularly if it was remembered that Mr. Wedgwood Benn, the then Secretary of State for India, had said in 1929 that Dominion Status was already in action in India. What the Conference had demanded was that these representatives must be appointed by the Government of India and should receive instructions direct from this Government, not from

the Congress, Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha or the Non-Party Leaders' Conference, but the only constituted Government of India. It was inconceivable that a representative of such a Government would act counter to instructions. What they had desired was that such representatives should not be led by the nose by the Secretary of State. There was nothing improper or revolutionary in this proposal.

Sir Tej reiterated his demand made at the Bombay Conference that India should have the same status as Britain and the Dominions at the end of the war and that there should be a time-limit in regard to enabling India to reach that status after the conclusion of the war.

TRANSFER OF POWERS

Sir Tej Bahadur Supru, proceeding, dealt with the recent expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council. He said that the changes had been effected on the ground that it was an administrative need. They were being introduced to relieve pressure of work in certain Departments. "It has been frankly admitted,' Sir Tej said, "by the Secretary of State and others that no merit can be claimed for these changes on the constitutional side. Indeed, the Secretary of State has been over-anxious to state publicly that the policy of His Majesty's Government on the constitutional side remains unaffected. Not taking that statement at its face value, one is tempted to ask whether it is only in these Departments which were hitherto held by Indians that there is congestion of work and whether the Departments which were held by English members of the Civil Service, namely, Defence, Home and Finance, had not had additional work. If the departmental work is examined, I should be surprised if it did not turn out to be the case that the work in the Defence, Finance and Communications Departments has increased. I should be reluctant to believe that the work in Public Health and Education Departments has so much increased that it has necessitated a splitting of that portfolio into several portfolios. Finance, Home and Defence Portfolios should have been divided and sub-divided. This process of division should not have been confined to the Departments, which were held by Indians. The meaning of it is obvious. The three portfolios of Finance, Defence and Home are portfolios with which initiation of policy is associated. The Thomas Committee on Indian Defence had reported that it was the policy of His Majesty's Government that the defence of India should be, in an increasing measure, the concern of India. How is it going to be the concern of India when Indians are deprived of the chance of studying the problems?"

Acknowledging the ability of the eight Indian members who had been appointed to the Executive Council, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru referred to the portfolio of Information given to Sir Akbar Hydari and said that Sir Akbar was hitherto in charge of Finance and Communications in Hyderabad State. Why should he not have been given the Portfolio of Defence or Communication, he asked. Similarly, Mr. N. R. Sarkar, who was well-known in business circles and who was in charge of the finances of Bengal, could have been given the Finance Portfolio of the Government of India. Dr. E. Raghavendra Rao was a Minister in the Central Provinces, was the Home Member of the Province and then acted as the Governor of the Province. The machinery of Law and Order did not break down under his administration. Sir Tej added, "I for myself am not willing to believe that the genius of Sir Reginald Maxwell is so indispensable for the Government of India that he should not be replaced by Dr. Raghavendra Rao. When I look at this aspect of the question, I am tempted to say that mere multiplication of the number of Indian members will not produce that psychological change in the Indian mind."

In conclusion, Sir Tej Bahadur declared that until the objective of the Conference was achieved they would have to hold repeated conferences of this kind from to time to time. The Conference then adjourned.

Resolutions—Second Day—Poona—27th. July 1941

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE CABINET

The Conference resumed its sitting at 10 a. m. to-day. A resolution moved from the chair placing on record its profound grief at the death of Sir C. Y. Chintamoni, in whose death the country had lost a nationalist leader of rare gift, and expressing sympathy with the members of the family on their bereavement was passed.

The Rt. Hon. Dr. *M. R. Jayakar* then moved the main resolution of the

Conference, namely, the resolution demanding complete reconstruction of the Viceroy's Executive Council, and urging a declaration specifying a time-limit after the war within which the new constitution for India will be inaugurated, according her the same status as Britain and the Dominions.

Dr. Jayakar, moving the first resolution, congratulated the last Conference on its efforts to bring about a change in the political stalemate in the country. "The Conference attacks," said Dr. Jayakar, "have at least loosened one brick in the wall of Jericho. It is now purely a question of time when the other bricks will fall and I am quite sure if the Conference goes on attacking the wall, the whole wall will begin to tumble down."

Referring to certain criticisms levelled at the Conference "by a distinguished Muslim leader of a big Muslim party" that all those in the Conference were like the Dutch army, only generals, Dr. Jayakar replied that generals must necessarily have been good fighting soldiers "I wish only to say", he said, "that it is much better to be generals without soldiers than to be a general whose soldiers are gradually deserting him at the first blast" (laughter).

The Conference, Dr. *Jayakar* said, had made some efforts and it had partially succeeded. But still the substance of the demands made by them had not yet been met. He recalled the resolution adopted by the last session of the Conference held at Bombay and the demand made for the transfer of all the portfolios to Indians and proceeded to review the recent changes effected in the Viceroy's Executive Council. He deplored that the Defence, Home and Finance Departments had not been transferred to Indian members. Only such a transfer could cause tremendous enthusiasm in this country. It appeared to him that the Government in this country were not earnest about preparing the defence of this country. In this connection he referred to the steps taken in England. Inside four months Mr. Eden was able to organise a huge organisation known as "Local Defence Volunteers." Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State for India, had referred "to this untapped reservoir of Indian patriotism and ability", but nothing could be achieved unless Defence was transferred to the hands of Indians. They should be men belonging to the people who could go amongst the people, which no Englishman was capable of doing.

Mr. *Jayakar* went on to deal with the question of allocation of portfolios to the new Indian members in the Viceroy's Executive Council. A man like Dr. E. Raghavendra Rao was in charge of 'Civil Defence." It was a most ambiguous expression. Clarified, it meant supervising the pusillanimous-looking men of the A. R. P. It was a mock tomfoolery with no real meaning. "I wish to tell you what you have got", he said. "We have got six Indians in place of three. No new departments have been transferred from Englishmen to Indians. In the departments which were under Indians before, instead of one man working three men will work now." Mr. Jayakar believed that to make up the five to eight lakhs of rupees which would be spent by way of salaries to the new members in the new budget, there would be additional taxation to the tune of rupees two crores.

Mr. Amery had stated that the new Executive Councillors "are a great team of ability not rivalled anywhere in India or elsewhere." If he had got such a team to work, why were they not given the most important portfolios? Mr. *Jayakar* regretted that "the old and continued distrust of Indians" still prevailed. It was argued by some that it was not possible for the Viceroy to get rid of his trusted lieutenants, but "the trusted lieutenants" were not there constantly. Sir Mohammed Zafrullah had gone and so had Sir G. S. Bajpai and in course of time Sir Reginald Maxwell would go. "The satellites of the Governor-General, unlike those of the sun, often go."

Then there was the other argument that the Indian Princes would not agree to have a completely Indianised Government. It had often been proved that it was an incorrect statement. What the Princes wanted was freedom from the domination of the Political Department.

It was clear that His Majesty's Government was not prepared to trust Indians. It was only necessary for Indians to see to what lengths England had gone to defeat Hitler. They offered a common Government with France. It showed the straits to which Britain was driven for the sake of winning the war. There was now an alliance with Russia, England's 'ancestral enemy all these years and whose social system is so very different from hers." If England could go to such an extent to placate Russia, could not England do something small to satisfy India? He then recalled the "grievous omission" of England when the

war started. India was not at all consulted. The Legislature was not consulted, though he was quite certain a resolution could have been passed supporting the war with the agreement of the Congress Party.

The expansion of the Executive Council "was the most uneconomic system that has been devised". The relegation of the portfolio of "Indians Overseas" to Mr. Amery was "grotesque and ludicrous". The posts had been offered and they had been accepted Nothing could be done now. The position of the Conference was something like visitors to a wedding who disapproved of the match but could not help it. They had no right to pronounce a verdict on the propriety of the wedding. Mr. *Jayakar* then explained the attitude which the Conference should adopt. It was an axiom with the late Gokhale and Tilak: "Take what you get and fight for the rest". It had become a fashion to decry that theory but they must make the best of the present. For the first time, they had got a non-official majority in the Executive Council which had hitherto remained the citadel of British bureaucracy. Those Indian members would be constantly coming in touch with the Viceroy and would be able to influence him.

Sir *S. Radhakrishnan*, seconding the resolution, declared that the demands set forth in the resolution were the least that would have to be met to allay the apprehensions of even the most considerate and least revolutionary of the public men in India. Since the conference met last in Bombay, events had moved rapidly. Russia had joined the war and the alliance with Russia had made the Democratic Front a little more real. He recalled Mr. Churchill's reference to India and China that if Hitler won, the two countries would go to the abysmal bottom and asked whether India was in a position to defend herself. He referred to the "undiluted British autocracy" during the past 150 years, which had left India in her present absolutely defenceless position. "Do not believe", he said, "that Britain has disarmed us because of her belief in non-violence or world disarmament." But in spite of this our people were anxious to fight shoulder to shoulder with the British people in this war. The National Congress had been denouncing the policy of appeasement before the war. Mr. Nehru proclaimed India's support to this war and so did Mahtma Gandhi when he said that it would be a great calamity if Great Britain and France were defeated. In this very city the Congress was prepared to drop non-violence so far as external aggression went and was prepared to lose the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. They demanded responsibility at the Centre. Nothing was done.

Why Time-Limit is Demanded

India was the only large country that still remained a subject nation. India represented a distinct culture and civilisation. India was not to be regarded as a recent arrival. India was often told that she was going to be granted this or that. "But now", Sir *Radhakrishnan* said, "we do not accept your bona-fides. We have been treated to such proclamations coming out in moments of emergency or enthusiasm. Now we want you to give us a specific time-limit". He regretted that India's demands were met with polite ambiguity and elaborate evasions. The Conference wanted a time-limit and Mr. Amery said "steadily". The Conference wanted equality of status for India with those of the rest of the self-governing Dominions and the reply was "an increasing share".

Concluding, Sir *S. Radhakrishnan* hoped that the new members would do their best and would press for the transfer of other portfolios. He hoped they would also work for the release of satyagraha prisoners and restore democratic Government in the provinces. There was an abundance of goodwill in this country towards Britain. The country was not entirely for non-violence and the majority of the people were prepared to employ force but they must be utilised in the proper way and goodwill should be created.

Dr. *Sachidananda Singh*, supporting the resolution, said that they should remember Dadabhai Naoroji's words and continue their agitation till their demands were granted.

Sir *Mirza Ismail*, in further supporting the resolution, urged the appointment of a Constituent Committee to draft a new constitution for India satisfying the legitimate demands of all parties and emphasised the need for a communal settlement. He said he was one of those who believed that India needed Britain even more than Britain needed India. Therefore, India should do everything in her power to help Britain and her cause in the war. A strong and loyal India was the strongest bulwark that England could possess, even stronger than any of the Dominions whose populations and resources were not to be com-

pared with those of India. He, therefore, emphasised the need for Britain to remove misunderstandings.

The speaker regretted that when the fate of nations was hanging in the balance, public life in India should have presented to the world a picture of divided counsel. The Hindu-Muslim problem, Sir *Mirza* maintained, "is our fundamental problem. We must try to approach it with flexible minds. So long as those differences are not composed, it is futile to expect any true and lasting progress in our country. Let us, therefore, face squarely this formidable obstacle in the way of our political advancement and make a faithful endeavour to surmount it." Sir Mirza maintained that once India's internal differences were resolved, Dominion Status would follow as a matter of course. He could not see how the two great communities could be brought together except by getting their leaders to meet and make an earnest effort to produce a settlement satisfactory to both communities and indeed to all communities. "In order to do this", he continued, "and at the same time to devise a constitution for India which would take her to her destined goal in as short a time as possible, it is necessary that a Constituent Committee should be appointed by the Government to consider all these questions and submit their recommendations for the consideration of the British Government after the termination of the war."

"There seems to be no reason why such a Committee should not be set up at once. It might be said that it would hamper war effort. This is a view with which I for one cannot agree. I feel that far from hampering war efforts, it will help it. The mere appointment of such a Committee would, by itself, produce a a very favourable atmosphere in the country and would go far to conciliate, I have every hope, even those who are at present not so well disposed towards the British Government. Justice enjoins and expediency suggests some such action on the part of the British Government and I hope they will not hesitate to take it. The Committee that I contemplate would consist almost entirely of non-officials elected as far as possible by the respective groups or parties."

Emphasising the need for unity and tolerance in India, Sir *Mirza* said : "Every group or community must be prepared to make some sacrifice—sacrifice of self-interest and of self-esteem in the furtherance of our common aims and ambitions." "The unity of India has to be preserved at all costs," declared Sir Mirza, proceeding. (Cheers). "The more closely the various Provinces and States come together in the service of their common motherland and in the pursuit of their common ideals and interests, the greater will be India's strength and correspondingly the greater will be her influence in the counsels of nations."

"I am wholly in favour of a strong Central Government in India. A vast and heterogeneous country like ours, differing from province to province, cannot be administered efficiently from a remote and isolated centre. A supreme Government dealing exclusively with Defence, Finance, Customs and similar questions of All-India character is at any time an obvious necessity for India and more especially so in these tragic and critical days. At the same time, the provinces should enjoy as full a measure of autonomy as is possible in the field of local administration. In short, in our political structure, we have to evolve a formula which should seek to combine the advantages of home rule in local matters with national unity under the federal principle."

Sir *Jagdish Prasad* replied to the criticism that the Conference was composed of persons who were unrepresentative of anyone else but themselves. As regards what had been announced by the British Government, the speaker said he was not prepared to ignore what had been achieved and conceded due to public pressure. The fact that there were eight Indians in the new Executive Council, providing an absolute majority, should not be lost sight of in whatever criticism they made. Secondly, the Bombay Conference had helped to terminate the feeling to despair and political frustration in the country. The position before the Bombay Conference was that there was no indication that Indians would be associated with the country's war effort at all, but the announcement had changed this position. Thirdly, the eight Indians appointed to the Council were distinguished persons and if they concentrated on the larger question of policy, they would be able to effect great improvement in the present position.

Sir Jagdish Prasad severely criticised the failure of the British Government to give key portfolios to Indians and said if, in the words of Mr. Amery, these eight Indians were "an unrivalled team throughout the world", why did it take the Secretary of State and the British Government such a long time in the first place to discover such a team and, secondly, why was this team not entrusted

with real power ? Their failure to give them positions of power clearly proved that the British Government still distrusted Indians and this naturally created a suspicion in the minds of Indians regarding the intentions of the British Government in regard to India. Sir Jagdish, continuing, said this suspicion had caused a struggle between head and heart among Indians and this hampered their war effort. He hoped in the interests of the war effort, Britain would do something to put an end to this struggle. Sir Jagdish warned the Conference, that their struggle would have to be a long one, as the British would not yield soon. "No slakening, no faintheartedness and no weakening of the struggle until our demands are conceded", he concluded.

Mr. *V. D. Savarkar*, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, explained why he, a strong party man, had joined the Non-Party Conference. The main consideration which made him join the Conference was that he fully agreed with the object of the Conference and the demands it made and, therefore, there was nothing wrong in even a strong party man like him joining the Non-Party Conference. It was only those who cared more for party interests than the country's interests who refrained from attending such a Conference (cheers). What was in the resolution, he asked, which a really patriotic Indian could not accept ? Mr. Savarkar was convinced that the recent reforms announced were the result of public pressure and a turn in the war. He had no doubt that the time would come when the British Government would accept the demand of the Conference provided the pressure was kept up and the present turn of the war also continued. Speaking for himself, he was against the idea of any Empire and favoured an alliance between the people of India and the people of Great Britain.

Mr. Savarkar urged the Conference to keep up the pressure of public opinion and appealed to Indian youth to join the army in their thousands. "Accept what is given and make use of it to gain more," was his advice. "Do not be misguided," he concluded, "by foolish talk of not helping imperialism by joining the army, because everything that one does under the sun is in one way or the other helping imperialism. We are helping in the war only to help ourselves."

Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru said that Mr. Amery's speeches provided numerous angles from which the resolution could be tackled. He recalled Mr, Amery's "India First" slogan and asked if the measures announced in India implemented this slogan. While the number of Indians in the Viceroy's Executive Council had been increased, no new responsibility was placed on the shoulders of these men. "Can this be called 'India First' "? If this was to mean the implementation of the 'India First slogan, then it only meant that Indian interests came only after British interests had been provided for.

Pandit Kunzru compared the posts given to the new Executive Councillors with the scheme of Indianisation of the Army under which trained Indian Officers were made to replace jemadars and subedars. This was true of the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council, which demonstrated once again British suspicion and distrust of Indians. This distrust alone stood in the way of transfer of key portfolios into Indian hands. He for one should have thought that under the stress of the present war, the Defence portfolio would have been transferred to an Indian civilian, as in his opinion such a transfer would have resulted in a civilian controlling the military policy of India. This was the case in England and it was also the case in all democratic countries. It had been pointed out that the exigencies of the war prevented such a step, but, continued Pandit Kunzru, "I should have thought the war should have made such a transfer necessary rather than making it an excuse. If defence is transferred it would be a demonstration of British sincerity towards Indian demands. To me the defence portfolio is the only key portfolio and as such that should be transferred to Indian hands."

Pandit Kunzru, proceeding, observed that the Indians who have now joined the Viceroy's Executive Council would have no easy task before them in espousing the cause of India. He hoped they would combine amongst themselves and present the British Government with a policy which had their support and the support of their country. They should also see that the Council worked as a collective body.

Mr. *Jagannath Agarwal* dismissed the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council as of no consequence. There was neither plan nor any programme behind the expansion. The distribution of portfolios was done in a haphazard manner. The allocation of the Labour portfolio to Sir *Firoz Khan Noon* was evidence of the haphazardaness. He urged that the Defence Department should be manned by an Indian to secure the maximum co-operation of the people.

Sardar *Ujjal Singh* declared that India was really in sympathy with Great Britain. India was doing her utmost in the way of war efforts. Nevertheless in order to arouse Indian enthusiasm it was necessary that Indians must be made to feel that the freedom for which England was fighting was India's also. Referring to the expansion of the Executive Council, he regretted there was no real transfer of power and that the Executive Council was not representative of all the interests in the country. He deplored that a Sikh member had not been included in the Council. He had heard it said that Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab had threatened to resign if a Punjab Muslim was not taken in the Council. Sardar Ujjal Singh pointed out that Sir Sikander was anxious for the representation of Punjabi Muslim interests rather than the Punjab as a whole. For the last sixteen years, the speaker said, the Punjab was represented in the Executive Council by a Muslim and he asked why a Sikh should not have been given an opportunity now. He urged that there should be a change of heart on the part of Britain in regard to India.

The *Raja of Venkatagiri* supported the resolution. He hoped Britain would realise the situation in India and act up to the recommendations contained in the resolution. He urged that the Centre should be completely Indianised. In this connection he referred to the proposal of Mr. C. Rajagopalachari for the establishment of a National Government and hoped that such a Government would soon come into existence. In regard to the demand that India's representatives should be on a par with the representatives of other Dominions in inter-imperial and international conferences, the speaker said that no equality of status was possible as long as the Central Government was not completely Indianised.

Mr. *P. N. Sapru* said that if only the British Government had made a declaration as suggested in the Bombay conference resolution at the beginning of the war, much of the present trouble could have been avoided. As a Liberal, he could not wish for the victory of the murderous Nazi regime. There was a feeling, both in England and India, that a conflict was inevitable between the two countries. There was almost a "functional disorder in the country." These things had to be remedied. He asserted that the primary responsibility for the impasse rested with Mr. Amery. Mr. Sapru, however, did not deny that Indians themselves had not contributed to the solution of the deadlock. He expressed the hope that the members of the Executive Council would develop joint responsibility and would work for the restoration of constitutional Government in the provinces.

Mr. *Meher Chand Khanna* of the North-West Frontier Province in supporting the resolution said that in spite of all that had happened, Mr. Churchill's mentality had not changed and unless this mentality was changed there could be no satisfactory settlement of the Indian question.

Sardar Sant Singh wanted to know why no Sikh was included in the expanded Council. Why was not Dr. Moonje who was an authority on military matters on the National Defence Council ? Why two Anglo-Indians included in this Council even though their interests would be safeguarded by the European head of the Department ? If the British Government wanted the support of political India, apart from "yes men", in the war effort then they should change their methods.

Mr. *A. S. N. Murthy*, while lending his support to the resolution, reminded the conference that its main function was to break the political deadlock for which it was convened. They had not succeeded in this and must concentrate on it.

Mr. *Murthy* continued that another important matter on which the Conference should concentrate was the question of release of thousands of their countrymen who were in jails. It was not possible to achieve anything so long as those men were in jail. The Conference would be judged, not by what resolutions it passed, but by what results it achieved.

Sir *Dayakishen Kaul* blamed the British Government for the present communal difficulties in India and said that it must give up backing one community against the other. The speaker also strongly criticised the demand for Pakistan and said that a large section of the Muslims in India did not approve of it.

Rao Bahadur *G. A. Natesan* said that the speeches and the resolution marked yet another emphatic protest against the attitude of the British Government. He advised the British Government "to avoid her blundering policy and to do the right thing by India." He also urged that constitutional government should be restored in the provinces.

Mr. *D. V. Gundappa* also supported the resolution, which was carried.

PRESERVING INDIA'S UNITY

Mr. *T. R. Venkatarama Sastri* moved the second resolution which wanted the immediate taking of steps to examine the main lines of the future constitutional changs in India with a view to ensuring the unity and integrity of India.

Mr. *Sastri* said that uptill now nobody thought that the unity and indivisibility of India would be imperilled in regard to the constitutional advancement in India. The unity of India, he asserted, was there for over 3,000 years. In those days it was essentially cultural unity rather than political unity.

The speaker was confident that Great Britain, which had contributed so much to bring about the Unity of India, would not be a party to the division of the country. He regretted the sectional politics in this country and the lack of homogeneity. He warmly supported the suggestions made by Sir Mirza Ismail earlier in the day.

Dr. *B. S. Moonje* seconded the resolution. He said that the defence of India was of paramount importance to every Indian. He urged that the President of the Conference, who was empowered to take such steps in regard to the resolution as were necessary, should be fully informed of the various viewpoints prevailing in the country and warned the President against any idea of appeasement in dealing with the communal problem. It would be a tragedy if any appeasement policy was pursued. The only course that should be followed was that of "justice and equality to all." He asserted that the present agitation for Pakistan was the direct outcome of separate electorates.

Dr. *R. P. Paranjpye*, supporting the resolution, stressed the need for preserving the unity and integrity of the country and said that if this unity was disturbed by ideas of dividing the country it would be exposed to invasion by any foreign power. He wanted the proposed committee to be free from persons or groups committed to certain policies. He hoped the committee would not only take note of the rights of the various communities but their duties.

Mr. *D. G. Dalvi*, further suporting the resolution, said that he was gratified that the Conference had undertaken this constructive work so that when the time came they would not be found wanting. The resolution was passed.

The Conference adopted a resolution moved by Pandit *H. N. Kunzru* authorising the President of the Conference, the Rt. Hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, to forward a copy of the first resolution to H. E. the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India and copies of the debates to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State. The resolution further authorised the President to constitute a Standing Committee of the Conference in such a manner as he may consider proper.

The resolution was seconded by Mr. *B. Shiva Rao. Lala Ramsarandas* proposed a vote of thanks to the President, Dr. *Paranjpye* seconded it and Mr. *V. V. Kelekar* supported it.

Winding up the proceedings of the Conference, Sir *Tej Bahadur Sapru* emphasised the demand for a declaration laying a time-limit in regard to the Inauguration of a new constitution. He narrated the history of the discussions in India and in England since 1917 in relation to the constitutional progress of India and said that it took the British Government more than ten years to affirm that the object of British policy in India was Dominion Status, although this was contained in the Act of 1919. In the light of this, the Conference was now demanding a declaration containing a time-limit which, of course, may be subject to enlargement or modification, according to circumstances. He would not mind if people called him a revolutionary or an impracticable politician for making this demand.

Sir Tej Bahadur *Sapru* warned the Conference and through the Conference the public of India against the danger of an irremovable executive and functional representation which were being hinted at in high quarters as probable modifications to meet the Indian situation. The situation, he said, was full of danger. Particularly so when it was remembered that there were important individuals, both in England and in India, who supported the principle of an irremovable executive and functional representation. H asked the public to understand the real implication of such a scheme which, he understood, had the backing of men highly placed in England. There were also some individuals in India who subscribed to this view and he had no doubt that at least one of these would be a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council.

The President appealed to all concerned not to exasperate communal feeling and asked the majority to remember its responsibilities and the minority its duties.

The Conference then adjourned *sine die*.

India's Status after War

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's Statement

The following is the statement issued by the Right Hon. Sir *Tej Bahadur Sepru* in pursuance of a resolution of the Standing Committee of the Non-Party Conference which met in Allahabad on **November 1 and 2, 1941**:

The Standing Committee of the Non-Party Leaders' Conference have considered the joint Anglo-United States declaration setting out the objectives for which the Allies were fighting, and indicating the fundamental principles on which plans for a permanent world peace must be based. In particular, they have noticed with satisfaction that of the fundamental principles to which expression was given authoritatively by President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill at their meeting in the Atlantic Ocean in August last, the third laid down that "they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of Government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them." In their opinion, while the latter part of the third principle, just quoted, obviously applied to those sovereign countries in Europe which lost their independence or territory owing to the totally unjustifiable and immoral action of Hitlerite Germany, the first part of the third fundamental principle, using, as it does, the expression "all peoples", is sufficiently wide to include the case of India. It is difficult to believe that it could have been the intention of President Roosevelt to exclude India from the operation of the first part, or that Mr. Churchill could have ignored at that time India's claim to self-government when it is a matter of common knowledge that American opinion for some time past had been definitely critical of British policy towards India. As regards President Roosevelt, the Committee cannot believe that he could have been a party to the exclusion of India from the benefits of this principle, particularly when they remember that, on his return to America, the President is reported to have observed that "not a single section of a single continent went undiscussed during the meeting."

August Declaration Non-Committal

The Committee also note that Mr. *Cordell Hull*, the United States Secretary of State, described the Churchill-Roosevelt declaration as a statement of basic principles and fundamental ideas that are universal in their practical application. The Committee would further point out that Mr. *Attlee*, the Deputy Prime Minister, is reported to have said that the declaration of peace principles applied to all countries including Asiatics. The Committee, however, have noted with profound disappointment that in his first and unfortunately only reference to India since he became Prime Minister, Mr. *Churchill* used language which has made many people to doubt whether he and his Government do really mean to part with power and whether India will ever attain real self-government. "The joint declaration", said Mr. Churchill, "does not qualify in any way the various statements of policy which have been made from time to time about the development of constitutional government in India, Burma or other parts of the British Empire. We are pledged by the Declaration of August 1940 to help India to obtain free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth of races, subject, of course, to the fulfilment of the obligations arising from our long connection with India and our responsibilities to its many creeds, races and interests". It seems to the Committee that so far, as Mr. Churchill is concerned, the fundamental principles to be applied to India are those contained in the Declaration of August 1940—a declaration which has afforded no satisfaction to any section of Indian opinion, and which, far from easing the tension in India or winning over those sections which had withheld their support from the British Government, and strengthening the position of those which have been friendly to the British Government and which would like to remain so, has given rise to grave misgivings and has caused a great deal of resentment. In the opinion of the Committee, the Declaration of August 1940 is not wholly consistent with the noble and generous sentiments contained in fundamental principle No. 3 of the joint declaration quoted above. His Majesty's Declaration of August 1940, hedged in by so many conditions is so incomplete in the enunciation of the aim and so non-committal in regard to its being implemented within any reasonable distance of time, that it can afford no satisfaction whatever to the people of this country.

CLEAR DECLARATION OF POLICY NEEDED

The Committee think that the whole position in regard to the future of India should have been made clear long ago by using definite, certain and unambiguous language, so that India may feel sure that after the war, in the event of victory, her position shall be the same as that of Britain and the Dominions. In short, the Committee are strongly of the opinion that after victory the position of India in regard to her status and powers shall not be that of a dependency but shall be one of perfect equality. In the opinion of this Committee, the question of the internal constitution of India with proper provisions for the safeguarding of different interests, should not be allowed to stand in the way of making such a declaration of policy regarding the political and constitutional relations of England and India. For this reason the Committee hold that immediate steps should be taken to secure that India's representatives at the peace conference or any other international conference shall be selected by the Government in India and be answerable to it and shall on no account be in the leading strings of the Secretary of State. A change like this can be effected without amending the Statute, by the adoption of a suitable convention.

The Committee are equally anxious that during the interim period in regard to international matters India should be treated to all intents and purposes on terms of perfect equality and that the internal constitution should, during the interim period, be so worked in practice as to approximate as far as possible under the existing conditions, to the working of the self-governing Dominions. For this reason, the Bombay and Poona conferences, and this Committee at its previous sittings, have emphasised that all the portfolios, including Defence, Finance, Home and Communications, should be put in the hands of Indian members of the Executive Council, who would, in the interim period, be responsible to the Crown.

In the opinion of this Committee these steps are essential for a successful prosecution of the war, and, therefore, necessary changes should be introduced without delay, so as to hearten the people and make them feel sure of their destiny. The Committee, while they realise that in times like these war preparations must have the foremost place, they nevertheless strongly feel that the fullest measure of help from the public cannot be hoped for, without making the people of this country realise that they shall be, in the full sense of the word, participators in the fruits of victory. In the opinion of this Committee, to make the cry of 'Win the war first', as the only cry would be very poor statesmanship, indeed, and far from easing the situation, it would widen the estrangement between the people and the Government—a result which must be avoided at all costs.

For this reason, they are pressing the view set forth above and they trust that the expanded Executive Council of the Viceroy, which has now eight Indian members, will use their influence and their moral pressure for bringing about a desirable change in the policy of the Government. The primary responsibility for a satisfactory change in policy must rest with the Government, and the Committee have no hesitation in saying that in the recent past those who have been responsible for the conduct of affairs in India or at Whitehall have shown neither a correct appreciation of the situation nor done anything striking to appeal to the imagination of the people or to strengthen constructive forces. They trust that in matters of high policy, the principle of collective responsibility will be observed scrupulously and that Indian members of the Executive Council will claim it as a matter of constitutional right.

NON-OFFICIAL PUBLIC MEN FOR VICEROY'S COUNCIL

While the Committee recognise that there are eight Indian members of the Executive Council, they also note with regret that the important portfolios of Defence, Finance, Home and Communications have been withheld from Indians. Until and unless such a transfer takes place, it cannot be said that more power has been made over to Indians. The Committee, therefore, urge that as a preparation for full Responsible Government, in future, the entire Viceroy's Excutive Council should consist of non-official public men. Similarly, they hold very strongly that in the provinces the rule of the Governors, with the aid of the Advisers, under Section 93, should be brought to a speedy end, and, therefore, they appeal both to the people and to the Government to change their outlook. They are also strongly of the view that parliamentary institutions, such as they are, should be utilised as instruments for the advancement of the freedom of the country, and its effective defence. We are convinced that to stimulate war effort a big scale change of policy is necessary.

The Committee would also particularly emphasise the need for a more rapid and thorough industrialisation of the country with special reference to war needs.

The Committee are also strongly of the opinion that the policy which the Government have hitherto followed in regard to political prisoners should undergo a change and that those who are in detention and those who have been imprisoned for acts not involving violence, should be released. Such a gesture is necessary in order to create an atmosphere in which political questions can be discussed without passion or prejudice and in a spirit of hopefulness. For similar reasons the Committee would also earnestly urge that the satyagraha movement and the boycott of parliamentary institutions should be ended.

The U. P. Non-Party Leaders' Conference

Presidential Address—Lucknow—14th. December 1941

An appeal to the two great political parties, the Congress and the Muslim League, to meet each other in a spirit of accommodation and with the help of other important interests discover, if not a permanent, at least a temporary solution of the Indian problem, at this, the most critical period in the history of India and the world, was made by Raja Sir *Maharaj Singh*, delivering his presidential address at the first Non-Party U. P. Provincial Conference held at Lucknow on the **14th. December 1941.** He also entered a plea for entrusting to non-official Indians all port-folios of the Government of India and for the Central and Provincial Governments adopting immediately a more realistic and progressive policy in order to secure fuller co-operation of the people in India's war effort.

Sir *Maharaj Singh* paid a tribute to Kunwar Sir Jagdish Prasad and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru for initiating the first two Non-Party Conferences and reminded the gathering that they were not inspired by any political party but arose out of a widespread desire that the political deadlock in India should be resolved by a sustained effort on the part of those who were outside the two main contending parties. He added, "We were not and are not a party organisation and we are not a communal body."

Recounting the proceedings of the two Conferences, Sir *Maharaj Singh* asserted that they had roused, as anticipated, considerable interest in political circles in England favourable to Indian aspirations. Members of Parliament, such as Sir George Schuster and Sir Stanley Reed, interrogated the Secretary of State for India and there was a debate in the House of Commons with the result that the whole question of a reconstituted Executive Council of the Governor-General was examined again both in India and in England. Not many months passed, he added, before it was announced that the Executive Council would be expanded, giving for the first time in the history of British rule in India a majority of Indians in the Government of India. "In spite of the very regrettable fact that none of these Indians has so far been entrusted with the key posts of defence and finance, we must frankly recognise that there has been an appreciable advance on what previously existed and I trust that the All-India Non-Party Conference will not be accused of undue boasting when it claims that its efforts contributed materially to this change," claimed Sir Maharaj Singh.

Referring to the statement issued last month by Sir *Tej Bahadur Sapru* on behalf of the Standing Committee of the Conference, expressing their strong opinion that political prisoners, who were in detention and those who were imprisoned for acts not involving violence, should be released. Sir Maharaj Singh expressed pleasure that the policy of releasing such prisoners had recently been initiated by the newly constituted Government of India. "We congratulate them and His Excellency the Viceroy on their wise action and we trust that it will be followed by further releases. Here again, I have no doubt that the *raison d'etre* for this welcome gesture is the presence of a majority of Indian non-officials, Hindus and Muslims, in the Executive Council of the Governor-General."

Continuing, the President observed: "We shall not be content untill all port-folios in the Governor-General's Executive Council, including those of Defence, Finance and Home are entrusted to non-official Indians." He added that in the

Provinces, the rule of Governors with the aid of official Advisers should be brought to a speedy end. They were not satisfied with a form of administration which took them back to the year 1860. No non-official, however capable, had at present any voice in determining provincial policy.

Sir *Maharaj Singh* admitted that the argument that the resignation of Congress Ministers was responsible for this predicament was not without force, and added: "We shall be glad indeed if parliamentary Government is restored on a national and non-communal basis. If, however, it becomes clear after sincere efforts have been made that this is not possible, that is no reason why other parties and sections of Indian opinion should continue to be penalised, especially when, in the face of similar objections the composition of the Governor-General's Executive Council has been changed. Is not there a *via media* under which non-official Indians can be associated in the daily work of administration even under a suspended constitution, if in the Central Government there is now a newly constituted Executive Council ?

"Why should not such a body, wholly selected from non-official Indians and representatives of important provincial officials interests be established in this and other Provinces even if a change in the Government of India Act 1935 is necessary ? If in the Central Government there are advisory bodies, such as the National Defence Council and the Standing Committees attached to the various Departments, why should similar bodies be ruled out in the Provinces ? I put these forward only as tentative suggestions. There may be other more effective methods. The problem deserves early consideration by the new Executive Council of the Governor-General."

Referring to the international situation, Raja Sir *Maharaj Singh* said, "The recent unprovoked entry of Japan into the war zone has brought the scene of conflict nearer to India. We are within the danger zone and our country henceforward will be increasingly involved. East and west, north and south, the war has enveloped the whole world and no one can say when it will end. These facts render it all the more imperatively urgent in the best interests of the people and the Government that there should be a change without delay in the system of provincial administration. We wish to help the cause for which Great Britain, Russia and the United States are fighting out. The Central and Provincial authorities must adopt a more realistic and more progressive policy in order to secure fuller co-operation of the people in the prosecution of the war and the defence of India." The President expressed the wish that Great Britain and her Allies will be able to defeat the forces of aggression in Europe, Africa, and the Far East, and concluded, "Our sympathies are with them in their titanic struggle."

Resolutions

The following resolutions were unanimously passed by the conference :

"This Conference urges His Majesty's Government to make an unequivocal declaration that, at the end of the war, India will have the same freedom as and equality of status with Great Britain and the Dominions.

"This Conference is strongly of opinion that in the Provinces, the rule of Governors with the aid of advisers under Section 93 of the Government of India Act of 1935 should cease.

"This Conference supports the resolutions of the Bombay and Poona Non-Party Conferences that all portfolios in the Governor-General's Executive Council including those of Defence, Finance, Home and Communications should be entrusted to non-official Indians who would in the interim period be responsible to the Crown. The reconstructed Government should deal with all important matters of policy on the basis of joint and collective responsibility.

"This Conference notes with appreciation that, as a result of the reconstructed Executive Council of the Governor General, there has been a change in the policy of the Government towards political prisoners, a number of whom have already been released. It notes also with pleasure that a new attitude has been adopted towards the problem of Indians overseas. The conference trusts that these steps will be followed by further measures necessary to bridge the gulf between the Government and the people.

"This Conference strongly disapproves the exclusion of India from the scope of the Atlantic Charter and protests against the attitude of the British Government towards India's political aspirations as implied in Mr. Churchill's speech."

Moving the first resolution, Mr. *Hariram Seth* said that the demand for an

unequivocal declaration had been made because it was apprehended that the British Government might again postpone the granting of Dominion Status to India.

Dr. *Radhakumud Mukherji* made it clear that he was not there as a representative of any party, but he felt that it was very necessary sometimes that different parties should meet together for greatest common understanding. He added that they were fed up with declarations which began their history in 1907 and which "disfigured the statute book," The words "responsible government" had been so much whittled down that they had no meaning now. It was their misfortune, he continued, that they had still to press such resolutions.

Fascism & Nazism condemned

The second resolution was moved by hon'ble Mr. *P. N. Sapru* and supported by Sir Jagdish Prasad. Mr. *Sapru* said that there were few who had greater dislike for Fascism and Nazism than himself but he was not over-enthusiastic about the British ideology regarding the war either. The Viceroy's August offer, he said, had resulted in communal discord.

Mr. *Sapru* thought that the Congress had taken a hasty step in resigning from office with the result that for two years people were subjected to a rule which even Hitler and Mussolini would envy. The main responsibility for the deadlock however rested primarily with the British Government. They had been irresponsive to the Indian demand. Indians, he was sure, could not be blamed for the present struggle did not interest an average Indian. Mr. Sapru admitted that the Viceroy's Executive Council had been expanded by the inclusion of more Indians but the portfolios that mattered were still with Britishers. British statesmen thought that by commandeering alone they could get all the support : but this was an erroneous idea. The tragedy was that they still though of their capital investments in this country. He advocated a change in British policy and believed that if a change was ushered in at the Centre, things would change in the provinces too.

Mr. *Sapru* added that in this hour of crisis, their ideal should be not to bother about the communal ratio, but to try a National Government and Britain should declare that India would attain her freedom within a limited period after the war. He regretted that there was undiluted autocracy throughout the country and it was imperative that all patriotic Indians and rational minded Britishers should review the situation in a dispassionate way. War had reached, very near their door and it was imperative for them to unite. This was possible only through a National Government. If there was any difficulty in having a National Government, let them have the majority government. Sincere efforts should however be made by the British statesmen and Indians to end the deadlock. There could be no subordinate co-operation and Indians should be treated as equals, he concluded.

"It is about time that at the Centre and in the povinces, men able to give sound advice and men with sterling qualities, are drawn into the Government so that they may influence the conduct of the Government," said *Kunwar Sir Jagdish Prasad* supporting the resolution. He said that large sums were being spent in the provinces without a moment's discussion, and legislative measures were enacted similarly. This, he feared, might result in causing panic in the interior amongst the illiterate. With a view to preventing this eventuality, Indians should be placed at the helm of affairs.

Sir *Jagdish* proceeded that when non-official Advisers were appointed there was no idea that the deadlock would last for any length of time or that it would close the door for negotiations. It was hoped that parliamentary government would shortly be resumed. Two years had now passed and it was being argued in certain quarters that this form of government suited the genius of the people. But he asserted it was a complete misapprehension to think that this was the best form of government. People did not want it. If, however, the Government thought otherwise let them say so and have it throughout the country.

"It is not the business of the services to decide what form of government India should have. It is the function of the British Parliament. The wishes of the services cannot be the deciding factor in deciding this grave issue, and once the decision has been taken I have no doubt the services will play their part honourably," declared Sir Jagdish Prasad. He added, 'Do not conceive that the people of India cannot live happily together. Do not believe that there should be a third party to keep peace between us." Pointing to the propertied class he warned them that they had a stake in the country. They should not accept the role of hangers on, or they would be wiped out. Any class which was treated as a special class above the common weal would not last, he added.

INDIANISATION OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Moving the resolution advocating that all portfolios in the Governor-General's Executive Council should be entrusted to non-official Indians, the hon. Pandit *Hirday Nath Kunzru* said: "We should be assured that the war will lead to our complete emancipation soon after it is over: meanwhile steps should be taken to show that Britain means to carry out its pledges. Out of consideration for the pre-occupation of the Government we have only asked that while no change be made in the present Act, steps should be taken to indianise the Governor-General's Council". He was glad that the Council had more Indians on it now, but regretted that no real powers had been transferred to Indian hands. He said that Indian members of the Council were suffering from two handicaps: firstly, that no vital portfolios had been made over to them and secondly, they had to work with people who had all their life worked in accordance with the bureaucratic system and who were bound to look upon problems from a very different angle. These handicaps should be removed. He demanded that an Indian should be in charge of the portfolio held by the Commander-in-Chief and added, "If the present Government is a civil one and if it accepts that the duty of the military is not to shape the policy but to carry it out, it is necessary that the Executive Council should consist entirely of civilians.

Pandit *Kunzru* complained that it had never been British policy to part with power willingly. If history were impartially written he was certain the British Government would not be able to raise their head before the bar of public opinion, he added. On account of their policy India found herself unable to defend herself. "Yet Indians are asked what will happen if the British are defeated. We know and realise the consequences fully; our present helplessness is only due to them." He concluded that unless a National Government were established, Indian as well as British safety would be at stake. "Now is the time when the authorities should wake up. Let them take courage and discard the help of slaves and ask for that of free men."

The conference at this stage concluded.

The All India Women's Conference

Sixteenth Session—Cocanada—29th. December 1941

THE WELCOME ADDRESS

The sixteenth session of the All-India Women's Conference commenced its sitting at the Town Hall, Cocanada on the 29th. December 1941. The President-elect, Mrs. *Vijoya Lakshmi Pandit*, arrived in an imposing procession passing through the main road.

On the President's side of the dais were seated the *Yuvarani of Pithapuram*, Mrs. *Rameshwari Nehru*, Mrs. *Kamala Devi*, Mrs. *Urmila Mehta* and the Reception Committee Vice-Presidents and Secretaries.

WELCOME ADDRESS

The *Yuvarani of Pithapuram*, Chair-woman of the Reception Committee, in welcoming Mrs. Pandit and other delegates, said that women could not fail to take notice of world events, for that imaginary line of demarcation between world affairs and national affairs was fast disappearing. It was as much for them, the women, as for men, to take up the challenge of the times, and to prepare and equip themselves for the coming events. "When the history of the present period comes to be written, let it not be said that the women had failed," she observed. "The All-India Women's movement is not an isolated movement. It is part of a great world movement. We are seeing with what heroism and strength of conviction, our comrades, the women in China, Russia, Britain and America are facing the cruel vicissitudes of fortune. In all likelihood we may have to face a similar fate. I am confident that the women of this country will then be not found wanting.

"The women's movement in this country has yet to travel a long road, when compared with similar movements in other countries. Our rights ought to be yet recognised, and they are to be established. The freedom of the woman is to be established on a basis of equality with man. Our movement is not against anyone, it is entirely to help vindicate the natural inherent rights of the women which have been for a long time denied. We do not claim any special privileges, as the so-called weaker sex. I even feel that it cannot be said, women have no place in the army. This is conceded to a great extent in some of the other countries. While peace, and not destruction of humanity, is the cherished desire of the woman, an active role in the war machinery becomes a sacred duty when arms ought to be taken up in the defence of justice and liberty." The Yuvarance added that while the women of the country had duties to perform by the society as members of the society on a footing of social equality with man, they could not forget and ignore their duties by the home. Here the woman shouldered one great responsibility, the responsibility of bringing up children. In helping the formation of their character, their outlook on life in giving shape as it were to the very life of the future citizens of the world, they were expected to perform a great task. Concluding, the *Yuvarance* appealed to women to take their due share in the shaping of a better world.

Annual Report

Mrs. *Urmila Mehta*, General Secretary, presented the annual report of the Conference. The report stated that despite the worsening international situation the year under review had been one of steady quiet work for the Conference and its branches. Constructive work of various kinds had been undertaken by the 38 branches, and 150 sub-branches, with their 10,000 members scattered all over the land. New branches had been opened at Kashmir and Hyderabad Sind (originally a sub-branch), while the flagging energies of the Patna branch were revived by Mrs. Pandit. The branches varied in size from those with a thousand members as in Maharashtra to small groups of women doing as important work in more difficult and less advanced areas. All branches have been doing a certain amount of work in the spread of literacy among adults. While one or two had closed down their classes for want of funds, the Bombay branch was the foremost in its efforts to eradicate illiteracy.

The branches were also attending to the health of women and children by running clubs, physical activity centres, lectures on sanitation and dietetics, distribution of milk to needy children and hospital visiting. Some branches were running nursery and elementary schools. Training of women in homecraft and industries and the marketing of these products as well as finding employment for women was undertaken by some branches.

Presidential Address

Mrs. *Vijoya Lakshmi Pandit*, in the course of her presidential address, said: "I was unable to share in your deliberations last year, but I followed each detail of the Mysore Session from behind the bars of the Naini Central Prison and read with interest and satisfaction of the work that was being done and the spirit that was moving our sisters to greater efforts in every direction. But the world moves so rapidly these days that already last year seems a century old. New problems arise before old ones have been solved—new doubts create conflict in our minds and a heaviness in our hearts—leaving us weary. The problems of our own country loom large before us, but larger and more threatening are those world problems which we, as women, have to face. The war ranges unabated and draws nearer to our country. Suffering and sorrow go through the world hand in hand leaving desolation in countless homes in many countries. Let us spare a moment to send a world of sympathy and greetings to all those people whose countries are to-day involved in war." She regretted that it had not been posible for any visitors from overseas to attend the session of the Conference and that Miss Vera Brittain, the authoress of "Letters to Peace Lovers" was not permitted to attend the session. She welcomed Srimati Kamaladevi to the Conference after her long absence abroad "where she has so ably represented India's cause in many countries."

Principle of Non-Violence

Proceeding, Mrs. Pandit said: "For several years now our Conference has passed resolutions expressing its opinion against war as a method of solving international problems. Unfortunately, however, our resolutions have not gone

very far beyond the hall in which they were passed, nor has there been perhaps an adequate understanding on the part of the majority of our sisters of the implications of our anti-war resolutions. To-day the possibility of war is nearer to India than ever before. Wars do not come upon one unawares. They are the inevitable consequence of certain policies. A war is the result of certain economic and other causes. So long as governments persist in such policies so long will wars, with all the tragedy they involve, recur from time to time. In the West our sisters are thinking deeply over these problems. Progressive organisations are trying to find a better way of adjusting human and national relations in the post-war world. It is in planning for a new world order that women should take their share. Women's organisations should throw all their weight in favour of world disarmament and peacefully labour for the establishment of a juster political and economic order. In spite of the criticism and ridicule which has been directed at the non-violent creed, there is an increasing number of thinking men and women all over the world who believe that if the world is not to destroy itself and revert to barbarism, it must ultimately accept the principle of non-violence. As women we have a special responsibility cast on us. We must decide whether we shall ally ourselves to the forces of life, or those of death. Shall we bear sons only that they may murder other women's sons and help to maintain a system which stands self-condemned ? Or shall we raise our united voice in favour of a brave new world where human life and human liberty receive the respect which is their due, where progress and security are within the grasp of each individual ? The choice is before us. The future, not for women only but for humanity as well is what the women of to-day make of it. Let us not treat this matter lightly."

Referring to India's attitude to the present war, the President pointed out that the authoritative nature of British rule in India contradicted Britain's announcement about her war aims and asked unless the right of India to freedom was recognised how could the people of India fight to preserve the freedom of other nations, unless it was recognised that the new world must be built up on the co-operation of a free people in a free world order what ultimate good could come of a victory even by the socalled progressive powers.

WORK BEFORE THE CONFERENCE

After referring to the work of the Conference during the past 16 years as a representative organisation of the womanhood of India, Mrs. Pandit urged that while eschewing narrow party politics, they could not keep themselves from current political thought and pleaded for the conference allying itself with all those progressive movements in India which worked for liberty—the liberty of the individual as well as the liberty of the country. She also emphasised the need for the co-ordination of all women's organisations in the country under some federal scheme. She added that the conference instead of endeavouring to tackle a variety of problems should concentrate this year on those which were of special significance and see to what extent they were able to work them out. "We have in the part worked for the removal of illiteracy. This field is so vast that our results have been negligible. If we could concentrate for at least one year on this as the major item of our programme in every province we could achieve worth-while results. A mass drive against illiteracy started by the Conference would instantly evoke a response from other progressive groups and would help us to establish closer contacts with the villages and with the workers in fields and factories. This would also be a means of educating women in the ideals of the Conference and developing in them a sense of their own responsibilities. We have before us a scheme for a model village. The idea is good but there are many difficulties which will have to be faced. Such a project requires the undivided attention of those who take it up. For good work we require trained whole-time workers who will live in the village. I am not sure, however, if even then we can do anything of real value. The main problem of the village is one which the villager must solve himself through a desire for better conditions. We can of course help to arouse consciousness. In the village project besides literacy, medical aid, etc., which will naturally form part of any such scheme, I would like the question of cottage industries and co-operatives to receive the attention which is their due. Their importance cannot be stressed too strongly. For an agricultural country the cottage industry becomes a vital necessity—not as the rival of big industry but as a supplementary force which can help to solve the economic problem of the villager. The work done by co-operatives in China

has shown how valuable their contribution can be to the national life of a country. We should therefore remember these two items when working out our village project." Mrs. Pandit welcomed the recommendations of the Hindu Law Committee and added that what was urgently required was the codification of the whole of Hindu law based on the principles of equality of status between man and woman.

Promotion of Communal Harmony

In conclusion, Mrs. V. L. Pandit appealed to the delegates to do their bit for promoting communal harmony and removing hatred and suspicion that had crept into our midst. An organised effort on behalf of the Conference to restore harmony between the communities, she said, would have far-reaching results. "India belongs to all of us. Her greatness is the result of that culture to which each sect and religion has contributed. Her past glory as well as her present fallen condition are the handiwork of her children. We cannot evade our responsibility by pleading other activities. Some of the work we have done may have value, but if we can contribute even in a small measure to the unity of India we shall not have lived in vain."

The *Maharaja of Pithapuram* and Mr. *T. Prakasam* then addressed the Conference by special invitation. The Conference then adjourned.

Resolutions—Second Day—Cocanada—30th. December 1941

War and Peace Aims

Resolutions of condolence touching the demise of Dr. *Rabindranath Tagore*, and Mrs. *Hirabai Tata* were moved by the chair and passed to-day.

The following resolution proposed by the President and seconded by Mrs. *Hannah Sen* on War and Peace was unanimously passed :

'This Conference is of the opinion that permanent peace cannot be achieved except on the principles of freedom and justice equally applicable to all nations and races, that an immediate and fundamental change in the present structure for a post-war world can be constructed only out of policies initiated and operated during the present war, and that Britain's statements regarding her war aims cannot make any moral appeal to the peoples of the world so long as she refuses to alter her present policy in regard to India.

"This conference reiterates its abhorrence of war and declares that if war is persisted in, it must inevitably lead not only to meaningless destruction but also to the deterioration of moral values. It, therefore, firmly believes that human progress is possible only in a world free from military domination and based on the acceptance of international disarmament."

Women's Volunteer Corps

Another resolution which runs as follows was also passed :

"In view of the critical times and the danger of air attacks, such as Rangoon has experienced recently, in all parts of India, this Conference resolves that instructions be issued to all its branches to concentrate in the immediate future on training their members for humanitarian work. This Conference is emphatically of the opinion that the duty of the Branches of All-India Women's Organisation is to play their part in developing centres where their members will be trained to help the citizens in moments of crisis.

"Towards this end, it suggests that the following schemes be undertaken and that an A. I. W. C s Voluntary Crops be formed independently of other organisations. Scheme of work—(a) allaying panic among the masses : (b) assisting in the evacuation of women and children from the threatened areas ; (c) arranging for first-aid and emergency nursing courses ; (d) facilitating the distribution of food and other necessities in the affected areas ; (e) helping in protective measures and after-air attacks ; and (f) tackling internal disruption."

Another resolution urging that, in view of the abnormal rise in price of essential commodities and its consequent repurcussion, the Governments, both Central and Provincial, should enforce the control of prices without delay, was also passed. The Conference then adjourned.

Resolutions—Third Day—Cocanada—31st. December 1941

Resolution on Civil Liberties

The Conference passed a resolution on civil liberties stating "that in these times when encroachment on national freedom threatens to destory those inherent

individual rights which are so precious a heritage of civilisation this Conference associates itself with such organisations all over the world as are striving to preserve the fundamental rights of all human beings, which, among others, are the rights of association, security of property, liberty of speech, freedom of the press, religious worship, street processions and demonstrations, and rights of personal security." The Conference recorded its emphatic protest against attempts to curtail unnecessarily the civil liberties of Indian people and demanded immediate restoration of all such liberties.

Resolutions congratulating the Mysore Government in appointing a woman doctor a Chief Medical Officer of all women's hospitals in the State and felicitating the S. N. D. T. Indian Women's University on the occasion of its Silver Jubilee celebrations, were also passed. The conference then terminated.

The Rau Committee Report on Hindu Women's Rights

In this connection we reproduce below the report of Sir *B. N. Rau's* Hindu Law Committee which was published from New Delhi on the **26th. July 1941.** The report opened that the only satisfactory way of removing defects in the law relating to Hindu women's rights to property is to avoid piecemeal legislation and to take up as early as possible the codification of Hindu law, beginning with the law of succession.

The Rau Committee was appointed in January this year to examine the Hindu Women's Rights to Property Act of 1937 (as amended by Act XI of 1938) with particular reference to five private Bills : to suggest such amendments to the Act as would, firstly, resolve the doubts felt as to the construction of the Act ; secondly, to clarify the nature of the right conferred by the Act upon the widow ; and, thirdly, to remove any injustice that may have been done by the Act to the daughter ; and to examine and advise on Mr. K. Santanam's Hindu Law of Inheritance (Amendment) Bill and Dr. G. V. Deshmukh's Hindu Women's Rights to Separate Residence and Maintenance Bill.

The Committee base their recommendations on opinions received in answer to a questionnaire sent, in three parts, to High Court Judges, distinguished lawyers and citizens, members of the Central Legislature, High Court Bar Libraries, heads of religious institutions, Women's Associations, social reform associations and Pandit's Associations, among others.

The Report sets out the defects in the Acts of 1937 and 1938 which the Committee themselves detected or which were brought to their notice. "Defects of this kind," the Committee state, "are inevitable in piecemeal legislation effecting fundamental changes in Hindu Law. The only safe course is not to make any fundamental changes by brief, isolated acts ; if fundamental changes have to be made, it is wisest to survey the whole field and enact a code, if not of the whole of Hindu Law, at least of those branches of it which are necessarily affected by the contemplated legislation."

"We do not suggest," the Committee continue, "that all parts of the law should be taken in hand at once. The most urgent part, namely, the law of succession (including of course, women's rights in that connection) may be taken up first ; then the law of marriage ; and so on. After the law relating to each part has thus been reduced to statutory form, the various Acts may be consolidated into a single code. We suggest this as a reasonable compromise between piecemeal legislation and wholesale codification."

The Committee next discuss what should be done with the Acts now in force until a comprehensive law of succession can be prepared. Suggestions in the answers to the questionnaire, that the Acts should be repealed, are dismissed as "unthinkable primarily on the ground that these Acts have established an important principle laid down 9,500 years ago, but also because they have conferred rights, on the faith of which important transactions have already been entered into.

On the question of amending the two Acts, the Committee express their doubts as to the urgency or wisdom of amending legislation in the present circumstances.

"We feel that this is not the time for controversial legislation," the Committee state. "If there are obscurities and anomalies in the Acts, let the courts remove

them as and when occasion arises, so that the shock of each decision has time to die down before the next one comes.

"We do not think that it would be wise or worth while for Government to sponsor legislation likely to arouse bitter controversy—especially at the present time—merely for the sake of removing the defects in an isolated Act or two. The better plan would be to leave the Acts to their operation for the present and to replace them as early as possible by a comprehensive law on the subject of succession enacted at leisure and embodying solutions on which there is a substantial measure of agreement."

The Committee proceed to discuss the need for amending the Acts of 1937 and 1938 to remove any injustice that may have been done by these Acts to the daughter. Taking the case of Bengal, the Committee analyse the gains and losses resulting from the working of the Acts, and arrive at the conclusion that "the injustice done to the daughter and other heirs by promoting the widowed daughter-in-law over their heads is not of so clear or pressing a character as to need immediate relief and that it may well await the general review of the law of succession which we have proposed."

The Committee add, however, that the large majority of their correspondents have advocated the immediate admission of the daughter to an equal share with the daughter-in-law where these alone are the surviving heirs. In deference to these views, and in compliance with the terms of references, the Committee have, therefore, included a provision for this purpose in their draft of the clarifying Bill.

After examining Bills promoted by Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta, Dr. Deshmukh and others, the Committee express the opinion that these may well await the codification suggested.

Discussing what should be done with the Acts of 1937 and 1938 pending codification, the Committee express the view that, as there is no question of repeal, they must either be amended or left unamended.

They hold that amendment is inadvisable at present but, in case it is considered that the Acts ought not to be left unamended, even for the time being, they have drawn up the rough draft of an amending Bill (given as an appendix to the Report).

Whether the Acts are amended or left unamended, the Committee state, it is necessary to persuade the Governors' Provinces to enact parallel legislation for agricultural land, with retrospective effect, in order to give widows the full measure of the benefit which the framers of the Acts contemplated, to avoid a multiplicity of rules of succession, and to protect transactions already entered into on the faith of the Acts.

The rough draft of a Bill for Governors' Provinces is given as an appendix to the Report.

In conclusion, the Committee state: "The recommendation which we should like to stress most strongly is that relating the preparation, in gradual stages, of a complete code of Hindu law.....The aim should be, as far as possible, to arrive at agreed solutions and to avoid anything likely to arouse acrimonious controversy. This need not mean any real slowing down of the pace of reform, for true reform proceeds by persuasion rather than coercion. Our own experience leads us to believe that a substantial measure of agreement will be possible, provided reformer and conservative resolve to appeal to the best in each other."

Appended to the Report is the full text of the decision of the Federal Court on questions referred to it at the instance of the Committee, establishing that the Act of 1937 and the Amending Act of 1938 are effective only in respect of property other than Agricultural lands in Governors' Provinces.

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The All India Medical Conference

Eighteenth Session—Hyderabad—26th. December 1941

THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Presiding over the Eighteenth Session of the All-India Medical Conference held at Hyderabad on the **26th. December 1941**, Dr. *K. S. Ray* reviewed the condition of the medical profession in India and explained the ways in which the position could be improved.

Dr. *Ray* referred to the lack of sufficient interest on the part of the authorities in matters concerning public health and medical aid. The expenditure on medical aid and public health work in British India did not exceed 3½ per cent of the total revenue, while the corresponding proportion in Great Britain was over 23 per cent. The Public Health and Medical Departments of the several Provinces had not to their credit any comprehensive planning or organization for provision of medical relief in the interior of the country where the bulk of our people lived. A broader and more realistic view of things was needed. Disinclination to utilise the resources, which existed in the host of private practitioners, was another regrettable feature of the official mind. This water-tight barrier and want of co-operation between the official and non-official medical men had to be removed.

The only way of providing medical aid to the villager, the doctor said, was for the State to make out a comprehensive plan of the country, find out how the people were distributed in it, what were the diseases which were endemic in different areas, what were the methods of preventing them and of giving medical aid in case of illness, and then utilise the immense resources in the shape of medical practitioners, who could be induced with State aid to set up in the different areas and whose services would be available to the furthermost limit of this vast country preparing schemes for prevention and cure of diseases.

Dr. *K. S. Ray* then referred to the question of reforming and improving the standard of medical education so as to adapt it to the needs of the country and he pleaded that a new attitude must be developed in the medical student so as to get him to be interested in health, not chiefly in disease. The Indian Medical Council, the speaker added, had adopted a resolution that there should be one uniform minimum standard of medical education for the whole country and unless a practitioner had reached that standard, he would not be admitted to the Central Register which the Indian Medical Council desired to maintain. Its obvious intention was that medical schools which failed to come up to the standard should cease to exist. The question was how far the several Provinces would agree to take this course. Madras and the U. P. had adopted it but other Provinces had not done so.

Referring to the question of recruitment to the Emergency Commissions in the *I. M. S.*, the speaker said that the Working Committee and the Central Council of the Indian Medical Association were of the opinion that a mere appeal to the patriotic sentiments of medical men in India would be ineffective to secure adequate response from the medical profession unless fundamental changes were made in the Indian Medical Service and unless the term and conditions of Emergency Service then offered, were materially altered. The rejection by the authorities of the I. M. A. for complete abolition of the Civil side of the I. M. S. after the cessation of the war, on the ground that it impinged on constitutional issues, was extremely regrettable, he said.

Dr. *Ray* also adverted to the present scarcity of the foreign drugs, owing to the prolongation of the war, and suggested that a permanent committee of industrialists, economists and experts should be immediately set up to explore the avenues of drug manufacture in India. The Government had constituted a Board for this purpose. India was now said to be almost self-sufficient in her medical needs. The Government should see that when the war ceased adequate measures were taken to save these new industries in the face of post-war competition. In this connection, the speaker stressed the need for an Indian pharmacopoeia which should include not only drugs of Western systems but also those of Ayurvedic and Unani preparations whose therapeutic and pharmacological values had been proved.

Dr. *Ray*, proceeding, referred to the paucity of workers in the field of medical research in India. The Government had an organisation called the Indian Research Fund Association, but the terms under which its grants were made led to so much official control that the worker was seldom a free agent. If red-tapism continued to hamper the activities of the Research Fund Association, they should appeal to our philanthropic rich to do their duty to the country by encouraging research by their private charities. The speaker also pleaded for more facilities for post-graduate and special courses by the universities so that students might after graduation make advanced studies in the subjects of their choice. He further urged the Universities to institute a separate course in nursing and grant diplomas or degrees in it. They might also establish separate institutions with attached hospitals for the training of nurses.

Adverting, in conclusion, to the need to put down quackery, Dr. Ray said that while spread of education would do a lot to convince the people of the evils of quackery, what was urgently needed now was the introduction of health insurance or a sysrem of local subsidy which would more and more lure the qualified people to the villages and enable them to liquidate quackery.

Resolutions—Second Day—Hyderabad—28th. December 1941

ABOLITION OF RACIAL DISTINCTION

The Conference passed a number of resolutions urging the authorities to deal with the problems of nutrition, self-sufficiency in drugs, preparedness of the country to meet air raids and other matters connected with the medical profession in India.

A resolution moved by Dr. *Jivraj Mehta* of Bombay stated that, until the civil side of the I. M. S. was entirely done away with and the racial distinctions between Indian and British members thereof as embodied in the Government of India resolution of March 1937 and the distinctions which existed at present between the different groups that constituted the I. M. D. were removed and untill the licenciates were also granted commissions in the I. M. S., the Government would find it extremely difficult to persuade the members of the independent medical profession to volunteer to any appreciable extent to join the Army Medical Service. The resolution also expressed the opinion that the I.M.S. and I.M.D. as at present constituted had failed to supply the needs of the Indian Army during the war and that the civil side of the I.M.S. had totally failed in its "alleged object of being a war reserve".

Dr. *Jivraj Mehta* was of the view that the civil side of the I. M. S. and I. M. D. services should be abolished as early as possible and that the racial discrimination between the Indian and British members of the I. M. S. should be done away with. Here Dr. Mehta referred to the inefficiency of that service and pointed out how utterly it had failed in its duty of making the necessary provision for the supply of solid blood plasma or blood serum so very essential for the treatment of persons, both military and civil, suffering from shock as a result of bombing. Without such prompt supply the death rate amongst the casualties as a result of air raids would mount up tremendously. Dr. Mehta further said that even the apparatus necessary for preparing solid blood plasma was not available in the country though the war was raging for over 27 months. From what he knew as to what was happening in this connection he said that the High Command of that service was until very recently merely tinkering with the problem. Evidently, the greater its inefficiency, the more that service was keen on preserving its vested interests by continuing its civil side and until it was rooted out completely, Dr. Mehta concluded, the medical interests of the country would suffer.

DEMAND FOR A NUTRITION COMMISSION

The Conference drew the attention of the Government and the public to the steadily deteriorating physique of the nation caused, amongst other things, by malnutrition and adulteration of food, and demanded a Nutrition Commission to study the subject in all its bearings and made certain recommendations in this connection.

The Conference endorsed the views expressed by some members of the medical profession regarding the diet of "C" class prisoners generally and particularly in Central Provinces jails and urged the Government to investigate into the matter and provide milk for 'C' class prisoners.

The Conference by a resolution moved by Dr. *R. A. Amesur* of Karachi deplored the complete lack of preparedness of the country to meet air attacks so far as the medical side was concerned, and viewed with apprehension the effects

that rapid evacuation without properly planned sanitary and medical arrangements would cause and called upon all local bodies to take measures, in consultation with the members of the medical profession to meet the threat and meet the probable outbreak of epidemic diseases. The resolution also urged all medical organisations in the country to co-operate with the local bodies in this connection.

The Conference urged the Central and Provincial Governments to give effect to a comprehensive scheme for making India self-sufficient in drugs and help the industry by providing during the war facilities for getting raw chemical materials and machinery not available in India, by issue of priority certificates after the war and by providing tariff protection and buying for Government Medical Stores drugs of standard qualities from the indigenous manufacturing firms only. The Conference also urged the Government to adopt the recommendations of the Drugs Enquiry Committee of the Government of India (1929-30).

PROTEST AGAINST RECALLING OF RETIRED OFFICERS

The Conference protested against the practice resorted to by the Central and Provincial Governments of recalling to the higher posts in the Civil Medical Department retired men, as this blocked the promotion of junior men to those higher posts to which they may have risen, if such retired men had not been re-appointed during the period of the war.

The Associated Chambers of Commerce

Annual Session—Calcutta—15th. December 1941

THE VICEROY'S ADDRESS

The Annual General Meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce was held in Calcutta on the **15th. December 1941.** The following is the text of the Viceroy's speech on the occasion :—

"I thank you most warmly for the welcome you have given me here to-day, and I need not say how great a pleasure it is to me to meet you again, or how greatly I esteem the privilege that you have extended to me of addressing you. This is the sixth occasion on which I have had that privilege. You know how much importance I attach to the opportunity it gives me of speaking at large on matters of great moment not only to the commercial community, which you, gentlemen, represent, but to an audience wider far.

"Before I proceed with my remarks, I hope you will allow me to say how glad I was to hear the tribute which you, Sir, have paid to His Excellency Sir John Herbert. Few people can know better than I do the zeal and the enthusiasm which he has displayed in his most heavy and responsible charge, and the pains at which he has been not only to acquaint himself with the problems of that charge on paper but to maintain contact with every corner of the Presidency, and, through his own example, and his own keen interest, to encourage, every endeavour that has been made in support of the war effort of Bengal.

"In your speech to-day, Sir, you touched on a number of points of great importance, and I will do my best in what I have to say to comment on them. I should like also, with your permission, to say a brief word towards the end of my speech on the Indian political situation, and on the developments that have taken place in it during the last twelve months. But to-day, wherever we may be, the matter of first importance, the one thing that dominates our thoughts, the one thing that demands every ounce of energy that we can spend, is the successful prosecution of the war and its successful outcome. And it is, therefore, of the war and of its fortunes over the last twelve months, and of India's contribution to it, and the help that India has given and is giving, that I would like in the first place to speak.

WAR DEVELOPMENTS

"To-day the minds of all of us are full of the wanton and unprovoked aggression of the Japanese against the British Empire and against the United

States of America. Like master, like man, says the old proverb. The Japnese have, if possible, improved on the example set them by the Nazis—of deceit, of cold-blooded disregard of the most solemn obligations and, I trust also, on a long view, of short-sightedness. There is little I need say to you to-day in a case so clear, at a juncture so critical. A more infamous betrayal of those principles which Japan has in the past claimed to venerate and to uphold would be difficult to parallel. The warning is clear to all of us, as it is clear to the small nations. This new and heavy addition to our responsibilities is one that we must bend every nerve to deal with and to master. And in handling that task we shall have with us, I am certain, as fully as in the earlier phases of the war, the goodwill, the heart-felt sympathy and the support of India as a whole.

"When I addressed you last year the Empire was but recovering from the blow inflicted on it by the defeat of our French allies, and the collapse of France. We were through the worst. We had stood up to the heaviest battering that any nation could have had to face. We had survived with success many months of acute peril and immense strain ; and we were in a position to look forward with confidence to 1941.

"1941 has not belied the hopes that we entertained a year ago. It does not see the end of the war. There are before us many critical months, months in which we shall pass through grave anxiety, in which we shall suffer heavy losses, in which we shall have to bear the strain of critical situations, before the desired outcome is achieved. But we are a year further on the way. The year which has just passed has been marked by many events of the utmost significance. The enemy's endeavours to strangle us by sea have failed. The Battle of the Atlantic still goes on, and will go on. But the threat it constitutes, and the burden it represents are less great by far than those a year ago.

Valour of Indian Troops

By land, we have liquidated the Italian empire in Africa. In that great task, with which the name of our present Commander-in-Chief, His Excellency General Sir Archibald Wavell, will for ever imperishably be associated, the part played by India and Indian troops was of the first significance and of the highest value. I have the Commander-in-Chief's personal authority for the outstanding quality of their effort and of the contribution that they have made. India's troops, fighting in North Africa as I speak to you, are maintaining the highest traditions set by the Indian Army in the past, and by their comrades in the earlier phases of this war. In Iraq, in Persia, in both of which countries Axis endeavours to turn to their advantage, by Fifth Column methods and insidious propaganda, the weakness of individuals have been foiled. Indian troops have played their part. There is, I think, some risk that recent events in the Far East may divert attention from the great and glorious victory which General Auchinleck and the troops under his command, splendidly supported by the Royal Navy and the Air Forces of the Empire have won against very important German and Italian forces, in North Africa. In the long and gruelling battle between forces very evenly matched, Indian troops are playing a highly distinguished part. The strategic importance of this battle will, I am convinced, prove to be very great and it is most heartening to notice that upon the first occasion that we have met the Germans on terms of equality in numbers and armament, our men have proved their superiority.

"From the United States of America, to which our sympathy goes out with such sincerity and depth in the shocking aggression of which they have been the victims, the Empire has had, and continues to have, help of inestimable value. Let me say in that connection how great a happiness it has been to me to see during my own term of office, and at a juncture so critical as the present, the bonds between the United States of America and India more closely knit by the appointment as United States Commissioner to India of Mr. Thomas Murray Wilson, so well known to many of us here ; and by the appointment of Sir Girja Shankar Baipai as Agent-General of India in America.

"When last I addressed you, few of us anticipated that still more blatant exhibition of cynicism was to be given by a breach of relations between Germany and Russia, and by the wholly unprovoked, and wholly unjustified, onslaught made without a moment's notice, or a word of warning, by the Nazis on a nation to which they were bound by every form of engagement. Russia has had to meet and to carry the shock of a devastating and an unprovoked attack. But her response has been magnificent ; and I know, gentlemen, that I speak for you all to-day when I say that the deep and sincere good wishes of everyone of us go out to Russia and to her people in the battle they are waging ; and that there is no one of us who

does not feel admiration, real and profound, for the supreme example which she and her people have given to the word of courage, resolution and tenacity.

"We have been at war for two years and a quarter. We have suffered heavy losses, grave set-backs. But we have much to show in the result ; and it is my sincere belief that, with the lessons of the past behind us, we can face the very testing times that lie ahead with confidence, and well-founded confidence, that we shall face them with no less resolution and no less courage, whatever may lie in store for us, than the Empire, and than India, have shown since the day that the war began.

War Effort

"India's contribution to the war and to its successful outcome was great indeed even a year ago. In the twelve months that have passed since we met, its growth has been immense. His Majesty's Government have shown themselves most anxious to take advantage of the men, the munitions, the supplies of various kinds which India is so well qualified to give, and which India has always been so anxious to give. The number of our fighting men who are defending India overseas is three times what it was a year ago, and ten times what it was two years ago. The organisation of our supply system has been, I will not say, perfected, nor there is always room for improvement in any system, but it has been brought to a pitch of performance which commands admiration, and the results of which are striking in the highest degree. Let me pay due acknowledgment to the part which your help and your constructive criticism have played in that achievement.

"In every form of war-like display we are playing our part indeed more than our part. In every form of financial contribution for weapons, for equipment, for amenities for the fighting forces, for the relief of distress arising from the war, India—the States and British India alike—remains most generous and open-hearted. And the spirit of this country, since it first recognised what was involved in the struggle in which we are engaged, has remained, and remains, calm, firm, convinced of the necessity of victory, ready to do and to give all in its power to bring victory about. But there is always ways in which, as a country and as individuals, we can make a still greater contribution. I am ready to ask for the impossible, and I know that if I do I shall get a ready response, not only from you gentlemen, and the great commercial community which you represent, but from all classes and from every part of India.

"Let me turn now to some of the important matters on which you have touched in the course of your remarks. They are without exception directly connected with the war, for we have reached a stage now at which there is no activity in this country, no activity indeed any where in the Empire, that does not directly or indirectly affect, or arise out of the prosecution of the struggle in which we are engaged.

Organisation of Supply

"I would like in the first place to say a word about supply. You can imagine how deep a satisfaction it has been to me to hear, Sir, the encouraging and the friendly words which you were good enough to use to-day of the work of my Supply Department. I can bear personal witness to the intensity of the efforts made by the officers of that Department since the beginning of the war, and to the anxiety both of Sir Zafrullah Khan and of his distinguished successor, Sir Homi Mody, to see that the very best results possible are achieved, whatever the difficulties that may confront us. The progress made has been due in part to plans laid well over a year ago by those who founded the Department and who saw it through its early troubles. But the two great factors in our progress have been the establishment of the forward programme and the creation of the Eastern Group Supply Council.

"The forward programme has made it possible to enter into contracts for six months at a time, and to get industry into continuous production. The Eastern Group Supply Council has beyond any question most markedly stimulated the war effort on the supply side in India and in the Dominions and other countries represented in the Eastern Group. The Eastern Group Conference gave the representatives of the various Governments concerned a clear idea of the industrial potential of their neighbours ; and I would like to take the opportunity to add that India has had a very full share of the orders that have so far been placed through the Council. The opening of a great new theatre of war in the Far East will provide a sharp test of the elasticity and soundness of our provision and supply organisations. I have every confidence that these will emerge with credit.

"I think that you will wish me to give you, as briefly as I can, a few outstanding facts which speak for themselves. The production of steel is being rapidly stepped up by the efforts, to which I should like to pay a warm tribute, of the Tata Iron and Steel Company and the Steel Corporation of Bengal. Before the middle of 1942, production should touch a rate of 1.25 million tons per annum ; and that is not a final figure, for a substantial increase upon it may be looked for. I would like to say a word of praise and of thanks in this connection for the efforts of the Tata Iron and Steel Company (whose works I have just had the pleasure of visiting again) in producing special steels, notably armour plate and bullet-proof welding electrodes.

PRODUCTION OF ARMAMENTS

"All the Ministry of Supply Mission projects approved by His Majesty's Government are now well launched and work upon them is proceeding as fast as possible. Civil armaments production, which encountered initial difficulties of some substance is now shaping well, and the production of empty shell is satisfactory. There are difficulties still to be overcome in the production of certain munitions components. But the work done during the last twelve months has not been wasted, and I am satisfied that we may reasonably take an encouraging view of prospects.

"India's shipyards are employed to capacity in the construction of mine-sweeping trawlers and other small naval craft, as well as in repairs to ships of the line and merchant vessels.

"Progress has been made, I am glad to say, in stimulating and developing the Indian machine tool industry, and simple machine tools are now being manufactured in India in fairly large quantities. Engineering stores are being manufactured in very large quantities indeed, and, though there are still hold-ups owing to the uneven flow of material, the fabricating workshops are fully occupied. The demand for woollen textiles still absorbs India's capacity to the full. Cotton textile demands are increasing very rapidly, and the great cotton textile industry, whose capacity we would all of us at one time have thought to be almost inexhaustible is now beginning to feel the strain of the demands placed upon it both for direct war purposes and for various purposes arising out of war conditions. The Indian silk industry will shortly assist in the war effort by providing the material required for the extensive manufacture of man-carrying parachutes in India. Demands for timber have risen to an unprecedented level. The Government clothing factories are now turning out over eight million garments a month. Leather manufactures are being organised on the same lines as clothing, and the value of the monthly output already exceeds Rs. 1.25 crores. The output of motor vehicles assembled in India has been much increased, and so far as armoured vehicles are concerned, India will be able to produce all the armour plate required for a considerable programme. India will shortly be producing her own refined sulphur. And valuable progress has been made in the production of vital chemicals, such as, bichromates, and of medical stores, including both drugs and equipment.

"1941 saw something like a four-fold increase over the greater part of the supply field, and the demands of 1942 may be literally gigantic. You will be with me in feeling that the main consideration at present is that India should prepare herself for the immense burden likely to fall upon her in 1942 and the subsequent years. As I speak to you to-day, we can claim already to have achieved great results. For those results I am profoundly grateful, not only to my Supply Department, but to the willing co-operation of industry, which has been so generously given, and which is of such vital and essential importance. I would ask that that co-operation should continue to be given with the same fullness as in the past, and if it is—and I need not say how entirely confident I am that it will be, even when under the stress of war difficulties may sometimes seem unsurmountable—we need none of us have any doubt or fear lest India should fail to play her part to the full in this vital area of war effort.

SKILLED LABOUR

"You referred, sir, to the growing demands of industry and commerce on account of the war production programme, and to the shortage of skilled labour which is making itself felt. In that connection you sounded a note of caution that production not required for the direct prosecution of the war should not be closed down ; and you reminded us that, while the paramount need for

commerce and industry is to man, equip, and maintain the most effective possible fighting force, they must not be entirely unmindful of their own preservation. I can at once assure you that it is no part of the policy of my Government to close down industrial production merely because it is not required for the direct prosecution of the war. But inevitably, war work is in an increasing degree causing demands on material and labour at the expense of the normal operations of certain industries.

"As regards skilled labour my Government has done, and will continue to do, its utmost to train such labour in increasing numbers, to give special facilities for such training, and to ensure that available skilled labour is used to the best advantage. The labour position, save in regard to certain specially technical labour connected with engineering, is, happily easier in certain regards in India than in other countries. Though there has developed a shortage of highly skilled and skilled labour, it is doubtful whether there is yet a shortage of semi-skilled and there is no lack of unskilled. There is, however, a shortage, and a shortage keenly felt, of supervisory and administrative staff. This is true in particular of European managerial and supervisory staff owing to the scheme of compulsory military service which has been introduced, and to the eager response that there has been to the call for men. I agree entirely that every action possible to foresee difficulties, and, consistently with the winning of the war, to provide for them, and to watch the preservation, in your own words, of industry and commerce, must be taken. I feel certain that the national service tribunals with their large majority of non-official businessmen, will be concerned to bear in mind the legitimate claims of industry and commerce and to see that the depletion of this staff is not carried too far.

POST-WAR ECONOMY

"In your remarks, sir, you touched on the very remarkable growth of war-time industries in India and on the question of their post-war future, and you urged the need for all the help required if many of those industries are to survive economically in post-war conditions. That important question has been constantly before me and before my advisers ; and in the budget session of 1940 the Government of India formally stated that they were prepared, in the case of specific industries started in war conditions, to give assurances that such industries, after peace was restored, would be given some form of protection against competition from abroad. That assurance was inevitably confined to specific industries, since in each case the scope of the industry, its needs, and the part that it will play in the general economy of the country, have to be considered. There are cases where an industry does not satisfy the conditions referred to as regards its position in peace conditions, and where its establishment is essential for war purposes. In those cases the Department of Supply makes the practice of encouraging production by a variety of ad hoc methods, certain of which will protect the industrialist from loss. In some cases the State has itself found the necessary capital under appropriate conditions.

"Apart from this, the question of postwar economy, with special reference to industrial development, is engaging the close and constant attention of my Government. Some time back it was announced that post-war reconstruction committees would be constituted to examine various aspects of post-war economy and to deal with problems likely to arise in post-war conditions. These reconstruction committees are in the course of being constituted and they will include a strong non-official element. One of them, the Consultative Committee of Economists, has already started work. I sincerely trust that these Committees, and their deliberations will contribute materially to the solution of some of the problems to which you have referred.

"In the circumstances of to-day the problem of civil defence assumes an importance greater than ever. I know what energy and zeal has been devoted in Calcutta to the handling of that problem, and to the development of passive air defence, an energy and zeal on which I warmly congratulate the presidency, and which will carry its own reward. I am glad to think that the whole of this very vital issue is now being handled, in consultation with the provinces, by a single Civil Defence Department at the headquarters of my Government, and that, in dealing with it, I have the assistance, in Mr. Raghavendra Rao, of an adviser who has himself had much practical experience at home and who has had the advantage also of a very close contact with the Ministry of Home Security.

"You have rightly stressed the important part which transportation plays in

modern warfare—and, I would add, in our whole economic life—and the importance of securing the best use of the available facilities. These unfortunately have never been fully adequate for the needs of the country, and the war is bound to involve an increasing strain on them. My Government has been encouraging the establishment of boards at the leading cities to co-ordinate transport over large areas, and I recognise that as the war goes on, it may be necessary to impose further control than is operative at present. But compulsion always involves a certain sacrifice of elasticity and we are anxious to leave as much liberty to private enterprise as is compatible with the fullest war effort.

PROBLEM OF INFLATION

"I listened with close attention to the observations which you, sir, made in your speech on the problem of inflation. I welcome the prominence you gave to this subject, and, while you will not, I know, take me as endorsing all that you say in this regard, I would congratulate you on a lucid analysis of one of the most baffling of present-day problems. I personally am satisfied, on the best advice available to me, that there is as yet no undue cause for alarm, and that the situation has so far proved reasonably amenable to control. But the bitter experience of so many countries of post-war Europe shows the havoc, the distress, the social injustice, which uncontrolled inflation is capable of causing ; and all who have at heart the interests of India and its people must do their utmost to prevent the vicious spiral from taking hold of this country. My Government have been, and are, giving the matter their constant and most anxious consideration. But the ramifications of the problem are complex, possible counter-measures are beset with administrative difficulties, and in our efforts to deal with it we need, and will, I assure you, most gratefully welcome, all the advice and all the active assistance which we can get from the commercial and the non-official world.

"I do not propose to detain you with comments on the special factors which have contributed to the substantial price advances of particular commodities, or on the measures which have been taken, or are in contemplation, by my Government to ease the position in those cases. The encouragement and stimulus of increased production where feasible is the most obvious, the most effective, and the most generally acceptable course of action. But unfortunately its scope is in the present circumstances strictly limited, and other and more drastic action may often become necessary. You have emphasised its limitations, I need hardly say that my advisers are fully conscious of the fact that mere price fixing by itself can seldom provide a complete cure, while any attempt to check the rise of prices, whether of primary products or of manufactured articles, not infrequently arouses hostility and opposition on the part of the interest immediatey affected. And rationing of articles of common consumption, which is almost inevitable corollary to control of prices, presents in a vast country like India greater practical difficulties than in countries smaller and more highly organised. But I can at once assure you that my Government are quite prepared to resort to methods of direct price control where they are satisfied that such action can with advantage be taken, and they will not hesitate, where need be, to follow up this prelimary measure with such control over supply as may prove to be necessary and practicable.

"You spoke of the danger of inflation which may result from rising wages, and the increased purchasing power thereby created in the hands of a vast number of employees. You distinguished between the case in which higher wages are passed on to the consumer in the form of a higher price for the product, and the case in which the increased wage bill is met entirely out of the higher profits accruing to the employed. But you suggested that even in the latter case there must still be a considerable inflationary effect, a proposition which I am not disposed to dispute. It is, I think, generally recognised that a higher standard of living, based upon a war-boom, has inherent elements of instability, and there is a limit to the extent to which rising wages and earnings result in a real improvement, owing to the development of shortages in the supply of consumable goods. This applies not only to luxuries, but also to certain necessaries, such for example as textiles. But it is, I think, possible to exaggerate the direct influence on the situation of the demands of labour, and it is important to realise that there are other, and perhaps more fundamental, factors at work as well. War-time taxation undoubtedly contributes to the avoidance of the dangers of profit-inflation, but this remedy can at best be only partial. It needs to be supplemented by the avenues for saving and investment provided by the Government of India's defence loans, and, if workers are to obtain the full benefit of their higher money wages,

they should save as much as possible, and by doing so at once safeguard their own future position and help to prevent rises in the prices of consumers' goods which can be of no advantge to them.

"I trust that you will bear with me if I elaborate this last point a little, for I regard it as a matter of first importance to India's war-time economy. With rupee expenditure on military and war supply activities standing, as it now does, in the region of 20 crores a month, with imports both from belligerent and from neutral countries subject to severe restrictions, there is a clear and imperative need for withdrawing as far as possible the surplus purchasing capacity so as to prevent the inflationary rise in prices which, as you rightly point out, everybody dreads. It is here that my Government rely on, and, I am confident, will receive, the utmost assistance and co-operation from the non-official world.

"In all Provincial Defence Loan Committees there is a large non-official element, while those in Bengal, Bombay and Madras are I believe entirely non-official. I am deeply grateful to them for their admirable work. In particular I would like to congratulate Calcutta on the magnificent result—over 10 crores of rupees—of its recent National Defence and Savings Week. Such special efforts are of the greatest value, and I cannot too warmly commend their examples. But the situation demands persistent and unremitting effort. Of the 29 crores a month which I have just mentioned a substantial portion must pass directly into the hands of the urban industrial workers, and through them to a vast number of other humble folk who live entirely outside the realm of income-tax, excess profits tax, and defence bonds. I would urge that all possible encouragement and assistance be given to them to conserve their savings by investment in defence savings certificates, the post office defence savings bank, or the savings stamp and savings card ; and I am sure that I can rely on you, gentlemen, and on all employers of labour, by your personal influence to help in a matter the importance of which in times such as these I cannot easily exaggerate.

CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUE

"When we last met I spoke to you of the proposals in the constitutional field, which, with the full approval of His Majesty's Government, I made on August 8, 1940. I was at pains to analyse those proposals in detail. I tried to bring out their far-reaching character, their great potentialities, their real significance, both immediate and for the future. I repeated that they reaffirmed, as the proclaimed and accepted goal of the Imperial Crown and of the British Parliament, the attainment by India of free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth. I emphasised the concern of His Majesty's Government that full weight should be given to the views of the minorities in framing the future constitutional scheme, the far-reaching significance of their decision that responsibility for the framing of that future constitutional scheme should, subject to the due fulfilment of the obligations which Great Britain's long connection with India has imposed upon her, be primarily for Indians themselves. I referred to the readiness of His Majesty's Government to see set up, after the conclusion of the war, with the least possible delay, a body representative of the principal elemens in India's national life, to devise the framework of that scheme. I repeated that, pending the conclusion of the war, His Majesty's Government were only too anxious to welcome and promote any sincere and practical step taken by Indians themselves to prepare the way for agreement about the form and procedure of this post-war body, and about the principles and basis of the constitution. I spoke of the anxiety of His Majesty's Government to see that sufficient degree of general agreement in this agreement in this country behind any constitutional changes which is so essential if there is to be harmonious working. I made an appeal to all parties to sink their differences in times such as these, when the fate of everything that we all of us hold most dear is in the balance, and to co-operate in the defence of those common ideals.

"My appeal did not secure the response for which I had hoped. I determined however, to wait in the hope that the passing of time would make a difference, for I wanted to give every possible chance to the major parties to come together on the basis of these proposals. I hoped, too, that the increasing pressure of the war, and its swift approach to India, would influence the decision. I was anxious, finally, as I always have been to secure, for the expansion of my Government and for the other arrangements which I had in view for associating opinion in India more closely with the conduct of the war, the support of the great political parties.

"As you know, gentlemen, I was disappointed in those hopes. But though

I was prevented from going ahead on the lines which I proposed in August of 1940, I would repeat that the guarantees, the undertakings, the pledges, the intentions, and the attitude of His Majesty's Government, as explained in my statement, towards future constitutional development and the machinery by which it is to be brought about, are as valid to-day as when they were first spoken. But, given the increasing pressure of the war, I could not, in justice to India itself, longer postpone, because of the absence of support from the great political parties, the creation of additional departments in my Council, the reorganisation of the work of that body, and the taking of steps for the association of non-official opinion with what was going on.

JOINT RESPONSIBILITY IN EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

"It was in those circumstances that, with the full approval of His Majesty's Government, the reorganisation announced in last July took place. That reorganisation did not have any basis other than administrative convenience. But in making it, though I could not look for help from the political parties, I was anxious that I should get the best men I could, the most representative men, men of real standing and importance in this country. In that I can claim to have succeeded. Though the reasons for the expansion of the Governor-General's Executive Council in the form which it finally took were those that I have explained, the process of expansion, the fact that as part of it there disappeared the European and the official majorities that had been the characteristic of that body for so many years, the transfer to non-official gentlemen of the highest standing and reputation in this country of great departments of State, with joint responsibility for all the business that comes before the Governor-General in Council, was a step the significance of which is far greater than I sometimes think is realised. Its immediate importance is great. On a long-term view it is likely to prove to be even greater.

"Let me add that during the few months that my expanded Council and I have been working together, I have, if I may say so, been most deeply impressed by its approach to the problems of the diverse issues that at all times fall to be considered, by its strong sense of corporate unity, by the independence of view of its members, and by the happiness of the atmosphere that has throughout characterised our confidential discussions. And we have had many major issues to consider during the time that we have been together. The Council in its present form is a body of great authority and great distinction. It represents wide experience, political and administrative. On it are members of different communities, from different parts of India, service and non-service, European and Indian. I would like to express to this important audience my own judgment of its entire competence in the administrative field, and my own appreciation of the value of the assistance which it has been able to give me on wider political issues. It is a strong, effective, and distinguished body ; and India may be well content that in the direction of affairs she is so well served to-day.

NATIONAL DEFENCE COUNCIL

"The second limb of the new arrangements which were announced in July was the establishment of the National Defence Council, and I would like to pay a tribute to the patriotism and public spirit of those gentlemen who have accepted my invitation to join that body. As you know my intention was (and is) that Prime Ministers of provinces shall be ex-officio members. In these last few days we have welcomed to it the Maharaja of Parlakimedi, who on the happy occasion of the restoration of normal parliamentary government in Orissa, which we all of us so much welcome, has become the Prime Minister of that province ; while with the formation of a new Ministry in Bengal, the Chief Minister of Bengal becomes a member of the Council. The establishment of the Council is a most important landmark. I think that those of you, gentlemen, present here to-day who are members of it will support me when I say that his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and his military, naval and air advisers, have been at pains to give the utmost information in their power, information, too, of a most secret character to the Defence Council ; and that it has been my anxiety in other fields equally to put its members in the fullest possession possible of what we are doing, of our difficulties, and of the directions in which we would welcome their help. The value of its discussions has been very great, and that not only because of the many constructive and helpful suggestions made by the Council. Those discussions have enabled us to make the Rulers of the Indian States, and the

representatives of non-official opinion throughout the provinces of British India, fully aware of the facts of the situation ; and they have brought about a liaison between myself, my Government, Indian States, and the provinces of British India, the value of which I cannot overstate.

"But, while the two steps which I have just mentioned are of great significance and of great hope for the future, our main problem still remains unsolved.

POSITION IN PROVINCES

"While in five provinces the constitution is functioning normally with the assistance of the legislature, in six others its normal operation remains suspended. There could be no better advertisement of the practicability and the advantage of normal parliamentary government than the success with which it has been worked in great provinces such as Bengal and the Punjab, and in areas presenting problems so different as do Bengal and the Punjab, Assam and Sind. And it remains to me a bitter disappointment that those in other provinces who had asked for and had accepted the burden of government should have thrown it down so light-heartedly, at a moment of such crisis in the fortunes of the world and of India, and with so little consideration of what was involved. That decision has provoked many regrets. I am well aware, I can but hope that we may yet see the day when, in the provinces which are still without a ministerial government, we shall see in power Governments set on the winning of the war and ready to use the immense power and opportunities at their disposal.

"And if the provincial position is as I have described it, there still remains unbridged the gulf between the parties as regards the future Government of India. That that problem remains unsolved is due to no lack of goodwill, no lack of earnest effort on the part of His Majesty's Government, the Secretary of State and myself. We have left nothing undone to bring the parties together, to try to provide the materials for an amicable agreement between them, to try to smooth India's path for the realisation of her goal. At the critical point which matters have now reached in the international situation I would ask again whether it is not possible for the divisions that unhappily exist to be bridged ; and for India, which has made, and is making, so immense a contribution to the war, which stands for so much in the history of the world, to go forward as one in support of ideals in which we know that she believes, and for which there is such overwhelming and general support throughout the country. And it is my earnest prayer that the common detestation of the wickedness against which we are fighting to-day may reflect itself in that agreement in the internal political field which it has always been our hope and desire to see achieved.

FEDERAL SCHEME

"Let it not be forgotten that when this war broke out, Indian Provincial Autonomy had begun to move, had indeed made a most important step along the road, to that equality of status with the Dominions which it has been our object to achieve. That the more complete fulfilment of that process by the establishment of Federation should not have been realised by the date of the outbreak of the war has always been a profound grief to me. Had we been able, before the outbreak of the war, to have brought Federation into being, so many of the problems that confront us now would have been solved. No better constitutional basis could have been found on which to develop the efforts of British India and the India States in a partnership which would, I believe, have been as fruitful of unity and concord in the years to come as of military advantage in the issue that immediately confronts us. Underlying the Federal scheme there was a majestic conception—the work of the best brains of India and Great Britain—elaborated with the utmost care, designed to bring this great country to a constitutional position equal in status and character to that of the Dominions. None of us overlooked the difficulties. They have always been great. They have always been obvious. They should not be insurmountable. But I will not be misunderstood when I say that they are in no small measure domestic, and that a closer collaboration between parties, communities and interests in this country would go far to pave the way for the final work of the post-war period even if, during the war, the obstacles to handling in detail all aspects of the vast and complex problem of constitutional development may be insuperable.

"We stand to-day at a crucial moment in the history of mankind. Throughout the world mighty forces are engaged in a titanic struggle the outcome of which will affect the destinies of the human race for centuries. In the Far East

the clouds that we have watched gathering for so long have burst in a storm that brings the menace of war even more closely to this land. India is no mere spectator of these tremendous events. They affect her vitally and she is playing an outstanding part in them. Let us, in such circumstances, forget our domestic differences and work together as a whole for that common object, the attainment of which is so vitally necessary to India, and so anxiously desired by all her people".

Proceedings & Resolutions

DEPRECIATION ON BUILDINGS

"This Association again urges upon the Government of India the need for and early amendment of Section 10 (2) (VII) of the Indian Income-Tax Act so that when losses are incurred through the sale of a building or furniture or through these becoming obsolete, such losses will be allowed as a deduction from income."

COMMERCIAL LITIGATION IN PUNJAB

"This Association begs to invite the attention of the Government of India to the present unsatisfactory position in regard to commercial litigation in the Punjab."

AMENDMENT TO SEC. 10 (4) OF INCOME TAX ACT

"Being convinced that all taxes and royalties, however calculated, payable to the Provincial Governments or local authorities, are in fact expended wholly for the purpose of the business,' this Association reiterates the view that these should be allowed as a business expense and therefore again urges for the consideration of the Government of India that Section 10 (4) of the Indian Income-Tax Act should be amended accordingly ."

COMPULSORY INSURANCE OF IMMOVABLE PROPERTY

"This Association urges on the Government of India the desirability, under existing conditions, of the formulation for consideration of a Government scheme for the compulsory insurance of immovable property, including buildings and fixed plant and machinery."

COMPENSATION FOR INJURY BY ARMY DRIVERS

"This Association urges upon the Government of India the necessity for introducing adequate measures to enable the public to recover compensation from the military authorities when accidents are caused by the negligent or improper driving of military drivers in the course of their duty."

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION ACT

"This Association urges the Government of India to take early steps suitably to amend the proviso to Section 12 (d) of the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1923, to permit of the deduction of any amount paid as compensation to a workman prior to his death from the amount of compensation payable to his dependants in respect of his death and also to provide that any payment of compensation made to an injured workman prior to any final settlement may be taken into account and offset against the amount of compensation payable to him when his claim is finally settled as, under a recent High Court decision, it has been held that such deductions are not permissible under the Act as now worded."

THIRD PARTY INSURANCE OF MOTOR VEHICLES

"This Association urges upon the Government of India the advisability of postponing until after the war the introduction of compulsory third party insurance of motor vehicles in India, having regard to the work and expense to the authorities, the general public and particularly the business community, which the bringing into force of Chapter VII of the Motor Vehicles Act will entail."

COAL TRANSPORTATION

"This Association strongly supports the representations of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce to the Railway Board in October last, that in view of the very unsatisfactory supplies of wagons to collieries throughout this year for loading on public account, effect should be given without further delay to the scheme prepared by the Railway Board in October 1939, for the appointment of a Coal Transportation Officer, and the setting up of a Coal Transport Advisory Committee in place of the existing Coal Wagon Supply Commitee.

The Scindia Steam Navigation Company

22nd. General Meeting—Bombay—1st. December 1941

THE CHAIRMAN'S SPEECH

The following is the text of the speech delivered by the Chairman, Mr. *Walchand Hirachand*, at the 22nd. Ordinary General Meeting of the Company held on Monday, the **1st. December. 1941**, at the Registered Office of the Company, "Scindia House," Ballard Estate, Bombay :—

Gentlemen,

The accounts and the Director's Report have been in your hands now for some days and I have no doubt that it is your desire that they should, as usual, be taken as read.

In response to the request made by some of the shareholders last year, details of such accounts as Marine Insurnce Fund, Depreciation Account, Provision for Taxation, etc., have been given in the Balance Sheet. They are self-explanatory and I shall not, therefore, enlarge upon them.

The main features of the working of the Company, during the year under review, have already been outlined in the Directors' Report. They are the policy of the Government of requisitioning the ships of the Company and the consequent inability of the Company to maintain its position in the various trades which the Company serves, and the rising cost of operations and the partial mitigation of its adverse effect, by a fair adjustment in the rates of freight. As the question regarding the rate of hire for the requisitioned ships is not settled and as the Government have not yet decided as to whose liability it would be for certain important items of expenditure incurred in connection with the working of the requisitioned ships, it is difficult to say what its effect would be on the working of the Company. Whatever that final decision may be, it is essential that we should judge the present position in its correct perspective.

ALLOWANCE FOR DEPRECIATION

I referred at length, in my speech last year, to the question of depreciation, and stated clearly, as to what was being done in this connection for British shipping by the Government of the United Kingdom. I also pointed out to you how essential it was that the rate of depreciation on Indian ships should be increased by the same percentage by which it was increased in the United Kingdom, and informed you that we would make a representation to the Central Board of Revenue in that connection. I am glad to tell you that the Central Board have met us to some extent. They have agreed to allow depreciation at 6 per cent during the period of the war and have brought the procedure for the calculation of depreciation or second-hand ships in line with that adopted in England. This has necessitated the provision of a larger amount for depreciation during the current year.

There is, however, one supreme consideration which should not be lost sight of, so far as this important matter is concerned. It will be agreed that unless a Company provides such an amount for depreciation every year as will enable it to build up a fund which may enable the Company to replace a steamer at the end of the normal period of life, the amount shown in the Balance Sheet cannot be considered as a real profit of the working of that Company. It is needless for me to add that if the Depreciation Fund is not equal to the amount required for replacing the steamer, at the end of this normal period of life, the Company will have to call in for fresh Capital, if it wants to remain in the trade and maintain the usual number of steamers, which it may then be employing in that trade. Judging the working of the Company from this most important stand point, it will be realised that we have not been able to provide such an amount for depreciation as is absolutely essential. Shipping magnates in the United Kingdom have most strongly emphasised the need for providing depreciation on the replacement value of ships. This replacement value has gone up tremendously high and it is but the path of prudence and sound business that such provision should be made by every Company.

Heavy Tax Burden on Industries

The serious burden, which the taxation policy of the Government has, however, imposed upon industries in this country, makes it almost impossible for many of us to provide depreciation on the replacement value of our assests. Do those who form the Government of the country, realise, when they advise us, that we should not "fritter away our resources", how severely they fetter ability and our power to bulid up such resources ?

I do not wish to be misunderstood. I can understand the necessity of industries having to bear a reasonable burden to meet the needs of the war. But I cannot help stating that while crushing burdens have been imposed to meet the requirements of the war, sufficient thought has not been given for allowing such industries as shipping, to maintain and acquire such financial strength as is necessary for their healthy growth and development. You all know very well that nearly 80 per cent of the profits, which are not necessarily due to the conditions of the war, are taken away by the Government. The basis laid down for fixing these extra profits is open to serious objections. A fair amount of return on capital invested in the industry, particularly in shipping industry, which is liable to cyclical periods of depression, should be granted before determining the excess profits which that industry might be making. We have made barely a little over 4 per cent during the standard years of depression. Will it be fair to consider anything more than 4 per cent that we may have made now, as extra profits on which the State should throw its covetous eyes ? It is extremely unfortunate that while the Government themselves have recognised as legitimate the return of 8 to 10 per cent on fresh capital that may be brought into the industry, they are not prepared to grant that percentage to the industry for determining the standard profits for that industry. The result of this financial injustice to the established industries of the country will be to compel us, according to our estimate, to hand over to the Government, nearly Rs. 44 lakhs by way of taxation, from the balance that may be available, without enabling the Company to provide for adequate depreciation, which would have absorbed a further sum of Rs. 25 lakhs. In other words, it is not the profits that are taxed, because if proper depreciation was allowed, it would be obvious that the so-called extra profits even in excess of 4 per cent would have gone down by Rs. 25 lakhs, on which no taxation could be levied. The policy of the Government, as outlined above, is to determine extra profits liable to taxation without allowing the industry to provide adequately for depreciation and without granting it a fair return on its capital. It is a matter, therefore, of serious concern to every industry, particularly the industry of shipping, as not only will this policy impair its financial strength, but it will also put it in the embarrassing position of finding new capital to enable it to replace its assets. Will those in seat of authority at Delhi, who advise us "not to fritter away our resources", search their heart and admit the truth, that it is they, and not we, who are "frittering away the resources" which are so essential for the existence and healthy growth of the industries in this country. We can honestly say, that so far as the shipping industry is concerned, not only do we not fritter away our resources but we are, on the contrary, deprived of the resources which, looking to the peculiar position of the shipping industry in the country, ought to have been allowed to remain with us. It is, therefore, my earnest request that you should consider the working results of the Company in the light of these observations and I have no doubt you will then come to the conclusion, that the real profits are far less than what appear as profits, on paper.

An Unwarranted Charge

A question was recently put in the Central Legislature inquiring whether any shipping company had diverted its tonnage into more remunerative trade of coal and salt, in preference to the trade in an essential foodstuff such as rice. The Government spokesman informed the House that "Government have no definite information in the matter but from available figures it appears that the Scindias carried more coal and salt during the war period than before, while the British India carried more salt during this period." In reply to a further question whether the Government propose to take steps to force the companies to give preference to the carriage of foodstuffs, the Government stated that they did not see any necessity at present to take any such steps. As very wrong conclusions have been drawn and unwarranted insinuations have been made in certain quarters against this Company, as a result of these questions and answers in the Assembly, I should like to

place a few facts before you, which would convince every impartial observer, that this Company has been doing its best to meet the needs of the trade, and is utilising its tonnage not only for the carriage of coal and salt which are also considered essential commodities in these days even by the Government of India.

Discrimination in Coastal Trade

I must draw your attention here to a difficulty which is peculiar to the working of this Company only. While the British shipping companies get all the tonnage that they may require to maintain their quotas in the coastal trade, from the Ministry of Shipping, which is now called the Ministry of War Transport, this Company has not been fortunate in getting a single ship either from the Government of India or from the Ministry of War Transport, to maintain its position in that trade. The limited tonnage which thus remains at the disposal of this Company, naturally restricts its ability to serve the different trades in the manner and to the extent it would like to serve. But this is not all. There was another serious handicap placed in its path during the year under report. Four of its important ships were taken away from it by the Government of India, during the most busy part of the season, from February to May when rice moves most briskly from Burma to India, and were handed over to the British Ministry of War Transport for the carriage of coal. Is it necessary for me to add how this one circumstance alone limited the quantity of rice which the Company could have otherwise carried from Burma to India and Ceylon ? I wish that when the Government gave the figures of the undercarriage of rice by this Company, they would as well have given all this important information to the House, to enable it to understand why this Company could not carry rice from Burma according to its quota of that trade.

Those who accuse this Company of having given preference to the carriage of coal and salt at the cost of the carriage of rice, should remember what I have said above and also not forget, that even the British India, as observed by the Government, carried more salt than before, during the period in question. Moreover, coal and salt are not non-essential commodities. As a matter of fact, the Government themselves recently asked the companies whether any ship could be made available for transporting coal from Calcutta to Bombay and Karachi as there was shortage of railway waggons. Apart from the fact that the Company has very limited tonnage at its disposal owing to the requisitioning policy of the Government, the Government would not have made this inquiry if they had thought that the Company was berthing comparatively more tonnage for the carriage of coal.

Haulage of Salt

It is also necessary to add that the Shipping companies must meet the needs of the salt industry. I need not remind you that negotiations were carried on by the salt industry with the Railways for the carriage of salt all the way by rail from the centres of production to Calcutta. These negotiations did not lead to the actual carriage of salt by rail in any appreciable quantity. It was, therefore, necessary for the shipping lines to carry this essential commodity and make suitable arrangement for the tonnage for that purpose. Those who accuse us of diverting our tonnage in lucrative trades would be surprised to know that the excess of coal and salt carried by the Company this year over what it carried in the pre-war year represents only about 3 per cent of its total liftings on the coast.

The Company may have, under normal circumstances, sent its ships in ballast to Burma ports for the loading of rice. We are, however, passing through abnormal times when the Government are anxious that the utmost use should be made of the tonnage available. Whenever the ships, therefore, were in position at Calcutta or at Karachi, they were loaded with coal and salt ; and it would have been a criminal waste of available tonnage in these days, if ships were returned in ballast to other ports under circumstances narrated above.

Why Freight Rates Were Raised

As regards the increase in the rates of freight on coal and salt, I must point out to you that these rates were, for various reasons, admittedly on an uneconomic level in the past. On the one hand, the tramp ships carried coal and salt on the coast at uneconomic rates. They could afford to do so, as such carriage assisted them to minimise the loss which they would have otherwise incurred by ballast runs. On the other hand, the policy of the railways has always been to divert such cargo as it was possible for them to do, from the sea to the rail route, by charging minimum rates of freight, irrespective of economic

considerations. It was impossible for the Conference Lines, under these conditions, to secure economic rates for coal and salt, and they had, therefore, to treat these commodities as non-quota cargoes. It would, therefore, be quite unjust to compare the rate of freight for the carriage of rice where neither the tramps nor the railways could compete, with those for the carriage of coal and salt where they did compete. To emphasise the rise of 500 per cent in the rates of these commodities on its pre-war level, as against the rise of a 100 per cent in rice is to present the picture as regards the economy in the rates of freight on the coast, in false colours. I hoped that the Government of India would draw the picture in its true colours and tell the House that rates of freight on coal and salt were at present regulated according to the economic rates fixed by the Ministry of War Transport for British and neutral ships. The rates of freight on quota cargoes have, however, for obvious reasons not been allowed to be raised to their economic level. This statement of mine receives further support from the following observations made in a letter written by the Agents in India of a big foreign line, in August last, to the Conference Lines. They remarked :

"Our Principals both in New York and Batavia have again drawn our attention to the abnormally low rates which are in force at present and in our Principals' opinion the cariage of cargo at the coastal conference rates is unremunerative."

You will agree with me that the proper course, under the circumstances narrated by me, is not to criticise the Indian Company who made the best use of its tonnage in the carriage of these essential commodities, but to make representations, if necessary, to the interests concerned to rectify any inequalities that may be found in the rates of freight on these commodities.

The Shipbuilding Yard

So far as the Shipbuilding Yard is concerned, there has been some progress since the Directors' Report was written. I had further talks with the authorities at Simla and we are negotiating for acquiring steel from the United States of America which will be required for our ships. We have not yet received any definite indications as to when we shall get it or whether we shall get it or not. While I am living in hope and doing my best to see that we are able to commence building ships in our Shipyard next year, I cannot help stating that it is a mystery as to why when the Governments of such parts of the Empire as Canada and Australia have been pushing on with their programme of Shipbuilding required both for the navy of supply and the navy of defence, the Government of India do not feel inclined to move with the same energy, promptitude and determination, for making their own essential contribution in this respect, by building or allowing ships to be built in this country.

The Government of India have, inspite of their continuous requests, as observed by your Directors, not taken any final decision in regard to the questions of hire, compensation, etc., in connection with the requisitioned ships and they have also done nothing, as pointed out by my colleagues, for the revision of the Tripartite Agreement. I do not, therefore, wish to comment further on those subjects. I cannot, however, help observing that Indian shipping does not merit such unsympathetic treatment.

Rice Export Trade and Burma Control Scheme

While it is some satisfaction that Government have responded to the universal condemnation in this country of the Indo Burma Immigration Agreement and have created the hope that they would secure thorough revision of that Agreement in the light of public criticism, the situation that has been created by the rice export control scheme of the Burma Government, has been causing us serious anxiety. The carriage of rice from Burma to India and Ceylon is the most important activity of the Company. The Indian exporting houses have, after prolonged discussions with the Government of Burma and the Controller, come to the conclusion that it is impracticable for them to carry on their business even with a reasonable margin of freedom under the control. It is, therefore, a matter of serious concern to my colleagues and myself as to how this inability of the shippers to export rice from Burma in the coming year, will affect our position in that trade. It is the cordial relations between these exporting houses and ourselves that have enabled us to build up and retain our position in this trade. If, however, the conditions of control were to make it impossible for these exporting houses to do their business under such a control, and if forces are organised to eliminate them from that trade in the

near future, it is but natural that we should begin to consider seriously as to how all that is going to affect us, as a shipping organisation in that trade. While we can have nothing but the fullest sympathy with any measures which the Government of Burma might take to protect the interests of the Burman cultivator, you will agree with us that we cannot afford to lose the sympathy and support of those who have enabled us to maintain our position in this trade. The matter is, therefore, receiving our serious consideration. While we, as carriers, are anxious to see that rice required and needed by India should be brought to this country, we are equally keen to see that we do not become, even unintentionally, the instruments of coercion on those, who have been supporting us all these years, and who have stood by us when outside steamers attempted to take away our trade from us, to be compelled to do their business even if they find it impracticable to do so and even if it involves them in serious losses. I can assure you that your Directors have been watching the developments that are taking place in this connection with constant vigilance and they yet cherish the hope that statesmanship in India and in Burma will be able to evolve such a solution as will safeguard the interests of all concerned.

The Indian Economic Conference

Twentyfifth Session—Bombay—31st. December 1941

Presidential Address

Presiding over the twenty-fifth session of the Indian Economic Conference held at Bombay on the **31st. December 1941**, Mr. *J. P. Niyogi*, University Professor of Economics, Calcutta, stressed the need for an intensive study of analytical economics at the post-graduate stage in Indian Universities. He said it was not the storing of information that was valuable in the study of economics but the training of the mind. Emphasising the value of co-operation between academic economists and industrialists and financiers he suggested the establishment of provincial institutes of economic research.

Mr. J. P. Niyogi, at the outset, paid a tribute to Mahadev Govind Ranade whose "publication of his 'Essay on Indian Political Economy' was indeed a landmark in the history of the development of Indian economic thought".

"The history of the development of Economic Studies in Indian Universities', Mr. Niyogi continuing said, 'is a record of a three-cornered fight between different and to some extent antagonistic views. There is first of all the traditional idea of imparting useful information which should form part of the liberal education of a citizen taking an intelligent interest in public affairs. Closely allied to this there is the vocational idea of giving instruction in subjects which are likely to contribute to success in the careers that young students may adopt. Lurking surreptitiously behind the whole curriculum, but at the same time dominating it, there is present what I may call the prize-winning idea of enabling students to capture the rare prizes of enlistment in some of the All-India Public Services. I regard the last tendency as one of the most injurious influences dominating academic minds. University Boards and Faculties not unnaturally show a partiality to curricula which enable their students to capture the limited openings available. With that end in view an attempt is made to find a place in the course for a little of everything. We thus witness the unedifying spectacle of framing our courses of study for other than strictly academic ends. The situation in India is thus exactly a reverse of that obtaining in Great Britain. There it is the Civil Service Commissioners who adjust their courses for the different examinations to keep them in line with changing University studies."

The Speaker urged that it would be good for Indian Universities to include in their post-graduate courses of study a far larger proportion than that existing to-day of subjects that required sustained intellectual effort. He pleaded for a discriminating emphasis on the need for an intensive study of analytical economics at the post-graduate stage. "It should be the object of a well-planned University course to study the wide sweep of generality and the stage of generalisation is the stage of shedding details in favour of the active application of principles, the details retreating into subconscious habits. To us in India the supreme need for a more intensive study of the analytical branch of Economics arises from the eminently practical reason that it will lie with the Indian economists to an increasing extent in the future to influence the policy and the programme of their governments."

Statistical Data

While thus emphasising the importance of analytical and qualitative thinking as an aid to practical policy, he added, "A knowledge of the first principles of quantitative research is essential to a scientific study of Economics". Stating that there was a good deal of force in the contention "that there is a great paucity of statistical material in India, and that economists, politicians and administrators are often handicapped in their work due to such paucity", he said : "We have as yet no definite information as to the income of the ryot, his family budget and cost of living, survey of cottage industries or medium-size industries for the country as a whole, a census of production, the index of cost of living for areas other than urban, and the burden of taxation on different income groups. Quantitative analysis, in these various fields, must necessarily wait upon the gathering of relevant data. In India one has to look around to be convinced that there is a large mass of accumulating statistical publications which are in the main the by-products of different administrative and economic activities of Central and Provincial Governments and local bodies. A rich harvest of useful knowledge awaits the toiler who will address himself patiently to the task of analysing this material as yet unexplored."

Analytical and statistical studies, the speaker said, could only yield maximum results, if contact was established between academic economists and industrialists, bankers and financiers having knowledge of practical affairs. Too often these two classes of workers move in different worlds, and there is an absence of that co-operation, discussion and friendly contact, which is essential in the larger interest of the community as a whole. The establishment of the School of Business Administration as a part of the London School of Economics by businessman who provided the necessary financial support, and of the Oxford School of Business Research by Lord Nuffield were striking instances of the realisation of the idea of such co-operation between business and academic Economics.

This contact was likely to prove advantageous to both parties. In the absence of such co-operation, "harnessed to the cause of national welfare conflicts are likely to develop, particularly when the views of the academic economists are against the pecuniary and business interest of the class of merchants and manufacturers who may be dominant for the time being." Asking India to profit from the experience of the U. K. and the U. S. A., he earnestly appealed to businessmen to give a helping hand to the economist, by affording "facilities to the teachers and scholars for the first-hand study of specific economic problems, supply of data not always available in official publications, opportunities for discussion of problems of national policy, particularly of measures on which Indian public opinion is divided."

Provincial Institutes of Economic Research

Suggesting that each of the major province in British India should take upon itself the task of establishing a Provincial Institute of Economic Research, he said : "It should be a fact-finding Institute which should take up for investigation under expert guidance aided by a team of whole-time workers questions of national and provincial importance. Such an Institute should be free from official control and be in a position to issue reports as free from bias—political or economic—as are the reports of scientific bodies. The Institute should be liberally endowed and receive aid from public funds and be under the control of a governing body composed of businessmen, academic economists and important elements in the public life of the country." He visualised such a body issuing reports and monographs as authoritative and impersonal as were the documents issued from Chatham House. The various ad hoc Committees set up by the provincial

government for reporting upon different aspects of economic life, rural debt, money lending, fixing minimum prices, etc., would have found the services of these Provincial Institutes helpful. The task of setting up an independent body along these lines was beset with difficulties ; but it was well worth attempting.

"We live in an age in which the basic institutions of the capitalistic society which seemed solid and enduring, are being steadily and relentlessly modified because of public control," Mr. Niyogi concluded. "A dispassionate study of the forces at work is the sincerest form of the recognition of the important truth that economic events are largely influenced by arguments and intellectual ideas. The need for a broad vision and clear outlook was never so imperative as at the present moment."

The Political Science Conference

Fourth Session—Bombay—31st. December 1941

Presidential Address

"There is no alternative to the federation of all nations except endless war", declared Dr. *V. S. Ram*, Professor of Political Science, Lucknow University, presiding over the fourth annual Conference of the India Political Science Association held at Bombay on the **31st. December 1941.** Dr. V. Shiva Ram said :

Science which has harnessed nature to man's peaceful progress has now harnessed it to his destruction. War has assumed a totalitarian character. Only by organisation to develop and uphold the law of nations can civilisation stand up against the ever advancing machinery of modern scientific warfare. The sovereignty of the nation-state is no longer adequate. The alternatives are world empire achieved by conquest, or some form of association, such as world federation, achieved by consent.

Security, whether economic or political, results from confidence in the stability and continuity of the whole by the all or nearly of all its parts. In the present interdependent world security, both for individuals and nations, depends on confidence in the stability and continuity of the world order as a whole. All the lessons of human experience, especially of the League of Nations, point towards the necessity of an international organisation, which would reserve to itself the monopoly of the use of force, and forbid any nation the right to use force for its own purposes. There is no alternative to the federation of all nations except endless war. No substitute for the Federation of the World can organise the international community on the basis of freedom and permanent peace. No nation should be excluded from membership in the Federation of the World, that is willing to suppress its military, naval and air forces, retaining only a constabulory sufficient to police its territory and to maintain order within its own jurisdiction, provided that the eligible voters of that nation are permitted the free expression of their opinions at the polls.

Welcome Address

Mr. *R. P. Masani*, Chairman of the Reception Committee, in his welcome address to both the conferences, said : "In these hectic days, when the whole world is shaken to its foundations, our country is face to face with economic and political problems of far greater magnitude and importance than those confronted before. At such a juncture the discussions of experts of your standing will surely provide material ideas and concrete proposals helpful to the statesman and the administrator in the adjustment of these problems.

Expansion of the Viceroy's Council

Govt. Communique—New Delhi—21st. July 1941

The expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council and the constitution of a National Defence Council were announced in a communique issued from New Delhi on the **21st. July 1941.**

"As a result of the increased pressure of work in connection with the war," says the communique, "it has been decided to enlarge the Executive Council of the Governor-General of India in order to permit the separation of the portfolios of Law and Supply and Commerce and Labour ; the division of the present portfolio of Education, Health and Lands into separate portfolios of Education, Health and Lands and Indians Overseas ; and the creation of the portfolios of Information and of Civil Defence.

His Majesty the King has approved the following appointments to the five new seats on the Council :

Member for Supply—Sir *Hormusji P. Mody*, K.B.E, M.L.A. (Central).
Member for Information—The Rt. Hon. Sir *Akbar Hydari*, P.C.
Member for Civil Defence—Dr. *E. Raghavendra Rao.*
Member of Labour—*Malik Sir Firoz Khan Noon*, K.C.I.E.
Member for Indians Overseas—Mr. *M. S. Aney*, M.L.A. (Central).

For the vacancies which will occur when Sir *Muhammad Zafrulla Khan* and Sir *Girija Sankar Bajpai* take up the posts to which they have recently been appointed, His Majesty has approved the appointment of :—

Member for Law—Sir *Sultan Ahmed.*
Member of Education, Health and Lands—Mr. *Nalini Ranjan Sarker*, M.L.A.

Members of the present Viceroy's Council, who will continue to be members of the new Council are :—

H. E the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Reginald Maxwell, Sir Andrew Clow, Sir Jeremy Raisman and Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar.

The National Defence Council

In pursuance of the desire of His Majesty's Government to associate Indian non-official opinion as fully as possible with the prosecution of the war, approval, on the recommendation of the Viceroy, has also been given to the establishment of a National Defence Council, the first meeting of which will take place next month.

The Council, the strength of which will be about 30 members, will include representatives of Indian States as well as of Provinces and of other elements in the national life of British India in its relation to the war effort. The following will be the members from British India :

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, M.L.A.
The hon. Maulavi Saiyid Sir Muhammad Saadulla, M.L.A., Chief Minister of Assam.
The hon. Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, M.L.A., Chief Minister of Bengal.
Sir Muhammad Ahmad Said Khan, Nawab of Chhatari, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., M.B.E.
Kumararajah Sir Muthiah Chettiyar of Chettinad, M.L.A.
The hon. Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga, K.C.I.E.
Mr. Ramrao Madhavrao Deshmukh, M.L.A.
Lieut.-Col. Sir Henry Gidney, M.L.A.
Sir Cowasjee Jehangir, Bart., K.C.I.E., O.B.E., M.L.A.
Raja Bahadur of Kallikote, M.L.A.
The hon. Malik Khuda Baksh Khan, M.L.A.
Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta, M.L.A.
Mr. G. B. Morton, O.B.E.
Mr. Biren Mukherjee.
Lieutenant Sardar Naunihal Singh Man, M.B E., M.L.A.
Begum Shah Nawab, M.L.A.
The hon. Khan Bahadur Major Sirdar Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, K.B.E., M.L.A., Premier of the Punjab.
Rao Bahadur M. C. Rajah.

Professor E. Ahmad Shah.

The hon. Khan Bahadur Allah Baksh Muhammad Umar Soomro, O.B.E., M.L.A., Chief Minister of Sind.

Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava, M.L.A.

Khan Bahadur Sir Muhammad Usman, K.C.I.E.

OBJECT UNDERLYING EXPANSION

Described as "non-political and non-communal," the expansion now announced will result in a council with three officials and eight non-officials, as against the existing Council of four officials and three non-officials excluding the Commander-in-Chief.

It is claimed that the announcement implements the offer of last August substantially, so far as the present attitude of the major political parties permits. It is emphasised that there has been no change of policy since the August offer was made ; that the object of the present expansion is efficient government of a country at war ; and that the changes made are within the framework of the constitution and without prejudice to the future constitutional settlement by agreement among the political parties.

By way of explanation of the policy underlying the expansion as well as the constitution of the National Defence Council, it is pointed out that they should be regarded purely as a war measure and not as intended to satisfy any political demand. No political demand is excluded or prejudged by what is being done. All the promises made in the August offer still stand. The individuals to be appointed, it is pointed out, are persons whose status as representative Indians is beyond question, etc., etc. They will hold office at His Majesty's pleasure.

Members, existing as well as new, of the expanded Executive Council, it is officially stated, will draw Rs. 66,000 a year, instead of the present salary of Rs. 80,000. It is expected that they will assume charge without unnecessary delay.

CIVIL DEFENCE PORTFOLIO

Of the two new portfolios, namely, Civil Defence and Information, it is explained that the first has nothing to do with Military defence, but will include A. R. P. and the creation of services and provision of equipment necessary to deal with the immediate danger or the effects not only of air attack but of hostile action by land or naval bombardment ; maintenance of essential services under these different forms of hostile action ; care of the fugitive population, or those rendered homeless, prevention of panic, etc. It is expected that, as in England, Civil Defence will develop into a large and important portfolio which it is impossible to combine with any other department. Mr. E. Raghavendra Rao, the Member-in-Charge, who is now in England, is to make a special study of the civil defence situation there before coming over to India.

Under Information are included the task of mobilising the country's war effort and preserving the confidence and morale of the population.

The composition of the expanded Executive Council is described at the best evidence of the anxiety of the Viceroy and of His Majesty's Government to secure really representative non-officials of the highest possible standing for important positions of responsibility.

The development of the war situation and the possible approach of the centre of operations towards India, it is said, may mean that there would be even heavier calls on the machinery of government in the future than in the past and it is necessary to see that the Executive Council is not shorthanded. It is also necessary to see that Members are not tied down by burden of departmental work to their headquarters. It must be possible for them to tour India.

The expanded Executive Council and the National Defence Council are characterised as two elements of the expansion of machinery which has been decided upon. The Defence Council, if it is to fulfil the functions for which it is intended, will also claim more time of the members of the Executive Council.

Indian States' Representatives in Defence Council

Announcing the names of the Indian States' representatives for the first meeting of the National Defence Council, a press communique issued from Simla on the **3rd. October** says :

"In the communique issued on 28th September, 1941 regarding the dates of the first meeting of the National Defence Council, it was intimated that the Council would include representatives of Indian States as well as of provinces and other elements in the national life of British India.

"Details in regard to the representation of the States are now available. The States which have accepted the invitations addressed to the respective rulers by His Excellency the Viceroy in this connection are Bahawalpur, Baroda, Bhopal, Bikaner, Cooch-Behar, Dholpur, Faridkot, Gwalior, Hyderabad, Indore, Jaipur, Jodhpur, Junagadh, Kapurthala, Kotah, Mysore, Nawanagar, Palanpur, Patiala, Rampur, Rewa, Travancore and Udaipur.

"Membership of the Council for any one session being restricted, it is necessary, that the representation of the above States should be mainly by rotation. The States' representatives have accordingly been classified in three panels which will attend successive sessions by turns. His Highness the Maharaja Jam Sahib of Nawanagar, in his capacity as Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, will, however, attend all the sessions.

"In accordance with the above arrangements, the representatives of the Indian States at the first session of the Council will be, in addition to His Highness the Chancellor, His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal, Their Highnesses the Maharajas of Bikaner (Pro-Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes), Cooch-Behar, Gwalior, Jodhpur and Patiala, His Highness the Nawab of Rampur and Nawab Sir Muhammed Ahmad Sa'id Khan of Chhatari, President of the Executive Council of the Government of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar."

Mr. Jinnah's Statement on the announcement

Mr. *M. A. Jinnah*, President of the All-India Muslim League, commenting on the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council, says from Bombay dated the **22nd. July 1941** :—

"The communique announcing the decision regarding the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council and the socalled National Defence Council is to be most deeply regretted. It will not secure the wholehearted, willing and genuine support if that is what is honestly required, of Muslim India, for the simple reason that the persons chosen and nominated by the Viceroy are nether real representatives of the people nor will they command the confidence and trust of the Muslims. The statesmanship of the Viceroy is leading him from one mistake to another, and it is most unfortunate, and it is very painful to note that the Viceroy should have canvassed members of the Muslim League over the head of the leader and the executive of the party, and it is still more painful that some of the members of the League should have succumbed.

When the offer of the Viceroy was made last August it was not acceptable to the All-India Muslim League on the unanswerable ground that it did not give the representatives of the Muslim League a real and substantial share in the authority and power of the Government. How can anyone consider that the present retrograde decision would secure the approval and co-operation of Muslim India ? I congratulate the Viceroy on having created defections in the ranks of the Muslim League by securing the services of the Muslim League Premiers and some other members of the League who have associated themselves with this scheme without reference or knowledge of the leader or the executive of the organisation. This will not, in any way, make the Muslim League swerve from its declared policy and these manoeuvres will not help the Government but on the contrary will create bitterness which fortunately did not exist however emphatically we had disapproved of the policy that had been pursued by the Government in this behalf before the present announcement.

"The action and the conduct of the Muslim League Premiers and the members of the League who have associated themselves with this scheme without reference and knowledge of the executive of the League in the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council and the constitution of the National Defence Council, as announced in the communique, will have to be considered and dealt with as soon as possible,"

Mr. Savarkar's Statement on the announcement

Mr. *V. D. Savarkar*, President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, issued the following statement from Bombay on the **22nd. July 1941** :

The announcement of the expansion of the Executive Council, the constitution of the National Defence Council and the Defence Advisory Committee, constitute together a step in the right direction. But as usual, this step is so belated and so halting that it cannot dissipate the bitterness felt by patriotic parties in India that she should still continue to be satisfied with occupying no better status than the hated one of dependency. Even this war has not opened the eyes of Britain to the

need that India should be granted at least equal co-partnership in the Indo-British Commonwealth. Secondly, she is bound to weigh like a millstone round the British neck, rendering both of them liable to be overtaken by a still more formidable political disaster than what the war at its present stage threatens to prove. Nevertheless, if these announcements are meant to pave the way for further and rapid constitutional progress on the lines indicated above, they are welcome to that extent. In any case, the fullest advantage must be taken of this breach effected in the stronghold of the central citadel ef British bureaucracy.

"Under the pressure of our agitation, the Government pretended, because it suited them that no constitutional advance was possible unless and until the Congress and the Muslim League made a united demand, but this announcement proves that the Government have suddenly discovered that the Congress and the Muslim League do but represent parties and do not solely represent the Indian nation as a whole. Again, the mole hill of the want of agreement among all parties is not as insurmountable as a mountain. If the Government can effect these constitutional changes, which they claim to be far-reaching in spite of lack of general agreement among all parties and in the teeth of the non-co-operation on the part of the Congress and the Muslim League, they can then no longer trot out that excuse for not effecting further political reforms as demanded by the Hindu Mahasabha and the Non-Party Leaders' Conference.

"So far as the personnel is concerned, I am glad to say that leaders like Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, Mr. Kaliker, Dr. Raghavendra Rao, Mr. Aney, Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava, Mr. Ramrao Deshmukh, Mr. M. C. Raja and Lala Ramsarandas are there. They possess the confidence of the public in general and the Hindu Mahasabha in particular. I regret , however, that although the proportion of the Hindus on the Defence Advisory Committee is more or less just, yet it is less than what their population demands. This fact is bound to be resented to by the Hindu Mahasabha. I wish also that a Sikh member had been associated with the Executive Council.

Mr. Amery on the Expanded Council

House of Commons—22nd. July 1941

Mr. *Amery,* Secretary of State for India, in the House of Commons on the **22nd. July 1941** described those who joined the Viceroy's Executive as "a team of ability and experience which it would be difficult to rival in India or indeed elsewhere". They were, he declared, men with administrative, political and business experience and of personal ability. The Viceroy's War Cabinet would be very much stronger to-day for their inclusion. They would, in the fullest sense, share in the collective responsibility of the Executive Council as well as direct important departments, which have been entrusted to them. The aim, said Mr. Amery, was to increase the efficiency of the Government and make full use of the vast and hitherto insufficiently tapped reservoir of Indian ability and patriotism. These measures "marking a change in spirit, if not in letter of India's constitution", were the earnest of British Government's desire to transfer to Indian hands a steadily increasing share in India's destiny, The National Defence Council will be very far from being a body of 'yes-men', said Mr. Amery.

At the meeting of the Council members would be informed in confidence of the affairs which they would discuss with the Viceroy and in turn put forward their own suggestions. After the meeting they would return to their provinces and confer with their representatives. In this way it was hoped there would be continued contact between the Viceroy and his Executive on the one hand and Provincial or State Government, local war committees or industrial organisations on the other. Mr. Amery thought that ought to prove most helpful in guiding and stimulating India's war effort.

"I cannot help hoping that, in the course of working together, side by side in the common interest of India's safety and India's future, that the representatives of these bodies, men of every political complexion and community, will be drawn closer together. I hope they will find bonds of mutual understanding and sympathy which may immensely facilitate a solution of those very difficult inter-communal and inter-party problems which to-day are the main obstacle to India's attainment of her rightful position as free and equal member of British Commonwealth."

When Mr. Amery had announced the India White Paper in the House of Commons, *Sir Hugh O'Neill* suggested that the House should express appreciation of the patience exercised by the Viceroy, without which it would not have been possible to make the enlargement of the Executive Council. He asked what would be the function of the National Defence Council.

Mr. *Amery*, in reply, said, "I entirely agree with what has been said about the infinite patience and tact which the Viceroy has exercised for many months to try and get together a team which will co-operate for the defence of India and have the common cause of India and ourselves at heart. He has now succeeded in getting together what I consider the most representative and powerful National Defence Council. It is an advisory body and the object is to keep the Central Government of India in its war effort in touch with the different Provincial Governments and Indian States, with commerce, labour etc."

Mr. *Gordon Macdonald* (Labour) asked Mr. Amery, "Is he aware that the limited character of the statement will cause intense disappointment to many freedom-loving people, who are supporters of that country ?"

There was considerable interruption when Mr. *Gordon Macdonald* referred to the statement as "of limited character".

Mr. *Amery* replied : "This statement of administrative changes was calculated to bring men of goodwill into closer association with the Governor-General of India. The constitutional position of the Government of India in the future has already been stated".

Mr. *Graham White* (Liberal) asked whether Mr. Amery would consider the desirability of having discussions in the House of Commons so that opinion with regard to India could have free expression and whether Mr. Amery contemplated inviting any leaders to come to Great Britain to co-operate in the war effort as others had come from the Dominions.

Mr. *Amery* pointed out that Mr. White's first question was a matter of business not under his control, while the second question was not under discussion at the moment.

Mr. *Sorensen* (Labour) asked : "Have consultations taken place with the Indian Congress or the Muslim League and are any representatives of either of these bodies in the new body ?" Mr. Sorensen also asked whether the Viceroy would be able to exercise his veto with regard to the decisions of the enlarged Council.

Mr. *Amery* replied : "For many months, the Viceroy had conducted negotiations with the Congress and the Muslim League with a view to securing complete co-operation. He has now succeeded in securing the co-operation of many representative men, some of whom are members of the Moslem League and others who have been closely associated with the Congress."

Replying to Sir *Stanley Reed*, Mr. *Amery* said that the new members of the Executive Council would share the full statutory collective responsibility of the whole Council as well as being responsible for the administration of important departments. As to Mr. Sorensen's question about the veto, the powers of the Viceroy under the Constitution remained unchanged.

Miss *Rathbone* (Independent) was called to order when she asked Mr. Amery if he had considered what influence on the attitude of the Congress the change of situation in regard to Russia might have.

White Paper on the changes

More Indians are to be absorbed in the Viceroy of India's Executive Council and more Indians are to hold portfolios in the Central Government. This step towards augmenting and consolidating India's war effort was announced on the **22nd. July 1941** when a White Paper on "India and War" was presented to Parliament by Mr. *Amery*, Secretary of State for India.

This announced the decision to enlarge the Executive Council in order to permit a separation of the portfolios of Law and Supply and of Commerce and Labour and division of the present portfolios of Education, Health and Lands into separate portfolios of Education, Health and Lands and Indians Overseas and also the creation of portfolios of Information and Civil Defence.

The Viceroy has also succeeded in securing the co-operation in the establishment of a National Defence Council of distinguished and representative Indians in British India and Rulers of Indian States.

Though no constitutional change is involved in these announcements and the enlarged Executive Council will not be responsible to the legislature, the Viceroy

will now have what to all intents and purposes is a War Cabinet with a marked majority of Indian public men, instead of the former European and official majority. The new Members of the Council are as representative of and as responsive to public opinion as the refusal of the Indian Congress and the Muslim League to co-operate makes possible.

The changes indicated in the White Paper, while making a singnificant step towards augmenting and consolidating India's effort are not in any way concerned with constitutional developments in India. Authoritative quarters recall that, in various statements made on behalf of the British Government since the outbreak of the war, it has been made clear that constitutional changes in India are quite impracticable while the British Empire is engaged on a vital struggle for its existence and that agreement between major political parties and interests in India is a fundamental condition of consideration of any new constitutional scheme.

It was last summer, following many attempts to ease the political tension in India, and to bring Indian public opinion into close contact with the Central Government in the conduct of war that the Viceroy formulated proposals for the extension of his Council and for setting up of what was then described as a War Advisory Council. For a number of reasons, these proposals were found unacceptable by the major political parties in India, but it was made clear by the Viceroy that the Government would leave the door open for acceptance of such a plan as soon as a sufficient degree of representative support was forthcoming. During the intervening month all endeavours of the Viceroy have been directed towards finding a way in which Indian public opinion could be brought more intimately into association with the administration in all matters connected with war effort. There is nothing to indicate at present that political conditions in India are on a way towards being bridged. While Hall points out that the Viceroy waited for no less than eleven months since his offer to political parties in India to enter the Government before extending invitations to the individuals he has now called to the service of their country.

Nevertheless, the creation of a National Defence Council associates with India's war effort representatives of all influential sections of the community which are ready to co-operate. There are 22 representatives of British India on the Council. Representatives of Indian States will all of them be Princes with the possible exception of Hyderabad. The National Defence Council will meet at intervals under the chairmanship of the Viceroy and the Council will, on each occasion, receive a full and confidential statement of the war position and of the position in regard to supply. The Council will also act as liaison between provincial war effort and the war effort of the centre. The creation of a National Defence Council answers the insistent demand for something of this kind.

In addition to these measures now taken by the Viceroy to bring Indian public opinion into closest possible contact with the conduct of India's war effort, the Commander-in-Chief has already announced the setting up of a committee of the Central Legislature over which he will preside for the purpose of enabling members of the Legislature to be kept in confidential and intimate touch with defence matters. An Indian has been appointed Additional Secretary to the Government of India.

British Policy in India

House of Commons—London—1st. August 1941

SECRETARY OF STATE'S DEFENCE

On the report stage of the India and Burma offices estimates, Mr. *Amery* initiated a debate in the Commons on the 1st. August 1941 on the recently announced administrative changes in India.

Mr. *Amery* said for the undoubtedly key positions, the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, had selected men whom he believed to be individually best-fitted for the work on hand. To attempt to make so small a body as an Executive Council representative of all different elements of India's national life would obviously have been impossible. The important thing was to find a team of individual competence,

willing to share in the collective work and responsibility of the Council and he ventured to say that the Viceroy had definitely succeeded. The old Executive contained, apart from the Viceroy, four European and three Indian members. In the new Executive, eight Indian members will be in a majority of two to one, "the development marking a change not indeed in the form of the constitution but in its spirit."

The National Defence Council, except for the presence of one representative of the European Commercial community and one for the resident Anglo-Indian community was Indian. This, said Mr. *Amery*, was essentially a body representative of all elements of the whole national life of India in the fullest sense of the term. It was in no sense a collection of "yes" men scraped together to create a facade of Indian support for the Government. It was a body of patriotic Indians who had readily come forward to help their country at a critical moment. The measures were an earnest of Britain's desire to transfer to Indian hands a steadily increasing share of the control of India's destiny.

Mr. *Amery* said, "On Tuesday of last week I made a brief statement on the recent expansion of the Viceroy's Council and on the creation of the All-India National Defence Council. The purpose of to-day's debate is to enable me to submit to the House in somewhat fuller detail the nature and purpose of these measures and afford an opportunity for their discussion in relation to the general Indian policy of the Government.

"In order to understand that policy, it is essential that the House should have clearly in mind the fundamental change which has come over the whole Indian problem since those long discussions which preceded the passage of the present Government of India Act, six years ago.

Major Issue To-day

"The whole issue in the last debate was whether, and, if so, how far, this country could or should transfer its authority for the Government of India as a whole to Indian hands. It was an issue between Indian leaders and this House. That was also an issue on which we ourselves were keenly divided. That issue, as an issue of principle, has passed outside the field of controversy. It is to-day a matter of general acceptance that India should, as soon as is practicable, attain to Dominion Status or as I prefer to describe it to a free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth. How that development is to be expedited, what provision will still have to be made for the fulfilment of the obligation imposed upon us by the past or by India's present dependence upon this country for her defence are matters which however important in themselves, are still matters of detail and method rather than of fundamental principle. To-day, the major issue is not whether India should govern herself but how she is to govern herself : under what type of constitution it is possible to preserve her unity and yet secure freedom and reasonable self-expression for the varied elements which compose her national life.

"Six years ago that issue had hardly loomed over the horizon. We knew there was the communal problem and we assumed that we had met it by providing for separate communal franchise. We knew there were hesitations by the Princes as to the surrender of their powers and we provided specially favourable terms in order to induce them to come in. But we and Indian political leaders alike took it for granted that the Central Government of India should follow the customary lines of our British system of responsible parliamentary government and the Act of 1935 was framed on that assumption.

"Pakistan A Counsel of Despair"

"The course of events since then and the experience of the actual working of responsible government in the provinces have raised most formidable queries as to the possibility of that system in India, at any rate so far as the Central Government is concerned. We must remember that our system of government here, which we rightly prize as the most flexible and efficient form of democratic government in the world—a system which seems to us so natural and easily workable—does depend entirely for its working upon certain indispensable conditions. It postulates a party system in which loyalty to party is never the supreme loyalty, but is always in the last resort subordinate to a sense of loyalty to national interest as a whole and responsibility for the successful working of parliament as an institution. That system of ours is based on majority decisions because it assumes that the majority in every case is the result of free discussion

and that minority of to-day will very probably be the majority of to-morrow. These conditions do not exist where party loyalty and party discipline override all other considerations, where party executives outside the parliament are the only arbiters of policy and real rulers, where the minority always remains the underdog. There our system ceases to be workable and other methods have to be devised to preserve freedom and democracy.

"In India experience of party government in the provinces has rightly or wrongly convinced great and powerful elements in Indian national life that their lives and their liberties would not be assured under the central provisions of the present Act or under any amendment of it which would still leave the executive control of all India in the hands of a Government, dependent upon a parliamentary majority from day to day which, in its turn, obeys unswervingly the dicates of an outside executive. This reaction against the dangers of what is called the Congress Raj or the Hindu Raj has gone so far as to lead to a growing demand from Moslem quarters for a complete breaking up of India into separate Hindu and Moslem dominions. I need say nothing to-day of manifold, and to my mind, insuperable objections to such a scheme, at any rate in its extreme form. I would only note that it merely shifts the problem of permanent minorities to somewhat smaller areas without solving it. It is a counsel of despair and, I believe, wholly unnecessary despair, for, I do not doubt that there is enough constructive ability and enough natural goodwill among the Hindus and Moslems and enough Indian patriotism to find a constitutional solution which will give fair recognition to all communities and all interests.

VICEROY'S DECLARATION

"That, at any rate, was the conclusion embodied in the far-reaching constitutional declaration issued on behalf of His Majesty's Government by Lord *Linlithgow* in August last. Responding to the widespread criticism that the Act of 1935 was imposed upon India by Parliament here, it invited Indians to devise by agreement among themselves the frame-work of India's future constitution in accordance with Indian conceptions of social, economic and political conditions of Indian life. While the resulting new constitution could not in our view, be set in operation in the midst of the present struggle for existence, the declaration promised every help to enable matters to be brought to a conclusion with the least possible delay after the war as well as to promote every sincere and practical step that representative Indians might take meanwhile to arrive at an agreement.

"Let me make that point clear. The problem is not an easy one and even if there were no war, the finding of an agreed solution is bound to take time in India, as it has everywhere else. All the more reason then it seems to me for Indians getting together now to make the beginning of this high enquiry. It is essentially a matter for them, both because it affects their relations between themselves and also because the right and responsibility for doing so go naturally with a claim to self-government.

"The declaration came as a welcome assurance to the Moslems and other important elements that their fate would not be settled over their heads by some deal between the British Government and the Congress Party. On the other hand, it is perfectly true that it did come as a shock not only to the Congress but also to many other moderate elements in India and even here because it made clear that a new stage must inevitably intervene before India could attain her goal. It is not infrequently the climber's fate on high mountains, when after hours of arduous toil at the steepest rock he reaches what he believed to be the summit, to find that the real summit lies further back, separated it may be by a narrow ridge of snow or ice. He finds that the new effort is less strenuous perhaps but calling for even greater skill and care and perhaps a new technique is still required of him before final victory. So it seems to me there is to-day a call on Indian statesmen for a new effort, a different effort and with it a new technique, the technique of consultation and conciliation with each other, rather than that of addressing demands to this House or bombarding the Government of India.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

"In the new conditions the technique of civil disobedience seems to me to cut no ice because it bears no relation to the real issue. On the other hand, I need not say that I welcome most sincerely the resolution of the conference of the non-party leaders which has just been meeting at Poona urging their chairman

Sir *Tej Bahadur Sapru* to take steps immediately to initiate an examination of the problem of the future constitution of United India. No Indian statesman is better qualified than Sir *Tej Bahadur Sapru* to address himself both to the actual constitutional problems and to the many personal elements which have to be brought together and reconciled before a solution can be found.

"In this connection, I should like to correct a misapprehension which, judging by the terms of another resolution passed by the same conference, seems to have been entertained—at any rate in some quarters—and that is, in insisting upon agreements between the principal elements in India's national life, the British Government were only thinking of the major political parties. The main elements in India's national life include not only political organisations or great religious and cultural communities, but they also include geographical and administrative elements, provinces of British India, more especially those which have not thrown away the responsibilities of self-government, and Indian States. Nor is substantial agreement which we wish to see achieved necessarily dependent upon the fiat of party leaders.

AUGUST OFFER

"That brings me to the other half of the policy announced last August. Having deliberately remitted to Indian hands the framing of India's future constitution, His Majesty's Government wished, as an interim policy and within the frame-work of the existing constitution, to associate Indian leaders more intimately and responsibly with the government of their country during the war. We wished to do so in order to emphasise the undoubted unity of purpose between India and ourselves in this struggle against the evil forces that are as hateful to Indians as to ourselves and for the defence of India's own existence.

"But we also cherish the hope that, in the process of working together in the common cause, Indian statesmen would find new bonds of union and understanding among themselves which would help towards a solution of their constitutional problem. Our interim policy was indeed conceived as the most practical contribution we could make at this stage towards the goal in view. It prejudged no constitutional issue. It committed no one who co-operated in it to anything beyond his individual co-operation in the war effort. But it would afford a wider range of administrative responsibility and experience to Indian public men and be at least an earnest of our desire to see the Government of India increasingly entrusted to Indian hands.

"It was with those objects in view that Lord Linlithgow was authorised to enlarge his Executive Council, so as to make it comprise a majority of Indian members and at the same time to set up a War Advisory Council which should serve as a means of contact between the Central Government and the local war effort all over India, including Indian States. For his enlarged executive, the Viceroy naturally turned in the first instance to the leaders of the political parties. By enlisting their co-operation he could hope to secure automatically a wide measure of support from the legislature and from political organisations throughout the country. In this hope he was disappointed. The Congress rejected co-operation out of hand, refusing even to discuss the matter and launched their futile campaign, challenging imprisonment by delivery of speeches intended and calculated to interfere with the war effort. Other main parties, Moslem and Hindu, while accepting in principle, put forward conflicting claims and stipulations which could not be reconciled. Finally, Lord Linlithgow was compelled to admit that even his unwearied efforts, carried on ever since the beginning of the war, to bring party leaders together could not succeed in the face of their mutual jealousies and suspicions. That did not mean abandonment of his policy. As I stated last August, he was determined, if party leaders remained unco-operative, to go ahead, prepared to work with those who would work with him and each other. On every hand, too, evidence reached him of growing public annoyance with purely partisan manoeuvres and a growing sense of frustration that these manoeuvres should be allowed to prevent a great body of able Indians willing to co-operate in war effort, and thus expressing the desire of the vast majority of the peoples of India, from serving their country in its hour of danger.

BOMBAY LEADERS' CONFERENCE

"The conference that met in Bombay last March under the chairmanship of Sir *Tej Sapru* clearly voiced that sense of frustration. Their demands, though

expressed in the form I ventured to point out in the debate on April 22, were open to serious practical objection, expressed the spirit with which both the Viceroy and myself were largely in sympathy and to which we were resolved to give effect. Accordingly, Lord Linlithgow, leaving the parties to pursue their own controversies, decided to address himself directly to those Indian public men who, as individuals, were by their ability or essentially representative character best fitted to strengthen the Government, both in actual administration and in the eyes of the public and to appeal to them to come forward, putting India first, to play their part in the conduct of her defence. How rightly he judged the public temper and the character of Indian public men will be apparent from the fact that, with hardly an exception, all those whom he approached, as the men best qualified for the task in view, responded unhesitatingly without regard to previous party affiliations.

"India is at war and the menace may well draw closer to her frontiers, both east and west, within the next few months. The governing consideration in the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive—his War Cabinet if I may use the term—was therefore necessarily efficiency. From that viewpoint, there was in any case the strongest justification for separation under war conditions of portfolios which have been previously combined as well as for the creation of special departments such as Civil Defence and Information.

VICEROY'S COUNCIL EXPANSION

"I note that the Viceroy has been criticised in some quarters on grounds that he has not appointed new Indian members to the so-called key posts of Finance and Defence. The criticism will not, I think, find much echo in this House where we fully realise the extent to which Supply and Labour, Civil Defence and Information are vital departments in time of war. For these undoubtedly key positions, Lord Linlithgow has selected men whom he believed individually best fitted for the work in hand- a great industrialist like Sir Hormusji Mody for Supply, experienced ex-Ministers and administrators like Mr. Rao and Sir *Firoze Khan* Noon—for Civil Defence and Labour, an elder statesman of unrivalled experience and authority like Sir Akbar Hydari for Information, an independent, courageous party politician like Mr. Aney for a lighter department, but for the work of the legislature,

"Two further appointments were made necessary by the promotion of Sir *Muhammad Zafrullah Khan* to the Federal Court, succeeded by another eminent lawyer, Sir Sultan Ahmed, and by the transfer of Sir Girja Shanker Bajpai to the newly created post of Indian Agent General in Washington—a fresh indication of India's growing importance and status—succeeded by Mr. Nalini Sarkar, recently Finance Minister in Bengal. To attempt to make so small a body as the executive representative of all the different elements of India's national life would obviously have been impossible. The important thing was to find a team of individual competence, willing to share in the collective work and responsibility of the Council and in this I venture to say Lord Linlithgow has definitely succeeded. The old Executive contained, apart from the Viceroy, four European and three Indian members. In the new Executive, eight Indian members will be in a majority of two to one, a development marking a change, not indeed in the form of the constitution but in its spirit.

NATIONAL DEFENCE COUNCIL

"The National Defence Council on the other hand will, except for the presence of one representative of the European commercial community and one of the resident Anglo-Indian community be entirely Indian. This is essentially a body representative of all elements, communal, local and political of the whole national life of India : of India in the fullest sense of the term for on it will be nine representatives of Indian States whose rulers have shown their patriotism and loyalty in such full measure in the present war. The 22 members from British India include representatives not only of different provinces and communities, but also of industry, commerce and agriculture. Labour is effectively represented both by Doctor Ambedkar, unwearied champion of the scheduled castes, which include so large a proportion of the most depressed elements of the working class and by Mr. Jamnadas Mehta. Nor should I pass by without a mention of the inclusion of a representative of women's interests in the shape of Begum Shah Nawaz. It would, I think, have been difficult by any process to secure a better cross section or microcosm of India's national life in all its rich variety.

"It may be said that, for all that this is not a truly representative body, because its members owe their position to the personal invitation of the Viceroy, not directly to a popular election, and because the largest and most highly organised political party has deliberately excluded itself. It is, I think, worthwhile pointing out in answer to that criticism that, of the 22 British Indian members, no less than 16 are elected members of the legislatures, including 4 Prime Ministers and if these four great provinces with a population of some 100 millions are not represented by their Prime Ministers, I do not know, who could claim to represent them.

"It is true that the Congress, in its present mood, is not represented. But a very considerable proportion of the members—this applies to the Executive Council as well—have been closely associated with the Congress in the past and, if they have differed with the political tactics of the Congress High Command they are no less genuine in the strength of their nationalist convictions.

"The National Defence Council is in no sense a collection of 'yes men' carefully scraped together to create a façade of Indian support for the Government. It is a body of patriotic Indians, who have readily come forward to help their country at a critical moment. The National Defence Council is an advisory body and its main purpose is to bring the war effort in the provinces and the States as well as in the ranks of commerce, industry and labour into more direct and effective touch with the Central Government. It will meet periodically under the Viceroy's chairmanship both to be informed of and discuss the course of events and the policy of Government and will convey to the Government suggestions of the needs of localities or interests which they represent. There will thus be continuous contact and exchange of views of information both ways between the Viceroy and his Executive and the provincial or State Governments, local war committees or industrial organisations which should be most helpful, both in guiding and stimulating India's national effort.

"I might mention as a further instance of the anxiety of the Indian Government to secure the closest possible contact with public opinion and strengthen the Indian element in the administration, the creation on the initiative of the late Commander-in Chief, General Auchinleck, since confirmed by General Wavell, of the Defence Committee of the Legislature in order to keep members in touch with the work of the Defence Department and the appointment of an able Indian to the Joint Secretaryship of that Department.

"CHANGE IN SPIRIT"

These measures have not brought about any change in the existing constitution of India. Even if it were possible to change the basis of power and authority in the middle of a crisis so menacing to India's very existence, no such transfer would be feasible without some measure of agreement, such as unfortunately does not exist to-day, as to the kind of constitution under which the various main elements of India's national life may be willing to work together. The immediate object of these measures has been to increase the efficiency of government and, at the same time, to make a fuller use of the vast and hitherto insufficiently tapped reservoir of Indian ability and patriotism. At the same time, they are an earnest of our desire to transfer to Indian hands a steadily increasing share in the control of India's destiny. They mark a change in spirit, if not in letter, of India's constitution. Above all, I hope in all sincerity, that the coming together of all these distinguished representatives of every element of Indian's diversified and politically conflicting life may have made at least the beginning in breaking the political deadlock between Indians which has assumed so disquieting and, on the face of it, an increasingly intractable a character.

"If Indians can drop considerations of party and communal rivalry to protect India from external danger in the war, it is surely possible for them to come together to find ways and means of saving her from internal strife and of removing in the process the main obstacles to the attainment of her rightful position as a free and equal partner in our Commonwealth of Freedom. It is in that hope—not overstated I trust, for I fully recognise all the effort both of good will and sheer constructive thought that must yet be made—that I commend to the House the measures we have taken. I do not wish to quarrel for a moment with those who, either in this House or in India, think them inadequate because they do not involve those direct constitutional changes which for the reasons I have given seem to me at this stage impossible to bring about intensifying India's internal difficulties. All I would ask is that the young plant which the Viceroy

has with such unwearied care seeded and set in ground should be given an opportunity to grow and fulfil the immediate task for which it was intended and it may be also to develop latent possibilities of further benefit to India in the directions which we cannot yet predict. Meanwhile, I hope that whatever criticisms of general policy of His Majesty's Government may be expressed as they naturally properly will, in this House to-day, nothing will be said that could be calculated to discourage the men who have come forward to serve India in this fateful time or weaken their hands in the high tasks to which they have set themselves for India's sake."

Mr. *Ammon* (Labour) said that it was a matter for regret that, so far as settling the general question of discontent, he hoped and trusted that the new proposals would be given a fair trial. Nevertheless, in spite of all Mr. Amery had put forward and all the appeals he had made, the statement of Sir Tej Sapru still stood, namely "there never was a time when the Government of India was less in contact with the people of India than at the present time" Mr. Ammon also quoted the terms of the Methodist Church resolution, passed recently, which declared, "The British public in general is unaware of the extreme gravity of the Indian situation" and suggesting that "failure in statesmanship" was indicated. That, Mr. Ammon continued, was an expression of opinion evidently held by a large number of Indians and voiced by people who were normally what would be called non-political.

Mr. *Ammon* proceeded to say that Mr. Amery had said quite definitely it was the intention to grant India Dominion Status after war, but he asked what did Mr. Amery mean by that.

Sir *Stanley Reed*, interjecting, said : "I suggest Mr. Ammon should look up the statement of the Viceroy, 16 months ago."

Mr. *Graham White* : "Has not Mr. Amery stated there were no grades of Dominion Status and that there is only one form ?"

Mr. *Amery* : "There is free and equal partnership."

Mr. *Ammon*, continuing, said this amounted to little or nothing unless there was a clear definition of India's post-war status, including a declaration that, within a brief specific period after the war, India was to enjoy the same freedom as Britain and the Dominions."

Mr. *Ammon* proceeded, "We had made statements that certain things would be done but there has never been anything definite as to when it would become possible for it to become operative. That is really what is worrying India and a declaration about it would go a very long way to smooth the way and make it impossible for anyone to stir up trouble. It is not good enough to seek to shift on to the Indian people a problem that is ours. To do that is simply to indicate bankruptcy in statesmanship. Mr. Amery has said that Indians are not excluded from the chief executive posts in India. Whatever might be the importance Mr. Amery puts upon those positions to which he has already referred, it goes without saying that in India defence and finance are considered of more outstanding importance. Mr. Ammon continued : "Why should we seek to keep Indians from these specific and important problems ? It is because we seek to do the right thing so very often in the wrong way that much hostility is continued."

Amidst cheers, Mr. Ammon paid high tribute to the gallantry, bravery and valour of the Indian people during the present struggle. It would be churlish and stupid, he continued, not to recognise that in the proposals there was a considerable advance in the endeavour to arrive at a better understanding. But there was still no definite and clear understanding that India was likely to receive full freedom and status and we had the position that numbers of eminent Indian citizens were still incarcerated in jail.

Mr. Amery could do a good deal if he would take his courage in his hands by setting free these political prisoners and showing that we were prepared to trust them. A person like Pandit Nehru, Mr. Ammon continued, was a person of some standing and consequence and personally Mr. Ammon rated him very much higher in his desire for co-operation than he did Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Ammon thought that Mr. Gandhi was after all fundamentally an anarchist and not likely to arrive at an agreement with anyone, whereas Pandit Nehru was a statesman. However generous these proposals might appear and however gladly we accepted them, the main problem still stood unsolved and untouched. India still felt she was not free, that she had not the same political rights as other countries, that she was being treated very much as a subordinate.

Lord Erskine said he was glad to hear Mr. Amery say that Mr. Jinnah's

policy was not a practicable one for India. Lord Erskine declared that he did not believe that many of the leaders of the Moslem League were attracted by the idea of a separate Hindu and a separate Moslem India. He expressed the view that if Government continued in its present policy of conciliation and friendliness, it would not be long before Congress and the Moslem League would be prepared to play their part in the Government of India.

Mr. *Graham White* said that he had come reluctantly and inevitably to the belief that in India there was no voice which could carry conviction to all sections and parts of India, when it was said. we really meant that we believed in Dominion Status and were determined to carry it out. But Mr. Amery had convinced him that not only did he (Mr. Amery) believe we were irrevocably committed to it but that British honour was bound up in fulfilment of that pledge. Mr. Graham White declared that there should be an amnesty so that many men languishing in jail should be able to make their contribution.

Mr. *Gordon Macdonald* said that there were some men in prison in India who ought to be released and he thought the release of these men would help to restore confidence. He was also certain that a meeting of the Congress to-day would help to support the war. Mr. Macdonald asked whether the Lord President would suggest to the Prime Minister that he sought the opportunity either in the Commons or elsewhere of making some declaration of a progressive kind that India and the world might hear. He pleaded for a declaration by the Prime Minister that he himself stood for a more progressive policy and that he undertook quite definitely when the war was over that certain things we had pledged to give India would be given within a reasonable period. Mr. Macdonald said that he was certain that the Prime Minister had to come out openly on India, as otherwise, he would be suspected by India.

Sir *George Schuster* said that he had previously said he would be glad to see an Indian Finance Member—indeed that he would have been glad to have resigned his own position there and to have served as an Under-Secretary to many Indians. But when Mr. Ammon made a point that the portfolios of Defence and Finance were key portfolios, he asked Mr. Ammon to consider the position in war time and to relate his ideas to what we knew in England. He referred to the Ministry of Labour and the Ministry of Supply. The fact was, said Sir George Schuster, they were two key positions. Sir George Schuster said that he regarded the White Paper as an immense advance. It had made the Government of India representative and had brought the Government into a position in which it could really demand the respect of the Indian people. The men who had agreed to come forward were certainly not a team of "yes men". They were men who had proved their positions outside and in business and had proved themselves by their independence. They had shown courage and independence before, but never greater courage than they had done now at this supreme crisis. They had taken their political courage in both hands to serve their country. Sir George Schuster continued, "Everyday decisions are being taken in India which will affect India's economic future. I had always wanted to feel that when those decisions were being taken, they were being taken by a Government really representative of India." Sir George continued, "Although this is only a provisional war measure, it must have an effect beyond the war. The Viceroy's Council can never be the same again. The whole spirit of the Government of India must be changed. The great thing about the present war atmosphere is that it affords a great opportunity for creating better relations. Hitler at least has done this for us. He has brought all classes in England closer together. He has brought England closer to the United States and he is also bringing this country closer to India. I would appeal to anyone who has anything to do with relations with India now not to waste opportunity but to work in the right spirt with India. Can we do more than we are doing to take advantage of this opportunity ? I believe we can.

"I have always pleaded that we should get representative Indians over to this country now (cheers) We had Dominion representatives : why should not we have representative Indians over here and let them sit with the War Cabinet ? They could say how idiotic is the idea that this is an imperialistic war."

Sir George Schuster said that if the Congress Party and other political parties were ready to take part in discussions in the right spirit, he would strongly plead for a general amnesty but to say that men should be let out without any assurance that, when they got out, they would not start again to make the sort of speeches for which they were in prison seemed to be impossible. There must be some recognition on the Indian side that the time had come to make a new start.

Mr *Ridely* (Labour) asked Mr. Amery to consider if not a general amnesty at least a substantial release of political prisoners and that Mr. Amery would make it clear to Congress and the Moslem League that, if at any subsequent date, they desire to accept seats on the Viceroy's Council, he would provide them. Mr. Ridley also suggested that Mr. Amery make personal contact with the leaders of Indian political opinion. He suggested Cairo as a desirable meeting place.

Col. Wedgwood (Labour) asked Government to consider not the idea of concentrating everything on unity but rather on developing the provinces so that the provinces may become States, thereby securing better Government and better democracy. Col. Wedgwood also made an appeal for the release of prisoners and said that when he was recently in America, at meeting after meeting some emissary of 'America First' would get up and say 'What about India—you have put them all in jail : why don't you practise democracy there ? In America there was not the faintest idea of what the British had done in India or that every province in India was self-governing to-day—just as self-governing as every State in America. Britain should make it clear to the people in America that the idea of an Imperial Britain pressing for war was ridiculous. Indians should be let out of jail.

Miss *Eleanor Rathbone* (Independent) said that there had been a great measure of common agreement throughout the debate. With the exception of Mr. Ammon, every speaker had welcomed the new arrangement as a very great improvement. She did not see how there could be an universal unconditional amnesty without any kind of terms. Nor did she think it possible to have any terms which would mean humiliation or a definite confession or error on the part of the imprisoned men. She asked whether it was beyond Government to find a bridge and a way out that did not involve either capitulation on Government's side or humiliation for the prisoners.

Sir *Stanley Reed* said that as far as he could see, the only criticism of the present measures was that they were no solution of major constitutional problems and did not satisfy to the full the aspirations raised in India as to her future status. But these were interim proposals to deal with an interim period and they did not pretend to be and were not any solution of the great basic constitutional changes which had ultimately to be made. The new Council now had a majority of Indians and they had collective responsibility and ministerial powers. Without some knowledge of India and some knowledge of the working of the Indian constitution, no one could possibly say that the Secretary of State and the Viceroy could have gone further without a great and complicated change in the constitution of India itself, for which everyone agreed that this was not the time. Dealing with the question of an amnesty, Sir Stanley Reed said that all those detained were detained for a direct challenge to authority and determination to obstruct the Government in the war effort. An amnesty could only be carried out by their acceptance of authority. As an interim policy, Sir Stanley Reed rejoiced at and welcomed the steps which the Viceroy and the Secretary of State had taken.

Sir Stanley Reed continued : "It took six or seven years to hammer out the Act of 1935. How long is it going to take to hammer out the new Act ? I regard it as of paramount importance that the Secretary of State should concern himself with the setting up of a very small body in India of enquiry and investigation to go into the vast new problems and, if possible, to issue interim reports so that when the time comes to implement our definite guarantees of Dominion Status or independence of which the Dominion Status is a better and higher form, we shall have material ready for a prompt decision."

Sir Stanley Reed agreed that Mr. Amery should consult Mr. Churchill and ask whether the Prime Minister could not send his own personal message to India. Sir Stanley Reed gave his complete and whole-hearted support to the policy announced and said that a great tribute should be paid to Mr. Amery, the Viceroy and the Indians going into the new Executive and on the Advisory Council.

Sir *Hugh O'Neill* said that Mr. Amery had made it perfectly clear that the aim and object of Government was free and equal partnership of India within the British Empire. He thought it worth remembering that that came from a Government, the head of which was in the past associated with the most strong opposition to the Act of 1935. Surely those promises, coming from such a Government, could not or should not fail to command the respect and attention of all right-minded people. He was very glad that the negative attitude which was the policy last November had been changed and that the Government had now come round to a positive policy which had resulted in the formation of an Executive

Council and a National Defence Council. The fact the Executive Council now was to have an Indian majority marked a very definite stage in the progress of Indian constitutional development.

Mr. *Amery*, replying to the discussion, said, "I hope, that it will make a similar debate superfluous when it falls to my lot after the recess to deal with one clause of the Bill extending—subject to decisions taken otherwise—the maximum life of the provincial Governments which has already been introduced in the House of Lords. Regarding the points raised concerning India's war equipment, we are anxious—the Indian Government have been anxious and His Majesty's Government has been anxious—to develop India's industrial and munitions production to the fullest extent. There is no question of obstructions from this end to prevent India developing her war industries.

Mr. *Amery* continued : "As regards ship-building, existing yards are all within their capacity turning out as many crafts as they can, always subject to the fact that machinery has to come from this country. They are small craft relatively speaking and the problem whether India at this time can successfully embark on building larger merchant ships, whether it is possible to convey to India all the machinery and material required and so get production economy is under earnest consideration.

"It is entirely a mistake to think that creation of an aircraft industry in India has been obstructed and prevented. It is a matter to which I directed my attention within the first week of my office, a matter on which the Viceroy has shown the greatest keenness and eagerness, but the creation of an aircraft industry is, as we have learned to our cost here, is a slow and difficult matter. It is a matter of years producing aircraft engine and even the actual creation of air-frames requires many tools and materials not existing in India at the beginning of this war. All the same, in spite of the fact that every engine that could be made here or in America seemed booked up for years, the Viceroy did succeed with the help of private industry in creating at any rate a small aircraft production industry whose first planes are already in the air (cheers), and within the limits of what is possible, we shall do all in our power to develop India's aircraft industry."

Col. Wedgwood, intervening, asked : "Were the engines made there ?"

Mr. *Amery* : "No, it takes years to make engines. They come from America."

Continuing, Mr. *Amery* said, "His Majesty's Government do not look jealously upon the development of Indian industry. We fully realise that development of Indian resources in every direction, industrial as well as agricultural, is essential to her property and essential as a foundation of her security and that free position in the world which we wish to see her attain. The National Defence Council will meet under the chairmanship of the Viceroy at regular intervals for a few days, it is hoped, every alternate month. It will have an opportunity of investigating and hearing from the Commander-in-Chief and the Executive Councillors concerned about the work of their departments as well as making suggestions regarding the work of those Departments. It will in that way get the fullest confidential information about the progress of the war and will be able both to convey to the Centre, the needs of provinces with regard to industry and labour and to convey back to their constituents the viewpoint of the Centre to unify India from the viewpoint of the war. It has been suggested that they would be a body of 'yes-men'. I would point out that it does not require an election to make a man independent. The Prime Ministers of provinces enjoying democratic self-government have joined with the consent of their colleagues and presumably with the consent of their elected majorities. The large proportion of other members are not only elected representatives of the people in their own legislatures but include men who hold the same views as the Congress about India's future but who have not agreed about the recent tactics of the Congress.

"It is suggested that I have spoken somewhat unkindly or unfairly about the Congress Party, but it would be far from my wish to do so. I realise to the full how much over the last two generations India has owed to the national movement of which the Congress Party has been the chief exponent. Indeed, one might say that to-day the ideals which the Congress has advocated over all these years for India are the ideals for India which we ourselves share. It is not on that issue I would criticise the Congress but I would criticise it as a great part of India and its former members and present members are criticising it for tactics which I believe have not promoted those ideals. If the Congress had helped to make possible the carrying through of the Federal provisions of the present Act, can anyone doubt that India from that viewpoint of self-government

would be far more advanced than she is to-day ? Can anyone doubt that the Congress would have enjoyed a more powerful position in the Government of India than it is ever likely to enjoy again ?

"It was also suggested that we ought to stand in a white sheet, because of the way in which the war was initiated in India without some address on our part to the Legislature as in the case of the Legislatures of the Dominions. As far as the consttutional position was concerned, India was at war, the moment we were at war. But more than that the Congress, which blamed us for not being more warlike over Abyssinia, for appeasement at Munich, when war was in the offing protested vehemently against any reinforcements being sent from India to threatened positions and to show its disapproval of our whole policy ordered its members to absent themselves from the Legislature.

"They were therefore not present to be consulted. But those who were present certainly showed no disapproval either of the fact that India was at war or of the emergency legislation which the Viceroy brought before them. During those weeks, the Viceroy made every possible test in consultation with Mr. Gandhi and other leaders of the various parties in India. He saw some fifty political leaders with a view to bringing them together in support of the war in India's defence. At the outset, Mr. Gandhi, at any rate, was willing to give his whole-hearted support without bargaining but he was overruled by what I cannot regard as wiser influences within the Executive of his Party and in the pursuance of that policy, the Party deprived the greater part of India of a wide measure of self-government which it was enjoying and has since then embarked on what I can only describe as a futile campaign of deliberately compelling the Government to put into prison leading politicians for saying things which inevitably in a time of war bring an ordinary man into custody.

"I have been earnestly appealed to for a general release but at this moment Mr. Gandhi is insisting that those who are out of prison should promptly go back again. Something like half of those who offended against the order were dealt with by being arrested and let go, while others received comparatively light sentences. The Government is not laying down any conditions of written pledges as a prerequisite for any individual release or of collective release but at any rate so long as the situation stands as it is, the Government are unable to do otherwise than they are doing now—let those who insist on going to prison have their will.

"I may add that it is a will whose wisdom is being more and more doubted by large numbers of adherents of the Congress itself. As to the major discussion, to some extent the spirit of what has been said was summed up in its simplest terms by the statement that this was the test case of the issue for which we are fighting this war. The request was made that we should on a definite date give India that national freedom for which she asks. Under what constitution ? That is the very question which is at issue. There is no India as there is a Belgium or Holland for instance. In many respects India is much more like Europe than it is like an individual country. The difficulty I have tried to explain throughout is not our unwillingness to give self-government to India but the absence of any willingness among Indians themselves to agree upon terms on which they are ready to govern themselves, either for India as a whole or as has been suggested in separate units.

"There is no agreement on that and the whole essence of our policy is to invite and urge Indians to come to an agreement. I have heard a certain amount to-day about the failure of statesmanship. I have also heard of the statesmanship of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and those working with him in initiating discussion and examination of what India's future constitution should be. That is our statesmanship. That is what we invited Indians to do a year ago. I am glad that now after eleven months or more Indian statesmanship is responding. I hope that that lead will be followed further. The other statesmanship is that of destroying self-government where it existed and embarrassing the war effort with no particular aim in view—is not that also possibly a failure ?

"Meanwhile, in the absence of the possibility of a constitutional advance on broad issues there is no agreement, we have taken interim measures which affect the spirit of India's administration of her constitution and which in our belief at any rate during this interim period may help to create an atmosphere and spirit which will make a solution of India's constitutional difficulties possible. The difficulty in India to-day is not so much the formal one as one of spirit and atmosphere—the impossible positions relative to each other into which party

leaders have fallen. I am glad to think that regardless of party leaders and in defiance of party discipline, patriotic Indians have come forward to work for India's defence. If they can work together for her defence against dangers from outside, they are also capable of working together to find India's salvation at home (cheers)."

The report stage of the India and Burma Estimates was agreed to and the report stages of all other outstanding items were agreed to.

The National Defence Council

Secretary of State's Statement

Mr. *Amery*, Secretary of State for India, made the following statement dated London, the **19th. August 1941**, regarding the recent invitation to the Indian Provincial Premiers to join India's newly constituted National Defence Council :

"The Prime Ministers of all the provinces in which working of the constitution has been uninterrupted were invited by the Viceroy to join the National Defence Council in their capacity as Prime Ministers and regardless of their personal, party or communal affiliations. Not only were they invited in their capacity as Prime Ministers, but they accepted the invitations in that capacity and in the light of their constitutional responsibility and obligations to the peoples and the provinces as a whole."

The Govt. of India Communique

Attention has been drawn to the recent proceedings of the Working Committee of the Muslim League and to the statement which has been issued by the Premier of the Punjab consequent on his resignation from the National Defence Council, stated a communique issued from Simla on the **27th. August 1941.**

In view of the statements which have been made on this important matter, it adds, it seems desirable to make it clear in the first place that the Premiers of Assam, Bengal, Punjab and Sind were invited to serve on the National Defence Council in terms in their capacity as premiers of their provinces and on no other basis. It was on that basis that they accepted the invitation which was extended to them. As a corollary, should they cease to be Premiers of their provinces, they would cease equally and automatically to be members of the National Defence Council, and their successor as Premier, irrespective of his party or his community, would be invited to replace them.

In framing the Defence Council, His Majesty's Government and the Viceroy were concerned to bring about as complete a representation of the face of India as was practicable and to ensure that the Council should be as representative as circumstances made it possible of all areas, communities and interests in this country. The allocation of the seats assigned to British India was primarily by provinces. The Premiers of all those provinces in which the constitution was functioning normally were accordingly invited in every case to join the Council. That was the primary and essential basis of the composition of the Council. It goes without saying that in the conditions of India, it is not possible to separate in estimating the character or the composition of any public body, the community or an individual from his general representative capacity. It was clearly desirable, too, that in a body designed to be as generally representative as was practicable, care should be taken to ensure adequate representation of the great Muslim community. The fact that certain individual members including the present Premiers of Assam, Bengal, the Punjab and Sind themselves professed the Muslim faith was an advantage from this point of view. That consideration was however, and must be entirely a secondary one, and the basis on which the Premiers were invited and agreed to serve was essentially that they were Premiers of the Provinces.

There can be no justification for any misunderstanding of this position. It was made quite clear to the Premiers concerned when invitations were extended to and accepted by them that they were being invited to serve as Premiers. It was brought out by the Secretary of State in his speech in the House of Commons on August 1. The position was further made clear by the Governor-General to Mr. Jinnah, and the Secretary of State was at pains to issue a statement

designed to remove any possible misunderstanding regarding it. The Governor-General's conversation with Mr. *Jinnah* and the Secretary of State's statement both took place some days before the meeting of the Working Committee of the Muslim League.

Mr. Jinnah's Statement on the Communique

Mr. *M. A. Jinnah* issued the following statement to the press from Bombay on the **28th. August 1941** :

"The explanation that has been given, presumably, on behalf of Lord *Linlinthgow*, in the communique dated August 27, 1941, Simla, regarding the recent decision of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League and the statement which has been issued by Sir Sikander Hyat Khan consequent on his resignatiou from the National Defence Council, is a lengthy and wordy explanation of points other than the real and vital one, which forms the basis of the resignation of Sir Sikander Hyat Khan namely, that according to the text of the message of His Excellency the Viceroy, Sir Sikander Hyat Khan waa appointed as a representative of the great Muslim community. This message I received through the Governor of Bombay on the morning of July 21 and replied to it on the same day. It is surprising that no reference whatever has been made to it in the whole of the communique.

"The statement of Sir *Sikander Hyat Khan* runs as follows :—"I was surprised however to find that in the letter dated July 20 last from the Governor of Bombay to Mr. Jinnah, communicating to him a message from His Excellency the Viceroy, an entirely different complexion had been put on the basis of appointment of the Muslim Premiers on this Council, and *inter alia* it was stated that we were being appointed to the Defence Council as representatives of the great Muslim community...I could not in fairness to my province or the Muslim League, continue to serve on this Council'.

"According to Sir *Sikander Hyat Khan*, the Viceroy was double-crossing him. That point is not met in the whole of the communique. Had he asked Sir Sikander Hyat Khan to join the Council in his personal capacity, the probability is so obvious that he would have refused or at any rate, asked for time to consult the Leader and the Executive of the Muslim League organisation. This evidently, did not suit the Viceroy to put it to him in that way, and he was sworn to strict secrecy.

"It is somewhat difficult to understand why the Working Committee has been dragged in the communique. The position of the Working Committee has been made quite clear by its resolution that the gentlemen concerned had clearly associated themselves with the scheme and had thereby gone against the express decision and mandate of the League, and had acted without any reference to the Leader or the Executive of the organisation. The decision of the Working Committee, therefore, was that they should resign from the National Defence Council. It is quite immaterial whether they accepted the invitation in their official capacity or otherwise.

"The various stages of the development of this plea that these gentlemen were appointed in their official capacity as Premiers, ending with the statement of the Secretary of State for India, which he was 'at pains to make' on August 19, 1941, were merely intended to create confusion before the Muslim public and in the deliberations of the Working Committee, which was called upon to decide as to what action should be taken in the matter.

"Lastly, there is a reference of His Excellency the Viceroy in the communique, to the conversation that he had with me on August 16, 1941. It is quite correct that he informed me that these gentlemen were invited in their official capacity ; but in fairness to me it also ought to have been stated as to what was my reply. Here I give the substance of it. I said, 'It was quite immaterial to the real issue ; nevertheless, it is the first time I hear, on your authority, that they were invited in their official capacity ; and even after my reply to your message, which you must have received on the 21st. or the 22nd., you did not suggest, that they were appointed in their official capacity, till to-day.' I pointed out to him that this was quite contrary to the message, that he was good enough to send to me through the Governor of Bombay. The text of the message did not leave the slightest doubt that they were appointed essentially as representatives of the great Muslim community, because they were Muslims of the highest eminence and capacity. I asked him to send for the copy of his message that he had sent to me and verify what I was saying, to which he replied that he would look it up.

"I think in fairness to all parties concerned I should release to the press the full text of his message and my reply to it.

Lumley—Jinnah Correspondence

BOMBAY GOVERNOR'S LETTER

Government House.
Ganeshkhind, 20th. July 1941.

"Dear Mr. Jinnah,

"His Excellency the Viceroy has asked me to let you know his intentions on the matters, which follow. I had hoped that I would be able to see you myself in order that I might convey this message to you personally, as was his desire : but unfortunately, now that I am in a position to give you the message, I am not entirely fit, and I am, therefore, writing to convey it to you by this letter, which I am sending down to Bombay by special messenger.

"The Viceroy has continued to have very much in mind the whole situation in regard to the war effort and the association of non-official opinion with the prosecution of the war. The obstacles, however, to any settlement on the basis of the complete offer of August last, which emerged so clearly during the discussions last autumn, still exist, to his very great regret, as the last few months, and the reactions to the Secretary of State's statement in the House of Commons on April the 22nd, have made clear. In these circumstances, it is equally clear that he cannot look for that degree of support from the major parties, for the proposals embodied in the August Offer, which he desires. Nevertheless, the burden of the conduct of the war on the Central Government has greatly increased, and for administrative reasons it is essential to proceed with some increase in the membership of the Viceroy's Council within the terms of the August Offer. The Viceroy, accordingly, is anxious that you should know that he is now, with the approval of His Majesty's Government, creating five new portfolios. These new portfolios, and the names of the gentlemen by whom they have been accepted, are as follows :— Supply :—Sir Homi Mody. Information :—Sir Akbar Hydari. Civil Defence :— Mr. Raghavendra Rao. Indians Overseas :—Mr. Aney. Labour :—Sir Firoze Khan Noon.

"The Viceroy would also like you to know that he proposes to fill the vacancies arising in the portfolio of Law, when Sir Zafrullah Khan goes to the Federal Court, and in the portfolio of Education, when Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai takes up a mission overseas, by the appointment of Sir Sultan Ahmed and Mr. Sarker.

"In addition, the Viceroy does not feel that, because of the difficulty in securing the support of the major political parties, it is possible to delay further the more active association of non-official Indian opinion with the prosecution of the war. He is accordingly establishing, with the approval of His Majesty's Government, a National Defence Council. This Council will consist of some thirty members, nine of whom will be drawn from the Indian States. The Viceroy regards it as essential that the great Muslim community should be represented on that Council by persons of the highest prominence and capacity. He has accordingly invited the Premiers of Assam, Bengal, the Punjab and Sind to serve as members of it, and he has extended invitations also to certain other prominent Muslims, such as Sir Mahomed Usman. He has considered whether he should invite you to let him have any suggestions as to the posible personnel for this Council, but being aware, as he is, of your general attitude, he has concluded that it would be preferable not to embarrass you by inviting you to make suggestions.

" 'It is intended that an announcement about these changes will be made on the morning of Tuesday, July the 22nd. and the Viceroy is anxious that you should have, through me, this advance information of what is proposed. I would have much preferred to have given you this message orally, but this letter contains the substance of it.

I hope that you have now fully recovered from your recent illness.

MR. JINNAH'S REPLY

Copy of the letter sent by Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Mount Pleasant Road, Malabar Hill, 21st. July 1941.

Dear Sir Roger,

"I am in receipt of your letter of the 20th July 1941 which embodies the message of His Excellency the Viceroy. I deeply regret the decision taken by him with the approval of His Majesty's Government. I appreciate him when he says that he does not wish to embarrass me by inviting me to make suggestions,

knowing, as he does, not only my general attitude but that of the All-India Muslim League. Further, I cannot approve of his having invited the Muslim League Premiers or any other Muslim Leaguer under the scheme of the expansion of the Viceroy's Council as well as what is now called the National Defence Council, because it is obvious that it would embarrass the Muslim League organisation, and I do hope and trust that His Excellency will avoid such a contingency. Besides, it is hardly fair or proper that they should be approached by His Excellency over the head of the President and the Executive of the All-India Muslim League, knowing full well the position and the attitude that the All-India Muslim League has adopted.

'It is stated in his message that the Viceroy regards it as essential that the Great Muslim community should be represented by persons of the highest prominence and capacity. Would it be creditable for any individual prominent or capable Mussalman belonging to an organisation to accept the invitation contrary to the position and the attitude taken up by that organisation, and would it do any credit to the Government, if they succeed in alluring him and create a breach in the organisation, in the hope that he may throw up his allegiance to the party to which he belongs in order to accept the invitation of His Excellency. I maintain that the great Muslim community is represented authoritatively only by the All-India Muslim League organisation. Persistence in this course will not improve matters but, on the contrary, it will lead to bitterness on the part of the Muslim League, which up to the present moment, fortunately, does not exist, however emphatically we have disapproved of the policy which has been pursued by His Majesty's Government and the Viceroy.

Letter from Sir Roger Lumley to Mr. M. A. Jinnah.

Government House, *Ganeshkhind*, 22-7 1941.

"Dear Mr. Jinnah.

"Thank you for your letter of July the 21st, the contents of which I have passed on to the Viceroy.

"I am glad to hear you have recovered.

Thanks for your kind enquiry. I am much better."

The National Defence Council

First Session—Simla—6th. October 1941

THE VICEROY'S OPENING SPEECH

The first session of the National Defence Council opened at the Viceregal Lodge, Simla on the **6th October 1941**. There were meetings in the morning and in the afternoon, at both of which *H. E. the Viceroy* presided.

Those present were : Their Highnesses the Jam Sahib of Nawanagar, the Maharaja of Bikaner, the Maharaja of Jodhpur, the Maharaja of Patiala, the Maharaja of Gwalior, the Nawab of Bhopal, the Nawab of Rampur and the Maharaja of Cooch-Behar, Nawab Sir Muhammad Ahmad Said Khan of Chhatari, representing H. E. H. the Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Kumararaja Sir Muthia Chettiar of Chettinad, the hon. Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga, Mr. Ramrao Madhavrao Deshmukh, Lieut-Col. Sir Henry Gidney, Sir Cowasjee Jehangir, Raja Bahadur of Khallikote, the hon. Malik Khuda Baksh Khan, Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta, Mr. G. B. Morton, Mr. Biren Mukherjee, Captain Sardar Naunihal Singh Man, Begum Shah Nawaz, Rao Bahadur M. C. Raja, Professor E. Ahmad Shah, the Premier of Sind (the hon. Khan Bahadur Allah Bux), Mr. Mohd Umar Soomro, Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava and Sir Mahomed Usman.

Before the opening of the secret session, H. E. the Viceroy welcomed the National Defence Council in a short speech. H. H. the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes from among the States' representatives, and Sir Mahomed Usman from among the British Indian representatives, responded. At the beginning of the secret session, Begum Shah Nawaz expressed, on behalf of the women of India, gratitude at the appointment of a woman representative to the Defence Council.

In the morning meeting a statement was made by H. E. the Commander-in-

Chief, in the course of which Sir Archibald Wavell read a message of greeting to the Council from Mr. Winston Churchill. A number of matters of special interest in the defence field, which had been raised by various members of the Council, were explained by the Commander-in-Chief and a discussion followed. In the afternoon, the meeting heard and discussed a statement by General A. B. Haig, Adjutant-General in India, on recruiting and cognate issues. The hon. Sir Homi Mody, Supply Member, began his statement on the question of war supply.

His Excellency the Viceroy spoke as follows :

"This is a business gathering, and I am not going to make a long speech to you to-day. But I would like, in the first place, to extend to you the warmest possible welcome to this the first meeting of the National Defence Council, and to say how deeply I appreciate your public spirit in attending, in many cases, I know, at very great personal inconvenience. I would like, too, to say a word about the significance of this occasion before we go into our secret session, and to touch very briefly on the recent developments in the great part which India is playing in this war.

"This occasion is one of great significance. For the first time, the representatives of the Indian States and British India are met together to consider and discuss the war position and India's war effort ; to receive from myself and from my advisers information on important aspects of these matters ; to give my advisers and myself the benefit, the value of which I cannot over-estimate, of your own suggestions and advice. It is my hope and belief that this meeting will be the first of many, and that the contribution which these meetings will make to the removal of misunderstandings, to the furtherance of our common cause and to stimulating still further the efforts already so generously and widely made throughout India, will be great indeed.

"In the National Defence Council composed as it is of representatives of the Princely Order and of the provinces of British India, there has been established a body truly representative of all elements in the national life of India, whose sole object is the intensification of the war effort and the prosecution of the war. My object and that of my Government will be, during our secret deliberations, to acquaint the National Defence Council, to the fullest degree, and in the fullest confidence, with the position in relation to all important aspects of the war effort ; to obtain the benefit of their advice ; to improve and develop liaison ; and so to secure that, in a war that is as much India's war as the war of Great britain or of any other part of the Empire, the Princely Order and the provinces of British India are seized, through their representatives on the Defence Council of the problems that confront us from time to time in the conduct of the war, of the greatness of India's contribution, and of the background to, and the justification for, the magnificent effort which India is putting forth.

"There could be no more appropriate occasion than this to refer to the superb contribution so far made by India to the achievement of the ideals for which we are fighting. She has, without stint, poured out men, money and supplies. Her fighting men, whether by land, by sea, or in the air covered themselves, and the land of their birth, with glory. In the face of every device of modern warfare, in conditions often most difficult, in unfamiliar surroundings, India's fighting men, whether they come from the Indian States or from the provinces of British India, have shown outstanding valour and endurance and have added still further honour to the martial traditions of this country. The Empire and India owe them a debt of gratitude, a debt that will never be forgotten.

"In paying the tribute that I have to the gallant fighting men of India, I would associate with it a word of gratitude for the immense assistance given us by our neighbour, the warrior kingdom of Nepal, to the sympathetic and enthusiastic support and co-operation of whose Prime Minister we owe so much, and whose troops have played their part with the distinction which we have come to expect of them in the various theatres of war in which they have been engaged.

"In the field of supply India has again made a contribution of immense significance and value, a contribution recognised throughout the Empire, contribution that has in no small degree helped to bring home to many distant lands not only the great natural resources of India, but the high intelligence and skill of her craftsmen and her workers and the readiness of all to play their part at times like these. My Supply Member will be able to give you some idea of what has been done in this field. Let me say now only that the location in India of the Eastern Group Supply Council is, in itself, a tribute both to the importance of her strategic

and geographical position and to the magnitude of the assistance which she has give to the common effort.

"The generous stream of contributions in gifts and loans, in money and in kind, for the purchase of munitions and equipment, of planes, of tanks, of ambulances and the like for the alleviation of suffering and the relief of distress, which has flowed from India since the war began, is undiminished to-day. I pay my deep and sincere tribute to the magnificent generosity of the gifts that have been made by Your Highnesses of the Princely Order, by the provinces of British India, and by that great multitude of individuals throughout the country whose desire is to hasten, by their personal sacrifices, the day of victory for our cause.

"As the war goes on, every day reveals more clearly the place which India has won for herself in the world. She is to-day the base of operations for great campaigns and great strategic movements. The Commander-in-Chief, whom we are glad to welcome back to-day from his consulations with the Cabinet, with His Majesty's representatives, civil and military, in the Middle East, and with our Russian Allies at Teheran, bears a responsibility which few, if any, of his predecessors in that great office can have held ; and in the discharge of that responsibility from India he links India still more closely with those mighty movements that are taking place around us. India, as I have said, is the centre of the great Supply organisation which serves the vital military needs of countries ranging from Australia to South Africa. Her contribution in fighting men has been on the grandest scale, and will be greater yet. She is ready, as we know, to make sacrifices greater still in every way than those which she has so far been called upon to make. We may be proud of the achievement of India. We may be certain that that achievement will not fade from the memory of the nations.

"Your Highnesses, Begum Shah Nawaz and Gentlemen—I do not propose to detain you further. We have before us a long and heavy agenda. But I would like, again, to say how glad I am that we should all be meeting here to-day and how confident I am that our joint discussion and our joint labours will enure to the great benefit of India and to the benefit of the Empire as a whole. Anxious times, a long and arduous struggle, great responsibilities, heavy burdens, lie before us still. Let us look to it, one and all, that our response in these critical days for our country and civilisation is worthy of the call.

H. H. THE JAM SAHIBS SPEECH

H. H. the Jam Saheb, on behalf of the Rulers and representatives of the States present, thanked His Excellency most sincerely for the cordial welcome given them and declared that they felt—and he was confident that the representatives of British India shared this feeling—that the present war was our joint war and that the big issues which were being fought on the various battlefields were likely to affect the future of civilisation. He proceeded :

"At this crucial juncture, it is our right and duty to take counsel together and to make every possible contribution we can, in the service of our king and country, for the successful prosecution of the war. I can only speak for the States and Your Excellency knows, and the world knows, including the crier of the Berlin Radio Station, that the Indian Princes, one and all, have offered all their resources and are implementing that offer with practical and material contributions in every possible form. We are determined to continue our efforts and we welcome the opportunity of free and frank discussion provided by the National Defence Council, as it is likely to give us first-hand knowledge of the best form which our individual and collective war effort can take."

His Highness referred to the fact that, at the last session of the Chamber of Princes, we proposed a resolution recommending a National Defence Council, with representatives of the Governments of the States and of the Provinces, be set up as early as possible. "We are grateful to His Majesty's Government and to Your Excellency for giving effect to that resolution. We are convinced that worked in the right spirit, this Council can be of great utility in the successful prosecution of the war and we are convinced that all our colleagues sitting across this table are pledged to make it a success and to contribute their best for the common objective in view. We of the States have placed our resources at the disposal of Your Excellency as representative of the Crown, in the discharge of our solemn obligations and as our contribution towards the defence of our Motherland and for the vindication of the world cause at stake. Our war effort has only one aim, and that is that we shall continue doing our best till victory is won and the Nazi tyranny crushed for ever."

Sir *Mahomed Usman*, in associating himself with the thanks expressed by the Jam Saheb, declared that it was the good fortune of India that His Excellency's term of office had been extended and he would continue to preside over the deliberations of the Council. (Cheers). He hoped that His Excellency's term would see the successful termination of the war and the utter destruction of Nazism.

BRITISH PREMIER'S MESSAGE

The Council thereafter went into secret session, at which H. E. the Commander-in-Chief. at the beginning of his address, read the following message from Mr. *Churchill* :

"I was deeply interested by all you reported to me about India's war effort. In the first year of the war, it was impossible to find the weapons and equipment necessary for the Indian army. In the second year something was done. In the third year, large supplies of the most deadly modern war apparatus will come in a steady flow to expanding formations of the Indian Army. The sons of India have already in this war shown themselves worthy of the highest respect and honour among military men. Wherever they have fought—in Cyrenaica, in the Sudan, in Eritrea, Abyssinia, Syria and now latest of all in Persia—the Indian divisions have played an important and distinguished part. During 1942 the armies of India with their British comrades, will be fighting on the long front from the Caspian to the Nile. By so doing, they will be barring the eastward progress of the war and guarding the plains of Hindustan and the homes of their dear ones. This is a highly honourable task and also as anyone can see, the best strategy. This is equally true whether applied to the interests of India herself or to the fortunes of the world cause now being fought out."

Second Day—Simla—7th. October 1941

The National Defence Council met again at 10-30 a.m. to-day at the Viceregal Lodge with His Excellency the Viceroy in the chair.

The hon. Sir *Homi Mody* continued and concluded his statement on the supply position. This was followed by a statement on the military aspect by the Master General of Ordnance. A general discussion followed. The last subject for the day was a statement by the Director-General of Civil Defence on behalf of the hon. Mr. E Raghavendra Rao which was still under discussion when the Council adjourned.

Third Day—Simla—8th. October 1941

The National Defence Council met for the third day at 10-30 a.m. in the Viceregal Lodge with H. E. the Viceroy in the chair. The Council concluded its discussion on the question of civil defence and A. R. P. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, who spoke for an hour and a half, gave the Council a full appreciation of the war position from the strategic point of view and a discussion followed.

In the absence due to illness of the Rt. Hon. Sir *Akbar Hydari*, a statement on war publicity was read on his behalf by the Director-General of Information, and the Council examined the position. A number of matters were then considered, including the question of defence loans and the policy of the Government of India in respect of control of prices of essential commodities. The Council in conclusion approved the despath of a message of thanks to the Prime Minister for his message of welcome to them and thereafter adjourned to meet again on 1st. December.

Second Session—New Delhi—1st. December 1941

AIR & NAVAL POSITION REVIEWED

The second session of the National Defence Council opened at the Viceroy's House, New Delhi on the **1st. December 1941.** His Excellency the Viceroy presided at both the meetings, in the morning and in the afternoon.

Those present were : Their Highnesses the Maharaja Jam Saheb of Nawanagar, the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, the Maharaja of Mysore, the Nawab of Bahawalpur, the Maharao of Kotah, the Maharaja of Kapurthala, the Maharaja of Orchha and the Nawab of Palanpur, Nawab Sir Muhammad Ahmad Sa'id Khan, K.C.S.I., of Chhattari, Khan Bahadur Sir Muhammad Usman, K.C.I.E., Kumararaja Sir Muthia Chettiar of Chettinad, M.L.A., Rao Bahadur M. C. Raja, Sir Cowasjee Jehangir, Bart, K.C.I.E., O.B.E., M.L.A., Mr. Jamanadas M. Mehta, M.L.A., Dr. B. R.

Ambedkar, M.L.A., Mr. Biren Mookherjee, Mr. G. B. Morton, O.B.E., Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava, M.L.A., Raja Saiyed Ahmad Ali Khan of Salempur, C.B.E., Professor Ahmed Shah. Begum Shah Nawaz, M.B.E., M.L.A., Captain Sardar Naunihal Singh Man. M.B.E., M.L.A., the Hon'ble Maharajadhiraja Sir Kameshwar Singh, K.C.I.E., of Darbhanga, Mr. R. M. Deshmukh, the Hon'ble Malik Khuda Baksh Khan, Raja Bahadur Sri Rama Chandra Mardaraja Deo of Khallikote, M.L.A., the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Allah Bukhsh Muhammad Umar Soomru and Lt.-Col. Sir Henry Gidney. M.L.A.

The morning session was devoted to exhaustive reviews of the Air and the Naval situation in relation to India. The Air Officer Commanding-in-Chief put the Council fully in possession of the latest developments in the Air field, and a discussion followed on points arising out of the confidential information which was laid before the Council by him.

Vice-Admiral Sir Herbert Fitzherbert, Flag Officer Commanding, Royal Indian Navy, made an exhaustive statement on the position of the Royal Indian Navy, the developments that have taken place in connection with it, the work of the Navy and the various problems of Indian naval defence.

The statements by the Air Officer Commanding-in-Chief and the Flag Officer Commanding, Royal Indian Navy, were followed by a paper on the latest developments in connection with civil defence which was read by the Hon'ble Mr. Raghavendra Rao, who laid before the Defence Council a number of points for consideration, which equally formed a subject of discussion.

The proceedings for the day concluded with a speech by the Hon'ble Member for Labour, Malik Sir Firoz Khan Noon, on techical training, and the special arrangements which have been made in India to develop technical training in connection with the war. The Council adjourned.

Second Day—New Delhi—2nd. December 1941

SUPPLY POSITION REVIEWED

A communique giving an account of the second day's proceedings of the meeting said that the Master-General of Ordnance made a statement on the Supply position in its military aspect from all points of view and put the Council in possession of the latest developments in regard to it. He was followed by Sir *Homi Mody*, Member-in-charge of Supplies, who gave an exhaustive exposition of the Supply position with special reference to timber, leather goods, textiles, etc. A discussion followed on the points laid before the Council.

Thereafter, Sir *Andrew Clow*, Member-in-charge of Communications, addressed the Council on the work of the railways in relation to war effort and connected questions. He was followed by Sir Jeremy Raisman, Finance Member, who spoke on war finance and a large variety of matters of financial concern and interest arising in connection with the war.

The proceedings concluded with a statement made by Sir *A. Ramaswami Mudaliar*, Commerce Member, on the recent developments in industrial research.

Third Day—New Delhi—3rd. December 1941

MILITARY POSITION DISCUSSED

The final session of the second meeting of the National Defence Council took place to-day. The morning was devoted to a review by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief of the general military position, both as immediately affecting India and in its more general aspects. A full discussion followed.

On the conclusion of the Commander-in-Chief's statement, the Right Hon'ble Sir *Akbar Hydari*, Member-in-charge, Information and Boardcasting, explained to the National Defence Council the various developments that had taken place in connection with the work of his department, the organisation of propaganda, publicity in connection with war effort, etc.

After luncheon, which was taken with their Excellencies in the Viceroy's House, a discussion proceeded on certain specific questions which had been raised by individual members of the Council, at the conclusion of which the Council closed its second meeting. Cinema films to illustrate Indian war effort were shown to members of the Council, who, on the invitation of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, were afterwards present at a tea party which he and Lady Wavell were giving for wounded Indian soldiers.

India and the Atlantic Charter

Premier's Speech—H. of Commons—9th. September 1941

An encouraging account of the progress of the Atlantic Battle was one of the main points made by Mr. Winston Churchill, reviewing the war situation in Parliament which met on the **9th. September 1941** after the Summer recess. The Prime Minister said that the sinking of British and Allied ships by the enemy in July and August did not amount to much more than a third of the German and Italian tonnage sunk by Allied aircraft and submarines. Referring to the Atlantic Charter and its relation to India, the Prime Minister said :

"The Joint Declaration does not quality in any way the various statements of policy which have been made from time to time about the development of constitutional government in India, Burma or other parts of the British Empire."

"We have pledged, by the Declaration of August, 1940, to help India to obtain free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth with ourselves, subject, of course, to the fulfilment of the obligations arising from our long connection with India and our responsibilities to its many creeds, races and interests.

"Burma also is covered by our considered policy of establishing Burma's self-government and by measures already in progress.

"At the Atlantic meeting, we had in mind primarily the extension of the sovereignty, self-government and national life of the States and nations of Europe now under Nazi yoke and the principles which should govern any alterations in the territorial boundaries of countries which may have to be made. That is quite a separate problem from the progressive evolution of self-governing institutions in regions whose peoples owe allegiance to the British Crown. We have made declarations on these matters which are complete in themselves, free from ambiguity and related to the conditions and circumstances of the territories and peoples affected. They will be found to be entirely in harmony with the conception of freedom and justice which inspired the Joint Declaration."

The Indus Commission Enquiry

Opening Dey—Simla—22nd. September 1941

Chairman Enunciates General Principles

The Indus Commission enquiry commenced at Simla on the **22nd September 1941** in connection with the sharing of Indus waters between the Sind and Punjab Provinces. Sir B. N. Rau, who presided, enunciated certain general principles governing questions of this kind. He stressed the following points, quoting authorities from the Geneva Convention, the judgment of the Permanent Court of International Justice and a number of American decisions.

The Commission consisted of Sir *B. N. Rau*, Chairman, Mr. *P. F. B. Hickey*, retired Chief Engineer, U. P., and Mr. *E. H. Chave*, Chief Engineer, Madras.

The most satisfactory settlement of disputes of this kind was by agreement, the parties adopting the same technical solution of each problem as if they were a single community undivided by political or administrative frontiers. Once there was such an agreement, that in itself furnished the law governing the rights of the several parties until a new agreement was concluded. If there was no such agreement, the rights of the several provinces and States must be determined by applying the rule of "equitable apportionment," each unit getting its fair share of the water of the common river. In the general interests of the entire community inhabiting dry and arid territories, priority must be given to an earlier irrigation project over a later one : "priority or appropriation gives superiority of right."

Is the State a Party ?

The point whether any State could appear as a "party" before the Commission was discussed at the outset of the proceedings, following observations made by Counsel for Bahawalpur who urged that that State should be considered a party and should be given all the privileges of a party in the matter of leading evidence, cross-examining witnesses, etc.

Sir *B. N. Rau* pointed out that, under the constitution at present in force, a State could not be a party and he asked if it made any difference if the State was accorded all the rights and privileges of a party without being called a party.

The Counsel submitted that if he was given all the rights and privileges of a party he was in fact a party. He quoted Sections 130 and 131 of the Government of India Act, particularly the latter section, under which he said the ruler of any State affected could torpedo the decision of the Commission by securing a reference of the whole matter to His Majesty in Council. Counsel argued that in these circumstances, the State was a very real party.

The Chaiman indicated that he would postpone a decision on the point till a later stage and that Counsel could raise it again if any right was refused to him.

The Counsel signified acceptance of the position reserving to himself the right to withdraw from the proceedings if necessary.

Mr. *Coltman*, Counsel for the Sind Government asked for clarification of the position and pointed out that it should not be open to any one after taking part in the proceedings to consider the Commission's decision not binding on himself when that decision went against him.

The Chairman explained that the Commission would only make recommendations and it was for the Governor-General to take decisions.

"DECISION NOT BINDING ON STATES"

The Counsel for Bikaner recorded a protest against the appointment of the Commission and declared it was without jurisdiction so far as Indian States were concerned, because it had been appointed by the Governor-General, who was a different legal entity from the Crown Representative with whom the States were concerned. Counsel also declared that the existing Indus waters agreement, to which Bikaner and other States were a party, was by the appointment of the Commission sought to be revised without the consent of these States, and therefore any decision taken by the Commission would not be binding on these States.

In reply to the Chairman, Counsel said he would only hold a watching brief at the proceedings.

The Chairman made it clear that the opportunity to take part in the proceedings was there for those interested, but it was for them to take advantage or not of that opportunity.

The Counsel for Khairpur expressed himself in general agreement with the position taken by Bahawalpur while the Counsel representing Patiala, Jind, Nabha and Faridkot expressed accord with Bikaner's position. The chief engineer, N. W F. P. said he would also hold a watching brief.

SUGGESTION TO EXAMINE DATA

Mr. *Coltman*, thereafter, made preliminary remarks in which he said that the Government of the Punjab, in their rejoinder to the Sind Government's complaint, had considerably modified the orginal position on which Sind's case had been based. He thought that an examination of the Punjab's rejoinder would take considerable time. He also suggested that the parties should examine each other's data to see how far the terms of the Indus Waters Award of 1935 had been modified or were being modified in actual practice by the Punjab.

Mr. *E. H. Chave*, Chief Engineer, Madras, member of the Commission enquired why the Sind Government had filed their complaint before correctly ascertaining the data on which to base it.

The counsel complained that Sind Government never had a correct reply from the Punjab Government, and that the Punjab rejoinder handed to them on Friday last had completely altered the position.

Mr. *Chave* referred to the discrepancy between the figures given by the Punjab and Sind Governments and asked if Sind ascertained from the Punjab whether Sind's assumptions were correct.

The counsel said that they did, but never had a satisfactory reply.

The counsel for the Punjab, intervening, complained that data for five years asked for had never been supplied to his Government and Sind's case was not known to them.

Mr. *Chave* asked why Punjab did not tell Sind that Sind's case was based on wrong assumptions.

The counsel for the Punjab said there had been no direct communication with the Sind Government.

Mr. *Coltman*, before the Commission adjourned, submitted that the Sukkur Barrage Project was not involved in the complaint. The counsel for the Punjab dissented from this view.

Sir *N. N. Sircar*, who had been briefed by the Punjab, was not present owing to indisposition.

Second Day—Simla—26th. September 1941

The position of States in the proceedings of the Commission was again raised and a final ruling given by the Chairman, Sir *B. N. Rau*, at the Commission's resumed sitting to-day.

At the outset, Counsel for Khairpur State making his position clear, declared that the Commission, having been appointed by the Governor-General and not by the Crown Representative, had no jurisdiction with reference to States. He would therefore take part in the proceedings under protest. He added that, if any variation of the Agreement of 1935 regarding the distribution of Indus waters was agreed to by any other parties, Khairpur would not be bound by it, unless its consent was expressly given.

Sir *Nripendra Nath Sircar*, Counsel for the Punjab, objected to States being allowed to take part in the proceedings. It was true, he argued, that the Commission could only report to the Governor-General, but the Commission would be making a report for the definite purpose of enabling the Governor-General to issue his decisions and it was therefore not right that the Commission should enquire into matters on which decisions could not be given by the Governor-General, but only by the Crown Representative. He quoted authority for his contention that the Commission in allowing the States to take part in the proceedings would be assuming the duties of another tribunal which could only be set up by the Crown Representative.

Sir *B. N. Rau*, giving his ruling, observed that under Section 131 of the Act, the Commission had to investigate matters referred to them. The Section was silent about the procedure, but it was clear that the Commission must mould their procedure to the requirements of a full and proper investigation. Such an investigation would be impossible without hearing every interested unit. The Commission must, therefore, give every interested unit an opportunity of being heard in every way so far as the Commission thought it necessary for the purposes of their investigation.

Counsel for Bahawalpur referred to the Chairman's observation on the opening day that Bahawalpur would have all the privileges of a party and wanted to know whether all the facilities that the State would want in taking part in the proceedings would be given to it.

The Chairman : We see no reason to refuse any facilities, but we shall have to satisfy ourselves at the time whether any facility you are asking for is necessary for the investigation of Sind's complaint.

Counsel for Bahawalpur pressed for the grant of all facilities, so far as they were "relevant" to the complaint,

Sir *B. N. Rau* : We will use our own language (Laughter). Every facility which we consider necessary for our investigation will be given.

POSITION OF STATES UNDER GOVT OF INDIA ACT

The Chairman referred to Section 134 of the Government of India Act which gives permission to a Federated State to contract out of the provisions regarding water supplies. He pointed out that in respect of States who have exercised the option under that Section and in respect of non-federated States, the controlling Power would be the Paramount Power. The Commission had derived its charter from the Governor-General and not from the Paramount Power and his submission was that the two Powers, namely the Governor-General and the Paramount Power were altogether different and an attempt was being made to mix them up. This could not be done except perhaps with the consent of the parties.

Sir *Nripendra* gave a warning as regards what might happen if States were allowed to take part in the proceedings. Supposing Sind's objection to the Punjab's proposal to build the Bhakra Dam failed, the dam would be built and then Bahawalpur which at present had no interest in it might put forth a claim to some water out of that dam. Then the Commission would be adjudicating rights between co-defendants which was not necessary for deciding Sind's complaint. These were points which might arise and he took this further position that

apart from his general objection, the Court could not adjudicate any question of rights or claims by Bahawalpur as against the Punjab.

Mr. *Coltman*, Counsel for Sind, thereafter reiterated his complaint against the Punjab Government who, he said, had not given details of their projects.

Mr. *Chave*, Member of the Commission, pointed out that the Punjab's case was that Sind had based their complaint on a misunderstanding of Sind's intentions. He asked if Sind representatives could not make the necessary alterations in their figures consequent on Punjab's statements.

Mr. *Coltman* said that would take some three months and added that there was disagreement with regard to the effects of Punjab's schemes and with regard to whether the schemes were in accordance with the Anderson Committee's recommendations.

Sir *N. N. Sircar* made it clear that if any schemes proposed by the Punjab were in conflict with the Anderson Committee's recommendations, then the Punjab would not proceed with them.

The rest of the proceedings was devoted to a discussion of Sind's complaint, paragraph by paragraph.

Third Day—Simla—27th. September 1941

BODY OF IRRIGATION EXPERTS SUGGESTED

The setting up of a body of irrigation experts and representatives of the Punjab and Sind provinces to examine the effect of any irrigation projects which either side might contemplate was suggested by the Chairman, Sir *B. N. Rau*, at to-day's session of the Commission and was generally welcomed by a number of representatives appearing before the Commission

The suggestion was put forward as a possible remedy for the difficulty complained of by representatives of both Governments that one side did not know what were the other's intentions and that no machinery at present existed to enable one side to communicate its schemes to the other, particularly after the inception of the Government of India Act, 1935, under which Irrigation is a provincial subject and the Central Government's sanction is no longer necessary for a province's schemes.

The Chairman asked if both the provinces would agree to the constitution of a body of experts which would severe to fill this need.

Mr. *Coltman* (for Sind) said : We would welcome some tribunal of that kind.

Sir *N. N. Sircar* (for the Punjab) agreed that in principle it was a desirable method but he would like to see the actual scheme before he could give a reply on behalf of the Punjab Government.

Counsel for Bahawalpur observed that the suggestion was a very good one and Bahawalpur would probably welcome the constitution of such a standing committee, because at present that State did not know how to get its grievances remedied. The proposed committee would, he thought, preclude the possibility of petty disputes, apart from major disputes which were beyond the scope of that committee and which would require the setting up of a tribunal under Sections 130 and 131.

The representatives of Khairpur and of the North-West Frontier Province concurred in the view that the proposal was welcome.

The rest of the proceedings centred mainly on technical matters relating to loss and lag and on an attempt to get Sind representatives to agree to preparing an additional statement correcting figures which, it was pointed out, were based on a misreading of the Punjab's proposals.

At the outset of the session, Sir *N. N. Sircar* requeted clarification of a point on which he suggested the Chairman's remarks had been misconstructed in certain quarters. "Did the Chairman, he asked, state that the States might appear before the Commission but would not be bound by the proceedings ?

Sir *B. N. Rau* : What I said is that is a question which is not for us to decide. It is a matter for the Governor-General or His Majesty-in-Council to decide.

Fourth Day—Simla—29th. September 1941

CHAIRMAN FORMULATES FINAL ISSUES

At the meeting of the Commission to-day both sides suggested issues subsidiary to those tentatively framed by the chairman on the opening day.

Sir *N. N. Sircar* (for the Punjab), in presenting the issues drafted by him,

pointed out that if the Commission found that the Anderson Committee's report on which the Government of India's orders of 1937 for the distribution of the waters between the two provinces was based, should go, then both sides would be starting with a clean slate and the Punjab would claim a greater share of the waters.

Mr. *Coltman* (for Sind) argued that the Punjab could make no such claim and stressed the point that the Government of India had turned down a similar claim for a greater share made by the North-West Frontier Province. He contended that the Government of India's orders of 1937 could only be varied to Sind's advantage.

The chairman , Sir *B. N. Rau*, observed that he would frame final issuss in the light of the issues presented by both sides, and that he would communicate his draft to the Commission on Wednesday.

Fifth Day—Simla—1st. October 1941

PRELIMINARY ISSUES FRAMED

The Comission framed preliminary issues to-day. The issues framed were :—

(a) What is the law governing the rights of the several provinces and States concerned in the present dispute with respect to the waters of the Indus and its tributaries ?

(b) How far do the orders of the Government of India annexed to and explained in their letter of March 30, 1937, themselves constitute the law by which the rights in question are to be determined ?

(c) Is Sind entitled to object to the Punjab Government proceeding with the Bhakra Dam project as described in Sind case or as described in Nicholson-Trench report ?

At the enquiry on Monday, both sides suggested additional issues, subsidiary to those tentatively framed by the Chairman on the opening day.

Sir *N. N. Sircar*, for the Punjab, in presenting the issues drafted by him, pointed out that if the Commission found that the Anderson Committee's report on which the Government of India's order of 1937 for the distribution of the waters between the two provinces was based, should go, then both sides would be starting with a clean state and the Punjab would claim a greater share of the waters.

Mr, *Coltman*, for Sind, argued that the Punjab could make no such claim and stressed the point that the Government of India had turned down a similar claim for a greater share made by the North-West Frontier Province. He contended that the Government of India's orders of 1937 could only be varied to Sind's advantage.

The Chairman, Sir *B. N. Rau*, observed that he would frame final issues in the light of the issues presented by both sides and that he would communicate his final draft to the Commission on Wednesday.

Sixth Day—Simla—2nd. October 1941

SIND CASE PRESENTED

At to-day's sitting of the Commission, Sir *B. N. Rau*, Chairman, suggested for the consideration of the parties that Sind's objections regarding the Bhakra Dam be withdrawn or modified and the Dam be allowed to be erected provided, expressed stipulations were laid down that the quantities of water now authorised to be withdrawn would be subject to modification if and when Sind's apprehensions turned out to be true. Both the parties agreed to consider the suggestion.

Mr. *Coltman*, Counsel for Sind Government, began arguments on the preliminary issues framed by the Commission. Arguing the first issue—what is the law governing the rights of the several Provinces and States concerned in the present dispute with respect to the waters of the Indus and its tributaries —Mr. *Coltman* claimed that Sections 130 and 131 of the Government of India Act contained the necessary law. These two sections entrusted the Governor-General with the settlement of a dispute in his discretion. The Commission had to find facts underlying the dispute and make its recommendations on the basis of those facts. The Government of Indla Act did not lay down what law should guide the Commission. The Government of India Act also excluded the jurisdiction of civil courts over such disputes.

Sir *B. N. Rau* : The Commission shall have to base its recommendations on some general principles.

Mr. *Coltman* : Yes, on the principles of enquiry and fairplay. Any ordinary law could not apply to the case and this was why such wide and discretionary powers were given to the Governor-General. Similarly international public law could not apply to the case as the Indian States were not independent sovereign authorities. He quoted an American case in which it was held that a State could not stop or divert the flow of a river which ran through a neighbouring State. American case were, in his view, *via media* between the Roman Law and International Law and adopted the "equitable and fair" method. It applied to cases where the States were not independent sovereign bodies but there was another supreme body to adjudicate their differences.

Sir *B. N. Rau* : Is not the Governor-General of India in the same position ?

Mr. *Coltman* : Yes.

Proceeding, Mr. *Coltman* referred to the Nile dispute and said that it was the nearest approach to the present case.

Referring to the second issue as to how far the orders of the Government of India annexed to and explained in their letter of March, 1937, themselves constitute the law by which the rights in question were to be determined, Mr. *Coltman* said that *prima facie* the order of the Government of India did determine the law for the time being. But if those orders were final, why had the Governor-General appointed the present Commission, he asked.

Mr. *Coltman* asserted that the whole basis of the Government of India's orders was that the Sukkur Barrage should not in any way be hurt. Furthermore, there was no question of an agreement on that point, because the Punjab and the Bombay Governments of those days were like the two departments of the Government of India. Furthermore, the Sind Government of to-day was not the successor to the Bombay Government. It was a new creation.

Asked why the Government of Bombay agreed to the various recommendations of the Anderson Committee and Nicholson-Trench Committee, Mr. *Coltman* said that the Bombay Government replied 12 days before the separation of Sind from Bombay and as that time probably Bombay's interest in Sind had waned. He claimed that Sind was not bound by what the Bombay Government had agreed to.

Mr. *Coltman* had not finished when the Commission rose for the day.

Seventh Day—Simla—3rd. October 1941

At to-day's stitting of the Commission, Mr. *Coltman*, continuing his arguments on the preliminary issues framed by the Commission, said that Sind had prescriptive rights in an irrigation canal as such and the duty of Sind had been to make these canals as economical as possible by constructing them on a lower level.

Discussing the issue whether any modifications could be made in the Government of India's orders of 1937, Mr. *Coltman* said that is was outside the function of the Commission to advise the Governor-General whether to vary those orders or not. This could be done by the Governor-General in his sole discretion.

Sir *B. N. Rau* : There can be no finality in orders if they were to be varied from day to day. I, therefore, want your assistance to recommend to the Governor-General how far these orders could be modified, if at all.

Mr. *Coltman* said that if the data on which the orders were based had proved to be incorrect, or if new factors had came to light which were not taken into consideration in making them, the orders would have to be modified in the light of those facts. He pointed out and gave details of the data on which the Anderson Committee had relied and which snbsequent investigations carried out by the Sind Government had proved to be incorrect. He claimed that in the light of these investigations the Governor-General would be justified in modifying the orders of 1937. He also explained that on the assumption that Sind would receive a certain quantity of water, it had sold land worth Rs. 7 crores. Furthermore, there was the question of the payment of debt to the Government of India amounting to Rs. 23 crores. This was being paid at the rate of Rs. 75 lakhs a year.

Replying to Sir *B. N. Rau*, Mr. *Coltman* said that, on an average, Sukkur Barrage yielded a return of about 4½ per cent.

Discussing the issue whether Sind was entitled to object to the Punjab proceeding with the Bhakra Dam project, Mr. Coltman pointed out that the issue implied the proposition that by reason of the Bombay Government's action in 1934 withdrawing its objection to the scheme, the Punjab Government obtained a right to proceed with the project. In fact, the Punjab had obtained no such right, Mr. Coltman declared. First, the withdrawal of objection was couched in guarded language and was merely an expression of intention for the future and therefore

did not amount to agreement or contract. Secondly, under the old Government of India Act of 1915, a Provincial Government could enter into contracts or agreements only in the name of the Secretary of State. The would mean that the Punjab and Sind entered into an agreement as regards the Bhakra Dam project in the name of the Secretary of State. In other words the Secretary of State had entered into an agreement with himself, which was an absurdity.

The Punjab, he proceeded, had now set out to sell water to the States, even to States which were non-riparian and had no right to the water. This was contrary to the provisions of the old Act.

Sind became a new province under the new Act of 1935 and its obligations, that was to say, its assets and liabilities, were dealt with by the Order-in-Council. Sind was not a heir-at-law or successor of Bombay and was not bound by what Bombay, of which it was once part, had done or omitted to do. Bombay was still there and if the Punjab thought they could file a suit for damages against Bombay, let them consider it.

Eighth Day—Simla—6th. October 1941

COMMISSION'S PLANT OF WORK

At to-day's meeting of the Commission, it was announced after some discussion that the Commissioners would give their ruling on the legal issues within a day or two of the conclusion of arguments on them and that they would then settle issues of fact. Thereafter the Commission would not sit in Simla any further but would assemble at Karachi to examine Sind witnesses. In the interval between Simla and Karachi, the Commissioners will inspect such places as the parties desire them to see.

Counsel for Bahawalpur State took a good part of to-day's sitting with his arguments in the course of which he pointed out that Sind was complaining of orders passed on March 30, 1937, while the present Government of India Act came into force on April 1, 1937 and had no retrospective effect.

Sir *B. N. Rau*, Chairman, inquired whether the argument was that these orders could not at any time or in any circumstances be modified. Counsel replied that any modification could only be done by the Government of India. Sir B. N. Rau pointed out that the Government of India had no jurisdiction now in the matter of water supplies.

Counsel for the Punjab, Sir *N. N. Sircar* began his arguments before the Commission rose for the day. He contended that the agreements arrived at between Sind and the Punjab before the Anderson Committee was appointed were by way of a bonafide settlement of the disputes. The settlement was made on the principle of give and take ; and the right to go on with the Bhakra dam project was an integral part of the consideration which induced the Punjab Government to agree to additional allowances of water to Sind and Khairpur.

Ninth Day—Simla—7th. October 1941

ARGUMENTS BY SIR NRIPEN SARCAR

Sir *N. N. Sircar*, continuing his reply to-day to the case put before the Commission by the Sind Government and its counsel, declared that his clients were anxious to know what they were entitled to do under the Government of India's orders of 1937. He assured the Commission that his clients had no desire to do anything outside the findings of the Commission.

He quoted the Anderson Committee's report in support of his plea that full agreement between the parties had been arrived at after exhaustive examination of all relevant matters.

He contended that a review of the Government of India's orders of 1937 could only be undertaken if any vital change in the circumstances had since taken place ; but no such change had, in fact, taken place, he emphasized.

On the point whether there could be an "agreement" between two provincial Governments, Sir N. N. Sircar quoted Devolution Rule 49 laying down that the powers of superintendence, direction and control over the Governments of Governor's provinces vested in the Governor-General-in Council under the Act, shall in relation to a transferred subject, be exercised, among other things, to decide questions arising between two provinces in cases where the provinces failed to come to an argeement.

If, Counsel argued, there could be no agreement between two provinces, where

was the sense in laying down what should happen in case of a failure to come to an agreement, Sir Nripendra Nath asked.

Agreements between two provincial Governments in relation to irrigation were not uncommon he said, and he referred as an example to an agreement recently entered into between the U. P. and the Punjab. He observed that there could be no binding agreement in the sense that the Secretary of State could be made liable or one party could sue the other in a court of law but there could be an agreement he said, which a tribunal such as the Indus Commission was competent to examine. He emphasized that when Sind as a separate province got the property, namely, the waters of the Indus, they got it subject to the rights of the Punjab under the agreement.

Next day, the 10th. October, the Commission heard Mr. *Coltman*, counsel for Sind's reply to Sir N. N. Sircar's arguments on the preliminary issues.

Tenth Day—Simla—8th. October 1941

Sir *N. N. Sircar*, counsel for the Punjab Government, concluded his arguments before the Commission to-day on the preliminary issues tentatively framed by the Commission.

On the issue regarding the law governing the rights of the provinces and the States concerned in the present dispute with respect to the waters of the Indus and its tributaries, Sir Nripendra Nath affirmed that the orders of the Government of India annexed to and explained in their letter of March 30, 1937, themselves constituted the law by which the rights in question were to be determined.

Referring to the third issue he asserted that Sind was not entitled to object to the Punjab Government proceeding with the Bhakra Dam project as described in the Nicholson-Trench report. He, however, made it clear that the Punjab would prefer to proceed with their present scheme, but in case it was shown that the scheme would throw a greater burden on Sind by taking away larger supplies of water than the Punjab was entitled to, then only would Sind be entited to object to it.

Elaborating his arguments Sir *Nripendra Nath* dealt with the principles of the law of contract and went on to emphasize that Sind's claim could only be the quantity of water that she had been getting and not what she regarded as "a fair amount of water for her irrigation needs."

Sir *B. N. Rau* (Chairman) : Sind's case is that unless the Indus river is at a certain level, the necessary amount of water would not flow in her canals.

Sir *N. N. Sircar* : If it can be shown that although by the action of the Punjab, the level in the river had dropped, the actual quantity of water available for Sind had not diminished even for period to period, then Sind should not have any complaint. The data collected by the Punjab did not show any downward tendency in the matter of water supply for Sind. On the other hand in some cases the data had shown an upward tendency.

Twelvth Day—Simla—10th. October 1941

RULING OF THE COMMISSION

The Commission this morning briefly expressed their views on the preliminary issues, "so far as this is necessary to enable the parties to proceed to the further issues that may arise." The Commission held that the rights of the several units concerned in this dispute must be determined by applying neither the doctrine of riparian rights but the rule of "equitable apportionment", each unit being entitled to a fair share of the waters of the Indus and its tributaries. The Commission stated :

"The Orders of the Government of India dated March 30, 1937, proceeding as they did for the most part, on the consent of the units concerned, must be regarded as having secured the most equitable apportionment then possible. If owing to material errors in the original data, or a material change in river conditions, or other sufficient cause, those orders are now found to be unequitable, and if a more equitable arrangement can be discovered in the present circumstances, with due regard to interests of all the units concerned, the original orders may properly be modified. This implies, of course, that a modification of the orders in one particular may necessitate consequential modifications in other particulars by way of redressing the balance between the several units.

"The Bhakra Dam scheme which is mentioned in the Sind case and which it is the present intention of the Punjab to carry out, being in some respects different from the Bhakra Dam Scheme which was before the Bombay Government, it is

conceded by the Punjab that Sind is not precluded merely by reason of any statement of the Bombay Government, from objecting to the present scheme. There is the further fact that the combined effect of the Haveli Project, the Thal Project, the Sutlej Valley Project, the various storage and feeder projects and the Bhakra Dam Scheme upon the innundation canals in Sind has never yet been investigated by any independent tribunal. We are, therefore, of opinion that if it is proved that the present Bhakra Dam Scheme superimposed upon the other projects will materially injure the working of the innundation canals in Sind, Sind is entitled to object to the Punjab proceeding with the present Bhakra Dam Scheme except under proper safeguards.

"As regards the original Bhakra Dam Scheme of 1919 (referred to in the Nicholson-Trench Committee's report) we do not think it necessary to express any view, because that scheme is not, to use the language of Section 130 of the Government of India Act, 1935, 'executive action proposed to be taken' by the Punjab at present."

Thirteenth Day—Simla—11th. October 1941

ADDITIONAL ISSUES FRAMED

The Commission adjourned to-day after framing additional issues following upon the views expressed by them yesterday.

The additional issues framed to-day include the following :—Which, if any, of the following schemes contemplated by the Punjab should be permitted and subject to what conditions, if any—The Bhakra Dam Scheme, the Storage Schemes, and the Balloki-Sulcimanke Link Scheme.

Should the limits for the Kharif season fixed in the Anderson Committee's report be allowed for non-perennial canals in Sind, and, if so, under what conditions ?

Should the Lloyd Barrage be given a prior right over the Thal and Haveli projects or either of them to the waters of the river Indus and its tributaries to the extent of the withdrawals authorised for the months of October, November, December, January, February and March as set out in the Anderson Committee's report ?

Should the said authorised monthly withdrawals be regarded as mean monthly withdrawals ?

In the event of supplies at Sukkur being in excess of the authorised withdrawals referred to in the said report, should the Lloyd Barrage have a share of such surplus supplies and if so on what basis ?

In the event of any of the orders of the Government of India passed on March 30, 1937, upon the recommendations of the Anderson Committee being modified, what consequential modifications, if any, should be made in any of the other orders ?

The Commission proposed to spend November and December inspecting places concerned in the dispute and expect to assemble at Karachi on January 10.—

British India & Indian States

Eastern States Rulers' Council

Resolutions—Calcutta—12th. & 13th. July 1941

While it viewed with increasing concern the rapid expansion of the theatre of war and the threat to the security of India that it implied, the Council of Rulers of the Eastern States which concluded its two-day session at Calcutta on the **13th. July 1941** under the presidentship of *H. H. the Maharaja of Tripura*, called upon the Rulers to intensify their efforts in the defence of the Empire and in maintaining the integrity of their States. The resolution was moved from the chair.

Moving the resolution on the war situation, the Ruler of Tripura referred to the contributions made by the different States under the Agency towards the Viceroy's War Purposes Fund and other similar funds.

By another resolution, the Council recommended that the Spitfire aircraft to be named "East States" be presented for the defence of India on behalf of all the Eastern States as a whole, including those under administration, and that the cost thereof be realised by subscription from the individual States according to the following graduated scale :

States with an annual revenue up to one lakh Rs. 500 each ; those with more than one lakh but less than two lakhs. Rs. 1,000 each ; those with more than two lakhs but less than five lakhs, Rs. 1,500 each ; those with more than five lakhs but less than ten lakhs, Rs. 2,000 each ; those with more than ten lakhs but less than fifteen lakhs, Rs. 3,000 each ; and those with more than fifteen lakhs but less than thirty lakhs, Rs. 5,000 each.

Should the amount realised by subscription exceed the cost of the aircraft, the resolution added, such excess amount might be paid as subscription to the Red Cross or any other fund with similar object or kept in reserve with the President of the Council for some other appropriate use in future.

The Council authorised its President to take necessary action to give effect to this resolution which was moved by the *Raja of Seraikela*, seconded by the *Raja of Khairagarh* and supported by the *Maharajas of Kalahandi and Patna*.

Realising the need for close co-operation between the States in different regional areas, the Council decided to set up a Special Committee for the purpose of drawing up a scheme of co-operative arrangements between States which would not involve any sacrifice of their individual sovereignty. Questions relating to co-operative jail administration, constitution of road transport boards and the educational policy of the States would be considered by the Special Committee which consists of the Chief Minister of Patna State as Chairman, and the Dewans of Khairagarh, Korea, Sakti, Keonjhar, Athmallik, Bonai, Pal Lahara and Athgarh as also the Minister of Seraikella as members.

The Council invited the attention of the Rulers concerned to the scheme of the joint high court for the B. and C. class States of Orissa as drawn up by a special committee of Ministers and left the matter to be decided by them. The resolution was moved by the President and seconded by the *Raja of Daspalla*.

The Council welcomed the suggestion made by the political authorities that the Rulers might consult the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India in regard to the educational policy of the States and requested the Rulers who had been addressed by the political authorities on the subject to suggest in reply that a discussion between the Educational Adviser and the Rulers and representatives of such States as were interested in the question might take place during the winter session of the Council which is likely to be held in the first week of January, 1942.

Standing Committee of the Princes' Chamber

Jam Saheb's Address—Bombay—4th. August 1941

FUTURE OF THE INDIAN STATES

Twelve out of the fifteen members of the Standing Committee of the Princes Chamber met at the Taj Mahal Hotel, Bombay, on the **4th. August 1941**, ***H. H. the Jam Saheb***, **Chancellor, presiding.**

Questions relating to the war, internal security and the political situation as far as they affected Indian States were discussed at the meeting. *H. H. the Jam Saheb*, the Chancellor, who addressed the meeting, revealed that himself and *H. H. the Maharaja of Jodhpur* were shortly proceeding abroad and that various other Princes were anxious to follow suit. A communique, issued at the end of the meeting, stated :

A meeting of the Standing Committee of Princes was held to-day under the presidentship of His Highness the Maharaja Jam Saheb of Nawanagar, Chancellor, Chamber of Princes. Other Rulers present included Their Highnesses the Rulers of Bhopal, Dungarpur, Jodhpur, Mandi, Narsingarh, Panna, Rewa, Sachin, Sangli, Tripura and Wankaner. The meeting felt the great loss which the Crown Department and the States had suffered in the transfer of the hon. Sir Francis Wylie, who had already earned the confidence and friendship of the States. Unanimous decisions were taken regarding the proposed National Defence Council, and in approving the recommendations of the Committee of Ministers relating to the question of expenditure on the use of troops within the territories of the States, the Crown Police force law, and the prospecting licences and mining leases in the territories of the States. Sir N. Gopalaswami Iyengar and Mir Maqbool Mahmood were selected to represent the States for the next term on the Expert Advisory Council.

In the afternoon session, besides the members of the Standing Committee, the Rulers of Bhawanagar, Nagod and Jasdan, and representatives of over twenty States were present.

H. H. the Chancellor referred at the outset to the fact that the Conference was one of the most representative so far held, and he welcomed in particular for the first time at these informal consultations, representatives of Udaipur, Travancore and Bhavnagar. Thereafter, His Highness made a detailed statement on certain important matters relating to the war, internal security and political situation so far as they affected the States, which was generally approved. In the course of this statement, His Highness acquainted, in confidence, the Rulers and representatives of States present, with the gist of his recent talk with H. E. the Viceroy regarding the National Defence Council and the proposed informal liaison of a few select Rulers with the Commander-in-Chief relating to the progress of war.

It was decided to have informal periodic consultations amongst the States' delegates preceding the meetings of the National Defence Council and the informal liaison with the Commander-in-Chief. Proposals were also approved for the examination of legislation and other proposals coming up before the Central Legislature from time to time which affected the Indians States also and in this connection, a Legal and a Finance Sub-Committee were set up.

Referring to the war situation, His Highness the Chancellor referred to the warm appreciation of the splendid services of the States Forces with their colleagues of the Indian Army and allied troops on the various fronts and reiterated the determination of the Indian Rulers to make every possible contribution till victory was actually won.

Satisfaction was expressed at the fact that recently some opportunities had been afforded to the Indian Princes to render active service in the various theatres of war. In this connection, reference was made to the recent visits of Their Highnesses the *Rulers of Bhopal and Bahawalpur* to Egypt and Iraq, and to *H. H. the Maharaja of Jaipur* who was at present on active service. It was also revealed that the *Ruler of Jodhpur* and the Chancellor were shortly proceeding abroad and that various other Princes were anxious to follow suit.

His Highness next declared that the Indian Princes shared the desire of other patriotic Indians that in the best interests of India and the Commmonwealth, India should be made as far as possible a self-contained unit for defence purposes.

It was announced that, in response to His Highness the Chancellor's request, the Rulers and Governments of leading Indian States such as Hyderabad, Baroda, Kashmir, Gwalior, Travancore and Indore and others had agreed to participate in the scheme for pooling expert advice available in the States, for the development of war industries, and that the Government of India had agreed to give necessary protection to industries started in the States during the war for war purposes on the same basis after the war as might be extended to the Provinces.

Referring to the recent statement made by the Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons, the Chancellor welcomed on behalf of the Conference, the clear declaration that an agreement between the major political parties would

not be enough. The main elements in India's national life included not only political organisations or great religious or cultural communities but also geographical and administrative elements, the Provinces of British India and the Indian States. He further stated that there need be no slavish fetish for imitating the British system of parliamentary government as the only method suited to India. The American and other systems of government, suited to the needs of the countries concerned, had proved equally effective and progressive. The desirability of finding an enduring and durable system for the future constitution of India, be it Federal or Confederal, be it a United Dominion or the United Dominions of India or anything else, transcended any stubborn adherence to accepted formulæ for the mere sake of constitutional purism ; and, he, for one, would welcome and advocate a fair and dispassionate examination of all *bona fide* suggestions which might promise a solution of our problems, with due and effective protection of the legitimate rights of the various elements in the national life of India and the upkeep of treaties and pledges. This attempt should not be shirked merely because it involved the adoption of unorthodox bases which might be suited to the special needs of India.

In this connection His Highness stated, the Secretary of State for India and the Lord Chief Justice of India deserved well of the patriotic elements in the country, for having shown the courage of their convictions, in making bold suggestions which might set political India thinking, on less orthodox but may be, more fruitful lines of thought. Let all not be misunderstood, said His Highness, that he had made these remarks as a champion of lost causes who did not believe in progress. He wished to reiterate that the days of the lotus-eater were gone and though protection could not be claimed for any human institutions, the States were proud of the fact that their polity to-day was based generally on a rule of law, enriched with beneficent and progressive reforms. Moreover, he felt confident that when the time came, the Indian States would not be found wanting in any reasonable contribution which they might be called upon to make, nor the ordered progress of their territories as also of their motherland.

States and India's Evolution

Sir Akbar Hydari's Speech

A tribute to the Rt. Hon. Sir *Akbar Hydari*, who was relinquishing the Chairmanship of the Committee of Ministers to join the Viceroy's Executive Council was paid by *H. H. the Jam Saheb of Nawanagar*, Chancellor of the Princes' Chamber, at a luncheon given in Sir Akbar's honour at Bombay on the **4th. August 1941.**

Sir *Akbar Hydari* replying to the Jam Saheb, acknowledged "the gracious support and co-operation" which the Chancellor had extended to the Committee of Ministers.

He added : Your Highness is, if I may say, quite right in stating that my inclusion in the Executive Council of the Governor-General is in my individual capacity. At an earlier stage, when the expansion of the Executive Council was first mooted, His Highness the Chancellor is aware that I had on behalf of Hyderabad expressed the view that the States could not be represented on such a Council, concerned as it was, under its present constitution, with British India. It was really the Defence Council which I advocated for representation of Indian States so that British India and the States might come together in that Council. It is well that this should be made clear and I for one, am glad that His Highness has made a reference to it to-day.

"My own new duties prevent me from saying much of the work that lies ahead for the States in the future. I can, however, say something about the past, particularly about the results of "the technique of consultation and conciliation". If I may use Mr. Amery's phrase in his latest speech, which the States have been following, without distinction of large States or small States, since the past few years. The experience of that technique gained at the table of the Ministers' Committee will, I am sure, be of help to me at another Council table at which I shall shortly be sitting.

THE STATES AND THE FUTURE REFORMS

"I should like to quote only one of the results and, in doing so, would like to welcome the latest utterance by the Secretary of State for India in which he has made it clear that, in insisting upon agreement between the principal elements in India's national life, the British Government are not thinking only of the major political parties, or of the great religious and cultural organisations, but also the geographical and administrative elements which include Indian States.

"In the controversies of British India, one is apt to ignore the importance, even the existence, of Indian States, and Mr. Amery's speech is a refreshing reminder that the agreement of Indian States is a necessary precedent to the shaping of the future destinies of India as a whole. That position has been reaffirmed and now elucidated clearly and emphatically, largely due to the unity of our own endeavours, endeavours in which Your Highness' Ministers have been guided and inspired by Your Highness, helped by their own co-operation and assisted by the Secretariat under Mr. Maqbool Mahmood, whose help I should like gratefully to acknowledge, as well as the assistance rendered by my own Secretariat in Hyderabad, by Nawab Ali Yar Jung Bahadur whom you know.

EVOLUTION OF INDIA

"When the time comes for the constitutional discussions of the future, I am confident that the Princely Order will be found equal to the task of contributing to the evolution of India along the path of progress and will undertake it in their usual spirit of patriotic devotion to the duty which they and all of us owe to a common motherland.

"I leave you with the deepest sorrow, but also so with the satisfaction that I take with me the fondest memories of long years of collaboration and your blessings. The severance of life-long connection, extending to over 38 years, with a State which did me the honour of giving me the highest place within its gift is in itself painful, but there, too, I have the satisfaction of feeling that I have always tried and tried my best to serve loyally and with all my heart the true interests of the Ruler who gave me the privilege of office and the honour of his trust.

"Before I leave, I should like to welcome, as the next Chairman of the Ministers' Committee, my valued friend and colleague, Sir *V. T. Krishnamachari*, whose experience and judgment, geniality and tact, will now even more fully be at Your Highness' disposal.

Educational Progress in India

July—December 1941

The Convocation Addresses

The Mysore University Convocation

The following are extracts from the Convocation Address to the University of Mysore, delivered by the Honourable Sir Bertram Stevens, K.C.M.G., on the 4th. October 1941 :—

Sir *Bertram* traced in the beginning the common interests that united India and Australia. "You may think it far-fetched" he said, "to call Australia and India neighbours, but I think a little reflection will serve to show that we are neighbours as never before and that we are destined to stay as neighbours". He expressed the hope that the close association of Australia and India, which had begun even before the war, and had now been so much increased by the necessities of war, would be tightened still further by action deliberately initiated by various bodies qualified to do that in different spheres of activities in both countries. He stressed the importance of the part which the Universities could play to strengthen and deepen the bond between the two countries. One of the ways in which they should get to know each other better would be for University men to meet occasionally from various parts of the Empire for the exchange of ideas. "Is there any reason", Sir Bertram asked, "why this should not come about and, in particular, why it should not be one of the good things that could come out of this new awareness of our dependence on one another that the war has caused ?"

"While I hope that my words on the possibilities of University co-operation for wider understanding are not out of place," he continued, "my real function to-day is rather to seek to interpret, in a few brief words, the call of the world beyond the University. In any case, perhaps, the time is past when Universities could be regarded as a retreat from every day life. To day Universities are closely and actively bound up with every phase of modern life, yes, and even that most terrible and tragic phase—war. This, therefore, may perhaps be a suitable occasion for reviewing briefly this struggle upon which both Australia and India in common with other British communities are now engaged and which you in Mysore, by your magnificent contribution to the Empire's war effort, involving the raising of very many lakhs of rupees and the sending of troops overseas, have shown you are vitally interested."

He then dealt with the brighter prospects of the Allies for victory in this war, thanks to their new ally Russia and their old ally with almost inexhaustible machine-power—the United States. India's great role in the war would, he hoped, be sustained. From his knowledge of what they were and what they aimed to be, they could not afford to lose that fight. If Britain and her allies lost, then they lost too all hope of developing their country in the way they desired to work out for themselves.

Referring to the problem of post-war reconstruction, Sir *Bertram* said that he believed that the British and American people were becoming alive to the vital question of a new order. "It is frequently stated, of course, in connection with all suggestions for the study of post-war reconstruction and the drawing up of plans, that as it is impossible to foresee the form of the peace settlement, it is useless to make any preparations. But, while this argument may militate against detailed series of proposals, it is not too soon to think out in broad outline the task with which we shall be faced, and the peace-time objectives at which we must aim. The war itself, let us remember, is carrying through an immense reconstruction which must be incorporated into the foundations of the post-war settlement. There can be no return to the old order, or to chaos, either in Britain, in Europe, in the Western Hemisphere or in Asia or the Eastern Group. A failure to organise our economic resources so as to relieve material distress caused by war, and to raise standards, or give a new hope to weary peoples, would cause such a wave of despair as would make our chance of recreating human society on more peaceful and mature lines very slight. The necessity of "planning the peace" however has now been recognised by many Governments, including those of Britain, Australia and India, in the creation of official bodies to study the problem.

"I believe we have to plan for economic expansion not on a competitive but on a co-operative basis. By the raising of living standards, markets will be

created which will provide room for all to increase their trade with one another. So too, such a peace-time objective, will provide employment for returned service-men and for munition workers and others on war work. The economic equilibrium created by war, which finds a job for every able-bodied man, cannot suddenly be interrupted and nothing put in its place. If, as at the conclusion of the last war, this war-time controlled economic system is suddenly broken up, a period of confusion must inevitably supervene. After the last war, a sort of re-adjustment was made haltingly. But after this war we have to take into consideration the accumulated economic problems of the past decade, all of which will appear in an accentuated form once the war is over.

'I believe one of the most powerful forces for the raising of living standards has already been created by the exigencies of war, namely, the conception of the Eastern Group, in which India, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and all British territories east of Suez are comprised. From this association, which has fully justified itself in war, surely much of permanent value will emerge. These countries, which have banded themselves together in a special brotherhood for war, should stand together when they have to face the problems, particularly the economic problems, that peace will bring.

"When we consider that the avowed aim of the Eastern Group conception is to become as self-dependant as possible, we can hardly envisage after the war other than a big increase in inter-group trade and commercial collaboration with the drawing together of other ties which go with it, political, social and cultural. That brings me to a point of rather trial collaboration of India and Australia. There is no mistaking the signs and portents in India to-day. Though India is a land of Villages, a land very largely of peasantry and peasant virtues, of relatively primitive methods and a relatively low average standard of life, yet India is on the verge of a great and farreaching industrialisation, and the social changes that go with it. This is development perhaps overdue : certainly, I think, a development to be welcomed particularly as it will be adapted to the peculiar needs of this great country. I have been told that in the matter of industrialisation, India has got to choose between two ways of development, either the creation of huge industries, cities and manufacturing centres as in Australia or America ; or the encouragement of cottage craftsmanship, such as existed many centuries ago, when India, though still a land of villages. was far less overwhelmingly dependent on agriculture than nowadays. Personally, I doubt if the matter is worth many sleepless nights on anyone's part. India will probably always be a land of villages. But these villages will play a new part in industrialisation. Here in Mysore, your Government has shown the way, by extensive electrification of rural areas and the improvement of rural amenities. This is in line with similar development of England and Scandinavia and my own country.

"In this task of industrialisation, I feel that India can obtain valuable collaboration from Australia. To those of you here present who may be engaged in industry and in trade or may be starting out on a commercial career, I say, therefore, seek by every means to get to know the Australian industrialists and trader. They are men untrammelled by out-worn ideas ; they have no prejudices ; they are keen only to get the job done ; they have built up an industrial State with unsurpassed speed and they are on the outlook for new opportunities and new possibilities. You can collaborate with them unreservedly."

Concluding, Sir Bertram Stevens said :

"You all have your problems and difficulties, but here as in other Universaties the first great question which faces the Graduate is that of employment. In India the employment of the trained intellectual is a particularly difficult problem. But I believe that this great prospect of Indian industrialisation and Eastern Group development should hearten you, and more than that, inspire you. Wherever you start, sooner or later, the opportunity to play a part, perhaps a leading part, in this new enter-prise will come to you. This State of Mysore is a living testimony of what can be done, and what more will be done. Give this your thought, your prayers, your integrity and your best endeavour. It is, as I have shown, part of this war against wrong—against maladjustment—against evil ! Many of you are going, I know, to help in India's war effort, and will, therefore, be directly in the fight against Hitler which is now raging. But those of you who can help in this reconstruction and raising of standards are also going into the fight against everything for which Hitler stands and the fight against everything which enables Hitlers and their kind to bemuse and mislead. to their terrible hurt, the hearts of men."

The Travancore University Convocation

The following are extracts from the Address delivered at the third Annual Convocation of the University of Travancore by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E. L.L. D., Dewan of Travancore, on the 18th. October 1941 :—

Sir *Ramaswami Aiyar* first explained the functions of Universities, which had, at the present time, become more widespread and more responsible than in normal times. He then referred in detail to the old Indian system of education and the history of the Universites in the West and proceeded :

"A spirit of revolt from the ordinary pattern of Indian Universities began to be in evidence almost simultaneously in various quarters about 15 to 20 years ago. Rabindranath Tagore, whose loss India has been deploring, in starting the Viswabharathi, heralded such a revolt which was also manifested in the Gurukulas started in the north of India, and in the Asrams inaugurated by Mahatma Gandhi and others both in the West and in the South. They embodied not only a reaction against mechanical methods of teaching and lecturing for examinations as an end in themselves, but sought to introduce into academic life a new element of beauty, or a special discipline, mental or spiritual.

"Travancore, though separated by the Ghats from the rest of continental India, has had millennia of cultural and commercial contact with the countries beyond the seas as well as with Indian centres of life and activity. It has received much from and given not a little to the outside world, not the least of its gifts being the great Sankaracharya and a long line of poets and artists. It inherited a special mode of life and it had as one of its most characteristic features the unique position enjoyed by its women in all spheres, a position illustrated and vindicated by the Proclamation of Rani Parvathi Bai in favour of Universal education.

"Our history and our culture needed conservation and encouragement. Our special agricultural and industrial problems demanded an urgent solution, and we had at the same time to organise research and to stimulate the pursuit of applied science. Some of us, therefore, dreamt of a University wherein our practical as well as our cultural requirements could be met. Owing to the farsighted solicitude of His Highness for the welfare of his subjects, that University came into being in 1937 with the active financial and practical support of His Highness' Government. The two chief aims of the University were, from the beginning, the pursuit of applied science and the development of technical and technological education ; and secondly, the conservation and promotion of art and culture generally, with special reference to Kerala. Signs are not wanting that the sister State of Cochin is taking a live interest in the activities of this institution, and there are distinct posssibilities of mutual co-operation in higher education, between the two neighbouring States.

One of the main objects placed by the University before itself is the sustained attention to be paid to manual training and physical education. The University Labour Corps lays emphasis on training in useful manual labour and gives military traning in addition. It has already produced conspicuous results in getting rid of the superiority complex which is apt to divide the educated classes from the masses of India. His Highness is the Colonel-in-Chief of the Labour Corps and His Highness the Elaya Raja the Colonel. Started under such auspices and helped by the leadership and the ungrudging services of Principals, Professors and Lecturers of the various Colleges, a great future can be predicted for the Corps which, amongst other things, has already had a marked influence on the life and outlook of the student population.

"The University has just constructed a Stadium, one of the best of its kind in India, in order to give the fullest possible impetus to team or goup games as a means of stimualting the faculty of leadership and discipline and conjoint effort. While increasing attention is paid by means of the provision of coaches and tournaments to efficiency in such games as tennis, hockey, football and cricket, we have been imbued with the idea that costly playing fields are not possible in normal Indian conditions, and that in many of these games, one can participate only during a limited period of one's life.

"We have not been able yet to make this an entirely Residential University. Even the hostels, that have been provided, are sometimes regarded as too costly, and in order to meet this criticism, the University Students' Hall started under the Department of Physical Education, proposes to bring into existence a system as economical as any of the so-called 'lodges,' but with a wholesome atmosphere and wholesome food and recreations.

"This University has striven to preserve, as much as possible, autonomy in University administration without losing thereby the possibility of sustained interest and encouragement on the part of the State on which it depends largely for its income. Excepting in a few recent instances, endowments, such as those instituted by Carnegie, Rhodes and Nuffield in England, not to mention the colossal American foundations, are scarce. Perhaps Calcutta and Nagpore are the most notable exceptions. The University has therefore to bestow its most anxious attention on creating a University Fund by securing more endowments for general purposes and special funds for research from those who benefit by its services. The Gurudakshina of old must be given to-day by students and their parents and those others who realise the immeasurable value of higher and intensive education, in the form of endowments in aid of poor scholars, in furtherance of Fellowships and Lectureships, the laboratories and libraries and extramural and social service activities. It has been and will be the aim of this University not to waste any money on spectacular buildings. The edifices of rich Europe and richer America need not be our models. Our moneys must and and will be conserved for fellowships, lectureships and apparatus. In this, as well as in the standard of hostel and corporate life, simplicity is not a thing merely to be preached but to be rigorously and continuously pursued.

"In order to co-ordinate and stimulate interest in applied science, which is one of the fundamental objects of the University, a Central Research Institute has been brought into being in August 1939, and we may claim to have thus anticipated a similar effort on the part of the Government of India which inaugurated the Board of Scientific and Industrial Research in 1940. Although this University does not minimise the importance of studies and research in pure science, yet it has been felt by us that the distinction between pure and applied research is not so marked now as it once was and that industry grows on pure research ; we have therefore sought to concentrate on those problems which lie nearest to our hands. Thus, for instance, reseach work has been conducted in regard to salt and the improvement of its manufacture and in the refining of fuel oils. Experiments have been conducted with shark liver oil which have yielded useful results. Further experiments are also taking place in regard to the supply of coagulants for rubber latex. Investigation of plant pests in respect of cardamom, paddy and tea is taking place and what may be called protective research is also being attended to. We are now, amongst other things, manufacturing the antirabic and other vaccine required for various purposes and conducting and giving effect to nutrition schemes. Two of our research students are working on the active principles of indigenous drugs. Work has been successfully carried out in regard to cocoanut shell, charcoal and also on the very valuable mineral sands with which nature has endowed this country.

"As will be observed, these activities deal only with urgent and immediate problems and in many of these directions, much more remains to be done and more co-operation secured between our University and those organisations inside and outside the State, working in similar fields. A beginning, however, has been made and this, on the whole, may be termed satisfactory.

"In this connection, it may be well to bear in mind that even when planning an educational reconstruction on the basis of the Wardha Scheme, the promoters emphasise that the object of the scheme is not primarily the production of craftsmen able to practise some craft mechanically, but rather the exploitation for educative purposes of the resources implicit in craft work.

"Almost equally important with the imparting of knowledge and the fostering of culture and research is the widening of the scope of education in the directions of adult education in the State and in the matter of popular publications. A beginning has been made by the compilation of a glossary of scientific terms, and the preparation of a grammar and lexicon of the Malayalam language is under weigh. The mathematics, physics, and science portions of the glossary have been completed and the Zoological portions are being prepared. Without the dissemination of great literature both in the sciences and in the arts, a system of popular education and especially of adult education is not possible, and translations from the great classics are being attempted and some publications have seen the light of day. The social service activities of the University and the possibilites of broadcasting will also be used for this purpose.

The Government and the University of Travancore have, for a long time, been engaged in the task of collecting not only the valuable Malayalam, Tamil and Sanskrit manuscripts that are available in this part of the world, but also

from elsewhere. Our manuscripts already comprise 10,000 items and an intensive drive in the matter of publication is taking place so as to maintain the high standards of scholarship laid down by men like Dr. Ganapati Sastri, the originator of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. The publication of translations into Malayalam of European and Indian classics and the production of books on popular lines dealing with problems of sociology and political economy and pure and applied science are also engaging our attention.

"What should not be regarded as extraneous to a University, are the efforts now proceeding in the State for the formation of Art Galleries, Libraries, Museums, the Academy of Music, the school of Dancing and so forth. All these are symbols and signs of a realisation that culture and education can both be conscious and unconscious, and may be derived from the study of great artistic models and the inculcation of a taste in the fine arts.

"Our University has many great tasks before it. It has first of all to help in building up strong bodies, for its alumni, boys and girls It has to pursue the ideal embodied in the Labour Corps, in the Physical Culture Department, and make physical fitness, manual work and team works objects of earnest pursuit. The University has to apply itself to the scientific and social sides of post-war reconstruction and to learn lessons from the last war which were, in the main, wasted on the people of the world. At the same time, in view of our conditions, our University should not merely be an apt vehicle of human culture and the instrument of fruitful research, but it should inculcate and practise that simplicity, that directness of approach and that freedom of speculation which were the special characteristics of our way of life.

"The laws of this University, like those of similar learned bodies, require that the candidates for Degrees and Dipioma should, on these occasions, solemnly undertake to order their personal and social life so as to promote the ideals that become members of the University. Those who are presenting themselves for Degrees to-day, have been selected after rigorous tests that have demanded self-denial, strenuous application and the exercise of concentration, and I am not one of those who decry the prizes that fall to the lot of the successful student as they are symbols of intensity of purpose and intellectual alertness. What has, however, to be recollected is that the knowledge that has been gained so far is not an end in itself, but the beginning of a new education for wider objects in respect of which the training that has been hitherto received will be only one of several elements. There is no question of resting on one's oars. Intellectual rust is even more destructive in its effects than the rust that consumes iron and steel. It is relevant to emphasise this aspect, because it is too often found that the habit of study is given up when the need for it ceases. The life led by you in schools and colleges, in debating societies and clubs and play-fields, has fitted you to take the rough with the smooth, to comprehend and make allowances for your neighbour's attitude and point of view and to preserve good temper and a sense of humour in your activities. Nevertheless, it is a fact that you have emerged from a period of life during which you have lived in a kind of cloistered seclusion away from the acerbities and the rough jostles of competing groups and the bitterness of unemployment and the non-recognition of talent and good work. But this is also a period when you have possessed both the time and the inclination to dream your dreams and to fashion your inner world, which may not correspond with the outer but which ought to be a true refuge. The qualities and equipment necessary for the world's battles are different in nature and in direction from those required till now, but you have, or at least may acquire, the essentials of true culture, and it has been said that a real man is one who can dream and not make dreams his master, who can think and not make thoughts his aim : who can meet with triumphant disaster and to treat those two imposters just the same.

"Above all, the scholars and the graduates of this University can never forget that they are the trustes of the future, that they are the guardians of the reputation and prestige of the State, that it is their elementary obligation not only in their own interests but in the interests of the land that they love to turn their learning to account by actively promoting the agricultural and the industrial progress of the State. At least some of you can by virtue of your tastes and training keep alight the torch of literature and the arts and cherish and augment our common heritage. Thus may you justify in your life and your conduct the proud boast of those to whom the Latin maxim applies, *Sis vos non vovis*, in other words you have lived and laboured but not for yourselves."

The Osmania University Convocation

The following is the text of the Address delivered by the hon'ble Nawab Mahdi Yar Jung Bahadur at the special Convocation of the Osmania University, Hyderabad, held on the 11th. November 1941:—

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

The foundation of the Osmania University in 1337 Hijri to provide higher education through the medium of Urdu and promote research in all branches of knowledge, undoubtedly, stands out as one of the greatest achievements of the benevolent rule of His Exalted Highness the Nizam. The remarkable success it has achieved during the period of less than a quarter of a century has not only revolutionised our ideals of education but has made it a model for the rest of India. The progress of the University is, primarily, due to the princely generosity and wise guidance of His Exalted Highness, who has always taken a deep and abiding interest in the advancement of the education of his subjects.

It may be recalled with pride and pleasure that the status of the University was immensely raised by the honour conferred upon us by His Exalted Highness in accepting the Honorary Degree of "Sultan-ul-Uloom" in the early stages of the growth of the University. Another notable event was the conferment of the Honorary Degree of LL.D. on His Highness the Prince of Berar on this very day last year. This afternoon it is proposed to inscribe the name of another distinguished member of the Royal Family—Prince Moazzam Jah Bahadur—on the rolls of the honorary graduates of the University.

Under the personal supervision and guidance of his illustrious father, the Prince received his education at the hands of tutors of outstanding ability. He has travelled extensively in India and abroad and has been initiated in the art of administration under the guidance of experienced administrators of the State. He combines in himself the best elements of oriental culture to which is added western polish.

His Exalted Highness was graciously pleased to appoint him in 1343 F. President of the City Improvement Board, the responsibilities of which office he has shouldered with great ability, energy and enthusiasm. His solicitude for the welfare of the people is proved by the introduction of many reforms of a far-reaching character in his department. Improved lighting in the Public and the River Gardens, the construction of a much-needed general market, named after him the Moazzam Jahi Market, measures of slum-clearance, the construction of low-rented houses, the provision of modern amenities, such as Child Welfare Centres, Children's Parks and Bachelors' Quarters are some of the schemes planned and carried out under his able direction.

The Prince is a true lover of art and has shown in many ways an exquisite artistic taste. But what has chiefly endeared him to the people of Hyderabad is his remarkable gift for writing Urdu poetry. Even in early childhood he gave unmistakable evidence of his love of poetry, and as he grew older, it became his ruling passion. His work is remarkable both for elegance of diction and nobility of sentiment. In Urdu poetry, the lyrical mood finds the finest expression in the ghazal, and it is in this form of poetry that the Prince has found an appropriate vehicle for his thoughts and emotions. In his lyrics are to be found subtle-thought and deep feeling, couched in natural and felicitous language. On several occasions, His Exalted Highness himself has paid glowing tributes to the perfection of his technique, the range of his imagination and the graceful beauty of his verse. From time to time his poems appear in the leading Urdu papers and are eagerly read by lovers of oriental poetry.

The Prince has already made his mark as a succesful administrator and in the years to come he is destined to play a part worthy of the best traditions of the Asafjahi Dynasty. Now I present to you, Sir, General Walashan Prince Moazzam Jah Bahadur, who has been duly recommended by the Council and Senate of the University as a fit and proper person, by reason of his eminent position and attainments, to receive the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws, to which I pray that he may be admitted. Since I had the honour of being at one time tutor to the Prince, I feel personally a great sense of pleasure in being able to recommend him now for this high academic distinction.

The Allahabad University Convocation

The following is the text of the Address delivered by Mr. Panna Lall, M.A., B.Sc., L.L.B. (Cantab), D. Litt., Bar-at-Law, C.I.E., I.C.S., at the Convocation of the University of Allahabad held on the 15th November 1941 :—

The most ancient ideal of education in our country was, as we all know, a search for the highest truth—a search conducted in little forest hermitages, under the personal guidance of a rishi. It was the individual method in education in which a teacher, good or bad—and not a committee or a council with its ugly bickerings, squabbles and canvassings—guided a pupil's education and showed him the path to his individual self-fulfilment. There was an intimate personal bond between the teacher and the taught. And while the pupil was expected to render the fullest honour and obedience to the guru, the teacher in his turn was expected to assume responsibility for the proper unfolding of the mind and the powers of the pupil. There are many beautiful passages in our old books in which the teacher prays that it may be his lot to get pupils devoted to pure knowledge and invokes blessing jointly on himself and the pupils. Most of our systems of philosophy which have extorted homage from the world of scholars were evolved in simple hermit schools such as these. This procedure, however, as may be readily imagined, was incompatible with large-scale methods of mass production.

It was left to Buddhism to bring into Indian education some of the modern ideas of organization and systematized lectures Buddhism introduced the residential teaching system and laid great stress on lecture and discussion as the most suitable medium of higher education. The Buddha said, "Let the preceptor, O Bhikkus, afford spiritual help and furtherance to the pupil by teaching, by putting questions to him, by exhortation, by instruction." In the Buddhist viharas lived thousands of scholars, and their teachers who gave them systematic and regular instruction. Such universities flourished at Taxila, Viramashila, Vallabhi, Mithila, Nalanda, Navadwip and many other centres famous in the annals of India. Their achievements will bear comparison with those of their modern successors.

These universities, it may be said at once, were not open to the beginner. They postulated a certain fairly high standard of attainment in the applicant for admission. He was subjected to a test which to-day would seem unduly stiff, for often not more than 20 per cent. of the candidates were successful at the entrance examination. The students were thus mainly those desirous of pursuing higher knowledge for its own sake, and not those anxious merely to secure a means of livelihood. This is, as it should be, at a university.

Nalanda—

Even with this restriction, Nalanda (which I may take as the typical residential university of ancient India) had at one time no less than 8,500 resident pupils and 1,510 resident teachers, who between them delivered every day a hundred lectures on a hundred different subjects. Nalanda was at that time perhaps the most famous seat of learning in the East. The office of the *Pandita*—the head of the University—was occupied by such acknowledged masters as Dinnag and Sthirmati; Dharmapala and Silbhadra. Yuan Chwang, writing of Sthirmati, a century later, said, "The streams of his superior knowledge spread abroad even now." No wonder, to Nalanda flocked scholars from far-off lands—Malaya, China, Korea, Mongolia, Tukhara, Japan.

The Chinese scholar I-Tsing came to India in A.D. 672 all the way from North China, by way of Malaya, to study at Nalanda and lived there as a student for ten years. He saw as many as 56 scholars from distant foreign countries—one even a Tartar. Some came by sea, landing at the port of Tamralipti (the modern Tamluk in the Midnapur District); others, overland via Khotan, Tibet and Nepal, undaunted by the dangers and the difficulties of the route.

It is worthy of note that this residential university—the largest which India has ever known—was maintained by permanent royal and private grants of villages, which numbered 100 in the time of Yuan Chwang, who lived at Nalanda as a student for five years, A.D. 635—640. The number of villages had gone up to more than 200 by the time I-Tsing entered the university in A.D. 675. For the feeding of this vast university population, well nigh 12,000 at one time, there came daily a supply of 300 maunds of rice from Nalanda's own paddy fields, and hundreds of seers of milk and butter produced by the dairies of these villages,

These endowments made it possible for the university to give to its teachers and to its students free food, accommodation, clothes, bedding, and medicines as well as tuition.

The University kept its large landed estate under its direct management and so offered its members not only the practical and business experience of a layman, but also opportunities for research in agricultural husbandry. The Universities of Cambridge and Oxford similarly possess landed estates gifted to them by charitable donors in the past, and some years ago the Royal Commission which made an inquiry into the affairs of these universities, considered whether they should continue to look after these estates themselves, or whether it would not be better to hand them over to more expert management. They came to the conclusion that the retention of some land is a useful asset in the corporate life of a college and should afford that training in practical affairs which is particularly valuable to an educational body. In India, happily, the custom of granting village properties as endowments for the benefit of educational institutions still prevails. There are not a few colleges in these Provinces which have these advantages—the Kayastha Pathshala, the Agra College, the S. S. M. College at Chandausi, but I doubt if the management of their lands is made an integral part of their educational system. They are rather managed separately in the way that any ordinary zamindar keeps his property, without any attempt at correlation. It is only recently that we have recognized in our primary schools that the different subjects need not be taught, one isolated form the other, as though there were danger of infection by mutual contact !—but they can, and with great advantage to the pupil, be correlated, basing the entire instruction in the different subjects upon some particular craft or crafts. That method may possibly not lend itself to adoption in its entirety by a university, but within limits the idea is worth exploring. In the case of agriculture and its allied industries like dairy-farming, the co-operation of the university man is particularly important. It has been truly remarked by our latest expert, Sir John Russell, that the future of agriculture in India, as in every other country of the world, rests with the educated agriculturist.

The Importance of Sanskrit—

Apart, however, for their shining example and noble tradition, what, one may pertinently ask, is the tangible outturn of these universities of old ? The answer to this is—their books which enshrine a stupendous contribution to the sum total of human knowledge, second to none other in the world. No branch of thought has been left untouched or unexplored—*belles, lettres*, science, philosophy, politics, law.

The question that confronts us—and especially in the universities of the United Provinces—is : Are we Indians true to this priceless heritage of learning ? Are we doing all that is possible to preserve it and develop it, or are we allowing it to die the slow but certain death that indifference and neglect cannot but result in ? What shall it profit us if we acquire here the knowledge and skill of all the sciences and arts in the world and lose our own invaluable patrimony ? In other countries the value of Sanskrit as the vehicle of the highest thought and culture is acknowledged. It is a matter of the deepest regret to me that Sanskrit, which (with its branches Pali and Prakrit) is the key to this treasure house, and through the study of which alone can we hope properly to enjoy and appreciate our inheritance, has for some time been sadly neglected and is in danger of becoming an almost unknown tongue. With its disappearance, it will be only a few European connoisseurs who will be left to appreciate the value of this rich literature. And to think that this should particularly be so in this Province which is its original home ! For us Hindus, in particular, Sanskrit is bound up intimately with our lives. All our practices of daily life—secular and religious—our laws, thoughts and traditions have their roots in Sanskrit. Sanskrit is the language of our soul : it is the *deva bhasha* as distinguished from the daily speech, the *laukik bhasha*, which is the language of our secular life—of litigation, of business and the market place. It enshrines the characteristic ideals of our race—an uncompromising search for truth on the one hand, and an explicit and definite recognition, on the other, of the fact that there may be different paths leading to the same goal, thus condemning intellectual as moral bigotry. Sanskrit philosophy and thought provide, too, a muchneeded check to prevent us from going off the rails in the pursuit of science and materialism.

One of the principal reasons for the decline in the study of Sanskrit would seem to be that it is, comparatively speaking, difficult to learn and does not "pay" in examinations That should be a reason for devising modern methods for its study and for removing any other handicaps from which the students suffer. Let me hope there is here among our Acharyas none, who thinks that the study of the language of the gods should be restricted to the privileged and should not become too widespread or too popular. Indeed there apears to me no insuperable objection to going even further and accepting the suggestion that the study of Sanskrit should be made compulsory for every Hindu boy up to a certain stage in his education, and that of Arabic for the Muslim youth—for Arabic occupies in Islamic culture and life an exactly similar place ; indeed its connexion is even more recent and vital. The study of three languages—English, Sanskrit or Arabic, and the spoken language, Urdu or Hindi—cannot be considered to be an undue burden. Most educated Englishmen have, at one time or the other, studied Greek and Latin, the importance and the meaning of which for the soul and life of an English youth can hardly be the same as that of Sanskrit for a Hindu or of Arabic for a Muslim.

And of Ancient Indian History—

This decline in the study of Sanskrit has had wide and far-reaching repercussions—the most obvious (and to me the most regrettable) of which is the neglect of the study of ancient Indian history and civilization. For, that study demands a familiarity with ancient documents, copper-plate grants, inscriptions and coins—and practically all these are in Sanskrit. And thus, not only are we in danger of losing our literature but also forgetting our history. It is gratifying to note that this Univerity, which in the past had offered hardly any facilities for the study of ancient Indian history for the B. A. degree, has now made amends and appointed a teacher, though the study of this subject is still left optional. It is not necessary to elaborate the argument for my view that the study of the whole of Indian History should be insisted upon for the degree course, as in some other universities.

I have laid so much emphasis on this subject of our national heritage, because I feel that it is one of the duties of the University to preserve and extend this legacy, that it is here within its sheltered cloisters that one can escape the din and the bustle of the market place and the groans and the cries of a war-weary world and devote oneself in an atmosphere of peace and aloofness to the discussion of such topics. It cannot be emphasized too often that whatever may be happening outside, the cultivation, study and advancement of knowledge and culture must not stop for a moment.

Present-day Responsibilities of Universities—

And yet, I am not oblivious of the consideration that the University must stand for other things also—things which are Universal in their appeal ; things of which the State which maintains it, stands in need ; things which are essential to build up our nationhood.

In the new world order, which we are anxiously envisaging, and with the attainment by India of her proper place in the world, the Universities of India will have to shoulder far greater and heavier responsibilities to the nation, for which they must needs prepare from now.

The problem of the moment, facing the nations of the world, is one of sheer existence. In the conditions now obtaining, that nation alone will succeed in preserving its life and entity, which can effectively mobilize its entire man-power and woman-power. its total resources, material and moral, for its development. This contribution of each man and woman has therefore to be scientifically exploited and built up into an organic whole. In this picture, the Universities, which control the training of such considerable numbers of the promising youths of the country, will feature vividly. They must learn to relate their activities to the vital needs of the nation. They must undertake, what may be called in one word, "national" education. The University must mobilize the cultural resources of the nation for the paramount purposes of its progress and expansion.

Science—

In the modern world, science has assumed unique importance, in peace no less than in war, and the entire fabric of civilized life is largely based upon the discoveries made in silent and secluded laboratories. Science must not be

blamed, or its pursuit restricted, because people have applied its discoveries to unworthy ends. That may demonstrate the failure of philosophy or religion, not of science. Pure science must, therefore, continue to be one of the main concerns of the Universities. Even in war, where problems of a more practical nature have to be solved, the value of pure research has been proved by experience. The Royal Commission on the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford, which sat soon after the last War, under the chairmanship of Lord Asquith, made this emphatically clear, and it will be befitting if I reproduce their words :

"In order to get the greatest scientific results even of a practical character, investigations carried on with merely technical objects and in a merely utilitarian and commercial spirit, will not achieve the highest results. The disinterested pursuit of scientific investigation affords the surest means by which the nation can ultimately command the resources of Nature."

Our future progress will, however, involve many problems which depend upon the new applications of science, and the direction of pure research into fruitful channels. Here is a list of some of these problems which I would commend to your attention. The Asquith Commission say :

"The Mathematical and Scientific Schools were able to assist the country to an extraordinary degree in the solution of many problems connected with ballistics, meteorology, the structure of the atmosphere, aerial flight, compasses for aeroplanes, aerial photography, and bombing sight ; sound-ranging, wireless, and methods for detecting submarines ; the development of offensive and defensive gas-warfare, and the treatment of gassed patients ; the manufacture of poisonous gases, of explosives and of drugs ; inoculation and preventive medicines ; the value of food-stuffs, the production of crops and meat for feeding the nation ; and engineering problems."

Amongst the problems solved by scientists in the present war are the successful disposal of the magnetic mine, the improved submarine detecter, and—the latest of all—the sterilizing of the acoustic mine. This shows that in the future teaching and study of science, the present—and what might be called the almost mediaeval—outlook prevailing in Indian Universities will have to be broadened with constant reference to the actual conditions and needs of the nation, the world-needs of peace as well as of war ; and the supreme problems of national development. "The new Science," says Dr. Bernhard Rust, "is entirely different from the old idea of knowledge that found its value in an unchecked effort to reach the truth. The true freedom of science is to be an organ of a nation's living strength and of its historic fate and to present this in obedience to the law of truth." Further, the scientist will have to pool his ideas and resources with those of other national workers in order to exploit to the full the practical possibilities of the latest discoveries. The University is the place where these problems will be studied and this synthesis can best be effected and it is for the State to ensure that the Universities are adequately equipped and financed to undertake these new and important duties.

Apart from the scientific men, University men and women were found very helpful in the conduct of the last War by their knowledge of languages, economics, law and other subjects, which knowledge was utilized for purposes of "propaganda, censorship or intelligence."

This emphasizes my next point. The University must give the youth not merely a store of knowledge but also the ability to live with others and work with others, subordinating their personal interests to the common good. It must give them alertness of mind, to enable them to meet new problems and new situations without unusual difficulty.

The last War presented many such situations, and the youths of Cambridge and Oxford fully met the unusual and unexpected demands that confronted them. The Royal Commission, in reviewing these services, refer to the spirit of self-sacrifice animating them and go on to say "how in the early days of the war, when there was a great dearth of men already qualified to take Commissions, Cambridge and Oxford were in a position to give to the country a peculiarly large number of men fitted to act as officers by their education and upbringing." Besides, a large part was taken by the University men in the many auxiliary services set up in the prosecution of the war. The Universities of Great Britain were almost entirely depleted not only for the fighting but also for the thinking services of the Crown.

"The value of University men in the war was to be found not only in their specialized knowledge, but in the adaptability, inventiveness and suppleness of the well-trained brain. Alike in the field, at home and abroad, these qualities were

the special gift of the Universities, old and new, to the war strength of the nation, as they are to its peace strength, day by day".

These authoritative words of the Asquith Commission indicate the ideals and the practical programme which animate the premier Universities of Europe and to which the Universities in India must conform if they are to train the youth of India to shoulder their responsibilities in that political development for which our country is so eagerly aspiring. And it is to the extent that the Universities provide facilities for research and the advancement of knowledge which will help to fulfil the needs of the modern State, and to the measure in which they succeed in making the men they train fit to take their proper stand as leaders, only to that extent shall the Universities have fulfilled the purpose of their existence.

The University and Careers

There is one more aspect of general education which vitally affects the work of the Universities. At present we do not seem to be unanimous whether the Universities should devote themselves solely to the advancement of knowledge and scientific research ; or also to such work as will serve practical ends ; or further still, whether they should deliberately set out to prepare students for professional careers and competitive examinations.

I have already said that the main function of the University must always be the pursuit of knoweledge and that in the long run this is of most effective help to the nation. At the same time, I have pointed out that this needs a new orientation ; a more modern outlook. Farther than this I would not think it is at all proper or even necessary for a University to set about preparing students for competitive examinations. The experience of the Allahabad University proves that a University can give such general education as will enable its students to hold their own against others in competitive examinations also. There is another class of students, however, of whom I wish to speak.

It is recognized that there are three avenues open to a student at the close of his secondary education :

(1) leading to the University, for the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake or with an eye to the higher State services ;

(2) leading to some kind of technical institute, e.g. Engineering, Medical, Agricultural Colleges, etc. ;

(3) leading to a general training for after-school life.

The first two categories are well defined. I am afraid, however, that no facilities exist for the last-mentioned training and, therefore, a large number of young men of this, the third category, whose ambition does not extend beyond obtaining a source of moderate livelihood—a clerkship or a petty technical or Government job—do not know how to obtain what they want and without any very clear idea they follow the students of the first category to the University in the possible and vague hope of bettering their chances in life. Their different outlook and equipment affects the general standard of the University. This is partly responsible for the great increase in the numbers coming to the Universities. This, in turn, means a heavy burden to the tax-payer as the following figures of the grant made by the United Provinces Government for University education will show :

1920 ... ... Six lakhs of rupees.
1941 ... ... Twentytwo lakhs of rupees.

Educationists and administrators have given serious thought to this grave problem and have suggested different solutions. One is to restrict the number proceeding to a University by some artificial means, such as a selection by the teachers of the University. This, though theoretically ideal, is utterly unsuited to the conditions at present prevailing in our country which are too well known to need recounting. Again, the number of students receiving University education in India is not excessive in comparison with other civilized countries, and it would be a tragedy to impose any artificial barriers to restrict it.

I think the State can help in the solution of this problem in a different way, not open to such objection. It should come to the rescue of the young men of the third category, who do not want University education for its own sake but go there only with a view to better their value in the employment market. For such youths, the State can provide avenues at the pre-University stage leading to suitable Government services or to industrial or military vocations. It is true that even at the present time there are a number of Government services which are open to non-graduates ; but that privilege is,

in practice, rendered nugatory by the upper age-limit being fixed too high, about 22—23. The result is that non-graduates are elbowed out by graduates at the competitions and interviews. Knowing this, every youth tries to obtain a degree. This could be avoided if Government fixed the upper age-limit at 18—19 for certain subordinate services and posts for which the High School or the Intermediate may be considered a sufficient minimum qualification. This would give a real chance to the non-graduates and would I feel sure, be welcomed by a large section of our young men, as providing a definite objective to work for. Incidentally, it would relieve the congestion at the Universities. To dub the young student as unworthy and stop him from proceeding to the University, without first providing an alternative avenue for him, is only adding insult to injury.

Military Careers and Kshattriya Virtues—

This leads me to the general problem of careers for young men. It is undeniable that there is a painful lack of opportunities even for the best qualified among the products of the University. I admit, too, our responsibility to find a solution for the problem, and I admit our failure, The question, however, has been rankling in my brain for some time: Are our youths availing themselves to the full of even the opportunities that exist? It seems to me that our attention has been unduly given towards seeking what might be generically called clerical jobs—some, no doubt, more glorified than others, but clerical all the same. This narrow ideal has harmed us in more ways than one. The principal employer—the State—has fully exploited this weakness of ours and has steadily reduced the price it offers to absurdly low figures. Apparently the limit has already been reached at which it pays to acquire a University education, considering what is now offered for the large majority of these services. Secondly, this narrow vision has had a most cramping effect on our growth. It has stifled the spirit of enterprise and the urge to venture into new avenues.

One of these avenues, which I should like to mention prominently, is that of military service, technical and non-technical. If our country is to be adequately protected against external aggression, the future Indian army will, according to modern standards, be of vastly greater numbers. Even if we put it at a million, the number of commissioned officers will alone be very large. The State has a right to look to the Universities to supply this material, and it will fully tax their resources to provide so many men with the requisite standard of training and character. The Universities will have to take academic notice of this new order of things and to adjust and expand their curricula to suit the new demand. You will recall the words of the Asquith Commission and the vista of the subjects of future study held forth by them. These indicate the kind of changes which our Universities will have to make if our graduates are to take their legitimate part in society as leaders of men. It remains for you, young men, to supply your contribution—ambition, effort, courage.

I was sorely distressed to read in a document issued by one of our most responsible State officials, who is entrusted with the duty of selecting University men for the Army, that even among those possessing the necessary educational and physical standards there is apparent a lack of courage. This is attributed partly to an absence of military traditions in the recent past, which deprives us of the necessary stimulus ; but if this is so, it creates a vicious circle which we must cut by deliberately choosing these careers now and thus re-creating the traditions for our successors.

What, however, makes me hang down my head in shame is that some of our young men should have taken refuge in the plea that their mothers and sisters were loth to let them go into the Army. This is a gross libel on the fair name of the women of India. Did Kunti and Gandhari ever keep back their sons from the battlefield ? And, did not our women themselves take their proper share in military duties ? The renowned Bharut sculptures remind us of the skilful horsewomen in the army. Patanjali mentions the Saktikis—the spear-bearers Magasthenes stands testimony to the Amazonian bodyguard of the Mauriya Emperor Chandra Gupta. Kautilya speak equally of the part played by the women archers and, to come to more recent times, did not Durga vati, Chand Bibi and Lakshmibai remain undaunted before overwhelming odds ? So far as courage —physical or moral—goes, I will say here without fear of contradiction that the women of India—Hindu or Muslim—have never been found wanting, either in the past or today. Why should you young men then be found so lacking in this manly virtue ? Might I ask you Krishna's question ?

"Whence has this dejection befallen thee in this perilous strait, ignoble, heaven-closing, infamous, un-Aryan, O Arjuna ?"

We have to make up our minds here and now, once and for all, to give up this un-Aryan weakness and offer to Mother India an army of heroic sons. If there be any amongst the young men here so lacking in red blood corpuscle as to quail at this prospect, I would say to the women here—Women of India, Favour them not !

The Agra University Convocation

The following is the text of the Address delivered by Sir S. Radhakrishnan, KT., M.A, D. Litt., Vice-Chancellor, Benares Hindu University, at the fourteenth Convocation of the Agra University held on the 22nd. November 1941 :—

As University men, we are not directly concerned with changing the political and economic conditions which are responsible for the war, but it is our duty to propagate right ideals. If men make history, ideas make men. What is our objective with regard to the training of youth ? Are we to prepare them for life or for death ? Do we send children to schools, young men to colleges to make them behave like beasts of prey ? When we look around and see what is taking place in academic centres, how we are imposing on suggestible youth false ideals, how we are debasing the minds and corrupting the hearts of the young, making them crazy with the lusts of cruelty and power, do we not feel guilty of using the noble instrument of education for ignoble ends ? What is our purpose in University education ? Is it the Nazi ideal of military efficiency ? Is it the Fascist ideals of 'work, obey and fight' ? Are we to train the youth for class struggle as the communists demand ? Will systems of education based on such ideals help us to create a new and better order of society ? The totalitarian States look upon human beings as aimless, drifting, credulous creatures, who, without any mind or will of their own, can be driven like cattle or moulded like clay by those who appoint themselves as their rulers. We are not taught to use our understanding but to yield like animals to our instincts and appetites. With loud speakers and savage cries we are carried along. From the time we are born, we are brought under the influence of set doctrines. Through years of childhood and adolescence, we are taught to accept the prevailing orthodoxy. Every book suggests it, every paper shouts it, and every cinema gives it visible shape. We are moulded into a uniform pattern. The quality of mind is lowered and we are rendered incapable of sound judgment. What is most vital and creative in us is destroyed and we forget that we have souls. To make us soulless, to degrade us to the level of the animal cannot be the purpose of education.

Ancient Greece and India agree in holding that it is the aim of education to train us to apprehend the eternal values,to appreciate the supreme human virtues and the simple decencies of life. We must be educated not for cruelty and power but for love and kindness. We must develop the freshness of feeling for nature, the sensitiveness of soul to human need. We must foster the freedom of the mind, the humanity of the heart, the integrity of the individual. Even from the nurseries, we must train human beings by unconscious influence and conscious effort to love truth, beauty and goodness. A famous Church Father in the Middle Ages—Bernard of Clairvaux—in a Latin hymn asks, "who will achieve universal peace ?" and answers, "The disciplined, the dedicated, the pure in heart and the gentle in spirit." No machinery which the art of man can devise will work unless there is behind it the proper temper of mind. To create and maintain that temper should be the aim of education in civilised society. Plato had a clear vision of the goal and method of education. Though we may not understand all that we read by surrounding ourselves with the work of great minds, a touch of their greatness passes on to us winning us "imperceptibly from earliest childhood into resemblance, love and harmony with the beauty of reason." 'They sink deeply into the recesses of the soul and take a powerful hold of it. He who has been duly brought up therein will have the keenest eye for defects.....and, feeling a most just contempt for them, will welcome what is beautiful and gladly receive it into his soul, and feed on it, and grow to be noble and good ; and he will rightly reject and hate all that is ugly, even in his childhood before he has come to the age of reason, and when reason comes, he will welcome her ardently, because this has been his upbringing" (Republic p. 401). There are no mechanical cures for psychological

maladies. If the world is suffering from sickness of spirit, we have to cure it. India has her proud heritage and is broadbased on the central culture of mankind. We are not a rootless people deriving a fickle inspiration from transient fashions. We have been taught the transience of mere material wealth and the transcendent importance of the spirit in man. We must vindicate that spirit against the deadweight of circumstance. Indian culture has stood for the ideal of freedom of thought and worship, though there were periods in which allegiance to this ideal was weak and others in which it suffered eclipse. It welcomed the Jews, the Christians, the Parsees and the Muslims. It not only allowed them freedom to practise their rites and forms of belief but provided facilities for doing so. Its essential aim has been the recognition of universal human worth and dignity, of unity amidst diversity, of co-operation despite differences.

We are demanding a more equitable social order. We can achieve it only if we plan our education properly and strive to eliminate the sources of inequities and injustices. Education is the means for the reconstitution of society. If we are to prepare ourselves for a democratic order, our education must have in view the development of each and every individual, as a producer, as a citizen, as a human being. He must have opportunity to develop to the utmost his innate ability and genius—physical, mental and spiritual. Equality of opportunity is the basic principle of democracy and that can be realised only if we have faith in the dignity of the human soul.

The present war is said to be a conflict between democracy and the evil things opposed to it. It is not, however, a straight struggle between democracy and tyranny, not a clean fight between good and evil, or right and wrong. We will be more correct if we say that it is a conflict between some measure of truth and falsehood, between unfulfilled law and brute force, between the whispers of human conscience and the call of the wild jungle. In the present circumstances, the chances of upbuilding this world are bound up with the victory of the allies. We are directly interested in the triumph of order over chaos, of liberty over enslavement. India, therefore, is wholeheartedly on the side of Britain, America and Russia in this conflict with Nazism. But if Britain has not been able to mobilise, not the material resources but the moral forces, it is because she is unwilling even in this critical hour to apply the principles of democracy to India. Naturally there are people who contend that the war is an imperialist war for the defence of this straggling ramshackle system of domination, finance, trade and tradition : the British Empire. The love of liberty which contact with British institutions has bred in us cannot be torn out of our soul. Political subjection is moral degradation, not for countries overrun by Hitler but for countries which are in a dependent position like India. In the last half of the 17th Century, Leibnitz who lived his best years between two great wars wrote : "By shameful submission men's minds will be progressively intimidated and crushed till they become at last incapable of all feeling. Inured to ill-treatment and habituated to bear it patiently they will end by regarding it as a fatality which they can do nothing but endure. All will go together down the broad high road to slavery". To ask India to fight for Britain simply because the Nazis will be worse is not fair to Britain or to India. Are we to stand up for Britain simply because we must avoid the worse alternative of Nazi despotism ? Before it is too late, I hope, Britain will establish her good faith at the bar of history, by implementing her many pledges and declaring that India, not at some undated future but immediately after the war, be a free and equal country in the commonwealth of nations.

Victory over Nazi Germany is not enough. We must win the peace and not lose it as we did in the last war. It will be an utter waste of much material treasure and precious human life, if we revert back to pre-war conditions. All the belligerents speaks of a new order but there is no agreement about its character. It must be democratic in an essential sense. It must be a world in which all nations, strong and weak, are free and all races white and coloured have opportunity for self-expression and development.

Graduates of the year, you will soon face the cares and anxieties of life. We are intellectually poor, inwardly torn, profoundly uneasy and ignorant of the future. There are forebodings of evil. The bonds that unite us are rudely sundered by politics. We have a small but influential minority of leaders who depend for their existence on Indian disunity or at any rate profit by it and, therefore, feel no sort of longing for Indian freedom and unity. Our one purpose should be to see India united, tranquil and gracious with a new way of life. India, impoverished and harassed, the prey of schism and division must be raised to a

happy and prosperous condition with internal unity and illumination of spirit, where youth will have opportunity and age security. We must cut through the confusions created by the shortsighted politicians and the timid carecrists who play upon old prejudices. We must strive for the great ideals of economic justice, social equality and political freedom. For them hard work, self-control, and effective propaganda are essential. Our chief weapons are commonsense, sanity and coolness. The Universities are here to equip us with them. It does not matter if we fail in our attempt, for the meaning of life is not in accomplishment as in the effort to grow better. We must dare to fail before we can hope to succeed. This age has no parallel for the magnitude of its enterprises for those who would be men, and I do hope and pray that you will quit yourselves like men.

The Dacca University Convocation

The following are extracts from the Speech by Dr. Majumdar, Vice-Chancellor, at the Annual Convocation of the University of Dacca held on the 25th. November 1941.

After reviewing in brief outline the work of the University during the last session, Dr. *Majumdar* said :—

Unfortunately, the normal academic life of the University was rudely disturbed by the communal disturbances which broke out in the city towards the middle of March. Although the University area remained unaffected for a period of nearly four weeks, the situation in the town rendered it impossible to continue the classes or complete the University examinations which had already begun. The matter reached a climax on Sunday, April 13, when at about 12 noon a young student named Motaharuddin Ahmad was fatally stabbed within the University campus. This brutal murder created such a tense situation that we were forced to close down the University and further postpone the University examinations for a period of two months. The continued disturbances in the city and the utter dislocation of its normal life and activities also compelled the University to cancel its invitation to the Indian Science Congress to hold its next session at Dacca. The decision, arrived at with great reluctance and regret, has unfortunately been fully justified by subsequent events.

When the University reopened after an interval of two months signs were reassuring and we resumed our normal work with high hopes. Unfortunately the orgies of riot and murder broke out again in full fury before two weeks were over, and once more the work of the University had to be suspended for more than two weeks. This recrudescence of disturbances was specially unfortunate for the University, as it was the time for the new admissions and the students were naturally scared away from Dacca. There can be hardly any doubt that the prolonged and repeated communal clashes have dealt a severe blow to the future growth of this University, and it is difficult to say how long it will take the University to recover from this terrible set-back.

For reasons, which are obvious, I would not enter into any discussion about the origin or incidents of the communal riot. At the same time it is unwise to ignore an event which has worked so deeply on the feelings, emotions and judgment of all during a considerable period of the session under review. It has not only seriously affected the University life, but has served as an acid test of the value of University education as measured by its influence in developing healthy, moral and intellectual ideals and forming character and personality. I, therefore, consider it to be a suitable occasion for making a few general observations on the aims and ideals of University life which have been brought into prominence by the recent happenings at Dacca. Particularly as the need for the same is also emphasised by momentous events happening at the present moment in other parts of the world.

It may appear preposterous to compare the events in Dacca and its neighbourhood in recent times with what is happening in Europe. But one may easily discern some common basic elements. In both, the thing that has been most staggering to humanity is the ease and readiness with which man throws away the thin mask of his much vaunted culture and civilisation, and reveals the unadulterated brute in him, raging with the same elemental passions as marked him out when he first emerged into human form, taking frenzied delight, and feeling a sense of triumph, in inflicting cruelties on individuals or masses of fellow human

beings, and committing indiscriminate destruction and devastation of property on a large scale with all the accompanying horrors.

It is a great though painful revelation. It at once humbles to the dust all our pride in our culture and civilisation, our wonderful achievements in various domains of knowledge and the man's great triumph over forces of nature. We stand, struck with awe, at the brink of a deep abyss, which seems to draw irresistibly to its bottomless deep the whole of mankind with all his magnificent handiwork of countless ages.

In a crisis like this the salvation of man depends on invoking and clinging to the highest ideal and spiritual force that he can master. There is no room now for platitudes and commonplace or half-hearted attempts at tinkering remedies. Nor is there any time for despair or pessimism. We must not be content with merely lamenting what man has made of man, but should put our heads together to find out what man may yet make of man.

This is the greatest task to-day for the intellectual and spiritual aristocracy of the world. Few though they be, on their shoulder lies the great responsibility of saving mankind from the impending doom. In this noble task the University must take its due share. Indeed it can only be achieved through education, broad-based on the higher instincts of man and designed to bring out the best and the noblest in him. A steady campaign is going on all over the world to reduce literature and all forms of intellectual activity to serve the purposes of propaganda. It is the proper function and proud privilege of the University to rise above this ephemeral phenomenon and to brush aside the cobweb of untruths and half-truths which parade as ideals and thrive on their appeal to the baser instincts of man. It should always hold up before its students those ideals and standards of life whose values have stood the test of time and those canons of conduct which are of eternal worth. The German youth, thoroughly permeated with the pernicious tenets of the Nazi doctrines constitutes the real strength of Hitler, and offers a striking example of the influence exercised by education upon the destinies of a nation. One of the first acts of Hitler was to saturate the entire educational system of Germany with Nazi ideals with the result that the German youth have been thoroughly inoculated with a passionate faith in ideals and standards of life fundamentally different from those which are generally accepted as correct all over the world. The proverbial zeal of a new convert that has intoxicated the Nazis constitutes the gravest peril to the whole world. Modern Germany thus teaches us how largely the educational system and ideals of a country shape not only its own destiny but, in a sense, that of the world at large. We cannot, therefore, be too cautious in guarding against the evils of a propagandist system of education. The best way to prevent it is to put education on the broad basis of humanity and to emphasise those eternal truths and principles of life and conduct which constitute the very foundation of human civilisation. It is in this way alone, through proper education imparted by the University, that the youth may feel the urge of the higher spirit in him and triumph over the allurements of petty sordid interests which easily fascinate his imagination and excite his interest. The distinguishing criterion of University education is its humanism which carries with it not only a mode of thinking but also a way of living. It accepts reason as its arbiter and also certain principles like truth, justice, equity, goodwill, charity, kindness and honesty as guides of conduct.

The need for such an education and view of life was never greater than to-day, when mankind shows dangerous symptoms of relapse into barbarism. The animal instincts are getting the better of him, and the forces of evil and darkness are steadily increasing in ominous proportions. Upon the Universities, more than anywhere else, lies the great responsibility of kindling that divine spark in man that will ultimately carry him safely through the deep gloom which surrounds him to-day on every side.

To you, the graduates of the University, my parting message is that you should find out that divine spark in you and make that your sole guide in this dark hour of trial. Your training and education in this University would be of little worth if it does not teach you to rise above the passions and instincts of the moment, and firmly grasp at those fundamental tenets and principles on which human civilisation is based and which make life worth living. There is a divine spark in each of you, but it needs be ignited before it can be a driving force in your life. Ignorance, prejudice and passions conceal this divine spark in man and these fetters must be broken before you can get at it. Your first task should, therefore, be to purify your mind of these evil forces so that you may take a

just view of men and things. The supreme test of this purification is your willingness and ability to raise your voice against all iniquities, oppressions, outrages and atrocities, irrespective of all considerations of caste, creed and community, simply because they offend the dignity of man. To use a phraseology which has now become rather common in political spheres, your rallying cry should be "man first." The University, as its very name implies, should be universal in its outlook, and at this formative period of your life you must be imbued with the high ideals of humanity. To serve the cause of humanity should be your first consideration and other narrower and smaller interests must be subordinated to this supreme duty.

To-day the whole world presents a scene of lust, greed and brute force triumphing over equity, justice and other noble instincts of man. A power intoxicated with success challenges the freedom of the world and the dignity of mankind. We cannot remain a passive looker on for, even apart from general considerations, the evil forces are making long strides towards our own home. Let there be no mistake about it, this force of evil, if left unchallenged, will overwhelm us and undermine the whole foundation of civilisation throughout the world.

To-day there are abundant signs, and he who runs may read them, that the freedom of thought, words, and deeds, so long as they do not interfere with similar freedom of others, and the rights of individuals to form groups and communities of their own free choice, and to live according to their own ideas and traditions, so long as they let others live similar lives—these are the fundamental bases of civilised existence which have been established after centuries of efforts, toils, and exertions. These ideals are universally recognised to be the true foundations of human life, and even where they are violated in practice, homage is paid to them in theory, holding out hopes of their universal acceptance as the goal of human progress.

To-day these ideals are being openly challenged by a new order of things in which might alone will be right. To avert this grave peril to humanity all the freedom-loving peoples of the world should rally under a common banner. Already there are clear indications on all sides that the need of presenting a united front for the common cause of humanity is being realised more and more.

Should India fail to take her due share in the Freedom Front that is being organised for a final trial of strength with forces of barbarity ? That is the question which each of you must put to yourself, as you pass out of the portals of the University. Your duty in this supreme hour of man's life, and the nature and extent to which you can dedicate yourself to this noble cause—these are problems to be solved by yourself alone keeping in mind the fundamental principles of life with which University education should have endowed you. To-day your life begins in a critical phase of human history and you may well feel dismayed at the dark prospect. But if the situation presents difficulties and responsibilities of an abnormal nature, it also offers splendid opportunities of proving your worth. Optimism is the virtue and privilege of youth, and I hope that would never forsake you. Full of hope and courage you should face the realities of life and play the noble part that is allotted to you by nature and man. In whatever situation you may find yourself, never forget that there is a divine spark in you which distinguishes you from animals and should be the sole guide of your life. Above all, cherish the high ideals of freedom, freedom of thought and judgment, and remember the service you owe to humanity. Let your will and actions be shaped by their dictates alone. You would then steer clear of all pitfalls in your onward march of life and bring renown to yourself and credit and distinction to your *Alma Mater*.

H. E. the Governor's Address

The following is the text of His Excellency the Governor's Speech at the Annual Convocation of the Dacca University held on the 25th. November 1941.

I am glad that the year 1941 has not passed without giving me the opportunity of paying my second formal visit to this University, postponed though it has been. To-day I am returning to Dacca to surroundings now familiar to me. I am grateful to you Mr. Vice-Chancellor for your kind welcome, and can assure you of my lasting interest in the welfare of this University. Your address bears witness to the vitality and enterprise of the University in the introduction of new courses designed to meet the needs of the day and in the provision of facilities for expansion, all of which are signs of a rapid and sound development.

It is not my intention to speak at any length of the disturbances in Dacca,

though any speech would be incomplete without some reference to events which have affected the University so closely. The point I wish to make, however, is that the University must on no account allow itself to become discouraged or intimidated by sporadic outbreaks of barbarism. On the contrary, these events have afforded a great opportunity for the University to make its weight and influence felt in support of those principles for which it stands. The murder of a student within these grounds should raise a tide of indignation and determination that disorder shall stop, and any weakening on the part of an institution pledged to maintain civilised principles only offers encouragement to the goonda elements. The situation in Germany referred to by the Vice-Chancellor is different in that Universities themselves, as centres of thought and influence, have become poisoned by barbarous philosophy and propaganda. Here the barbarism lurks outside, and the University must see that it is strong enough to ensure its suppression.

To-day is a day of "good-byes and farewells". Those who remain will continue their studies in a University which, as your address has indicated, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, is expanding and adapting itself to modern needs. Those who leave are entering into a world changing rapidly under the stress of events. India too is a changing country, being speedily industrialised in providing arms, ammunition and equiqment for those who, to the North, South, East and West of us, whether on land or on sea, are out to defend this great country. To-day we are faced with the picture of guns pointed towards us and our main task is to put them out of action and thus prevent the risk of attack on this country which has known peace for 150 years. Although I am but a comparative newcomer to Bengal, I have learnt how much all in this Province love home and everything that home means. I know that many of you would like to be up in the front line taking an active part in the defence of your motherland. But to you I would say that a Government which sends a single soldier into the field ill-equipped and not armed with the most modern weapons, is not worthy of confidence. Whereas in the olden days manpower was the deciding factor of battle, now it is the power and quality of modern weapons : guns, machine guns, rifles, together with miscellaneous armament. For example, a modern division going into the field needs 40,000 different items of equipment and relies almost entirely on mechanical transport ; and the factor which limits the size of an army is not the number of men available, but the extent to which weapons and equipment can be manufactured and maintained for the use of those men. The soldiers in the front line, who are now defending India, depend upon us behind them to produce all they need and to get our production to them. In a total war, all alike are implicated, and the honour and glory which was formerly the monopoly of those at the front are now shared equally with those behind who are toiling hard to keep the forces supplied. Many of you leaving this University may find yourselves able to contribute to the defence of this country in various ways. Some of you may join the active forces, others the technical services and still others may work in industries producing the necessities of the Army in the field. Whatever may be your task, you will know that you are taking part in the fight to free India from the Nazi menace. You all know the policy of Nazi Aryan domination as described in "Mein Kampf" and illustrated by the behaviour of the Nazis in every country they have overrun. Therefore, you will appreciate the urgent necessity of preventing this menace from encroaching on this country.

A time has now been reached when men are beginning to think in terms of a better world after victory has been won. This will be a world in which you, whom I am addressing, will take a part and its success will depend greatly on your education and attitude. It will be a world of wider opportunities demanding a wider outlook and calling for initiative, energy and the co-operative spirit. The development of industrial effort in Bengal has already reached an extent unthought-of two years ago. It will be for you to see that industries built up on the demand for war production do not die for want of enterprise. Remember that the industrial revolution which changed the face of history in Britain and the West at the beginning of the last century was not a gift from Government, but was the direct result of a creative effort which took full advantage of new-found resources and opportunities. Apart from industry, Bengal possesses agricultural resources which might be the envy of the world, but which could almost be described as new-found, since it is only in recent years that their value has come to be properly appreciated. This appreciation will grow and will, I hope, be assisted by the College which I opened in this city earlier this year. Its graduates will serve the interests of the prime industry of this Province, the

Industry which is the basis of life : agriculture. In all branches of public activity there is scope for new blood, and it is for you to supply that blood. Gone are the days when two or three well-tried professions formed the normal outlet to a University career, just as they were gone in England by the end of the last War. The needs of to-day are an intelligent understanding of world affairs, a proper grasp of the interdependence of different parts of the world as a result of the conquest of distance by speed ; and a world-outlook as opposed to a village-outlook. The men who will develop civilisation in this modern world need vigorous and adaptable minds, energy, enterprise, courage, and with them tolerance and charity.

I will not keep you longer before calling on Sir. S. Radhakrishnan to deliver his address, nor will I elaborate the well-merited tribute which you, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, have paid to one who, although not belonging to this Province and no longer a dweller in it, have nevertheless for many years enriched Bengal with his many gifts.

The Patna University Convocation

The following is the text of the address delivered by Sir C. V. Raman at the annual convocation of the Patna University held on the 28th. November 1941.

Sir C. V. Raman began his address by touching the character of Markendaya of the Purans. Therefrom he showed that devotion and purposiveness were required for the youths to become successful men to serve the great cause, earth needs. Markendaya, born with a lease of sixteen years' of life, was just being snatched away by Yama, the God of Death. But Markendaya's devotion to Shiva made the latter appear and bless Markendaya to live as ever youthful. The story was an indication of man's thirst for knowledge and to overcome and control the forces of Nature. Man's quest was deathless and without any end. It was a start for a communion of knowledge with infinity. This quest took a man to the highest level of humanity. This quest and hunger of knowledge took us to the highest plane of human activities.

The story of human civilization is now lost in flints and broken stone chips and a vague glimpse is now possible. From an ancient zoological species has been transformed the man's intellect, which put him higher in the scale of life. With the ceaseless fight against Nature's forces, man's intellect grew gradually. He was trained to handle tools, and dig out earth for water. This devotion and purposiveness put him to win against Nature's exploits. Because of intellect, a supreme type of life in the planet of men was possible.

The speaker said people knew very little of the development of human civilization. A misty and dim idea could only be possible so far. Extensive researches were being carried throughout. Some said Egypt was the last and first home of man's civilization and others told different stories. In the process of development of human culture and civilization China, India and Central America and others had their respective roles to play. Indians, because of their ancient civilized outlook, had weakness for both India and China, the imitators of progress and civilization.

The speaker emphasised the need of playing important role in practical life. Human knowledge went into two channels. A section of the primitive men sought for food and they furrowed earth, and some sailed in the ocean for colonies and wealth. Some of them took to artifice to make utensils and some weaved to produce clothes, and other perhaps carved out graceful ornaments. In the second channel, were those who did not rise from the University of life but took to a different branch of learning. They were the first witch-doctors of the world, and philosophers and saints. They also like the others played a great part in the history of human civilization. The latter were feared and through a natural evolution they turned to serve mankind. It was from the saints and philosophers and physicians and physicists that man really needed immediate training. The handicraftsmen were obviously meant for a frontal attack against nature. Great achievements had been possible out of the joint efforts of these two types of men. The yearning of communion with the infinite was needed at this hour of crisis.

Ancient history and archaeology and other branches of scientific learning would inspire modern men for a great achievement. Greece and Babylon and Mohenjedaro must live in eternal history to pull up men from morass. He referred to the great Archemedis who should live through all ages to lift

up man to scientific miracles. He being a master mind must guide human progress.

Indians unlike others had a great progress in ancient times and in the domain of Mathematics, Algebra, Astronomy and others. India was the pioneer and inventor of many sciences. An ancient fameless Ramanujam, who discovered the significance of Zero, was one of those great ancient Indian intellectual minds. Aryabhatta, Barahamihir, Patanjali, Nagaryuna. he said, were a few names which would live in the history of human civilization.

The speaker wanted us not to hate everything which was not Indian. It is a sacred task to see that all was utilised for the upkeep and nourishment of the growth and progress of human civilization and culture. He said that the country which had no past worth it, could never rise and India should never run despondent as she carries behind a tale of great glory—a glory of greater civilization which any of the lands could have been proud of. He paid great tributes to the noble Italian artist—Leonardo de Vinci—who shone in darkness. He drew a graphic picture showing that how he could rise to serve the humanity as a painter, as a sculptor and as a forerunner of modern scientific thought in aviation. Europe live to cherish the ideals of the great minds and intellects while India preferred to stay back in wilful neglect of the past and in the inaction for building up of a great future.

History, which only taught the vice of colonial expansion and asked men to be another Napolean or Chengiz Khan or a Ceaser was not the type of history, world and India needed to-day. Marauders and conquerors were not the true representatives of the human spirit, which reached the greatness of humanity. He regarded Archimedis as the greatest of all names which ought to guide the destiny of human race. The creators and benefactors, who sought communion with nature only to wrest from it the best to give to the human progress, were always immortals. Conquerers were no guides of human progress, as they unmade human civilization. It was necessary that men followed the great dead that men found who wanted to reach mankind to the greatest height of civilization and progress. It was pity that people did not know the name of those Great Hindus who contributed to the world's civilization. It was natural that the world did not acknowledge the great minds, as she was very frugal and faltering at straight acceptance of facts.

Sir C. V. Raman, speaking of the Australia's great scientific mind, Mendel, said that how this Roman Catholic priest, through his experiments of growing peas contributed considerably to the growth of Biology. It took twenty years for the obscure man to come out with his truth. World owed him to-day a great deal for its progress. Nature being a stern mistress, it was desirable that men worked hard and earned rewards for the labour. Nature never gave anything to them who only loved her for the favours she could bestow. From the sweat of brow, one needed to carve out one's future and bring her under his control for the betterment of the world. The speaker quoted the story of isolation of Radium by Madame Curie. This was, he said, one of the greatest achievements in human history, done by a female in poverty and neglect. To-day Madame Curie's name is an everyday watchword sung in praise and gratitude.

He wanted young men to read stories of triumphs of man's life, stories of supreme heights to which man must move and must express opinions and write thesis to help scientific advancements. Youths should always challenge and not follow blindly. He wanted them to do wonders in the domain of electrons and protons and even challenged the speaker himself to belie any of his experiments if possible. If they preferred to be in obscurity, they must assert with facts and with tact. Tact, he said, was the economy of truth.

Referring to the life of Galillio, he said despite torture and torments, Galillio lived to contribute to the world's civilization even in prison while Bruno was burnt alive for his bold but tactless assertion of truth. Dealing with the great achievements of Ahring despite cold, starvation and neglect, Sir C. V. Raman said that his works lie embodied in to-day's scientific progress and in his statue. Knowledge had not a warm reception in this world, which was still too vulgar. But there were always men to give message to their fellowmen, to help the progress of knowledge.

World's wealth did not lie in money but in intellect. Even a man became a monarch of the virmin-infested world, he could never live without application of intellect. Brutes and virmins were man's enemies and knowledge was necessary to guard against them. Number of human beings was insignificant to those of the

virmins and pests. The virmins were man's competitors. Hence men should be watchful with intellect against their onslaughts. Science helped them in this fight against the enemies of mankind. It allured the man to live to realise that life was dynamic and not static. A static man or a nation was doomed if both of them failed to be wide awake of the speed and progress.

If India and China showed respect to science in the past, it is all the more necessary that they were more responsive to the scientific march of the world. Science was dynamic force in a man's life and therefore the speaker wanted India's youths to be vanguards of human progress. He asked the youths to build up a pure scientific outlook in life and to bring a change in the sytem of education which would make them more happy and successful. Co operation of leaders in science and their followers was to make great strides in human progress. He wanted every young man irrespective of sex to realise that life being dynamic should never be wasted and every inch of education must be utilised to help the speed and progress of human civilization.

The Nagpur University Convocation

The following is the text of the Address delivered by Lt.-Col. T. J. Kedar, B. A., L.L. B., M. L. A., Vice-Chancellor, at the Twentieth Convocation of the Nagpur University held on the 29th. November 1941.

After reviewing the work of the University in the domain of education, Mr. Kedar said :—

But what avails it a young man who has got his degree and even preserved his soul, but has lost his body ? We are not satisfied with what we are doing in this respect : physical exercises, inter-collegiate matches, athletic events—even wrestling and boxing which we are shortly introducing—these by themselves are valueless, if they have not succeeded in creating among our young men a passion for keeping clean and vigorous the tools with which Nature has equipped them for the struggle for existence. And, indeed live as we do in a world resounding with the clash of arms, we require man-made weapons too. It is perhaps a sign of the times that the Chancellors and Vice-Chancellors of Universities should have bestowed on them the military ranks of Colonel and Lieutenant-Colonel. My ambition, however, is to see these ranks within the reach of our graduates. I want to see every young man who seeks to obtain a degree at my hands to satisfy me that he has, besides passing his examinations, imbibed something of the martial spirit and discipline. Expansion of the University Training Corps is the obvious step for achieving this object, but the mills of Government grind slow and hesitant. As a second alternative, the University passed an ordinance requiring every student prosecuting a course for his first degree to undergo a test in shooting. This involved no burden on the public purse ; but for reasons of policy, which it is difficult to appreciate, the requisite sanction of Government for the purpose has not been forthcoming. Time is, however, on our side and the Athenian and Spartan conceptions of education must coalesce into each other. We must revert to the old Mahabharat ideal of a student so beautifully expressed in the following verse :

(In the front, the four Vedas ; at his back, the bow with arrows ; on one side the spiritual force achieving its object through the might of words, on the other side, physical prowess achieving its end through the use of arrows.)

This brings me to the burning topic of the day. Whatever you may do hereafter, you must have an ideal of freedom before you. Of necessity, this freedom has got to be political, but it must preserve your national tradition and secure liberty of opinion for all. This can only be done under a democratic system and under no other system. At the same time you must remember that national patriotism is not enough for maintaining, if not securing, political freedom. You ought to have a wider outlook and the challenge of Hitler to the political freedom of sovereign states has got to be met. The present war is an eyeopener and it has revealed that the idea of completely independent national sovereignty is now neither a desirable nor a possible one. The new world which will be evolved out of the war will be a world of Federation of Democracies, for the great industrial revolution that has taken place in the field of war has made it impossible for any one nation to survive in a war with a bigger and more powerful nation bent on aggression. It is pertinent to note the observations of a famous English author in this connection :

"The idea of nationlity which, with that of democracy, dominated the political pattern of man's lives throughout the nineteenth century, despite its temporary revival in the war of 1914—18 which gave birth to so many small nation States, has no revolutionary place in the twentieth century. That is not to say that national patriotism will not survive this war and that it has not, still, in some of its manifestations an important and valuable part to play in the history of mankind. But it is to say that the idea which so much typified nineteenth century democracy that freedom meant national freedom, that independence meant sovereign independence of national groups, however small, that the nation-state was the sole vessel within which the great conception of democracy could be contained, has ceased to be a revolutionary idea."

If then federation is a necessity, and if we must have a federation of democracies you have to consider whether the British Commonwealth of Free Nations will not be an ideal pattern for your acceptance.

Unity in Democracy

It is said that complete unity is essential for the existence of a democracy. It is urged that since the attainment of complete unity is well-nigh impossible, there is no hope of establishing a democracy in this country. I would ask you not to be carried away by despair. Complete unity never existed and will never exist in any democracy. What we have got to find is a basic unity. Is there no unity so far as the political goal is concerned ? Is there no unity so far as religious ideal is concerned ? Is there no unity about the need of industrialisation ? Is there no unity on the doctrine of equal opportunities for all ? The Indians are united in the fundamentals of the moral and material progress of the Indian Society and though there has been occasional tension we need attach no exaggerated importance to it. I do not believe that the arithmetical proportions for which conflict is waged in certain quarters can be and will be allowed to veto the political advancement of the whole people.

Toleration and Compromise

I must, however, emphasise that unity will never grow within a democracy unless there is a frank recognition of differences of opinion and iterest. It means a cultivation of a habit of mind which will ensure tolerance and a spirit of compromise. These are the essential foundations of a democratic government. We must in this matter imitate the British people who have best developed this habit of mind. Mr. Francis Williams says that this characteristic political tolerance of the British people is the result rather of good fortune than of deliberate striving. It is possible we may not have that good fortune but we can certainly strive for it and I do not see any insuperable obstacle in achieving the result.

Insistence on Discipline

It is my duty, however, to give you a warning that freedom cannot and will not be realised by mere indulgence in loose talk or half-baked slogans. It will call forth the exercise of rigorous discipline. Discipline and freedom are inseparable from each other. They belong to the great antinomies which, as Dr. Whitehead has shown in his beautiful essay on the subject, pervade our intellectual as well as moral life. But the whole art of life consists in harmonizing the two, in making our journey to the ideal, a rhythmic movement of disciplined freedom. The rhythm can be attained only by constant searching to heart and conscious endeavour. The golden mean for that celestial harmony must vary in life from sphere to sphere. We shall, for example, be only misleading ourselves if we seek guidance in education from false analogies drawn from politics or industry. But it is possible of achievement by races as well as by individuals. The island home of liberty in the West, has also, in the honour of its crisis, proved itself to be a true sanctuary of real discipline. If there is one point on which those who lead and those who oppose the great irresistible movement for Indian freedom are agreed, it is that freedom without self-control is as much a curse to a people as to an individual. It has been truly said :

"Where Order deigns to come
Her sister Liberty cannot be far."

Shall I also say that discipline is essentially character ? A beautiful story is told in the *Mahabharat* and I cannot resist the temptation of quoting it. Once upon a time Indra became jealous of the prosperity of the Asura King Prahlad. He went to Prahlad in the guise of a Brahman and begged him to make a small gift.

The Brahman wanted only the gift of character from Prahlad which the latter felt no hesitation in parting with. As soon as the promise was made, there came out from the body of Prahlad a human form and when asked who it was, the answer came that it was Strength ; within a few minutes, another human form came out and the answer was that it was Wealth. Both the human forms declared that they would not reside where Character did not reside. There is a great moral in this story and I commend it to you.

Democratic Belief

When I ask you, my young friends, to consider the claims of democracy, I want you to focus your attention on the firm rock of its belief :

"That all men are created equal ; that they are endowed by their Creator with inalienable rights ; that among these rights are life, liberty and pursuit of happiness ; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men deriving their just rights from the consent of the governed ; that whenever any form of government became destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it and to institute new government laying its foundation on such principles and organising its powers in such forms as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

This was the belief expressed in the declaration of American Independence. It was echoed in similar language in the first clauses of the rights of man of the National Assembly which followed the French Revolution. It was also echoed by leaders of the democratic movement in Britain when the political revolution came after the British habit more slowly and more constitutionally than in either America or France. This belief which is the foundation of democracy and which was enunciated for the first time in 1776 was intended by the leaders of the American Revolution to create a new pattern of society ; in other words, a revolution in the world. It should be remembered that before 1776 there had been governments by right of birth or by right of wealth, governments by strong men or priests or kings or soldiers but never government by the people.

Equality—what is means

I do not want you to misunderstand the implications of the phrase that all men are created equal. What is meant is that although men may differ enormously as individuals, yet as members of society they are equals and they have an equal right to decide who shall govern them and to what purpose. The least of us has the same right to happiness as the best of us and an equal claim to life and liberty. If society does not recognise those rights then it is not he who is at fault but society ; for these are the ends of society the purposes for which it exists and by which alone it is justified. I know that the ideal of democracy has received a set-back owing to the failure of the democratic nations to give the majority of their members a steady and persistent consciousness that they, the people, own the State. They have not succeeded in breaking down the distinction between "they" the government and "we" the ordinary people. But this surely is not the failure of democratic belief. It shines with the same effulgence with which it did in 1776. May I not hope that this should be a task for the rising generation in India and that they should by their united will and effort assist in securing a full operation of the democratic belief to the lasting good of mankind. Can there be a nobler task than this ?

Atlantic Charter

Of late, an acute controversy has started over what is called the Atlantic Charter. In my humble opinion, the declaration of American Independence, an extract from which has been quoted above, is the true Atlantic Charter of democracy. The Atlantic Charter of 1941 may be a charter of British and American democracy but it is not and cannot be a charter of democracy as such. I think it may be permissible in a limited sense to talk of British democracy, American democracy or Indian democracy but when we talk of the charter of democracy, it must be with reference to the principles enunciated in 1776 by the fathers of modern democracy. Democracy being the political affirmation of the importance of the common man, any attempt to whittle down the charter of democracy is likely to prove disastrous to democracy itself. I do not think the people of Britain or America will countenance such an attempt. We must have, however, patience.

To-day, most of you may be feeling relieved of the nuisance of time-tables, text-books and tutors. But the liberty that you thus obtain will have to be

controlled by other restraints appropriate to your new station in life. You will have to forge for yourself new bonds, tender and true, wide and strong.

Benediction

My young friends, you attain your academic majority today, on which the whole Convocation joins me in congratulating you. But this imposes on you even greater responsibilities. By your achievements we shall be judged, by your failures we shall be censured, by your success we shall be blessed. And so I repeat once again and pray that you show yourselves worthy of the University. May the choicest blessings of Providence, in all their freshness and fullness, be showered upon you !

The Benares Hindu University Convocation

The following is the text of the address delivered by the Right Honourable Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru P. C., K. C. S. I., M. A., LL.D., (Allahabad) ; D. C. L., (Oxford) ; D. Litt., (Benares) ; L.L. D., (Osmania), at the Annual Convocation of the Benares Hindu University held on the 30th November, 1941.

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Members of the University, Graduates, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Let me at once say how deeply grateful I am to you for the honour you have done me by asking me to address you at this Convocation—an honour which I appreciate all the more because my association with this University has been only nominal and my services to it absolutely nil. I know you have been truly generous to me, for a few years ago yeu spontaneously conferred on me a degree which I feel I had done nothing to deserve. I also realise that in asking me to deliver this address you have shown a spirit of tolerance well worthy of a house of learning for no one is more conscious than I am of an inherent vice in me. I have been practically all my life a dissenter—a non-conformist—in the domain of religious and political orthodoxy—in short an intellectual individualist who has suffered more than he had any right to expect.

After a frank confession like this, let me tell you that my non-conformity has not stood in the way of my appreciation of the noble ideals which have inspired the founders of this great institution and which are so earnestly cherished by them in their daily work—ideals which also actuate its teachers and which, I sincerely hope, are sedulously striven after by the thousands of young men who have been privileged to imbibe the spirit of their Alma Mater in the most formative part of their lives.

Of the founders of this University several have left the scene on their earthly activities. They, however, live in our memory. There are some whom we can never forget and to whom we can never pay our debt of gratitude. The great name of Mrs. Annie Besant, the founder of the Central Hindu College, which was the nucleus of this University, will occur to everyone. Not a Hindu by birth, she became a Hindu by choice and summed up in her life all that is best in Hindu philosophy and Hindu thought, and became to many to us, even to those like me who never accepted her as a religious or spiritual guide, a beacon-light in the still and afterwards stormy waters of politics. Then, there comes back to my mind the figure of Sir Sunder Lal—a name honoured in law and in many other departments of life besides—but above all for his practical gifts, unbending rectitude, unquestionable personal integrity and unadvertised benevolence. Not many men of this generation know how more than 25 years ago he willingly placed his unrivalled talents at the disposal of this University, how he prepared the outlines of the legislation which now governs it, how he removed the suspicions which in those far-off days clouded the minds of those in power at Delhi and Simla, how he conquered all opposition, how he piloted the Benares University Bill and thus made it possible for this University to be born. That is a name which I have always held in the highest veneration. I could easily multiply other names—names of generous benefactors from among Princes and commoners—but I refrain. But there is one name, the bearer of which is happily with us and that is a name which will always remain imperishable in the annals of this University. Bent with the weight of 80 years but possessed of a heart, which still beats in unison with every call of duty, and a head, that is constantly thinking of how best to promote the abiding interests of the country and particularly of this University—his fondest child—Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's presence in our midst must

be a source of inspiration to every one of us. A living example of what faith in one's ideals can achieve, in him you can see that most rare of things—a well-proportioned combination of lofty idealism and practical realism so far as this University is concerned. I am sure I am voicing the sentiments of every one in this gathering and of the entire Hindu community when I say that it is our earnest wish and prayer that he may be spared to us and to this University for many years to come.

You will perhaps permit me now to say how difficult I find my task on this occasion to be. During the last several years my services have been requisitioned by several Universities to deliver convocation addresses. It may be that when a man has reached my years it is perhaps presumed that he must have an inexhaustible fund of platitudes. It is, however, forgotten that there is not much room for platitudes left in the make-up of a case-hardened lawyer who has daily to deal more with the seamy side of life than with the bright. I sometimes think that the time has come when Indian Universities should seriously think as to whether they could not dispense with ceremonial addresses on occasions of this character.

There is, as I have just said, a ceremonial side to our convocations, but as I view the whole matter, it seems to me that their serious side is of far greater consequence, for while on the one hand your alumni come to take leave of you after their five years' stay under your fostering care and protection and you send them out declaring to the world that they have earned recognition at your hands, they enter the bigger University of the World after leaving your portals without knowing how the world is going to treat them. The bigger University of life, into which they are about to enter, has its own tests. I assume that you have endowed them with certain intellectual and moral gifts, that you have unfolded before them the meandering tale of humanity, its triumphs and failures, its appreciation, howsoever fragmentary, of truth, its failure to avoid error, its conquest of nature, its advancement in knowledge, science and civilisation, and its relapses into savagery and barbarism. The young men, therefore, whom you are sending out today, deserve your best sympathy and support. At the same time you too are entitled to expect that the mental and moral equipment, with which you are launching them into the uncharted seas of life, may be their shield and protection against those perils which are awaiting them.

I am rather anxious to speak of those perils and speak of them with absolute candour. I have a very vivid recollection of my college days in the early nineties of the last century. The Calcutta University had been established in 1858, the Allahabad University had followed in 1887, and by the nineties of the last century the process of leavening up had been sufficiently long at work in Northern India. On the intellectual side the creed of many of us in those days was summed up in the famous lines of Tennyson :

Not in vain the distance beacons. Forward, forward let us range,
Let the great world spin for ever down the ringing grooves of change.
Thro' the shadow of the globe we sweep into the younger day :
Better fifty years of Europe than a cycle of Cathay.

We in these Provinces had cut ourselves adrift from our old moorings. Sanskrit learning, except perhaps in this holy city, was at its nadir and if ever we cared to know what our ancient forefathers thought or said on matters of human interest, we placed our hands on the bookshelves of a library to pick out the ponderous volumes of the orientalists of the West, the most popular among them being Max Muller. Occasionally the earnest among us satisfied our conscience and 'national' pride by acquainting ourselves with the writings of Dr. Bhandarkar and Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitter. We found some of them very pleasing, particularly so when they fed our pride as Hindus, and some of us took Max Muller far too seriously and imagined to ourselves that the last word in human wisdom had been uttered by our forefathers. If that was the state of education in Sanskrit, Persian and Urdu were taught to us in the traditional style of the middle ages, but the poetry of the 'nightingale' and the 'rose' and the stories of love-lorn Lela and Majnoon, and Yusuf and Zulekha were beginning to be ousted by Shelley, Keats, Byron, Wordsworth and Tennyson. Ghalib had not come into his own and Iqbal's voice had not yet been heard. There were others whose emancipated intellect brushed aside all that black learning with a smile and assumed that our misguided ancestors lived more in a world, which was far too crowded with things of the spirit and too detached from the reality of matter In short, we had the self-assurance of youth reinforced by a supreme ignorance of our past. The light

that came from the West was far too dazzling for us. We knew something of or about the great scientists of the West, particularly those of England, scientists whose inventions or discoveries had led to the growth and development of industrial life of the West and given birth to that capitalism in the defence of which a part of the mad world and for the destruction of which another part of the same mad world are flying at each other's throat today. This science too, we realised, had given it mastery of the seas and established the political domination of the restless West over the stagnant and slumbering continents of Asia and Africa. Apart from the influence of scientists, which unsettled our minds so much in those far-off days, I can recall the all-pervading influence of Edmund Burke, and particularly of John Stuart Mill, John Morley and Herbert Spencer on our minds. John Stuart Mill's essays on Liberty, on the Freedom of Woman and Representative Government were our political Bibles. You could question them only at the risk of being accused by your contemporaries of unforgivable heresy. Describing the state of mind of the 'Eminent Victorians', who lived and moved in those days, of which John Morley was a type, Mr. Churchill says in his 'Great Contemporaries' :

"A varied but select society, observing in outward forms a strict, conventional morality, advanced its own culture, and was anxious to spread its amenities ever more widely through the nation. A sense of safety, a pride in the rapidly opening avenues of progress, a confidence that boundless blessings would reward political wisdom and civic virtue, was the accepted basis upon which the eminent Victorians lived and moved. Can we wonder ? Every forward step was followed by swiftly reaped advantages : the wider the franchise, the more solid the State ; the fewer the taxes, the more abundant the revenue : the freer the entry of goods into the island, the more numerous and richer were the markets gained abroad. To live soberly then, to walk demurely in the sunshine of fortune, to shun external adventures, to avoid entangling commitments, to enforce frugality upon Governments, to liberate the native genius of the country, to let wealth fructify in the pockets of the people, to open a career broadly and freely to the talents of every class, these were the paths so clearly marked, so smooth, so easy of access, and it was wise and pleasant to tread them".

John Morley's serenity of mind and faith in the permanence of the state of society, which has been depicted in the above passage by Mr. Churchill, was rudely shaken by the 'entrance' of Great Britain into world war though he had already failed to draw the right conclusions from the successful challenge which Japan, an Asiatic country, had for the first time thrown to Russia. Nevertheless it must be admitted that he was true to his convictions. The state of Victorian society and its mental make-up, which Mr. Churchill has painted, is perhaps not wholly true of England today, but the point to note is that although we in India lived 6,000 miles away from England, we accepted the ideals of Victorian society in England as unchangeable postulates. We hankered after them, and wondered at first that they could not be reproduced in India. Of course all this is true only of the intelligentsia of those days, that is to say, that section of the intelligentsia which had come under the spell of the West. The rest of the population knew nothing of these stirrings in the throbbing minds of the young men of those days. It worshipped its gods, as our ancestors had done before, it followed its customs and usages, it hated modernism in thought and conduct, and it reconciled itself to its fate whenever things went wrong with it.

While this was the state of our society, say 50 or 60 years ago, influences came into being simultaneously, which cannot, and in my opinion should not, be ignored. If the Bramho Samaj—earlier in date—made a limited appeal to the intellectual classes in Bengal, the Arya Samaj under the inspiring personality of Swami Daya Nand made an appeal to a larger section of people in Northern India and certain other parts. I am not called upon to discuss its principles. It is enough for me to point out that being a protestant movement it threw a challenge to immobile orthodoxy and thus came into conflict with the conservative elements. It also came into conflict, as it was bound to, with certain proselytising creeds. Nevertheless its influence on the vast masses of Hindu society was deep and extensive. While on the one hand there were people who looked upon it not merely as a reformist body but as a body aiming at revolutionising certain cherished beliefs and practices, on the other hand there were others who denounced it as a revivalist body. In fairness to it, it must, however, be confessed even by those who were and have been critical of it from one point of view or the other, that its work in the social and educational fields has been of

immense value to the country. In any case, it was the first organised movement which apart from its religious fervour aimed at social service. Simultaneously, or almost simultaneously with it, came into existence a new school of thought represented by the Theosophical Society, and I very well remember the time when those amongst us who thought that India was fast moving away from its ancient moorings, sought refuge in occultism and esoteric doctrines and worked as a brotherhood under the leadership of men and women born in the West, who were in revolt against the "materialism" of Europe and found a solace in the spiritualism of the East. It was, and has been, I think, primarily a movement of the intellectual classes. Nevertheless it must be admitted even by its critics that its work also in social and educational fields has by no means been negligible. Indeed more positive language may be used and it may fairly be said that in a way it led to the establishment of this University and many other educational institutions in the country and to the revival of much of our forgotten culture. Other religious and social reformers sprang up. I shall not refer to them in detail but shall content myself by saying that no true historian of Hindu society can ignore or minimise the influence which Paramhansa Ram Krishna, Swami Vivekananda or Swami Ram Tirtha produced on subsequent developments.

In short in the spiritual and intellectual spheres of life there were half a century ago or more two influences at work : one obviously western in its origin and the other equally obviously eastern. While this was happening a new movement, professedly political, also came into birth and that was the Indian National Congress, but here again let me point out to you, what is apt to be forgotten by men of this generation, that the real father of this movement was an Englishman—Allan Octavius Hume, a member of the Indian Civil Service—and in this I shall be borne out by one of the few survivors from among his first apostles—I refer to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. It attracted to itself from the very beginning a large and growing number of the intellectual and professional classes, men who had drunk deep of the political wisdom of Edmund Burke, Thomas Babbington Macaulay, John Bright, John Stuart Mill, John Morley and William Ewart Gladstone. Among the early fathers of the National Congress you will find many English names, now almost forgotten by the present generation but still revered by men of my generation. They were the first pioneers of that love of freedom which is now the common heritage of us all, but in those days the Congress spoke with bated breath. It asked for and it appealed for the gradual introductions, the establishment of simultaneous examinations for the Imperial services in India, the larger association of Indians with Government in the actual task of administration, and things of that kind. It was described by Lord Dufferin as a microscopic minority. It was ignored first, ridiculed next and openly suspected later. It was bound to come into conflict with those in authority. It maintained that it had the right to interpret the minds of the people correctly, it claimed that it knew on what lines people were thinking, what they were aspiring after, what they approved of and what they did not. The claim of the Congress to be representative of the people was absolutely denied in those days. It waited and waited, it sent its deputations to England, it carried on its agitation in India mostly among the educated classes until a time arrived when in this very city of Benares it held a session over which one of the wisest and most far-sighted leaders of that generation presided—I refer to Gopal Krishna Gokhale. It was then that it demanded a constitution similar to those of the self-governing colonies or dominions and from that moment forward a new chapter was opened in our political life. A year later the great Dadabhai Naoroji presided over the Calcutta Congress and for the first time he put forward the demand for 'Swaraj'. What did this word mean ? To demand Swaraj was in those days held in official circles to be a crime—the crime of sedition. It is interesting to recall at this distance of time that the matter seriously engaged the attention of two learned Judges of Calcutta High Court, namely, Mr. Justice Sarada Charan Mitra and Mr. Justice Fletcher. A Conference had met at Khulna. A certain speaker had asked for Swaraj, which expression was translated officially as an 'independent government.' The speaker was then bound down under section 118 of the Code of Criminal Procedure. He then moved the High Court, and I shall give you here just a short extract from the report of this case. In the course of arguments the following observations were exchanged between the Bench and the Bar :—

Mitra J.—What is the exact word used ?

Mr. White (Deputy Legal Remembrancer)—Swaraj.

Mitra J—What does it mean ?

Mr. White—Your Lordship can say it better, but I understand it means to remove the Government.

Mitra J—If that be its meaning, then no editor or writer here is safe. It cannot mean that.

Mr. White—But is it not the hope of a particular political party in India ?

Mitra J—Every Indian likes to have Swaraj, meaning Home Rule.

Mr. White—They may hope so, and there is no harm in that.

Fletcher J—If it means the Colonial form of Government, it is a legitimate aspiration of the people.

Mr. Jackson (Counsel for the accused)—The literal meaning of the word is self-government—'swa' means 'self' and 'raj' means 'government'. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji initiated the word in his speech as President of the last Calcutta Congress.

Mitra J—Speaking for myself, I can say that the word was used by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji in the sense of 'self-government', and is being translated in the Bengali language in the same sense.

Ultimately in their judgment the Court held that it meant Home Rule but that self-government would not necessarily mean the exclusion of the present government or independence. It may mean, as it is well understood, government by the people themselves under the King and under British sovereignty. The word, therefore, stood the challenge that was thrown to it in a court of law. It was not, however, until 1921 that it received the imprimatur of approval from the highest quarter, for in His Royal message to the Indian Legislature through the Duke of Connaught His Majesty observed as follows :—

For years, it may be for generations, patriotic and loyal Indians have dreamed of Swaraj for their motherland. To-day you have beginnings of Swaraj within my Empire ; and widest scope and ample opportunity for progress to the liberty which my other Dominions enjoy.

But the year 1921 marked the beginning of a new chapter altogether in our contemporary history. The Congress then adopted a new ideal or object—different perhaps from that which Mr. Justice Mitra said the word 'Swaraj' implied. We broke away from the traditional methods of work, new cries came into vogue ; a new situation arose under a new leadership. There were defections from its ranks, but the loss was more than made up by the huge accession to its strength. The movement was then sought to be made a mass movement and it did become that to a great extent. The thinking was done by the few, and the enthusiasm was furnished, as always happens in such cases, by the many. We were told that new ethical weapons must be forged for our political battles. Whether the cries or the methods were really new or were a revival of old ones, is a question on which opinion may well differ, but they caught the fancy of the masses. One thing, however, is certain and that is that under the new orientation of nationalism —an assertive and defiant nationalism—suffering or the readiness to suffer was considered as the most powerful and effective weapon and the acid test of patriotism. Western methods of life, at least Western methods of dress, the use of the English language in our political work came to be decried. For a time, but only for a short time, the Hindus and the Mohamedans seemed to embrace each other. It did not, however, take long before differences grew among us. If even unity of ideals could be claimed at that time, it was plain that there was a great diversity of methods of approach to those ideals. For once an open challenge seemed to have been thrown to the West. I say 'seemed' because it did not take the West long before it regained its ascendancy over our minds. Victorian Liberalism, we were assured, was dead, and something new had to be installed in its place. Again that something new came from the West. We dethroned John Stuart Mill, John Morley and every other god of that pantheon from their high pedestals, We replaced them by Karl Marx and Lenin. London began to lose its hold and Moscow began to cast its spell over us. Man came to be looked upon essentially as an economic being and if the economic basis of our life could be changed in India, we were told the gates of paradise would be within sight. There was, however, nothing peculiar to India in all this. The West itself was during this period pitifully torn by conflicting loyalties to divergent creeds and such is the ascendancy of the West over the Indian mind that the cries and the slogans, which rent the welkin in the West, were re-echoed in India. As Lord Bryce says of the West in his "Modern Democracies" :

"The other new factor (within Europe) is the emergence of a doctrine primarily economic but in its consequences political, and embodying itself in the project of eliminating those sections of the community which either possess wealth or are

earning it otherwise than by manual labour, so as to create and thenceforth maintain a uniformity of material conditions, perhaps along with the prohibition of private property."

I myself saw something of this conflict of ideas during my repeated visits to Europe and contacts with different people there during the eight or ten years preceding the war. Shortly before the war I was in France and some other countries of Europe. As a foreigner it would be imprudent, if not audacious, on my part to express any dogmatic opinions on those countries, but from what I saw in Germany a year or two before the war, I can say that it did not come to me as a surprise that in 1939 war broke out in Europe, involving practically the whole of the world ; nor did it come to me as a surprise that France fell after a few weeks' struggle. Those impressions have been further strengthened in my case by some of the books that have recently come out, particularly the book by Andre Maurois, which vividly describe the condition of things in France during the invasion.

The thoughtful among you are bound to ask yourselves some searching questions. What is going to be the future of the civilisation of the West ? Is it going to be a perpetual fight between one 'ism' and another 'ism', between one theory and another, between one set of ideas and another ? Is humanity going to be bled to death and civilisation going to disappear because the genius of scientists and the untold wealth of Western countries has invented, or is inventing, diabolical machines which can bring us only the peace of the grave ? Were our ancestors, at whose ignorance we often marvel, less happy than we are today ? If Europe has got to make a choice today between rival theories, must we also necessarily make the same choice ? If the independence of the warring countries in the West, which have for centuries, or at any rate for a very long time, enjoyed complete freedom within their borders, can be trampled under feet within a few weeks in the case of some and a few months in the case of others, what is going to happen to that independence which we are aspiring after ? Can non-violence be our shield against a ruthless aggressor who believes, or affects to believe that he has a mission from God or from anti-God ? Must we copy civilized Europe in organising violence for suppressing the freedom of others who want to think their own thoughts and live their own lives ? Must humanity be cast everywhere in every clime and country into the same mould ? Must human thought and conduct be standardised everywhere ? There are many more questions which I could suggest for your consideration. It would be presumptuous on my part to answer any one of those questions dogmatically but I do suggest that at a critical juncture like this there must be some men in the country, who should consider it their duty to apply their minds to these questions and to enlighten their less-knowing countrymen. Am I indulging in vain hope when I say that again for these 'some men', we must look to our Universities ?

Speaking of the Universities of the West in the early part of the nineteenth century a learned American writer says :—

"The Universities of the period were not only scientific but also political centres. By fostering national sentional sentiments they played a significant role in the political evolution of the various countries. German universities, such as Berlin and Breslau, led the nationalistic movement during the War of Liberation (1813-14) ; their professors and students through organisations such as the Burschenschaft educated the general public politically and spread the idea of national unity.....Guizot, Cousin and Villemain in Paris aided in the liberalisation of French politics...Spanish universities were instrumental for the downfall of Napoleon and in the spreading of liberal doctrines. Copenhagen and Christiania (now Oslo) universities were centres of Danish and Norwegian nationalism, Warsaw and Vilna of Polish and Pest of Hungarian. Moscow, Kazan, Kharkov, St. Petersburg and Kiev promoted Slavic studies and were the nuclei of intellectual as well as political pan-Slavism".

I have often wondered whether our Universities are discharging this function in the manner in which they should. There is a cultural and an intellectual side to our national movement in the development and guidance of which the Universities can play a great, honourable, and enduring part. To be absolutely frank with you I do not look upon it as a contribution to the clearing and development of political ideas or the strengthening of the national movement that we should hear so much of strikes in our Universities and Colleges, or that the generous sentiments and the unbounded energy of our youth—the future workers and leaders—should be dissipated in the repetition of party slogans or the

performance of peripatetic exercises necessarily involved in processions of protest. I might have been more discreet and kept silent, but I know that my fate for uttering these words cannot be worse than that of stout-hearted leaders like Mr. Rajagopalachari and Mr. Satyamurti.

Speaking for myself I have no hesitation in saying that I should expect our Universities to become the emporiums or clearing houses of our political ideas. I can fairly say that I have kept in touch with the output of our Universities, but if I may speak with absolute candour, I think that excepting in very rare instances I have not seen much evidence of any effort to approach the problems that are awaiting solution in a dispassionate spirit. It is unfortunate that this should be so, for while party has its use in practical politics, subservience to it on the part of those who profess to guide us has a blighting influence on their minds and the mind of those whom they wish to enlighten. It has often seemed to me that we pay a lip homage to the idea of nationalism and democracy, and wittingly or unwittingly we have been submitting to the autocracy of certain ideas and certain slogans. Nationalism in Europe was said to have sprung from the loins of the French Revolution. Essentially it was geographical, it then became an ethnic phenomenon until it became clear that "the natural goal of every national movement is the creation, maintenance and increase in power of a national state." From the evils of nationalism in Europe—and they are and have been freely emphasised by its critics—people have sought refuge in internationalism and today in Europe you have all these ideas in the melting pot with the result that you hear more of the New Order than of "nationalism" or..."inter-nationalism." So devious is human history that Democracy, nationalism and internationalism ;having for the moment received the sentence of the death, the will of a single man or of the chosen few among his followers must be imposed upon all men and all countries. Whatever be the evils of "Nationalism" in Europe I think nationalism is a necessity with us and before we think of inter-nationalism or the New Order or the Federation of the world, I think we must allow nationalism a fair chance in our own country. Its task may be less ambitious than it was in Europe ; nevertheless it is more important in so far as it has got to surmount difficulties and barriers which are peculiar to us. The peculiar mission of nationalism in India, with its different religious creeds and different languages, should be to federate different sections of the community giving them full freedom in matters that affect them peculiarly but harnessing them all to the service of the common land. Nationalism in India must seek not to supersede old cultures but to supplement them by a common culture and system of life to germinate and foster those ideas which alone can secure the integrity of the country and its unimpeded progress.

What then is the part which we are entitled to expect the Universities to play in the development of our national life ? First and foremost, I submit, we should expect our Universities not merely to impart education in modern sciences and different branches of knowledge, but to bring about a synthesis of Indian culture. I use the word 'culture' in its largest sense. I should like our young men to remember that Indian culture is a variegated moasic and indeed it would be difficult to claim for any culture in the world that in the course of its development it had not been influenced by other cultures. I have always maintained that while it is correct to say that there is such a thing as Hindu philosophy and such a thing as Muslim philosophy, it is absurd to maintain in the year 1941 that there is such a thing as a purely Hindu culture, and such a thing as a purely Muslim culture. As time has gone on in our history there has been a remarkable blending and fusion of the original Hindu culture with that culture, which is popularly called the Muslim culture but which is clearly traceable to countries like Persia and to a certain extent Arabia, with the result that at least in Northern India during the last three hundred years or more a mixed common culture has grown up which may truly be said to be 'Indian culture'. It may be that among the Hindus, elements of Hindu thought and Hindu philosophy and Hindu mode of life may predominate ; it may equally be that among the Muslims the elements of Muslim thought and Muslim philosophy and Muslim mode of life may predominate ; nevertheless the mixture of the two and its existence as a single entity cannot be denied and in my opinion it would neither be wise nor patriotic to do anything to destroy this common culture and for the Hindus to substitute for it an unadulterated Hindu culture and for the Muslims to substitute for it an unadulterated Muslim culture. Remember also that the last two hundred years of association with the West have also profoundly affected

our mode of thinking and even our mode of life. As your distinguished Vice-Chancellor has said in a recent book of his with that detachment, which is characteristic of a philosopher,

"Today the whole world is in fusion and all is in motion. East and West are fertilising each other, not for the first time. May we not strive for a philosophy which will combine the best of European humanism and Asiatic religion, a philosophy profounder and more living than either, endowed with greater spiritual and ethical force, which will conquer the hearts of men and compel peoples to acknowledge its sway ?"

Again at another place in the same book, "Eastern Religions and Western Thought' which due to his kindness I have lately been reading, our philosopher Vice-Chancellor observes as follows :—

'Science cannot minister to the needs of the soul ; dogmatism cannot meet the needs of the intellect. Atheism and dogmatism, scepticism and blind faith, are not the only alternatives. They are the twin fruits on the same branch, the positive and negative poles of the same tendency. We cannot combat the one without combating the other. In the battle fields of Spain we find massacre, arson, despotic control. Both sides are as ruthless in their action, in their war of creeds, in their determination to stamp out the bestial thing—Marxist atheism or dogmatic Christianity. Is it a matter for surprise that some people believe that a malignant demon sat by the cradle of the unfortunate human race ?

"We require a religion which is both scientific and humanistic. Religion, science and humanism were sisters in ancient India ; they were allies in Greece. They must combine today if we are to attract all those who are equally indifferent to organised religion and atheism, to supernaturalism and nihilism. We need a spiritual home, where we can live without surrendering the rights of reason or the needs of humanity. Reverence for truth is a moral value. It is dearer than Buddha or Jesus. Truth is opposed, not to reason or the Greek spirit, but to dogma and fossilized tradition. We cannot rest the case of religion any more on dogmatic supernaturalism."

Next I suggest that one great service, which our Universities can render to the country, is that they may encourage and foster among those who are committed to their charge, those habits of thought and conduct which alone can be the true foundation of a true democracy. Again as Lord Bryce says :

"Democracy assumes not merely intelligence, but an intelligence elevated by honour, purified by sympathy, stimulated by a sense of duty to the community. It relies on the people to discern these qualities and choose its leaders by them."

It is remarkable that in this matter the views of this philosopher-statesman of England should coincide with those of Sir Radhakrishnan. "The future of democracy", says Lord Bryce, "is a part of two larger branches of enquiry, the future of religion and the prospects of human progress." I shall beg you to compare this wise observation of Lord Bryce with that of Sir Radhakrishnan, which I have quoted above. Perhaps you will excuse a man of my way of thinking if he may venture most heartily to emphasise what Sir Radhakrishnan has, in his inimitable language, spoken of as the "opposition of truth to dogma and fossilized tradition".

The greatest need perhaps of Indian democaracy, that is yet to be, is leadership. It is inevitable in conditions, such as we are witnessing today in our country, that our thoughts should often be running on sectional or party lines and in the clash of ideas that we notice in the country, there should be not only conflict between one community and another but between one party and another. In the midst of this clash there is nothing more easy for each party and each community than to assume that it is or at least it represents the entire nation, or that it constitutes a separate nation. We sometimes delude ourselves with superficial historical analogies. When we are quarrelling on the question of Indian languages, we refer to the multiplicity of languages in Switzerland and South Africa, if we do not do worse. We justify outbursts of religious intolerance by pointing to certain chapters in the history of other countries and we always take care to point out that it is the presence of the 'third party' and its machiavellian machinations, which are far more responsible than our own conduct, our own omissions, our own failings, for that spirit of disunity, which is at the present moment disfiguring our public life. I do not propose to examine the truth of any one of these justifying pleas. Let it be granted that each one of them is true and valid, but I cannot help thinking that we have allowed our pride and our prejudices to stand in our way. If we know that there are some scheming people about, who

think that their chance lies in our continued disunity, why do we play their game ? Why can we not rise superior to these conditions ? It seems to me that if we want to establish a really democratic state of society and government, we need not paralyse our whole activity merely because we cannot attain perfection immediately, or adopt a system which would stand test of the most fastidious conformist to the fundamentals of western democracy. We must, therefore, look to a new kind of leadership in place of that which begins and ends with party supremacy, Again, if I may be permitted to quote Lord Bryce :

"The predominance of Party in democracies has made us, when we talk of leadership, think primarily of the militant function of the general who directs a political campaign and bears, like the champions in ancient warfare, the brunt of battle in his own person. But the best kind of leader has a duty to the whole people as well as to his party. If he is in power, he must think first of the national welfare ; if he is in opposition he has nevertheless the responsibility of directing the minds and the wills of a large section of the people, and of aiding or resisting the policy of the Administration. In both cases his actions as well as his views and arguments and exhortations, have weight with the whole nation for good or for evil."

I do not expect general agreement with these views. Some of these, I fear, may be described as mere platitudes, they may even be condemned as intolerable heresies, but I hold very strongly that the Universities must recognise their responsibility in providing the type of leaders, who feel that they owe duty to the whole people and not merely to their party, for I fear at the present moment the nation has receded in the background and party is occupying the forefront. Even if I am told by some that my whole argument rests on the false assumption that there is already a nation *in esse*, I shall not demur to that criticism, but I shall venture to say that if the nation is not an accepted fact, yet the necessity of its creation in the future must be recognised by all unless, of course, we have made up our minds that India must in future consist of a loosely united congeries of different communities, actuated by different ideals and impelled by different urges. To achieve this object we shall have to learn the supreme lesson of compromise in politics—a lesson to which all human history bears witness, a lesson which, when forgotten, has led to disastrous results in the history of humanity. Summing up the career of Julius Caesar, Mommsen says in a remarkable passage in his "History of Rome" :

"Caesar is, in fine, perhaps the only one of those mighty men, who has preserved to the end of his career the statesman's tact of discriminating between the possible and the impossible, and has not broken down in the task which for nobly gifted natures is the most difficult of all—the task of recognising when on the pinnacle of success, its natural limits. What was possible he performed and left the possible good undone for the sake of the impossible better, never disdained at least to mitigate by palliatives evils that were incurable."

If you want to be convinced of the soundness of principles which guided Julius Caesar, compare the Rome of his time with the Rome of the time of Mussolini. It is for the cultivation of some such spirit among your alumni that I earnestly plead.

"A political institution", so said a great English statesman once, "is a machine ; the motive power is the national character, With that it rests, whether the machine will benefit society, or destroy it. Society in this country (by which he meant England) is perplexed, almost paralysed ; in time it will move, and it will devise. How are the elements of the nation to be blended again together ? In what spirit is that reorganisation to take place ?" How this description of the England of three generations back is true of India today is a matter for you to consider. The main questions, therefore, which must engage the attention of all thoughtful men are those formulated by Disraeli. How are the elements of the 'nation' to be blended together in India ? In what spirit is that reorganisation to take place ? These are questions which can easily be answered by enthusiastic party politicians according to their lights, but their answers will not, I fear, lead to a solution which may plant our feet on the road to uninterrupted progress. They have, I fear, failed to do so until the present moment. Each one of the parties can justify itself in the light of the axioms which it has adopted or prescribed for itself, but from a national point of view, I fear, each one of those parties is as far-off to-day from the solution of our problems as it was 10 years ago or more. Perhaps we are farther away. We want, we say, an absolutely free Constitution. I agree that that constitution should be the constitution of a fully free and self-governing country, but the real problem is not

about the ideal but as to the method of attaining that ideal, or at least making the nearest possible approach to it. It is again a tribute to the supremacy of the hold of the West on our minds that some of us will not be happy unless all the features of the constitution of England are reproduced in our future constitution. It is also a tribute to the supremacy of the hold of another part of the West that others will not be happy with the British model. The constitution which will make them happy must bear more or less the impress of Russia or something like it. Time is fleeting and no one can feel sure what the future has in store for Russia or for us, and yet I feel that at this juncture our learned professors may do worse than rescue themselves from party slogans and shibboleths, study the realities of the situation, the possibilities and the impossibilities of a particular line of advance, which we cannot ignore excepting at our own peril, and enable us by their wisdom and dispassionate judgment, by the results of their study, to see the light. Perhaps they alone can furnish the material for the practical statesman—the statesman of whom Napoleon once said that "his heart should be in this head". I am deliberately refraining from going into the intricacies of the various problems which confront you, but I am only begging that the learned among you may justify their existence as Universities in the West have done in epochs of national ferment by battling against the forces of darkness, prejudice and passion.

Today you have certain practical issues waiting for solution and I venture to make a few suggestions for your Department of politics. We have been told authoritatively that it is for Indians to frame a Constitution. If we have to frame such a Constitution, let us be serious about it. The spade work must be done by men who have the time and leisure and above all a thorough knowledge of our country and also of the constitutions of other countries. In our case if political power is to drift into Indian hands, it is clear to my mind that it cannot be reposed into the hands of the few. The ultimate responsibility must be owed to the country at large. This being so, I assume that democracy, *i. e.*, a form of government in which those who will actually administer our affairs shall in the last resort hold themselves responsible to the will of the many, is the only alternative before us. The basis, however, of such a government must be popular franchise. There are some among us who think that the franchise should be widened,—widened to the extent of its becoming 'adult franchise'. There are others who look upon the existing franchise as solely or mainly responsible for those evils, real or fancied, which, they say, have followed in the train of the Constitution of 1935. It has been suggested in some quarters that we must turn from the existing system to the system of 'functional representation'. The subject of functional representation, examined in its historical aspect in countries of the West from the time of the Middle Ages, as interpreted and emphasised under Guild Socialism in France, Fascism in Italy, Nazism in Germany and Socialism or Communism in Russia, is one of fascinating interest—not without its lessons and warnings, to us all. It is for you to come to your own independent conclusion though I confess that such study as I have been able to make of it, has convinced me that nothing can be more disastrous to the growth of democratic ideas in India than the adoption of this system. Similarly broad hints have been given in high quarters that perhaps a system of irremovable executive will suit us better than the system under which Ministers have got to depend upon popular vote and party strength. Again I say the question requires careful study and it will be for your professors to tell us whether it is possible for us to adopt the American Presidential System, or the Swiss System, or any other similar system, or whether none of these systems will suit the conditions of India. Similarly in any serious attempt to study the problems of constitution you will be called upon to do more deep thinking about the problems of defence of India. The present war has already shown that the methods of defence adopted hitherto are out-of-date and that instead of India being exposed to danger only at its North-West frontier, it is exposed to dangers of a serious character practically on all sides. We cannot assume that because we do not mean to pick up a quarrel with any other nation in the world, we need have no fear now or in future of any danger from outside. The world does not consist of, and has never consisted of 'angels', though I believe angels too were in the habit of quarrelling among themselves, and there are plenty of such angels today in human form almost everywhere in the world, with more than one ambitious arch-angel, anxious to establish his own new order. In studying problems of defence you are bound to come up against problems of industries, and if the present situation is borne in mind, we can only come to one conclusion and that is that the dissociation of

industrial development in our country from the problems of defence by those who were in power has brought them and us to the very brink of danger. I do not know what is really at the back of the minds of those who often talk to us from across the seas with pontifical authority about our future. I cannot say whether they want really that India should stand on her legs in future in every department of life, including defence, or whether the freedom of India shall be more or less a replica of the freedom of Egypt with all the weakness of its position, as it has been demonstrated in our own times. I do not deny that Lord Milner was a great statesman, but I maintain that history has proved that Lord Durham and Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman were greater ones, and speaking for myself I should like something of their spirit to be introduced in place of the Milner spirit. Lastly, and this perhaps will be the most important subject for your study, will be the question of the Minorities. There is perhaps no one more anxious than I am for a genuine, honest and honourable settlement with the Minorities but it may be for those among you who may apply their minds to this subject, to tell us how best we can proceed to achieve that end. You will have to disentangle this problem from those knots which have been tied up in recent years are false assumptions, false reading of history and prejudices and passions. The problem is one of infinite difficulty, but I maintain that in the handling of no other problem is there greater necessity for a spirit of genuine compromise. Again do not forget that the integrity of India can never be secured and you can never have a truly national government unless and until you have found a place in your system for that one-third part of it which is represented by the Indian States. Not many years ago I was hoping that we were within sight of a solution even though that solution had its imperfections. I am still not without hope that some solution may be found, but I warn you that the problem is one of great complexity and will make the largest demand on your patience, on your judgment and on your statesmanship. Mere theoretical discussions about 'sovereignty' or equality of conditions and rights' will, I fear, not help you. The problem should, in my opinion, be approached from a strictly practical and realistic point of view. In short, I suggest that our present task should be to prepare the framework of the Constitution, leaving it to experience and the varying necessities of the future to strengthen and improve the superstructure that we may raise now. In all this task the learned and the thoughtful among our University men can render inestimable service and I do, therefore, suggest that under the wise guidance of your Vice-Chancellor your Department of Politics may at once begin to study all these problems in the spirit in which they should be in the calm and serene atmosphere of a University.

I am afraid I have already exceeded the limits which I had prescribed for myself when I commenced this address. If instead of venturing to discuss educational problems, which I know can be far better discussed by educationists of repute and experience among you, or referring to the question of unemployment among the educated classes—a subject in which I have been much interested and on which I have written or spoken on other platforms—I have ventured to draw your attention to some of the current problems of the country and to the dangers looming ahead, it is only because I feel that you are keenly interested in them, as indeed you should be, and because I am anxious that some departments of your great University may make a valuable contribution to the elucidation of some political and constitutional ideas, not in the spirit of wrangling politicians eager to score dialectical victories but in that of earnest investigators of fact. The students themselves, to whom I am now going to address a few words, can take their proper part in the process of investigation. I have already said that it is the function of the University—and it is an obvious fact—to impart education to our young men and stimulate their latent intellectual faculties and tastes. There is, however, one appeal that I shall make to the students and that is that they should realise that their educational process does not end with the taking of their degrees at the University. It is only the beginning of a new chapter in their life. They must keep up their habits of study and must, on no account, allow their minds to trust. Unfortunately it is only too true that the habit of self-culture, which must mark every true man of culture throughout his life, is not sedulously cultivated by a large number of our graduates. I should like every young man and young woman present here to ask himself or herself one question at the end of each day in his or her life. How much have I learnt to-day ? What addition to my store of knowledge have I made to-day ? But more than that what is necessary is that you should cultivate the habit of balanced judgment in the practical affairs of life, learn to weigh the conflicting opinions

were all-powerful during the time of the last of the Qutb Shahi Kings. These monarchs were patrons of calligraphy among other arts, and during their rule Telugu calligraphy is said to have received a great impetus. Telugu had a status next to Persian in the State.

The Qutb Shahi Kings showed a catholic spirit of religious tolerance, and the Madhwa Brahmin monks enjoyed their especial favour and received generous gifts of land. The Muslim rulers of the Deccan as well as the Moghul Emperors made liberal endowments of land for the upkeep of temples. Many of these grants continue to this day ; the temple at Bhadrachalam is a notable instance of a Hindu shrine which enjoys such a grant.

The comingling of the Hindu and Muslim civilizations into a harmonious whole is one of the most interesting phenomena of history. The Muslims brought about a different standard of living and introduced refinements in such matters as food and dress. They instituted a revenue and a judicial system and laid down a court ceremonial which is followed by Indian Durbars to this day. Muslim rule moreover strongly influenced the social life and religious thought of the time. Its tendency was to bring about a compromise between the Hindu and the Muslim beliefs. Thus Hindu religious leaders arose both in the North and the South who formed sects that were more or less monotheistic, and many Hindus venerated Muslim saints in common with the Muslims. Ramanand and Kabir in the North and Basav, the founder of the Lingayat sect, in the South, are examples of such religious reformers. The Muslims on their part adopted many of the habits and customs of the Hindus, such as marriage ceremonies, festivals, fairs and even certain popular superstitions.

The regular written history of the country was due to the Muslims. The history of the Deccan in particular owes much to the Muslim historians from the 9th century A.D. onwards. In this connection may be mentioned "Farishta," to whom we owe much of our knowledge of medieval Indian history. The Arabs were also great geographers and travellers.

In other sciences, however, such as mathematics and astronomy, the Hindus possessed highly developed systems of their own, and the Muslims owe a good deal to them in regard to these sciences. But the Arabs also had their own systems of science and two peoples exchanged much knowledge, each side borrowing what it lacked from the other. Thus, the Hindus borrowed from the Muslims many astronomical technical terms and the calculation of latitudes and longitudes while the Muslims caused to be translated into Persian from the Sanskrit many recondite works on the different branches of mathematics. As regards handicrafts, the Muslims introduced the manufacture of paper, the art of enamelling and the process of damascening steel as well as the manufacture of certain kinds of woollen cloth. The two systems of medicine, the Ayurvedic and the Yunani, run parallel to this day and are availed of by the people of both races.

Music in India is entirely a Hindu art which the Muslims acquired although, strangely enough, some of the best musicians were Muslims. Among the fine arts, sculpture was forbidden to the Muslims by their religion. Painting was also neglected by them for similar reasons although a Moghul school of painting and portraiture did spring up which betrayed Persian as well as Hindu influence. The pictures of this school were flat in perspective but exquisite in the matter of detail. But it produced nothing so great as the Ajanta paintings which were probably the handiwork of Andhra artists.

The artistic sense of the Muslims found expression rather in their architecture. They built beautiful buildings, some of which are still extant in Hyderabad, Aurangabad, Bidar and other places, whilst many others are in ruins. The style of this architecture in the Deccan is somewhat different from that in the North and again shows Persian as well as Hindu influence ; but nowhere is it purely Saracenic. On the Andhra side, as Longhurst points out in his book on the Hampi ruins, most of the civil buildings at Hampi—Vijayanagara—show the influence of the Islamic style. Thus, what may be called "Indian architecture," is one more example of the remarkable blending of the æsthetic tastes and the culture of the two peoples.

But most remarkable of all was the growth of a commonly understood language. The Muslims in addition to their Persian and Arabic adopted a North-Indian language which they called "Hindi" and which in Persian means the language of Hind or India. It has been linguistically classed by Grierson and others as "Western Hindi." With this language many Arabic and Persian words became intermixed. These were chiefly nouns or substantives, the verbs and other parts of

speech remaining Hindi as well as the syntax In course of time, this mixed dialect developed into a regular language and came to be known as Urdu. This new tongue showed remarkable virility and a capacity for absorbing words from all languages, including European languages, such as English, French and Portuguese. The simpler and less pedantic form of it (sometimes called "Hindustani") has come to be the *lingua franca* of practically the whole of India, more especially for those who do not understand English. It is understood from Kasmir to Mysore and from Bombay to Bengal. The Congress Governments aiming at evolving a common nationality through a commonly understood speech, tried to plant it under the name of "Hindi" in areas as remote from its home as Madras. Outside the borders of India, it is understood wherever Indians are to be found. Many of the best writers of Urdu, both in prose and poetry, have been and are Hindus, whilst some of the earlier writers of Hindi, like Abdur Rahim and Kabir, were Muslims. It will thus be seen that Urdu, so far from being a foreign tongue is a popular language of India. It is the result of intimate Hindu-Muslim relations and is now being affected by intercourse with Europeans. Nevertheless, it remains an Aryan tongue and it would be wrong to call it a Perso-Arabic language just at it would be wrong to call English a Greeco-Latin language on account of the large number of Greek and Latin words found in it.

The Osmania University has taken the bold step of adopting Urdu as its medium of instruction not only because it is the official and generally liked language of the State, but also because owing to its vast mixed vocabulary it is understood throughout the greater part of India. Its adoption is one more step towards the evolution of a common *lingua franca*. The local or regional languages could not have been used for this purpose because there are three such languages in Hyderabad State, which would have meant the creation of three or four Universities— a task which was obviously impossible. Moreover, none of them are suitable for a *lingua franca*. Nevertheless, the regional languages, including Telugu, are taught up to the highest University standards and through their own medium, as I have already stated, so that the M. A. examination of the Osmania University may be passed in any one of them. There are few Universities in India which impart education up to such a high standard in these or other Indian languages.

As regards the supply of standard books on the subjects taught in the University courses, the Bureau of Translation and Compilation attached to the Osmania University has done great service to the Urdu language by adding materially to its stock of learned literature. It has translated many books and has also compiled some books on subjects as varied as Mathematics, Science, Biology, Medicine, Law, History, Philosophy and Economics. Indeed the University would not have been able to go on with its work had not these books been available. The work of the Bureau is making further progress, and a rich glossary of technical terms has also been compiled under its auspices for publication.

This experiment—if experiment it can be called—has been successful as the students have shown a better grasp of their subjects than is possessed by those who use a foreign medium of instruction, and they have consequently developed greater originality. This is amply shown by the series of brilliant successes attained by Osmania students at other Universities in India and abroad, and by the sound scholarly work done by not a few of them after their University career.

The principle of imparting University education in an Indian language is likely to become popular as it gives a clearer grasp of the subject to the student who has not to struggle with the difficulties of a foreign tongue in the process of learning other subjects. I would not therefore be surprised if the Andhra University were found one day to have adopted Telugu as its medium of instruction. You would find the change conducive to original thought among the students and it would lead more surely to the realisation of your educational ideals. This does not mean the neglect of English ; for I am one of those who believe that English would be better acquired if it were pursued as a separate subject by itself, its literature deeply studied and its grammar thoroughly mastered. I believe that such a specialised study would improve the knowledge of English and save those mistakes in English being made which are only too common in India today. The foundations of such a thorough study of English should be laid in the schools which feed the University although it need not necessarily form the medium of instruction.

Your University is famous for its Science, and the researches of some of your

professors have been published in countries outside India. Science possesses a high cultural value apart from its practical utility. It teaches us to observe accurately and to draw correct conclusions from observation and experiment. In a word, it promotes the spirit of intelligent enquiry into the truth which is the foundation of all knowledge.

At the same time, the value of a classical education is not to be underrated. Sanskrit scholarship, like Greek, Latin and Arabic scholarship, has cultural value of a very high order. The ancients were great thinkers and philosophers; moreover some of the best poetry ever written was composed by the ancients. The fine culture derived from the study of the classics has rightly been called "humanistic" as it humanises us. At the same time, it does not make us unpractical, for men with a classical education have over and over again proved their worth in many practical walks of life. It would be a pity to allow this ancient learning to decline. Our Universities should have a strong classical side so that those who desire to pursue these humane studies may have ample opportunities for doing so.

The cultivation of the Fine Arts is often neglected in our Universities. Æsthetic taste—a love of what is beautiful—must be cultivated, for the cult of the beautiful refines and elevates human nature. There is in many people a latent talent for creative art. Their sense of beauty seeks to express itself in some form of Art, whether it be drawing, painting, music or architecture. Such talent must be discovered and encouraged. It should be remembered that the culture of a people finds expression in its works of art. The cultural value of Art is inestimable.

I have dwelt on the cultural aspect of some of the subjects that are taught, or can be taught, in our Universities. Each one of them contains in itself all the elements of a liberal education. Unfortunately our University courses are too often dominated by examinations, and the interest of the student seems to him to lie in learning by rote such answers as he considers will "pay" in the examination. But, given enthusiatic teachers who enter into the spirit of their subject, the present defects can be overcome and the studies made both richer and more interesting. Perhaps examinations also can be so devised as to discourage cramming.

What is the aim of University education? This is a difficult question to answer as the aims and ideals of different nations and even of individuals differ in many respects. But probably no one will deny that, generally speaking, the aim of education should be to bring out what is best in us so that we may be able to discharge our duties in life in the best way possible. If this aim has been correctly stated, University education should be the final or highest stage in our preparation for life. Examinations are not an end in themselves. They are merely stepping-stones on the uphill road to the goal we have set before us The road is long and the marching weary, and we shall have to do much besides passing examinations in order to reach our goal. Submission to discipline is essential to success as no University organisation is possible without it. The vital importance of discipline has been fully demonstrated in the present war among all nations. As for the young men in our Universities, discipline in their case should be as far as possible self-imposed. This means self-control; for surrender to one's own desires and passions is like being a slave to an evil master. A good rule of conduct is to do nothing that would bring discredit on the *alma mater*. We must judge our actions by this test.

There has been a tendency towards indiscipline recently in some of our Universities which is a danger sign in University education. Apart from this, I sometimes wonder whether as much cultural benefit as possible is derived by the students in these institutions. Our Universities have undoubtedly attracted young professors of great ability and have become centres of remarkable intellectual activity, and not seldom of original research; but what usually takes place in most Indian Universities is intensive cramming during term time followed by an orgy of examinations at the end of the term. The social amenities and cultural activities which one associates with 'varsity life are rarely to be found. Conditions, however, are now improving, and in most of our residential Universities attempts are being made with some success to interest the students in things other than their text-books. I am glad to see that in the Andhra University extra-curricular activities of great diversity of interest are provided.

In a residential University much benefit can be derived by the students living in the same precincts with professors or dons of high character and great erudition,

It is said about Erasmus that when he declined to lecture at the Leyden University on the ground that he was too old to do so, the University informed him that he need not take the trouble to lecture as his mere presence and inspiration were considered a liberal eduction for the young men.

In physical culture we may take a lesson from the Swedes and Czecho-Slovaks who have shown what a national system of such culture can do to make a people strong, and to reduce to a minimum disease and bodily infirmity. It should be possible for our Universities to take the lead in promoting a system of physical culture which would help our young men to become strong and capable of making good soldiers.

It has been well said that one of the surest marks of a gentleman is that he instinctively avoids hurting the feelings of others. I think this is an excellent test of the good manners that we have a right to expect from young men with a University training.

Finally, I do not believe in a godless education. Religion must be assigned its rightful place in any University scheme. To quote my own words in a speech delivered elsewhere, "Our life is not the alpha and omega of existence and would be incomprehensible or even meaningless without reference to something higher. We live and move and have our being in the Deity." From strong faith in God and trust in him you will fiind that you derive great moral and spiritual strength in your daily work and support in the hour of trial and tribulation.

I am sure our Universities are capable of attaining to all these ideals. If they can produce men who are sportsmen and gentlemen in the best sense of the word, and at the same time men of high culture as well as erudition, the time, labour and money spent on the Universities will have been repaid a thousandfold.

One word about the war before I close. The war is our war as much as that of anybody else. We are fighting in defence of our country, our liberties and of the ideals for which our whole educational system stands It is absurd to bargain or to propose any conditions for defending our own hearths and homes and everything we hold dear. This is no time for party strife or internal dissension. Let us unite and face the common danger. We must prepare and organise ourselves for defence, and all other considerations must be subordinate to this stern necessity. Education alone must go on, for to interrupt or retard it would be false economy. In the words of His Excellency the Viceroy, "Eduction is a vital service and it should not be interrupted."

I thank you again for having given me the opportunity of addressing you on this occasion.

The Lucknow University Convocation

The following is the text of the Address delivered at the Twentieth Annual Convocation of the University of Lucknow by Sri C. Rajagopalachari on the 13th. December, 1941.

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Professors, and Graduates,

It is unnecessary to say that I felt greatly honoured when I received your invitation to deliver the customary address at this Convocation. I was trapped by the flattering invitation, but I reap the consequences now. Hundreds of convocation addresses have been delivered already and it is difficult to produce anything interesting by way of novelty. Even the most important advice which should be tendered to the young graduates has necessarily become too stale to make any useful impression. Every one of you must have read excellent things in the course of your studies before graduation. If such reading has not made any impression on you, it would be vain for me to attempt to achieve anything by a few minutes talk on this occasion. Most of the young people assembled here must be feeling a natural sense of achievement and elation. They cannot be in a mood to be instructed. This is no disparagement but a recognition of the joy the young graduates are feeling at the successful completion of their labours.

It is usual for the eminent men that are invited to deliver Convocation addresses to devote the occasion to some topic of educational interest. But amateurs like me expatiating on questions of education are generally regarded as a nuisance. If I say that our whole scheme of education is wrong because it is haphazard and not planned qualitatively and quantitatively to meet national requirements, I shall be regarded as making a cheap and amateurist pronouncement. Even though

professors assembled may extend a certain amount of tolerance to me, I think I should not be impertinent and weary them with my views on any educational subject. I presume I have been asked to address you not because it is thought I could enlighten the members of the University in matters falling within their own field. I take it that I am expected to say something more particularly falling within my own field of work.

Within the last few weeks very valuable and learned addresses have been delivered at the various Universities dealing with the problems of constitution-making. But I feel that it would be out of place for me to follow that line even if I were qualified to do it. I do not believe I could ask graduates of the University to frame a draft constitution for India or find solutions for your problems of self-government. I could address such an appeal to the learned professors, had I truly felt that they could tackle the problems. With the greatest respect I must say that a solution for our problems of self-government must come from men of action and not from learned academicians.

You have heard, no doubt, that there has been a difference of opinion between Gandhiji and myself over the creed and application of non-violence in national policy. It is now fairly general talk and a subject matter of public curiosity from which I fear you too may not be free. It would be inappropriate and unwise for me to entertain you with the differences amongst us in regard to the Congress programme of action. But it would not be out of place or without academic purpose to acquaint you with certain fundamental questions that have emerged in the recent situation.

Twenty-two years ago, Mahatma Gandhi took the Congress by storm when he showed us a way out of the blind alley of unsuccessful constitutional agitation. If we have a just cause and if we are prepared for sacrifice, he showed us that when the opponent refuses to be reasonable and there appears to be no way but violence to overcome his opposition, there is still a way out of the despair that faces us. He taught us the way of non-co-operation and satyagraha, forms of non-violent attack which we have practised with a considerable amount of success during the past two decades. This practice has given us something more than objective success. We have gained a feeling of inexhaustible strength which is more precious than any actual achievement, because it sterilises all defeats and failures, and protects us effectively during every reverse.

No discovery of principles of action, however, can escape the modifications required to meet environment. No principle can be practised in this complicate world without compromise, especially when we are dealing not with individuals but with large numbers of men and women and under conditions which have been already made for us and which have created a vicious circle for any remedy to be effectively applied. In the case of the methods of violence we bring the opponents to extinction by a physical process. We overcome opposition by putting an end to the opponent. In non-violence, we bring opposition to an end by bringing about a change of mind. We retain the opponent, but bring his opposition to an end. This change of heart is brought about by the direct method of persuasion wherever that is possible. If that be not possible, we practise self-suffering and through the fundamental laws of human psychology excite reactions of mind that are very real and effective. Direct action operating through embarrassment, and bringing the opponent to his knees by depriving him of his means of strength is not satyagraha, but only a variation of the method of violence. In satyagraha, we do not seek to embarrass by any such physical means. We attack the moral feelings of the opponent and try to rouse his innate sense of right and give him a mental distress for which he will find relief by doing the right thing. In applying this rule, then, there must be numerous limitations and many necessary variations on account of the actual conditions under which we have to work. It was recognised long ago that we cannot hope straightway to abolish all international competition and greed and consequent international wars. It was also recognised long ago that the protection of person and property against unsocial elements would have to continue to call for the application of force. It was seen also that non-killing would in practice require the admission of numerous exceptions in the interest of sanitation and health. These and other modifications in the practice of non-violence do not mean that we simply cast the principles of non-violence to the winds. We keep our face turned steadily in the direction of Ahimsa, but only do not commit the mistake of killing the principle itself by opposing it to commonsense and hard reality.

The defence of India is, according to some of us, a case to be treated as an

exception. The issue did not come up in so many terms at any time before this, but all the same the exception was not unrecognised. Now, however, the issues that have emerged on account of the present war and the attitude of Britain towards the rightful claim of India to independence could not be dealt with without facing this problem of non-violence in relation to national defence. Gandhiji stands for total opposition to all war. But some of us feel that our struggle cannot simultaneously bear the weight of two such major issues, the issue of British control over India and the demand for its total removal, and the issue of non-participation in war, total and irrespective of equity or policies of alliance to secure just ends. Surely, we cannot hope for emancipation at the hands of Britain's enemies. We are held in bondage by Britain, and we must limit our problem to operating on the British mind. A compromise becomes therefore inevitable on the issue of non-participation in all wars. The ending of war as a means of attaining international justice should be tackled some time, but not simultaneously with our national struggle which has come up to the very point of solution and which only awaits one or two wise steps to reach complete success.

The just and reasonable demand of the Indian people is that the governance of India should be fully transferred now, during this war, and indeed, more especially on account of this war, to a provisionally formed national coalition government. Even from the point of view of mere efficiency the present unconstitutional and wholly undemocratic arrangement at the Centre and in most of the Provinces is a fatally weak arrangement, and will crumble at the onslaught of real danger. Ignoring the just and reasonable demand of India, Britain cannot get the free and willing co-operation of India, the India either of the National Congress or of the Muslim League. On anything but this basis, it can only coerce and exploit, it cannot get co-operation. The Congress and the Muslim League agree cent per cent on this stand and no sophistry can hide this from the intelligent world. The absence of a political settlement between the National Congress and the Muslim League cannot wipe out the glaring fact of a consensus of opinion on this vital point as against Britain.

There are some people for whom the deciding consideration is success. They feel it a disgrace to take up a stand and make a proposal which is turned down by the British Government which coercively holds the dominant position. I do not agree with this. The methods of non-violence cannot permit withdrawal from a correct position, for the mere reason that it is not agreed to by the opponent. If we have faith in the fundamentals of non-violent methods, we should make our minimum demand and stick to it in spite of every seeming disappointment.

There are again some whose heart is turned towards chaos in the deliberate maturing of which alone they see scientific hope for the future of our country. They must oppose anything that would retard the progress of such fermentation of chaos. It is hardly necessary for me to say that while we must face chaos when it comes, it is not the way deliberately to follow or work for.

Well, this is the difference. If I have not made matters more concretely clear, it is because I have to avoid going into details and cannot take you into active politics.

I have not been quite an insignificant colleague of Gandhiji. I have worked with him these twenty-two years and feel the just pride of having helped him substantially to develop and put into action his principles and methods. Many are the ties that bind me to him, and it is not a pleasure to discover a difference and recognise it as leading to a parting of ways. But prayerfully and in all humility must we face such a recognition if it must come.

Two years ago when Dr. Shah Sulaiman spoke to the graduates of this University on a similar occasion he referred to this war that had just been declared. He spoke with the voice of hope. According to him, the war was declared to end the rule of force and to eliminate violence from international dealings. He said that the cataclysm had come in order to end the rule of the strong over the weak, and to extinguish the wicked cult of racial superiority. He told the graduates that greed and ambition were the forces against which this war was waged. Two years have passed and we are now in a position to judge what is likely to be left behind as a result of the cataclysm. Famine and pestilence will ravage large tracts of the world. The rule of force, it is now too obvious, will not be eliminated as a result of this war, any more than it was at the end of the last war. The cult of racial superiority threatens to continue if not in one form, in another. There is no promise that greed and ambition will either

end or be satiated or consume themselves. There will be large changes, but the troubles of humanity, I fear, will not be ended. We are still nowhere near the end of the war, and it is clear that it will bring no good to any of the people of the West, or to the people of the East. It has interfered with the progress of freedom in our country. It has interfered with the progress of the cult of non-violence. Indeed, both the offence and the defence in this war will probably contribute to the death of many a good principle.

In spite of these evil omens and unfavourable signs, we may rest assured that before the young graduates assembled here will be called upon to put forth their own energies in politics, some form of self-government will be in operation in India as a result of the struggles undertaken by the generation to which I belong. It will be your privilege and duty, young men and women, to shape out of what we shall achieve that fuller freedom to which India is truly entitled. Whatever may be the quality and quantum of freedom which we in our time will have achieved for the country, it will be your privilege and duty in your time to knock off the limitations and detractions, and build that fuller and complete freedom which we call independence. It will be India's good fortune if you achieve that goal in a non-violent way, through order instead of through chaos. It will be your privilege again to apply the principles of true non-violence in the working of that freedom after it has been achieved. Ahimsa does not end with the achievement of national deliverance from foreign political control. Indeed I think that the greater task will begin after that deliverance. It will be a trial from moment to moment and the happiness of free India will be only in the measure of our loyalty to the principle of non-violence after the achievement of freedom. If flogging has not been eliminated from elementary schools, violence still prevails in education. There is need to wage war against violence in the affairs of the family, in the working of penal laws, industrial operations, in fact in every department of social and national activity. Ahimsa is a continual life-struggle against violence in every form.

Lucknow is one of the pre-eminently historic cities of India. It has long been the fostering centre of great culture. But Lucknow's best luck is perhaps its association with Indian national unity in our own times. May it contribute once again to a further consolidation of Indian unity. I appeal to you specially at this Convocation, young men and women of Lucknow, that you should make Indian unity your special mission. I repeat what Sir Shah Sulaiman told you two years ago. Every community in Indis is entitled to call India its own. It is absolutely impossible to make progress in any direction unless we agree to work together harmoniously. In this University wherein Science, Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian all figure so greatly and together, where Hindu and Muslim youngmen and women meet and work side by side, an example can be set for harmony and unity such as nowhere else is possible. Sir Walter Scott wrote in his diary once that politics are the blowpipe beneath whose influence the best cemented friendship too often dissever. But quoting from another entry in his diary, I say, do not allow political strife to mix its waters with your daily meal, those waters of bitterness which poison mutual love between the well-disposed on each side and prevent them, if need were, from making mutual concessions and balancing the constitution against the ultras of both parties. You in Lucknow can build up a new culture of unity and harmony of political thought which will enable you to lead modern India and laugh at the obstructors. That India shall be free one day and great again, leading an Asiatic Federation of great nations, is certain. Build, build daily with unflagging hope and unremitting industry for that consummation.

We are in a bad state in many ways, under the heel of a foreign democracy and disunited. But even so why need we despair ?

"Come what come may
Time and the hour runs through
the roughest day".

It is not brute force but moral power that really commands predominance in the world, as Lord Haldane told the students of the Edinburgh University in a famous Rectorial address. To enforce this lesson, he recounted the great story of Germany's re-birth in the nineteenth century. I shall repeat it to you almost in his words. After the Battle of Jena in 1806, Germany was under the heel of Napoleon. From the point of view of brute force, she was crushed. In vain she shook at her chains : the man was too strong for her. But there was a power greater than that of the sword—the power of the spirit. Germany was weak and

poor. But she had a possession that proved of far greater importance to her in the long run. Beaten soldiers and second-rate politicians gave place to some of the greatest philosophers and poets that the world has seen for 2,000 years. These men re-fashioned the conception of the State, and, through their disciples there penetrated to the public, the thought that the life of the State with its controlling power of good, was as real and as great as the life of the individual. Men and women were taught to feel that in the law and order which could be brought about by the general will, was freedom in the deepest and truest sense—the freedom which was to be realised only by those who had accepted whole-heartedly the largest ends in place of particular and selfish aspirations. The philosophers of Germany gave to their people the gospel of the wide outlook and the lesson that the people must live the larger life, be unselfish, helpful and reverent. The people who were in the depths of national despair were taught to feel the sense of the greatness of which human nature is capable. In science, in philosophy, in theology, in poetry, in music, the Higher Command was given and obeyed, and the subordinate leaders penetrated by great ideas set to work animated by the same spirit. The result was the rule of the organising spirit in every direction. The leaders saw clearly that education was the key to all advance, and they set to work at it. It took sixty years to complete, but completed it was at last, with a thoroughness the like of which the world has hardly seen elsewhere. The German scheme of education is unrivalled as a triumph of the spirit of organisation, except by that other wonderful outcome of scientific organisation—the German army. When the lesson of self-organisation is once learned by a people, it is not readily forgotten. Hence the German revival once again after the crushing blow of the last Great War. Thus, then, can nations rise from the depths of darkest gloom. Why then should we despair? The greatness of India is not dead. We should know that it is just hibernating and when the winter has ended, we shall live again.

The Muslim University Convocation

The following is the text of the Covocation Address deliverd by Sir S. Sultan Ahmed KT. D. L., at the Convocation of the Aligarh Muslim University held on the 21st December, 1940.

Mr. Vice-Chancellor and Members of the Convocation

I am conscious of the great honour you have done me in asking me for the second time to address the Convocation of your University which has a distinguished place in the mind of everybody interested in education, for the M.A.O. College, from which your University is sprung, had a cultural tradition, a spiritual homogeneity and an educational ideal which were its proud marks of distinction when most other educational centres in India were satisfied with merely imparting a deal of information to their students. That tradition has, I am glad to observe, persisted in the Muslim University. Education, if it is worth anything, means something more than working for and passing a string of examinations. And if the students of this University have realised that, as I hope they have, they have travelled a long way on the path of that self-culture the other name of which is education.

In a country where there is economic stringency, where heterogeneous and conflicting forces are at work in moulding its destiny, and where the cultural pattern is made of a criss-cross of different traditions it is very easy to lose sight of the primary significance of education and of the final effect it has (if it is true education) upon the spiritual, moral and social values of the individual.

In such a country, economic concepts, and economic necessities unfortunately colour the very theory of education ; and to the student, the hard and thorny path that runs via the school and the University with its hurdles of the severely-testing examinations and its vigorous competitions, becomes a sort of arduous road, that leads ultimately to the promised land of a comfortable job of work. So, for all intents and purposes, to minds conditioned and matured in this economic atmosphere, education becomes synonymous in its aims with a training which will bring to all earnest seekers the Holy Grail of a Government job. If they fail in attaining the quest, the whole period of preparation and training, everything learnt with pleasure or under the shadow of the rod, is considered by them a dead and useless waste of spirit, time, money and energy. Education becomes a vain and futile tragedy of frustration.

In India where some of these conditions obtain, certain special circumstances, in addition, provide a definitely artificial and truncated background for modern education. The famous draft of Macaulay's was intended to create a body of responsible Government servants, who would understand and sympathise with the ideals and aims of the British Government. It was a fairly comprehensive programme of what was liberal education those days, but it was the immediate product of local necessities. It is not my intention to discuss the usefulness or of the practical shape it took in the formation of the schools and colleges in India. What I want to emphasise is that its genesis lies in a special sort of demand and the desire to make the necessary provisions to satisfy this demand. And ever since an unenviable aura of the merely utilitarian has clung to it, inspite of the fact that the major portion of the University curricula in India is based upon liberal ideals of education, emphasising the cultural element in it.

Graduates of the Muslim University, you will be going forth on that great adventure that comes the way of all young men, hitherto protected from some stern realities when they, as the term goes, 'enter life'. It is something very real, something fraught with tremendous consequences for you. Some of you will succeed in your objective, whatever it is, at the first go, some will succeed after one failure, some after more. And I, with perhaps more experience and fewer illusions than you, unfortunately know that the battle of life goes counter against many men, young and old. You have my best wishes and prayers for your success, and my sympathies if life treats you harshly. But if things seem to go against you let me ask you not to listen to that counsel of despair that whispers in your ears that you have wasted your years at the University, that your education has failed in its purpose, for your education aimed higher than that.

University Life

Let me concisely review your life at the University, taking it for granted that you made the maximum use of your opportunities. When you took admission into the University you made a tacit moral contract to abide by its regulations, to submit to its discipline, to help and promote the spirit it stood for, and to make a real effort to learn what it taught you. The institution in its turn undertook to educate your mind, your morals and your sensibilities. It never pretended that it would give you specialised training to run an executive department or a Police Force, nor did it pretend to admit you into the secrets of manufacturing soaps or cigarettes. It really tried to train your mind to cope adequately with different situations arising in life. It tried to make your mind adaptable and elastic by making you study various and perhaps unallied subjects, to create a complexity of interests in you, to give you a sense of proportion, to make you respond quickly to various appeals to your emotions, your mind and your soul. It tried to cultivate your sensibilities by revealing to you beauties in life, in art and in literature. If it did not do any these things it failed in its most important function.

Education and Civilisation

Civilisation is the result of the thoughts and efforts of a few intelligent people in every age who help humanity a little further ahead each time in the march of progress ; and man is driven forward on the journey by a desire for self-realisation and self-fulfilment. It is a sort of creative process whereby man reorganizes himself, brings into play hitherto unsuspected qualities of the mind and the sensibilities, furnishes himself with a better personality, as it were ; and perhaps unintentionally induces other people to imitate him. Education in its real and comprehensive significance is the most effective and vital instrument of these self-realizing activities. That is why the type of education you have been getting is called liberal education, education that liberates you from the shackles of the merely temporal, which is the instrument of refinement, sensitiveness, spiritual and mental poise and a profound outlook on life. The uncultured mind is capable of perceiving only the immediate and superficial. It skims over the surface of experiences and encounters, understanding only the obvious in the thoughts and actions of other people. The profounder outlook on life that cultural education connotes is really a form of understanding and sympathy, an imaginative capacity to get into the mind of the person whose views are perhaps different from yours, to perceive all facets of an experience or idea, and to evaluate it as a synthesis of all the facts and elements that go in the making of it. It teaches us to understand and tolerate points of view that may be contrary to ours, to see the

sincerity of those who differ from us, to be even and balanced and not too aggressive in our opinions, to make beautiful gestures, love ideas and things that are beautiful and defend the truth wholeheartedly. The thinkers of the Renaissance called the study of the literatures of antiquity, the Humanities. It is a very revealing word and it should have, I think, always guided the aims of higher education. It makes you feel that that type of education means adjusting yourself more harmoniously to the human landscape around you. It cultivates your emotional life, and gives a more proportionate view of your own feelings. We always tend to exaggerate our emotional experiences, our grief, our happiness, and thus indirectly our own personalities.

Cultural education is like climbing a steep hill. The higher you climb the vaster the prospects that open before your eyes. The horizon expands, and everything fits more and more beautifully into an ever-enlarging pattern. The things that had loomed so big as to occupy your whole field of vision at the foot of the hill become comparatively unimportant and form part of a larger scheme of things at the peak. The fatigue of the climb is forgotten in the bracing nip of a clearer atmosphere and you have an acuter perception of the miracle of familiar and common things.

Scientific Education

In an age of Science when stress is laid upon the importance of the practical there is a tendency to minimise the importance of things that touch our emotional and spiritual life. The cult of the machine drives away the cult of beauty. Our age is unfortunately such an age, and at no other time, I believe, was there so much need to emphasise the type of education that goes beyond the practical and useful and shows us the vision of an inner and more important world.

Our first duty by ourselves, therefore, is to create within us that inner harmony, that refinement, intellectual alertness and awareness which the study of arts brings to us. But being a very balanced, intellectually keen and cultured person is not sufficient in itself. We are placed in a world of objective realities, in a world crowded with other minds, other personalities. There are contacts and impingements, conflicts and resistances, the need to overcome obstacles and the need to fall in line with other forces and minds. Self-realization presupposes action as well as thought ; our personalities have to be operative as well as reflective. And it is here that scientific education claims its importance. Its immediate field of action has for the last few centuries been the understanding and conquest of Nature, the latter for the uses of humanity. I do not propose to go through the history of the discoveries and inventions in Science, of their beneficial and harmful effects. Both the good and the evils that have attended the march of Scientific progress have had remarkable repercussions upon our lives and our mentalities ; but they are not everything. Neither does material comfort bring supreme satisfaction to our souls, nor can the destructive effects of scientific inventions make us complete cynics or misanthropes. There is always a vital spark in our being that is beyond the reach of these accidental things It must always be remembered, that the deciding factor in the social and moral life of man, after all allowances are made, is Man himself. It is his soul, his mind, that can make of Science a weapon of destruction or a Messenger of Mercy. He can always choose between the gun and the ploughshare. Perhaps it is true that the scientific age has made man cling too tenaciously to material values, thereby shaping his mind, making him grasping and greedy. But a time comes, and it has perhaps now come, when he has to pause and consider which path he is going to tread. The old statement about gaining the whole world and losing our own soul, forces itself upon his consciousness. I believe, however, that there is more good in humanity than evil, and the choice after a lot of hestiation and chopping and changing is practically ever the right one.

That scientific education may not be an unmixed blessing would be evident to all, but equally evident is the necessity of this type of education. We are living in an age where it is essential, and unless we choose to slide back into obscurity there can be no question of neglecting it. There is a practical world as well as a world of transcendental or emotional values, and the one is as real as the other. If we equip ourselves for the one there is no sense in neglecting the other. The old Greek ideal of a proportionate and harmonious development of all our faculties holds for all times. And if our hearts are in the right place, if we are guided by our love of humanity and a desire to ameliorate human suffering we would always make Science an instrument of mercy.

INDUSTRIALISATION

There are practical and social considerations also which should urge us to promote scientific education in India. In our country there are vast unexplored resources that can be made to benefit man. You have youth, ambition and energy, and there is a world of possibilities waiting to be explored by you. It is obvious, however, that the Government of the country also has to play a very vital and important part in this connection. Every impetus must be given to enlarge, expand, and encourage industries and that as quickly as possible. Their meagre activities in the past do not redound to their credit. I only hope they have become wiser by experience and will put their full weight in favour of complete industrialisation in this country. If only the Government had vision and had started heavy industries after the last war, India alone would have won the present war. India is naturally expecting great results from the Eastern Group Conference and the Roger Mission and I hope that their deliberations will not only result in finding ways and means to meet the immediate needs of the War, but will also show the way of establishing heavy and minor industries so that India may be, as far as possible, self-contained, not only able to defend herself from aggression but also help the British Commonwealth of Nations in times of necessity.

THE WAR

This brings me to the terrific crisis that is facing the world to-day. I mean the War. It is a stormy upheavel the tidal wash of which will affect the remotest shores of the world. Its origin is really in the repudiation of all civilised values, in the spiritual pride of which I spoke before. If spiritually humanity is striving for complete self-realisation, in the realm of politics civilization is aiming at creating an atmosphere where it can be made possible by giving the utmost freedom of thought and action to the individual. The maximum individual liberty possible under social conditions is the ideal of a cultured and civilised community. Regimentation is repugnant to it, for after all, institutions are made for men and not men for institutions. Where a question of misfit arises the institution must be remoulded to suit man's needs. And now an attempt is being made to reverse the order of things, to enslave men to an ideology which is abhorrent to all civilised sensibilities.

If formerly the short of ideological tyranny which at the moment obtains in Central Europe ever occurred, it affected a single or a very small group of States. But to-day due to many types of interdependences, due to intricate economic and social relationships each such revolution attempts a more widespread change than before.

The ideological programme of Hitler and Mussolini with its theory of race superiority and lebensraum for only some stronger nations is in direct opposition to the trend of modern civilisation which has been trying to explore all possible avenues for the establishment of greater liberty and greater possibility of development for each individual, each nation, strong or weak. This can only be made realisable by the evolution of a new psychology in international life as it exists to a remarkable extent in national life; reverence and fear of the law and scrupulous discharge of moral obligations.

In the State, one can see the paradox of a handful of unarmed policemen maintaining order, even in big and unruly crowds, because the might of the law has sunk so deep in the individual's consciousness that physical force is unnecessary for making men obey the law. Its symbol in any form does. To-day when all nations are interlinked it is necessary to evolve that sort of consciousness for international law and international morality. The League of Nations is an attempt at this sort of International policing and it must remain the ideal of all future States, if we want peace and security in life.

The glove has, however, been flung in the face of the civilised world by Hitler and Mussolini, backed by their bands of marauders and gangsters, and it behoves everybody with a love for the decencies of life, with a love for freedom and honour to take up the challenge. The implications of this War are so universal the interests involved so all-embracing that one cannot remain indifferent, and the side one takes will show whether he loves civilised living or barbarism. There was a time when the extravagances of certatain German publicists and philosophers had appeared fantastic and absurd. When Arndt wrote "every State has the right to ask for certain things from neighbouring States when they wrongfully take away the air and the light on which it must grow. Up to the present Holland is the most outrageous violation of German's natural frontier.....I desire hatred,

burning and bloody hatred. May this hatred burn as the religion of the German people, as a sacred madness in all hearts" or when Von Treitschke wrote of Germany's neighbouring States "these lands are ours by the right of the sword and we shall dispose of them by virtue of a higher right, the right of the German people", or when he spoke of treaties "every State reserves for itself the right to be the judge of its own treaties. All the restraints by which States bind themselves by treaty are voluntary. When a nation has been wounded in its honour the breaking of treaties is only a question of time" everybody considered it high flown nonsense, a sort of mania confined to a few eccentric writers which would not be considered seriously by any nation. But to-day the extravaganza, the mania has become the philosophy of life of two powerful nations of Europe, and they are drawing other nations within their orbit. The fantasy has become a grim and menacing reality, the expression through action of a savage, coercive mentality. Please bear in mind that the present War is not a War between two or more nations, but between two different types of outlook on life, and that we are not faced with the task of destroying only Hitler and Mussolini and their hordes, but that philosophy of life which we find in the German and Italian nations—a much more difficult task. It is a poisonous miasma which bids fair to paralyse the sense of international morality and bring chaos to the structure of moral and political thought that has been built up through centuries of ceaseless effort.

Graduates of the Muslim University, in the lives of men a moment arrives when they have to choose between material well-being and spiritual health, between a dishonourable life of comfort and an honourable life of penury, toil and sacrifices. The choice involves a mental struggle, there are temptations and there is the natural human desire to follow the path of least resistance. But there is only one choice possible for an honourable man. Our material comforts are after all not such mightly important things as the ideals we live by. All young men the world over are faced with such a choice to-day; and do not forget, however far you may be from the theatre of the actual struggle, you too have to cast your lot one way or the other. And the glorious tradition of democracy and freedom, of though and action that has been ours, assures me what your choice is going to be. We have to smash something really very big and though optimism is essential in all fights, neither the risk nor the danger involved must be minimized. And please remember that there is no loophole for half measures in this particular War. Hitler's erstwhile friend Rauschning has made that clear : "Hitler's ultimate aim is the maximum of power and dominion. He is not a person with whom any sane man may negotiate, he is a phenomenon which one slays or is slain by". I for one, gentlemen, am not particularly in love with the notion of being slain, passive and unresisting.

Different people's attitude towards most things is different, even contradictory. To some, as to Hitler, war is the very breath of life, the one means of assuring them that they live. To others it is so great an evil that the only way of meeting it is passive indifference to it. To them waging war under any circumstances is repugnant and soulsearing. To the majority of sane healthy men, it is an evil of the first magnitude, but it cannot be charmed away with incantations or vanish if you simply do not take any notice of it. War must be banished from the world, but this can only be done by putting against the war-mongers a more effective force, a force that has the sanction of morality and justice behind it, which is built upon the most constructive ideals of men and women.

Waging war in a good cause, to destroy the forces of injustice, coercion and oppression is, therefore, the duty of all right thinking people. And though the immediate vision that war conjures up before our mind's eyes is one of suffering and the waste of life, there is another side of the picture too. War is a living effort, the paradoxical means whereby life asserts itself. In the effort of War you do not only live at an intenser pitch of feeling and being than at more normal times but you also offer your very life-blood because you are convinced of the sanctity of life which must be protected at all costs, even at the cost of the lives of many individuals. It is often for protecting itself that life makes us fight our battles. When humanity is building up a less imperfect world than the one we live in after defeating the powers of darkness, a sense of peace, of having done something worth doing will come to you if you have done your share of the work.

INDIA AND THE WAR

It is the greatest tragedy that in India men fully convinced of the great barbarism of Hitler and Mussolini and having power and influence to help Great

Britain in her grim and heroic stand for principles dear to humanity should be opposing efforts to crush Nazism and Fascism. In any case their attitude seems to be most inconsistent, unwise and unworthy. It is no good taking up the position involved in the old proverb "what does it matter to me whether the cow came or the donkey left". The difference between the present conditions in India and the future, if Hilter and Mussolini succeed must be clearly appreciated. It will be the difference between living as a subject race as we are doing with a number of grievances and being slaves, mere serfs. I will not say anything of the present conditions under which you and I live. You and I know them, but by contrast let me tell you what will be our position if these outlaws win. Only one passage from Hitler's well known "Mein Kampf" will be sufficient. Discussing the publication of the news that a nero had qualified as a lawyer he says :—

"It does not dawn on the murky bourgeois mind that the fact which is published for him is a sin against reason itself, that it is an act of criminal insanity to train a being who is only an anthropoid by birth until the pretence can be made that he has been turned into a lawyer, while, on the other hand, millions who belong to the most civilised races have to remain in positions which are unworthy of their cultural level. The bourgeois mind does not realise that it is a sin against the will of the Eternal Creator to allow hundreds of thousands of highly gifted people to remain floundering in the swamp of proletarian misery while Hottentots and Zulus are drilled to fill positions in the intellectual professions. For here we have the product only of a drilling technique just as in the case of the performing dog. If the same amount of care and effort were applied among intelligent races each individual would become a thousand times more capable in such matters".

After this shameless pronouncement of Hitler it should be imposible for any Indian with self-respect and love for his country to be simply an onlooker at the course of events in Europe. The speed at which the conflagration is spreading towards the East leaves no room for doubt whatsoever that sooner than later we will be directly called upon to surrender our hearth, home, life and liberty to this, the greatest demon the world has ever seen. Will you wait till his *blitzkrieg* starts in India ? I am afraid, it will then be too late to resist it. Thank God, whatever may be the view of a certain section of political India to-day, India as a whole is acting up to the advice given by the leaders of that very section—Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru a year ago. Their wise statements have often been quoted and bear repetition. The Mahatma said : "My personal sympathies are with England and France—I am not just now thinking of India's deliverance. It will come. But what will it be worth, if England and France fall." Pandit Nehru said the same thing in a different language : "We have repeatedly stated that we are not to bargain. We do not approach the problem with a view to taking advantage of Britain's difficulties.....It is perfectly true that in a conflict between democracy and freedom on the one side and Fascism and aggression on the other, our sympathies must inevitably lie on the side of democracy." Why then act directly against these professions and go to jail ? I will say no more about them.

As regards the attitude of the Muslims of India, as such, it is as clear as day light. If Islam was ever in danger, it is to-day. The fat, swollen-headed Mussolini assumed to himself the tittle of "Protector of Islam" not long ago. His first generous act in this self-styled role was to swallow the small Muslim State of Albania without the slightest justification or provocation, when King Zog and his consort with a baby in her arms had to flee for their lives ! His next act was to land troops in Egypt, another Muslim State ! The third overt act of this "Saviour of Islam" was to throw bombs at Bahrain ! His fourth act which was the greatest insult offered to the Muslims was his attempt to set up a Kaaba for us at Harhar in Abyssinia ! All that now remains to be done by him with the help of his master Hitler is to bomb Hedjaz, Iraq and Palestine and involve Turkey in the war and he will then have justified his pretensions. Fortunately, the swiftness with which he is being mauled on land and sea, justifies us in hoping that this 'Protector of Islam' will soon find himself flat on his back on the mat. Let me therefore finally say without any hesitation or equivocation that we Indian Mussalmans shall resist by all means in our power this wanton violation of all laws of God and man by beasts in the garb of human beings.

The British Forces—Army, Navy and Air—are all doing our work elsewhere and it is our pride and privilege that the blood of our men is being mingled with theirs in the noblest cause of saving humanity from total destruction. This service

to mankind will not and can not be forgotten and I am convinced that India after the sacrifices that she is making will in no distant time get her full share of equality, freedom and justice within the British Commonwealth of Nations.

COMMUNAL PROBLEM

And please do not forget that at this momentous hour lesser things that have loomed so large recently on your mental horizon must assume their right proportions in the scheme of your life. They are comparatively trivial : and if there are differences between you and others the tragedy that is being enacted in Europe should make you realise how dangerous and mischievous they can be, on what a shallow conception of life they are built up, how completely they are founded upon ugly passions, insignificant ambitions and a total lack of human emotions. We realise that since life is what it is and men are what they are, these passions and jealousies will unfortunately be there. But to-day in our country they have assumed a gigantic magnitude. This deplorable state of affairs must disappear completely if we want progress of any sort in India. It was expected that in the face of the present danger these differences would be forgotten, and then under the influence of a united effort disappear permanently. After all when a tiger is roaming at large people do not quarrel about their share in the communal food supply, for they realize that if they do not unite and destroy the animal there would no longer be a question of food supply for them, whereas a similar problem of the tiger will have been solved. But that is what we seem to be doing at the moment here, and those who were expected to introduce a saner frame of mind seem to me to be aggravating the symptoms of unreasonableness. To state the situation frankly, a great deal has been made of cultural differences between Hindus and Muslims and the impossibility of a compromise between the two. Now there is no doubt, as has been stated before, that in India there are different cultural forces at work, not the least important among them being the modern European civilization. There is no doubt also, that due to the very great influence religion has been on the life of Muslims in India as elsewhere, their art, their poetry and their way of life is very largely designed after Arabian and Persian patterns. But that does not mean that culturally the Muslim is a complete alien to Indian traditions, thought and art, nor does a United National Evolution mean the disappearance of the two religions. After all individuals are differently constituted, yet they do co-operate and work harmoniously together. Why should not communities with certain distinct and different religions do so ? Why can not individuals keep their intimate and private life disentangled from the public life, and why should not Hindus and Muslims keep their religion which after all is a man's private relationship with his God or gods separate from their civic and political life ? If you look at the Hindu-Muslim problem from a common sense point of view the problem as such is not insoluble or all-pervading. If we desire to find out only differences, big, small and insignificant, between a Muslim and a Hindu and if the largeness of those differences can be the measure of our satisfaction we can make most wonderful discoveries ! As an illustration just look to what we have deliberately done to our common language. Urdu has been the mother tongue of the Hindus and Muslims for centuries. The very name and history of its growth shows that this language was the result of the contact of the Hindus and Mussalmans in India, yet unfortunately insidious attacks were made on this language treating it as the language of the Mussalmans of India and a propaganda for an artificial Hindustani language which was not the language of anybody in India was started and is being given effect to. What has been the result ? The Mussalmans unfortunately started stuffing in the Urdu language, Arabic and Persian words which were absolutely unnecessary and in many cases have undoubtedly spoilt its charm. I claim that the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and I speak Urdu but the Urdu which has been used by some Urdu papers will not be understood either by him or by me. Here we find a deliberate attempt by extremists of both communities to create a split where no difference existed. In a country like India with a population of over 350 millions, we can even find materials to support the wildest and most fantastic statements of Miss Mayo ; but is it at all helpful or useful in the present world conditions ? I suggest that the other line of approach, which is to emphasise points of agreement, will lead to greater justice, happiness and satisfaction to both communities in every walk of life, social, economic and political.

There is no gainsaying the fact that racially and politically we are all Indians, we breathe in the same atmosphere and till the same land. We are inheri-

tors of the same old proud civilization and whatever we may privately think and aspire after, our destinies are linked together. Differences that there are I have already admitted, but our foundations of life are the same. Our political and social salvation can only lie in both Hindus and Muslims pooling their energies together for the reconstruction of a better India. However much you try there is no other road to salvation. Any other road will lead India to chaos, anarchy, bloodshed and perpetual subjection.

From a practical viewpoint too, even taking for granted the pessimistic view of irreconcilable differences between Muslim and Hindu cultures there can be no other means of a better future for India. No amount of wishful thinking will perform the miracle of the total disappearance of millions of Muslims or Hindus from our landscape. For better or for worse "till death do us part"—that is our destiny. Even in such a situation the only sane and graceful thing is to arrive at some sort of working compromise, at any rate till the duration of the War. A compromise always indicates mutual generosities, a whole series of give and take, concessions and sacrifices. The peace and concord that a compromise like that begets is a sufficient reward for all self-denials. And I conjure you earnestly, all young men, both Hindus and Muslims, to remember this hard, sane and incontrovertible fact when you enter a larger sphere of life. You must try to promote mutual understanding, mutual trust and mutual love and to remember your mutual obligations. Otherwise the example of Europe to-day is before you. What racial arrogance and racial intolerance can do is being vividly enacted before your eyes. Do not take up a defeatist attitude. With a broad minded approach our domestic differences can be and must be solved. The determination to solve it has to be found and once it is found, it will restore the chapter of friendliness, cordiality and even affection between the two communities which unfortunately has been closed in recent years. Remember, time is a great factor in destroying the Totalitarian powers, and a United India will work the double miracle of bringing about their downfall and bringing India closer to the goal of political and economic freedom.

The Punjab University Convocation

The following is the text of the Covocation Address delivered by the Hon'ble Dr. Sir Muhammad Zaffrulla Khan, K.C.S.I ; Kt., B.A. (Honours,) Punjab, LL.B. (Honours), London ; LL.D. (Cantab) ; Barrister-at-Law (Lincoln's Inn) : Judge, Federal Court of India at the annual Convocation of the Punjab University, held on the 22nd December 1941.

Your Excellency, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am deeply sensible of the honour done to me by the Punjab University in calling upon me to address you this morning. I deem it a high privilege to be permitted to meet you here on this occasion, both joyful and solemn, for those of you who are just about to step across, as it were, the threshold of life. Most of my past associations with this beautiful and imposing building have been somewhat awe-inspiring, related as they were to University examinations. This morning's function is of a different character, but facing an audience like this, I do not feel any the more reassured than I did on the occasions to which I have referred. I have in my time listened to a number of Convocation Addresses, and these may no doubt serve a useful purpose, but when I was a student my own feelings were that if I could be invested with my hard earned degree without the accompaniment of a sermon I would feel all the happier and brighter for it. Tradition, however, is a very powerful force in human affairs and dies hard. The authorities of a University, I am sure, would be deeply shocked at any suggestion that a Convocation should be held without a Convocation Address. That would indeed in their eyes be Hamlet without the Ghost. So at the bidding of our common Alma Matter I proceed to do a certain amount of thinking aloud, both for my own benefit as well as for yours. If it should so chance that some of you may find yourselves taking an interest in what may be passing through my mind, you would be most welcome to share in my thoughts. Many of you may differ with me and most of you, I am afraid, may consider my ideas rather conservative and even commonplace, but they relate to the realities of life and in this time of rapid change and upheaval it may be of some value to remind ourselves of realities and to pay some attention to fundamental things.

As I have just observed, you are about to cross the threshold of life. What a romantic and intriguing picture does that expression conjure up before our fancies ! Romance has ever been the privilege of youth. Youth may have its own cares and yet how free it is from care in the sense commonly associated with that word. Youth is pityfully helpless and yet the flight of its fancy knows no bounds. It is ill-equipped for the battle of life and is yet buoyed up by inexhaustible stores of hope, confidence and faith. The prospect its fancy spreads out before it is so pleasant and so full of charm that it excites the envy of older people and yet that envy is largely tempered with pity. A student, in normal circumstances, is free, or at least tries to keep himself free, from all preoccupations except those that centre round his studies and other academic pursuits. He has no part or lot in the running or management of a single institution, yet he argues about world order with such conviction, assurance and air of familiarity as might deceive the uninitiated into the belief that the most experienced politicians and the wisest statesmen are but amateurs as compared with him, and that the foundations of the new world order will now be laid under his direction and supervision. He is almost utterly destitute of all equipment requisite for his progress through life, yet he is upheld by unbounded assurance ; and the smile playing on his lips and the light shining in his eyes are witness to his inner conviction that the world is only waiting for the day when he emerges from the University to acclaim him as one of its great leaders. Hope runs high in his breast and the world appears to be only a tournament field which is beckoning to him to enter the lists and to walk away with the trophy.

Disillusionment begins when he goes home bearing with him his much prized Degree which marks, and is the witness, of a successful academic career. His people share in his joy, but if they happen to be poor or even in modest circumstances, they soon begin to impress upon him the necessity of his finding a career or at least remunerative employment for himself. He is made to realise at what cost of painful economies sacrifices and even privations he has been enabled to complete his course of University education. He begins to feel that his first duty is to stand upon his own legs, so as to be no longer a burden to his people, and, if possible, to make some return to them for all the sacrifices that they have so cheerfully borne for his sake. Soon he begins to look about for a career, and romantic dreams and ambitions begin to be overshadowed by the dark and stark reality. With hope still high he knocks at the doors of department after department for employment. More often than not he receives no response whatsoever, favourable or unfavourable. In a very few cases those who are lucky obtain a precarious foothold which might enable them to keep body and soul together and to maintain the spark of hope unquenched in the secret depths of their hearts. In the case of the vast majority, hope begins to fade till the heart runs sick. Even those who are successful in this quest are allotted tasks which they could have performed equally well and to which they would certainly have adjusted themselves better at the end of their school careers. It begins to look as if all the cost and labour spent on their University education had been a waste.

This is a depressing picture ; but it cannot be denied that the vast majority of the products of our Universities has to go through this bitter experience. It is true that our Universities have produced men who are both an honour and an ornament to India and are rendering glorious service to the motherland in various walks of life. But if we were to make a comparison between the conditions that prevail in our country with those that obtain in other countries, we are forced to confess that the proportion of those who have made a real success of their lives to those who have sunk to the dark depths of failure in the ocean of struggle is pitifully low in our country as compared with other countries.

Our Universities are entitled to take just pride in the high achievements in the political, scientific and literary fields of men like Tilak, Gokhale, Bose, Raman, Sulaiman, Tagore, Iqbal, and many others ; and I must not be understood as wanting in appreciation of the value of University education and the rich contribution that it is making towards our national life. Indeed, I have a deep and sincere appreciation of and admiration for the work of our Universities which in spite of serious handicaps have in the past rendered, and are to-day rendering, service of inestimable value to the motherland. For the moment, however, I am addressing myself to the problem of the future prospects of those thousands of our young men who crowd the lecture rooms and laboratories of our Universities, and who though amply endowed by

nature with intellectual gifts, are not likely to find opportunities of using them to the best advantage. It is a pressing problem, and if adequate attention is not paid to it, and remedies to deal with it are not devised at an early date, the consequences may be disastrous.

I will not pretend that I have ready to offer you this morning a detailed scheme of reforms which would meet all the requirements of the situation. That is not a task which can be successfully accomplished by any single individual, nor would the remedies when discovered be capable of being presented within scope of a Convocation Address. All that I propose to do is to offer a few observations on one or two aspects of this problem which might be found helpful by those who might be called upon to deal with it in detail.

In my view, the evil is aggravated by our failure to determine and expound the goal of education with respect to each individual or group of to individuals before a course of higher education is entered upon. We must not forget that however desirable and useful education may be in a general sense, the choice of a course, in the case of vast majority of individuals, must be determined by considerations of need and object. A uniform educational ideal is neither suitable nor desirable for all sections of the community ; different educational objectives and a variety of educational courses must be devised to suit the needs, circumstances and intellectual capacities of different sections.

If all those seeking admission to our Universities were free from physical want and the necessity of earning a livelihood, it might be contended with reason that everyone of them should be at liberty to pursue whatever courses of studies his or her fancy might dictate, and should continue to pursue them for as long as his or her inclination lasts. The truth of the matter, however, is that 99 per cent of our students enter upon a course of University education for the purpose of turning it to account as a means of earning their livelihood ; and as things are at present, these means are extremely limited. The most obvious choice that presents itself to a large majority of our graduates is entry into the various grades of the public service. Failing that, there are a certain number of professions, admission into the ranks of which is almost entirely free and is at the choice of the entrant. There is a certain amount of scope in business and industry, but at present it is limited. Beyond this there is no scope in this country for the suitable employment of its educated youth.

The public service does not provide careers for more than a few thousand people, as against which the number of those who graduate from the Universities would run, in the course of generation, into hundreds of thousands. The professions, particularly those of law and medicine, are already fearfully overcrowded, and the majority of entrants into these professions is not able to secure a bare minimum livelihood. I do not think I am wrong in stating that on the average the majority of our graduates are not able to earn, in Government or private employment or in one of the professions, half as much as they were accustomed to spend in college. Surely, this means a distressing waste of economic and intellectual resources and effort. The professions are not only overcrowded but continue to attract in large numbers types of men who have not been fashioned or endowed by nature for the pursuit of those professions.

One refuge from the urgency of the problem that is too easily resorted to is that all this will be set right when India becomes politically free. Assuming that there may be some truth and justification behind that statement, must the problem continue to grow in its difficulty and complexity, and must a solution be not attempted till India has attained its freedom ? What about the appalling waste and the heartrending distress that must be suffered and endured in the meantime ? Besides, if we have the courage to face realities, we must admit that however desirable it may be that India should attain its freedom as early as possible, that will not by itself resolve the problem that is holding our attention at the moment. It is said that with the attainment of political freedom thousands of high salaried posts in the administration will be thrown open to Indians. That is true so far as it goes, but how far would that take us in finding a solution of our difficulties ? These posts would scarcely suffice to absorb the surplus talent that is available even to-day. On the other hand, if the Government of a free India is to do its duty in the educational field and its educational ideals continue to be those that are current to-day, graduates will be turned out by our Universities on a vastly increased scale, with the result that the struggle for entrance into the public service will become a hundred-fold more intense than it is to-day. Let us, therefore,

continue to strive by every possible legitimate means to bring about that most desirable of all consummations the freedom of India ; but let us not delude ourselves with the hope that the achievement of India's freedom will automatically solve the problem that we have been discussing. If the problem were the result of India's political dependence alone, it would not have arisen in countries that are politically free. Yet countries that have been free for centuries have been called upon equally with India to face this problem and have had to devise specific remedies for its solution.

We must, therefore, address ourselves to the root of the matter now, and in my opinion the very first requisite is that parents and teachers must fully realise the object with which a course of University education should be entered upon. To the fortunate few who are not under any necessity to seek employment for the sake of earning a livelihood, it should be open to select whatever courses of education might appear to them suitable or attractive. No doubt it would be desirable that the courses selected should have some relation to the duties and obligations that they are likely to be called upon to discharge in adult life. For instance, courses of study comprising agriculture and subjects connected with it, together with training in the management of agricultural estates, might be suitable for those who are likely to find themselves owners of large estates. Courses in economics and commerce, together with training in business methods, might be of help to those who are likely to be interested in commercial enterprises. Those who are likely to be connected with industry in its higher ranks would find it helpful to pay attention to practical sciences during the course of their University education. Those desirous of entering public life would find it useful to pay attention to political science and administration. It may not be easy in every case to make a clear cut choice at the time when a higher course of study has to be entered upon ; but unless some sort of choice is made and a bent is given to the mind at that early stage, the greater part of the benefit to be derived from University education might be lost. It would be fair that young men and women belonging to this class should be called upon to bear the full cost of their education so as not to make the provision of educational facilities for them a financial burden for the rest of the community.

With regard to the vast majority of young men who are about to complete their school course, it must be clearly recognised that their educational goal is something which would enable them to make a suitable living. This class again must be divided into two sections. There will be those who are physically and intellectually fitted to derive the highest benefit from University education, and thus constitute the best material from which captains of industry, directors of commercial enterprises, leaders of professions and the higher ranks of the public service ought to be recruited. It should be the duty of the State as well as of the community to see that nobody who is fit to be included in this category fails to complete a suitable course of University education merely because he lacks the financial means towards that end. If he himself or those who are responsible for him is or are unable to provide adequate finance, the deficiency must be made up by the State or by the community by means of liberal stipends and concessions in the matter of fees, etc.

—This would still leave us to deal with the largest number of those who have arrived at the school leaving state. Their parents and guardians must recognise and reconcile themselves to the sad reality that in the case of the vast majority of these a normal course of University education will be a waste of time, effort and money. For those of them who have no further ambition or are no better fitted, than to seek clerical employment, the wisest course would be to arrange to procure training of a clerical character. For those that desire and are fitted by inclination and otherwise to enter the subordinate ranks of industry, courses of training in mechanics and technical subjects would be suitable, and so on with regard to each category according to its needs, circumstances and capacities. The necessity of some such classification has indeed long been recognised, but very little has so far been done towards giving effect to this method of classification at the proper stage and providing adequate facilities for the further education and training of those in whose case the ordinary arts or science courses at a University are not regarded as suitable. Machinery must be set up, both as part of our school system as well as of our University system, which should at suitable and convenient stages go on making the selections and give appropriate advice to parents, guardians and students with regard to courses of education, as well as careers and opportunities that may be open to the latter and for which they

may be fitted. This is not the occasion to elaborate and dilate upon the details of this machinery, but that such machinery is one of the vital needs of the country, if all the pitiful waste to which I have drawn attention is to be avoided and the talent possessed by the youth of this country is to be employed in beneficent channels, admits of no denial. Nor must the activities of this machinery be confined to the four walls of our educational institutions. They must comprise the whole of the country, so as to bring about a correct appreciation of the object of education among all classes of the community. This is possible of achievement by certain quite simple methods, nor need the expense be such as to frighten provincial Finance Ministers. On the other hand, the benefits to be derived from the setting up of machinery which could at an early stage give a proper direction to the academic labours of the youth of this country can be readily imagined and are incalculable. As soon as this machinery begins to work, the State, as well as the community, will begin to realise in what directions the facilities for education and training already existing are adequate ; in what respects, if any, they are superfluous, and in what directions they are deficient. For instance, one development that can be foreseen, even to-day, is that facilities for business, commercial, technical, mechanical and scientific training, may have to be vastly increased ; courses in practical sciences and facilities for research at the Universities may have to be multiplied, and the pressure on the purely arts and literary side might be somewhat eased. The educational pattern will then begin to assume a better co-ordinated and more harmonious design.

The responsibility of a University towards its students and the responsibility of the students themselves towards the community would, however, not end there. To be able to make a decent living is not a student's sole reponsibility, nor the only object of his University education. He owes duties and obligations to his people and to his country, and in order to fulfil these and to lead a full and successful life he must pay attention to many other matters during his school and University career. If these other matters are neglected and are not adequately and continuously attended to, courses of school and University education, however carefully devised, may not alone prove sufficient to make him a useful member of society and a diligent servant of his people and his country. These other matters may be described as moral qualities and responsibilities.

Moral responsibilities are not confined to University students alone. Every individual is expected to accept and discharge them. It must, however, be realised, and this is even truer of India than of other countries, that the higher a man's education, the higher is the moral standard that is expected of him. It is also to be borne in mind that the example set by an educated person is apt to affect the conduct of a much wider circle of people than the doings of an obscure and unknown member of the community. Any falling off in this respect, therefore, among the students of our Universities, would not only unfit them for the discharge of their own responsibilities and for rendering faithful service to their motherland, but would also lower the moral standards of the whole community.

Moral qualities are not the monopody of any particular faith ; indeed every religion takes its stand upon moral reform. There may be differences in the teachings of different religions with regard to details ; for instance, the classification of moral qualities and the means of developing moral consciousness and responsibility, the methods of curing moral disease and of promoting moral health, but there is little difference with regard to the need of moral principles and their application to everyday life. Even those who do not identify themselves with any particular religion are agreed with regard to the necessity of the development of moral qualities, though they may perhaps be at a loss to furnish any adequate reason for the recognition of this necessity.

Moral qualities are very largely affected by habit and character, and it will not be denied that the most impressionable period of a man's life during which his character is moulded into definite shape is that which he spends in school and college. University students all the world over are strongly attracted by politics in spite of the injunctions of older people to the contrary. It is, however, not sufficiently realised that no political system can work successfully unless it has a firm moral basis. Nobody will contend that a foreign government is to be preferred to a national government, but nobody can deny that many national governments instead of proving a blessing for the people and the country have proved to be a curse for them. History furnishes numerous instances of that and they are not lacking to-day. The reason is obvious. Political power in such

countries is wielded by people who think that moral principles have no application to public life, with the result that a government composed of people of that kind, though national in character, becomes an instrument of tyranny and oppression, and the people of such countries out of sheer desperation begin to look for relief from outside. The development of moral qualities is, therefore, an indispensable essential for every kind of national service. A nation that aspires to political freedom and is anxious to maintain it must make it its first concern to see that the individuals composing it should develop a high sense of moral responsibility; for if that is lacking, political freedom can only bring disasters in its wake and will be impossible to maintain for any length of time.

Here, again, it is not my purpose to embark upon a detailed explanation of the moral qualities, a combination of which would result in producing perfect citizens and consequently a perfect nation. All that I intend to do is to draw attention to two or three principal qualities which must be placed in the forefront of any programme which aims at building up individual and national character, and the first of those in my opinion is sincerity. No individual can attain to any real success in life unless he is convinced of the high value of the ideal he is pursuing, and realises that the slightest straying from his goal or levity in the pursuit of it is bound to end in failure. All effort put forth by a person whose heart is not in his work and who does not believe in the value of the object for which he is working in sheer waste and can result in no profit either to himself or to his people or his country. It is only one who solemnly determines his ideal and sincerely enters upon the pursuit of it, who can carry on his labours with diligence and perseverance, putting aside all temptations and overcoming all obstacles that he might meet on the way. A light-hearted drift along paths that appear for the moment to be pleasant and offer the least resistance can lead individuals and nations only to ultimate ruin.

Take the matter of religion, which is or at least ought to be the most serious factor in a man's life and most powerful motive power behind his actions. Thousands of young men in our Universities profess to identify themselves with one faith or another who have little knowledge of the doctrines of that faith and whose conduct ill conforms to its teachings. They adopt the colours, so to speak, of a faith but are unwilling to accept its responsibilities. Assuming that their faith is capable of conferring real benefits upon its followers, what benefits can it confer upon followers such as these? On the other hand, if it is a creed from which all worth has departed, those who continue to profess allegiance to it, only testify against their own honesty and sincerity. If we were all serious and sincere about a matter of such vital concern to humanity and made a deep study of that which we profess to believe in, our lives would furnish ideals for others to follow, and we would not only drive incalculable benefits therefrom ourselves, but would also make a tremendous contribution towards the advancement of the whole of the nation nearer to an enviable state of perfection. The diversity of faiths that prevails in India would under those conditions become a source of peace and comfort for the people of this country rather than a perpetual cause of conflict, as unfortunately it is to-day. With what sincerity can a man describe himself as a Christian, who does not believe in all that the Bible teaches and is not prepared to conform his conduct to the example set by Jesus. With how much truth can a man call himself a Hindu, who does not believe in the Vedas and other sacred scriptures of the Hindu faith, and is not prepared to conduct his life in conformity with the teachings contained therein. A person who does not sincerely believe in the teachings contained in the Holy Quran, and is not prepared to discharge the duties and responsibilities laid upon its followers by Islam, duties and responsibilities which must regulate their conduct as individuals and as members of society, their conduct in the economic as well as in the political sphere, their conduct as citizens and as public men, their conduct as officers and as subordinates, has no right to call himself a Muslim.

Seeing that a very large proportion of our young men are in the matter of belief committed to nothing more serious than a set of superficial dogmas, and in the matter of conduct are prepared to be governed by nothing higher than the dictates of fashion or their own inclinations, and yet continue to promote perpetual strife and conflict in the names of religions to which their hearts owe no allegiance, one begins to form a very dark estimate of the future of one's country and its educational institutions. It ought to be the foremost duty of the teachers and professors in our Universities to inculcate among their students absolute and complete sincerity in all their relations, beliefs and conduct. We can do no greater

service to the cause of our people and of our country, and indeed to humanity itself, than to impress upon the minds of our young men and women that they must make no pretence of believing in that which their hearts have no faith in, and that if on the other hand, they do believe in a religion, they must act in conformity with its teachings, so that there is complete harmony between their beliefs and their conduct.

Let us take another instance. There are many young men who believe that true national service is incompatible with Government employment under the present conditions, and yet they are ready to sacrifice their belief and principles as soon as the chance of appointment to an attractive Government post comes their way. On the other hand, there is a very large section of our young men who believe that though the present system of Government may not be perfect or best suited to Indian conditions, yet no better alternative is for the moment available. When the efforts of some of these young men to obtain suitable Government employment prove unsuccessful, however, they become the severest critics of the present order of things and begin to characterise it as a curse for the country. These are very disappointing symptoms. The day on which our young men resolve that under all conditions and circumstances they would in their conduct adhere to their principles and ideals, whatever the prejudice or injury that they may be called upon to suffer, will be the day on which the foundations of the true freedom of this country will have been laid, and from that day onwards we may look forward to a glorious future for India. Given a generation of young men and women inspired by complete sincerity of purpose and perfect consistency in conduct, we may yet witness what will then no longer be a miracle, namely, that if they call upon mountains to move from their places, they shall do so; and if they call upon rivers to cease to flow, equally will these obey them.

The next moral quality to which I desire to draw attention is truth and righteousness. Until these become the characteristics of a nation, it is useless to expect that it could win the trust and respect of other nations, or that trust and confidence could obtain between its own members. National honour and dignity can be firmly established only if no consideration whatsoever, whether personal or national, no hope of advantage or fear of loss, no prospect of pleasure or of relief from pain, will induce the individual to stray by a hair's breadth from the path of righteousness. Is it not true that whatever outward deference we may be compelled to pay out of considerations of courtesy or good manners to a person whom we have ceased to regard as truthful, we can entertain no respect for him in our hearts? If that is so, we must equally realise that if we ourselves are not completely righteous in the whole of our dealings and conduct, we cannot win or retain the respect or esteem of other people. Instances have not been wanting where men of the highest probity and integrity, who would rather lose all that they hold dear than tell a lie in private life, have not hesitated to make public pronouncements which they knew were not true, simply because in their view the same standard did not apply to public life as ought to apply to private life. This is a most vicious distinction which has been responsible for a great deal of mischief and ought never to be tolerated. It must be recognised that it is as dishonourable to utter or act a falsehood to serve the supposed interests of one's nation, as it is to act or utter one to serve one's own private ends. Yet we often see that while a person who cheats another person is justly regarded with moral abhorrence, a statesman who successfully cheats a whole nation, provided it is not his own, is often acclaimed as a hero. Surely, our definition and standard of truth and righteousness must be uniform and apply equally to all aspects of our individual, communal and national activities. Each individual, who adopts this standard and adheres to it throughout becomes not only the saviour of his own soul, but also helps to set up a high standard of national honour and makes an invaluable contribution to the advancement of his people and his country. How often has not history recorded the rise to opulence and power of nations on the wings of probity and integrity, and equally often chronicled their fall when these supports had become weakened.

The next moral quality that I would wish to emphasise is diligence and concentration. By these I mean the co-ordination of the mind and the body in all effort that might be undertaken so as to make all labour, and particularly intellectual labour, fruitful of results. Why is it that out of a large number of students almost equally endowed by nature in respect of physical and intellectual qualities, some are able to forge much farther ahead than others, while spending no more time over their books than their less successful compeers? Obviously,

because they have trained their minds to concentrate on whatever they may be engaged upon at any time, so that the intellectual and physical faculties have become accustomed to working in a happy partnership with great resulting benefit, physical as well as intellectual. Your own experience during the various stages of your academic career must have furnished you with many illustrations of this principle. All that I desire to stress is that concentration is a matter of training and can with a certain amount of care and attention become a matter of habit. The lack of such training leads to a tremendous waste of physical and intellectual effort in our Universities which the youth of any nation can ill-afford. A little more attention paid to this matter by teachers and professors, combined with a certain amount of effort on the part of students, should lead to a vast improvement in many directions. When the mind and the body continue to work for long hours out of harmony with each other, the nervous strain must often become unbearable and not only will the labour result in waste, but might lead to injury.

Simple living is the next quality to which it is necessary to draw your attention. This is a quality which is desirable among all nations and in all countries, but its need is greatest among countries and nations that are comparatively poor like our own. True, there are a certain number of wealthy people even among us, but their proportion to the rest of the population of the country is very low as compared with other countries. The average income of an individual in the country is frightfully small, so that normal course of education is beyond the means of the vast majority of the people. The difficulty is enhanced by the expensive standard of student life which is being set by those of our students whose parents are comparatively well off. A very heavy responsibility rests upon young men of this class. Rivalry and imitation are characteristics of youth. This indeed is not a defect, as these qualities are in themselves the greatest incentives towards the acquisition of knowledge. But possessing these qualities it is idle to expect that young men who are associated with each other throughout the twenty-four hours in an educational institution should not be affected by each other's habits, manners and standard of living. Those of our students who adopt an expensive style of living while at the University compel by their example their less fortunate comrades to adopt a standard which in many cases may be beyond their means. The result is that some of them have to abandon their academic careers in the middle ;while in the case of others, the financial strain becomes so severe that younger members of the family are deprived of all chance of obtaining higher education, or it may be that the earning members of the family are forced to have recourse to unfair and illicit means of earning money. In some cases the student himself may be forced to stoop to dishonourable practices in order to augment his financial resources. The wealthier class of our students may argue that their money is their own, and if they choose to spend it in providing themselves with expensive clothes, giving expensive entertainments, and paying frequent visits to the cinema, it is nobody's business but their own and no blame can possibly attach to them. A good citizen however, does not live for himself alone, and if we were to accept the principle that every individual is completely free in his own actions, culture and civilisation would have no meaning whatever. It is of the very essence of culture that a man should be willing to sacrifice that which may lawfully belong to him for the benefit of his fellowmen. But in this case the sacrifice would not be due altogether to altruistic motives, the most immediate and direct benefit would result to the individual concerned himself. On the other hand, it added to the normal cost of education an expensive standard of living as to result as it must, in drastically limiting the numbers of those who may aspire to University education, the loss will not be confined to those who are thus deprived of chances of obtaining higher education. If the spread of higher education in the country is arrested, those who succeed in obtaining it will either have to cut themselves asunder from the general life of the community and thus become strangers to their own people, or will have to reconcile themselves to an inferior intellectual standard as they will have to pass their lives surrounded by ignorance and superstition.

In order, therefore, to widen the domains of culture and education, to save middle class citizens from extremes of financial sacrifice and privation for the sake of providing education for their children, and out of consideration for the feelings of their less fortunate fellow students, it is necessary that those in possession of ample means should voluntarily impose upon themselves as simple a standard of life as may be possible in the matter of food, entertainment, clothes and amuse-

ments. I have no doubt that even then this class of students will fare much better than their fellow students, but they will have set an excellent example and will have made things very much easier for those who may not be so well favoured by fortune as themselves. Nor must we forget that simple living helps to bridge the gulf which divides different sections of the community. In certain countries the unequal distribution of wealth and the inequalities resulting therefrom have already led to a fierce and ruinous internecine conflict. Again, habits of luxury have a tendency to grow upon their victims like the drug habit, and a man who becomes accustomed to a life of luxury, becomes in the end a being apart from his fellowmen, and loses all sympathy with them. So far as any service to the community or the country is concerned such a person becomes utterly useless.

I must not be understood as condemning wealth and property as such. It is not the acquisition of wealth that is evil, it is the manner of spending it that may often be so. Nobody possessing a balanced mind can have any quarrel with a state of society in which by the use of his natural talents one man is enabled to earn more than another. It is only when acquired or inherited wealth is used in a manner which divides society into different and hostile sections, and by setting examples of indulgence on the one side, excites greed, envy and hatred on the other, that wealth becomes the cause of revolution and bloodshed which destroy all social order and all feeling of human brotherhood. Why is it that inside a family no feelings of envy or malice are entertained against its bread-winner ? It is not due to the fact that every member of the family realises that whatever the bread-winner earns becomes the support and means of sustenance of the whole family and is not entirely appropriated by the bread-winner himself ? Surely then, if those members of society who are more favoured by fortune in the matter of wealth and property than others, were to regard themselves as trustees on behalf of the rest of the community and to admit as large a number of their fellowmen as possible to the benefits which wealth and property represent, not only will there not be entertained any feeling of hostility towards them but they will be looked up to with gratitude and affection in the same manner as the bread-winner in a family is looked up to by the rest of the family. This state of affairs can be brought about only if the wealthier members of the community were voluntarily to adopt a simple and unostentatious manner of living.

Lastly, there is the duty to strive for national unity. No people can claim to be a nation unless it possesses unity in certain essentials. The Arabic equivalent of the word "nation" which is also current in Urdu and is well understood in Northern India is "*qaum*". In Arabic it denotes moderation, supervision and permanence. The meaning of the word "*qaum*" in Arabic, therefore, is a community which seeks to establish a system that makes provision for the needs of all its sections, supervises the working of that system, so that no interests are neglected, and strives to give it permanence. This is a very comprehensive definition of the duties and responsibilities of a community which seeks to function as a nation. If, therefore, we desire to function as such, the very first essential is to bring about national unity, Patriotism cannot completely fulfil its purpose until its scope is so widened as to include the attainment, not only of political freedom, but also of national unity. Experience has shown that such unity is not to be achieved merely by verbal declarations, but can only be achieved by the adoption of means which are calculated to bring it about in practice,

One of the peculiarities of India is that followers of different religions and creeds are to be found in this country in such numbers that each one of these religions has to be taken into account in the national life of the country. Intolerance in religious matters has often in the past led to friction and disorder. It is the duty of every Indian to remedy this, but this duty lies most heavily on the shoulders of the younger generation, as they will be the constituents of the new Indian nation. A nation can continue on the path of progress only if each generation strives strenuously to weed out from its inheritance all that has a tendency towards evil, and to foster that which is beneficent. Harmful tendencies that result from the diversity of religious doctrines and practices cannot be eliminated merely by shutting our eyes to them. It is not by ignoring differences of belief, doctrine and practice that we can improve matters, it is only by recognising their existence and making full allowance for them that we can bring about harmony and concord. We must fully recognise the diversity of religious creeds in India, and every one of us must make it his duty to respect the religious beliefs, sentiments and practices of everybody else. Until we begin to practise the widest tolerance in these matters, we cannot hope to eliminate the risk of friction

and collision between the followers of different religions. We must entertain genuine respect for the religions and indeed all leaders of different sections of the people of this country, and should at the very least refrain from interference with each other's religious observances and practices. I have never been able to understand in what manner a person calling himself a Muslim adds to the honour or dignity of Islam by reviling or insulting the leaders of the Hindu or the Christian or any other faith ; or how is it thought that a Hindu or a Christian adds to the honour and dignity of his faith by abusing and heaping insults upon those whom the followers of other faiths hold in honour. Nor can I understand how the position of Islam or Hinduism or Christianity is strengthened by the obstruction offered by the followers of one of these faiths to the followers of other faiths in the performance of their religious worship and ceremonies. I hope, therefore, that every one of you would in your daily lives set an example to the rest of the community in honouring all those whom other sections of the community hold in honour, and in scrupulously refraining from interference with the religious observances and practices of other sections of the community.

There are other factors which contribute towards the present state of discord in our country and operate to widen the gulf between different sections of its people. One of these matters is the ever-increasing divergence between the manner of living of different sections of the people. Among certain sections there is a growing tendency to mould their daily lives completely on the western model, while there are others who regard every departure from time honoured usage as deserving extreme condemnation. I am not an opponent of change. In every age and in all countries social customs and habits and the manner of life of the people are subject to change, and it cannot be said that every innovation in this sphere is necessarily evil, nor indeed that it is necessarily good. What I desire to emphasise is that any change which has a tendency to divide the people of a country into different groups is certainly an evil and is bound to prove a serious obstacle in the way of national unity. Such a change is occurring under our very eyes, and it is the duty of everybody who has the unity of the country at heart to strive to check its progress. Let me refer in this connection to a matter which affects our students directly, and with regard to which it may not readily occur to anybody that it has a tendency of the kind that I have indicated. I have in mind the prevalent fashion in games and sports followed in our Universities. Even in a matter like this, which pertains primarily to the spheres of health and amusement, we have set up a barrier between the urban and the rural classes. Those dwelling in our villages, and we must not forget that in many respects they are the real India, have no interest in the games and sports which are encouraged in our Universities and are unable to participate in them, not only from a lack of inclination but also as they lack the means of participation. The playing-field should offer excellent opportunities of equal social intercourse between different sections of the community, and yet the choice of our Universities in this matter not only deprives our students of opportunities of coming in equal social contact with young men outside the Universities, but raises a positive barrier between them. I do not suggest that our Universities should altogether abandon cricket and hockey and football and tennis, but that our University students should not altogether neglect wrestling and *kabbadi* and many other form of sport that are prevalent in rural areas. Indeed this must be carried further, and University students should be anxious to devise means and invent occasions of establishing normal and natural intercourse between the rural and urban classes.

Linguistic unity is another powerful factor which contributes towards national unity. Our young men should seek to make their own language a means of bringing closer together the dwellers in towns and the dwellers in the countryside, the Hindu and the Muslim, the Sikh and the Christian. This can happen only if we diligently foster our own languages and extend the opportunities of their use. A very distressing feature of University life in India is that the study of the English language, which should have been utilised for the promotion of international understanding and concord, is having the effect of dividing the educated sections of the community from the rest of it. A large section of our University students makes it a habit to employ the English language as a means of communication even outside the University, and a still larger number is falling into the habit of employing a polyglot dialect composed mainly of English words with a sprinkling of the vernacular. I have had extensive opportunities of travel, and in no other country have I witnessed linguistic performances so ludicrous as one comes

across constantly in one's own country. The result is that there is a complete lack of sympathy between those sections of the community who can employ, as a means of communication, nothing but their own vernacular, and our University students, the majority of whom would be hard put to it to communicate even simple ideas in their respective vernaculars.

The study of foreign languages is an excellent pursuit and confers obvious benefits and advantages, both individual and national, and I am one of the most ardent supporters of such studies. What I am here concerned about is the neglect of our own vernaculars which is beginning to operate as a barrier between the different sections of the people of this country, and is, therefore, beginning to operate as an obstacle in the way of national unity.

I hope I may be forgiven if in this connection I register a protest against the efforts that are being made to convert Urdu, which is the most widely understood vernacular of Northern India, into Muslim Urdu and Hindu Urdu. This tendency has been carried so far that the topic has become one of burning controversy between Hindus and Muslims. There is no language which does not continuously borrow from other languages, and as a matter of fact, Urdu owes its very existence to certain parent languages. But the borrowing must be gradual and imperceptible, so that it is universally accepted by those who habitually use the particular language. Urdu is, however, being so rapidly and volently Arabacised on the one hand, and Sanskritised on the other, that if these unnatural efforts are not speedily put an end to, it will soon be impossible for Hindus and Mslims living in Northern India to communicate with each other in the vernacular. It is again the duty of our University students to set their faces firmly against this pernicious tendency, and to let their vernaculars grow by a natural process of assimilation, so that language which should be an instrument of unity does not become a weapon of discord.

May I conclude with the hope that at least some of these ideas to which I have given expression aloud might help you to equip yourselves better for the service of your people and your country, and indeed of humanity at large, than if these matters were neglected ; and with the prayer that the youth of our country may be inspired with high moral ideals and putting them into practice in their daily lives, may prove themselves a source of blessing to themselves, to their people, to their country and to mankind.

The All India Educational Conference

Annual Session—Srinagar—29th. September 1941

MR. JOHN SARGEANT'S SPEECH

The All India Educational Conference met at Srinagar on the **29th. September 1941** under the presidentship of *Dr. Amarnath Jha.*

An educational plan, national in scope and international in spirit, was advocated by *Mr. John Sargeant*, Educational Commissioner, Government of India, speaking on post-war educational reconstruction at the conference. He believed that the present educational system in India required overhauling from top to bottom. It was in theory a platitude but in practice a truth, nowhere more generally ignored than in India that a soundly conceived system of popular education ought to satisfy both cultural and economic needs of the community whose interests it intended to promote. If this was war for freedom, for humanity, he continued, it seemed to him axiomatic that India ought to share in the fruits of victory when it came, neither more nor less than any other nation. Pleading the cause of national industrialisation he advocated that 60 to 65 per cent of the population should only be engaged in agriculture and rest in industry. Though he was not over-optimistic in his estimate of what a wisely planned industrialisation might achieve in the way both of increased national prosperity and improved standards of living for workers, he saw no reason why India should shrink from exploiting to the full what he described as "accidental impulse to development of indigenous industries which has been given her by participation in the empire war effort."

RESOLUTIONS

The Conference passed resolutions mourning the death of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, Sir Shah Sulaiman, Lord Baden-Powell, Sir George Grierson and Mr. G. S. Dutt.

A resolution congratulating Sir C. V. Raman on the award of the Frankin Medal was also passed.

By another resolution, the Conference asked the Government to adequately subsidise individual private efforts in education, primary, secondary and adult.

The Conference advocated teaching of non language subjects in schools and colleges through the medium of the predominant language of the area concerned and the imparting of instruction in all stages of education through the medium of the mother-tongue. The Conference expressed the opinion that in any kind of post-war educational reconstruction class outlook in any and every form must go.

The All India Students' Federation

Seventh Session—Patna—27th. and 28th. December 1941

MR. A. N. SINHA'S OPENING ADDRESS

The seventh session of the All-India Students' Federation Conference commenced at Patna on the **27th. December 1941**, Mr. *Yusuf Meherally* presiding.

The Conference commenced in a well decorated pandal in Tagore Nagar, specially built for the session. About six hundred delegates from every part of India attended. In spite of the fact that thirty-two Assam delegates could not arrive because of their arrest on the eve of their departure from Assam for Patna, in connection with the Gauhati incident, about 5,000 students from all provinces attended.

Mr. *Girija Saran Singh*, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcoming the delegates, appealed to the students to carry on the programme enunciated by the All-India Students' Conference.

Mr. *Anugrah Narayan Sinha*, ex-Finance Minister of Bihar, opening the

Conference, said : "You live in a dynamic age. You cannot sit idle. You are bound to be interested in the freedom movement. You desire to free your country from foreign domination. You want to see India march on her way to independence and you are anxious to do your bit. To that end you may have many ideas in your mind which you will naturally endeavour to translate into action. Do so by all means and try to receive new ones, examine them critically and if you find they are suitable, make them your own. You have plenty of time for study ; utilise it to the fullest extent. Your study must be varied and wide. If you want to read Marx and Lenin, do so but do not forget to read the history of political thought of your own country. Do not be led away by catch phrases and attractive ideas. You cannot profit by your study unless you acquaint yourself with the background of those ideologies which you want to implement in your country.

"You talk too much of revolution, but revolution comes of its own accord and is not created to order. If and when it comes people should be fully prepared and disciplined to take advantage of it It is for you to feel and realise how far you are prepared to receive it."

Proceeding, Mr. Sinha said that unless the background of their education, which was imparted by universities controlled by an alien Government, underwent a revolutionary change they could not be fit attaining freedom. They must change the outlook of their life and begin to think in terms of India and Indian and then they would see things in a different light. Their life would be simpler and their habits would conform to the changed outlook and everything about them would appear in a different perspective. It would then be easy for them to spare time to serve their less fortunate brethren. You will get time to teach them. You will realise the value of serving those who need your help. You will begin to feel a pleasure in and derive satisfaction from such humanitarian works as removal of illiteracy, removal of untouchability, communal unity, etc."

"I plead with you to make your life useful and serviceable, to cultivate a life of service and sacrifice should henceforth be your watchword", he added. "Disciplined body and disciplined mind are the greatest need of the hour and if you are earnest you can create a favourable atmosphere for such growth. May I appeal to you to forget your mutual bickerings and take to self-discipline individually and collectively. Everyone of you can make your life better and nobler and be thus equipped to take your proper place in the world of to-morrow".

Concluding, Mr. Sinha described how Mahatma Gandhi felt about students in general and repeating what Gandhiji had said about them in his pamphlet on the constructive programme. Mr. Sinha observed that the importance of this considerably had increased and having regard to the exigencies of the situation, we ought to lay the proper emphasis on it and try to give effect to it.

Mr. *Zaidi*, Joint Secretary of the All-India Students' Federation, read out messages to the Conference from Messrs. Jawharlal Nehru, Sri Krishna Sinha, ex-Premier; Acharya Narendra Deo, Sri Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya, Rajkumari Amritkaur, Mr. Sampurnanand, Mr. Madanmohan Prasad, ex-President of the All-India Students' Federation who is now in prison and others.

Mr. Sri Krishna Sinha's Message

Mr. *Srikrishna Sinha*, ex-Prime Minister, not being able to inaugurate the conference, sent a message in the course of which he said : "We are living in very critical times. The world is in ferment and behind the clash of arms, there is really a clash of ideologies. If humanity has to be saved from periodical lapses into barbarism, we have to think of the present conflict in term of ideologies. Both imperialism and fascism have to go and society has to be reconstructed on the basis of freedom and hapiness for all. At this turning point in world's history, we require real leaders of thought and action who will give a right lead to the world and work for the advent of a new order of things. It is from amongst the students of to-day that we can have such leaders of thought and men of action for the eventful future which awaits our country. I hope the Federation will always hold aloft before students this high and noble mission of their life and always inspire them to prepare themselves for that glorious day when they will be called upon to mould the destiny of millions of our countrymen."

Mr. Meherally's Address

"Another eventful year has gone by", said Mr. *Yusuf Meherally* in his presidential address. "There were many in the Congress who had favoured a mass move-

ment and had urged more effective inteference with the war effort. I was among this number, but the Congress decided upon individual civil disobedience and hundreds of us joined in the satyagraha movement. Since my release from prison, I have heard it said again and again that the past year's movement has been a dismal failure. Frankly I do not agree with this view. Although a mass movement would have yielded more effective results, it will be wrong on our part to minimise the importance of the present struggle. It broke the long political stalemate and for the time being at least put an end to all talks of compromise and started the Congress on the road to direct action even though of a restrictive nature. What have been the results ? In the first place, let us not forget that the Indian National Congress is the only great organisation in the world that resorted to war resistance on an appreciable scale and sent 30,000 people to prison, as a consequence. Secondly, as a result of this movement, India stands dissociated in the eyes of the world from the present war. Thirdly, the resignation of Congress Ministries a little earlier in eight out of the eleven provinces of India and the subsequent imprisonment or detention without trial of representative Congressmen, including members of the A. I. C. C., hundreds of members of the legislatures and almost all Ministers who had resigned, served to dramatise the Indian struggle before the world at large.

STUDENTS AND POLITICS

"Discussion of the present political situation leads me on to the vexed question of students and politics. Lately a tendency has been growing among our public men seeking to exclude students from political matters. This, in my opinion, is very, very unhelpful. For students living in a country that is struggling for freedom to be divorced from politics is to be divorced from life.

"In fact, the responsibility devolving on the student community in a country struggling for Independence is heavier that of their fortunate brethren elsewhere. Students have a two-fold duty to perform ; the first is to identify themselves with the struggle for national liberation and secondly, to rebel against the dead weight of ancient customs and traditions that have long outlived their usefulness here in India. You have to solve the communal problem, to uproot the vicious caste system to touch untouchables and to lift the purda, among other pressing things".

HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY

Dealing with the Hindu-Muslim problem, Mr. Meherally observed : "With the common history and traditions extending back to a thousand years, it should not be beyond the power of the younger generation to promote more cordial relations between the two communities and to become ambassadors of Hindu-Muslim unity. The most effective way is to approach the masses on the basis of their economic needs. It is to be regretted that the economic approach has not been still given a proper trial by the Congress organisations. To my mind, the communal problem is essentially the result of three factors. The first of these undoubtedly is the Government factor ; No. 2 is the fight for political power among the intelligentsia of the different communities, a battle for posts and jobs being cleverly disguised under the cloak of religion. The third is the comparative failure of the non-communal organisations to approach the Muslim masses in sufficiently large numbers and bring them within their respective sphers of influence. While the economic approach is most important, by itself it will not be able to achieve the needed results. A greater cultural fusion between the two communities also is very necessary. Our present educational system, while it has opened to us treasures of western learning, has kept us more or less ignorant about each other's cultural achievements. These shortcomings students are eminently fitted to remove."

Mr. Meherally then discussed the international situation. The blunt declaration of the British Prime Minister that the provisions of the Atlantic Charter would not apply to India even after an allied victory was a straw that showed in what direction the wind was blowing. It was clear that so far as India was concerned, the Imperialist character of the war remained unchanged.

Regretting the split in the students' movement, the President expressed the opinion that the students' movement should not be made the tail-end of any political party movement. "You must avoid dogmatic formulas" he advised them and associated himself with the message sent by Mr. *Jawaharlal Nehru* to the Conference.

In conclusion, Mr. *Meherally* appealed to them to give "at least one hour of

your time each day to the Students' Union and help it in building up the students' movement free alike from sectarianism and tyranny of rigid dogma." "Pledge yourself to fight communalism in every shape or form," he said, "make friends with students of all communities and make it a point to study their literature and customs sympathetically even if they differ from your own. Take keen interest in social problem ; do not consider them as just reformist items below your attention."

Resolutions, touching the death of Dr. *Rabindranath Tagore*, Dr. *Ganganath Jha*, ex-Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University, and Pandit *Ramachandra Shukla*, were put from chair and passed all standing.

Resolutions—Second Day—Patna—28th. December 1941

NATIONAL STRUGGLE

The Conference concluded its deliberations to-day after adopting a number of resolutions on the political situation, war and national unity.

The first of these resolutions on the national struggle stated: "While maintaining their separate identity, the students should identify themselves with the national struggle collectively as far as possible, resisting all attacks on their civic and academic rights, liberties and also co-operating within their own spheres with other organisations in the achievement of freedom."

The resolution further viewed "with alarm the intense repression that has been launched against the students and which has manifested itself in the shape of arrests, detention and searches under the cover of the Defence of India Rules." The resolution asserted that the student movement was an integral part of the national movement and as such they had to play an important role in the struggle for national liberation.

NATIONAL UNITY

Another resolution on national unity said that India was one and indivisible and that the political and administrative unity achieved in this ancient land was based upon a real cultural, social and economic unity produced by centuries of natural historical development. The resolution while admitting that cultural freedom was necessary for the growth of this future common culture warned the students of India against the misguided attempts to divide India into cultural zones with the rights to separate on the ground that India was not one nation. The resolution deplored the communal differences and occasional communal outbursts in the country which, it held, were the product of imperialists handling of an easily soluble social problem and domination of life in this country by vested interests.

UNITY AMONG STUDENTS

A third resolution on unity among students' movement reiterated its desire for a united student movement and noted with concern that the earnest efforts in this direction had not borne any fruit.

THE WAR RESOLUTION

The resolution on war maintained that its character had not changed and called upon the students to work for a new social order based on peacefulness and democracy wherein the recurrence of such war would be impossible in future and the exploitation of man by man and nation by nation would cease.

STUDENTS' DEMANDS

A lengthy resolution on students' demands opined that it was only on the basis of students' demands that a real student movement could be built up and therefore directed the Provincial Students' Federation to intensity their struggle for the fulfilment of their demands. The resolution demanded reduction in tuition, hostel and examination fees, complete freedom of thought, speech and association in and outside educational institutions, that the administration of educational institutions, particularly Universities, should be democratised and that an exhaustive scheme should be drafted by the Government for the relief of unemployment among the educated classes and that it should be immediately put into practice.

Mr. *Yusuf Meherally*, the President, in his concluding remarks, said, "We are on the parting of ways. The international situation is fast developing day by day. No one can say what will happen to-morrow. It is at this time the Congress should keep clear from all Parliamentary activities and should greatly stiffen the struggle. A compromise is to obstruct the progress of the country."

The Bihar Students' Conference

Annual Session—Patna—22nd. & 23rd. August 1941

SIR RADHAKRISHNAN'S OPENING SPEECH

The Bihar Students' Conference commenced its two-day session at Patna on the **22nd. August 1941.** Inaugurating the cultural section of the Conference, Dr. Sir *Radhakrishnan* welcomed the idea of associating a cultural section with social and political movements.

Sir *S. Radhakrishnan* defined culture as capacity to regard the individual in a society as an essential entity and said, "What is wrong with the world to-day is not that we lack intellectual and moral achievements. We lack a sense of direction in the system with which we can adjust these achievements."

Referring to the cry of freedom raised frequently, he said that it was a portmanteau expression and included various forms of freedom such as economic, political, legal and constitutional. All these were essential for the development of a people or a nation. But political sovereignty, legal and constitutional rights, could be subordinated before the idea of a league of nations. Only one kind of freedom could on no account be bartered away and that was cultural and spiritual freedom.

The modern world, he regretted, looked upon the State as a colossal organisation to which the human soul was sacrificed in the name of social patterns.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Mr. *P. R. Das*, President, said :—"Cultural unity is impossible unless national unity is brought about, and many authorities consider the will to be a nation the principal element of nationality. This is a field which the youths of India may cultivate to bring about the desired end."

Mrs. *Anusuya Wagle* welcomed the delegates and invitees.

CONFUSION AT 2ND. DAY'S MEETING

Uproarious scenes, which at one time appeared to develop into a clash between the two rival parties, marked the proceedings of the closing day session of the Federation.

When a resolution asking the Students' Federation to refrain from taking part in political activities was moved, a section of students opposed the resolution. Disorder followed and shouts and counter-shouts rendered the business of the House difficult. The President had to dissolve the Conference.

Earlier, the Conference passed a number of resolutions, including one sympathising with the people in their fight against Germany and another asking students to form unity squads, consisting of Hindu and Muslim students with a view to promoting Hindu-Muslim amity.

By another resolution the Conference condemned the alleged highhandedness of the Bombay Police in assaulting the students when they staged a demonstration against Sir *Maurice Gwyer* on the occasion of the Convocation of the Bombay University.

The A. I. Muslim Students' Federation

Fifth Session—Nagpur—26th. and 27th. December 1941

THE WELCOME ADDRESS

The Fifth Session of the All-India Muslim Students' Federation commenced at Nagpur on the **26th December 1941** under the presidency of Mr. *Mahomed Ali Jinnah.*

Mr. *Abdul Qadir*, Chairman of the Reception Committee, criticised the Congress rule in the Provinces and referred to the grievances of Muslim students, such as the singing of "Bande Mataram." Muslim students, who were League-minded, he stated, were made to suffer for their political views. The change-over in the administration under section 93 of the Government of India Act had not, however, brought about any improvement. Mr. Qadir assured Mr. Jinnah that

Muslim students wholeheartedly supported the League policy as regards Pakistan and the war.

Mr. *Nauman*, Deputy President of the Federation, announced that the Chief Minister of Bengal had been removed from the life membership of the Federation. Their organisation, he said, had become stronger in Bombay, Karachi and Lahore, and added that an All-India Muslim Girl Students' Federation would be formed at Delhi in March next. He expressed the hope that Mr. Jinnah would live long to become the King of Pakistan.

Earlier, the *Raja of Mahmudabad*, hoisting the flag, said that the Pakistan movement had come to stay and even a thousand Savarkars could not check it.

The Presidential Address

Mr. *Mahomed Ali Jinnah* began by reminding the students that, according to the constitution of their Federation, they were to fit themselves for taking their proper share in the struggle for the freedom of the country. They were not to participate in the political development taking place from day to day. Their primary duty was to concentrate on their studies.

Proceeding, Mr. *Jinnah* said that the Muslim League had grown and was growing by leaps and bounds all over India. The Muslim League had made not only remarkable but miraculous progress. (Applause). The League had infused political consciousness among the Muslims, giving them a flag, a common platform and a goal.

"GOVT. INDIA ACT—A DISMAL FAILURE"

Continuing, Mr. *Jinnah* said that Muslims had no friends. They were surrounded by opponents in all directions and particularly in C. P., where four per cent of the population was "terrorised and cowed down." But he had never felt prouder than when he heard and read of the magnificent stand taken by them in this Province. "No nation has ever achieved its ambition without sacrifice. Therefore, it is obvious that this wretched Constitution which was enacted in 1935—even the Provincial part of it—has been a dismal failure in this country. We shall have to revise our notions and ideas as to the future. But I want the Muslims of this Province to be cheerful. Nothing will prevail which is unjust, unfair and dishonest."

Mr. Jinnah impressed on his audience that the key to the correct solution was in their own hands. They should not depend on anybody else. By that, he did not mean that they should become aggressive. Muslims had no designs on the Hindu or any other sister community, but Muslims would not submit to the domination of others in this sub-continent.

Referring to the Huq episode, Mr. Jinnah said : "I make a Christmas present of Mr. Fazlul Huq to Lord Linlinthgow. I make a New Year's gift of the Nawab of Dacca to the Governor of Bengal. I am glad that the Muslim League is rid of them. I am confident that the League will emerge stronger without these men who are guilty of gross breach of faith and betrayal of the Muslims in India. No man is indispensable in our organisation."

Turning to the political situation, Mr. Jinnah said that he could not understand why Congress leaders did not honestly and frankly admit that they did not represent the Muslims ; the League was the only authoritative representative body of the Muslims. Mr. Jinnah analysed the Congress demands and declared that, if those demands were accepted, the Muslims would be relegated to the position of a helpless minority. From the recent utterances of Congress leaders such as Mahatma Gandhi, Mr. Nehru, Maulana Azad and Mr. Rajagopalachari, he said, it was difficult to understand what the Congress wanted.

Analysing the Hindu Maha Sabha's demands, Mr. *Jinnah* said that the Maha Sabha did not want to give the Muslims one iota beyond what they considered was the Muslims' due on a population basis. The motive behind the Maha Sabha's call to the Hindus to fill the ranks of the army, navy and air force, was to destroy the Pakistan scheme.

Continuing, Mr. Jinnah argued that the demand for a declaration of Dominion Status one or two years after the end of the war was made so that the Constitution could no longer be framed with the consent of the minority party. In the first instance, the British were no such fools as to fall into this trap. And even if they did, a bad constitution would not last a fortnight. (applause). Mr. Jinnah read Mahatma Gandhi's Thirteen Point Constructive Programme and said that if Mahatma Gandhi added a fourteenth point

namely, Pakistan, a settlement between the Hindus and Muslims would be very easy (applause).

Referring to individual satyagraha, Mr. Jinnah quoted Mahatma Gandhi's own statement to show that the ultimate object of it was not to ensure freedom of speech, but "the final goal of Purna Swaraj."

Mr. Jinnah reiterated the League view-point on war effort, and said that Muslims could not give their all, "unless they were placed in the position of having a real and genuine share in the responsibility and authority of the governments at the Centre and in the Provinces ?"

Concluding, Mr. Jinnah urged the students to maintain unity and solidarity, and advised them not to resist or defy law and order. They must wait for the orders of the All-India League and then he (Mr. Jinnah) would be the first to march with them.

Mr. Jinnah in the course of his address, said that he found a family resemblance between the demands put forward by the Hindu Maha Sabha and the Liberal leaders and described Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru as subtle but dangerous.

Referring to the Congress resolution regarding the framing of the future constitution for India by a Constituent Assembly, he said his difficulty was in regard to the appointment of arbitrators for deciding the issues on which the minority differed from the majority. "Who will appoint the personnel for arbitrator ?" he asked. "If I appoint arbitrators of my choice will the Congress accept it ?"

"I ask you, is it not in the face of it futile and absurd to ask that the British Government should make a declaration that India should be granted Dominion Status one year or two years after the war ? Can you imagine the British Government making such a declaration ? In the first instance, they cannot do it and even if they do it, do you expect them to put Mr. Savarkar on the gadi and do the policing of his Raj ? As Mr. Amery rightly points out, Dominion Status is not a medal or decoration I can put on your buttom-hole with a safety pin. This demand aims at eliminating Muslim consent to the future constitution. The British are not fools to fall into this trap, but even if they do it, that constitution will not last for a fortnight."

Resolutions

The following resolutions were passed by the Federation :—

The main resolution reads : "This session, while deploring the failure of the Government to make satisfactory response to the offer made by the Muslim League for the active and whole-hearted association of the Muslims of India with the intensification of war efforts and the defence of India, appreciates the assurances given by Mr. Amery and the Viceroy in their recent speeches regarding the framing of the future constitution of India. The Federation, however, wishes to sound a note of warning that any repetition of the so-called Gentleman's Agreement between the Congress and the Government and the return of single party Congress ministries without a previous settlement with the Muslim League would lead to a very grave crisis."

By other resolutions, the Federation demanded the release of all political prisoners of all parties, including Alama Mashriqui, condemned the action of Mr. Fazlul Huq and the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca and appreciated the stand taken by the League and Scheduled Caste members, and demanded the making of the Bombay University's syllabus acceptable to Muslims add the enactment of the Bengal Secondary Education Bill as it emerged out of the last session.

Mr. *Jinnah* advised students to concentrate on education, economic and other aspects of national life and do constructive work during the holidays. They must not take an active part in politics.

At Mr. Jinnah's suggestion, the Federation dropped its resolution regarding war effort and constitution-making and substituted the same by another resolution worded on the same lines as the one concerning Pakistan passed by the Muslim League. It also omitted from the resolution regarding the release of political prisoners all references to Deoli and Khaksar prisoners and also Siddiq Ali Khan.

The Indian Academy of Sciences

Annual Session—Nagpur—24th. December 1941

THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

The annual session of the Indian Academy of Sciences was held at Nagpur on the 24th. December 1941 under the presidency of *Sir C. V. Raman* who in the course of his address said :—

"The Academies of Science abroad have realised that they serve the interests of science best, when they also undertake direct participation in research work of exceptional importance. In the Memorandum of Association of the Indian Academy of Sciences, such participation in research activities is specifically provided for. Circumstances have arisen which have made it desirable that steps should be taken to implement this provision in the constitution of the Academy."

Sir C. V. Raman said : "For good or for evil, we live in an age of science. No one who is familiar with the history of science would fail to recognise the tremendous influence exercised on the progress of science by the great National Academies, such as for instance, the Royal Society of London and the Academy of Sciences at Paris. These academies act not merely as clearing houses for information regarding scientific discovery and invention but also directly to serve, to encourage scientific research and to keep down the inevitable growth of weeds in the garden of science. I mean the elimination of false or spurious claim to scientific discovery. The national academies in fact serve as co-ordinaters and controllers of scientific research. They have necessarily to work in close co-operation with the Universities in the country.

"The Academies, indeed, assist the Universities by publishing the research work done by them, and also in other ways, as for instance, when the Royal Society established its Mond Research Laboratory at the University of Cambridge. During the seven years the Indian Academy of Science has been functioning, it has striven to assist the Universities of India in this way. The proceedings of the Academy which have appeared punctually, month after month, embody the research work done in most of the Universities, both in Northern and Southern India. It is greatly to be desired that the Universities appreciate what the Academy is doing for them and help the Academy to carry on under the present very difficult conditions. The Academies of Science abroad have realised that they serve the interests of science best when they also undertake direct participation in research work of exceptional importance. In the Memorandum of the Association of the Indian Academy of Sciences, such participation in research activities is specifically provided for. Circumstances have arisen which have made it desirable that steps be taken to implement this provision in the Constitution of the Academy."

CRYSTAL DYNAMICS

Sir C. V. Raman then gave a scientific discourse on 'New concepts of the solid state'. Early in the history of modern science, he said, the symmetry exhibited by the external form of crystals had struck the imagination of many thinkers and experimentalists and it had led to the realisation of the fact that the observed symmetry was but an outward expression of the geometric regularity of the internal structure. The discovery of the X-ray closely followed by the discovery of the diffraction of X-rays by crystals provided a tool for direct observation of this fact, which, he said, had indeed resulted in giving an amazing vista of new knowledge about the static structure of the crystal.

In reality, however, he added, the atoms in a crystal were not static, but in constant vibration and a correct understanding of the dynamics of these vibrations was equally fundamental to crystal physics. One of the earliest theories concerning the nature of the crystal vibrations, due to a German Physicist, Prof. Debye, ignored the atomistic structure of the crystal and assumed that the vibrations in a crystal gave rise to elastic waves having a continuous range of frequencies limited on the long-wave-length side by the dimensions of the crystal and on the short-wave-length side by an arbitrary value which depended on the substance. This theory was later on modified by Max Born, whose theory was essentially the same as that of Prof. Debye except in its mathematical formulation.

Recent investigations on the light-scattering, X-rays and thermal energy of crystalline solids, carried out at Bangalore, Sir C. V. Raman said, had, however, shown that these theories were wholly untenable. The question really was : 'Are the atoms in action in a crystal, behaving in an orderly fashion or not ?' He showed from simple considerations that the theories of Delye and Born implied that the vibrations of individual atoms were independent of each other. This was in contradiction to the experimental facts observed in several branches of crystal physics. How far it was from reality, was readily seen from the simple fact that when a solid rod was heated at one end, it took several hours for the heat to reach the other end. This was just the opposite of what we should expect if the thermal agitation in a crystal gives rise to elastic waves postulated by Prof. Debye ; for elastic waves like sound waves travelled far more quickly through matter.

It was evident, added Sir C. V. Raman, that for a true understanding of the nature of crystal vibrations, the macroscopic approach was insufficient and an atomistic point of view had to be adopted.

Sir C. V. Raman then gave a picture of crystal dynamics which he had developed during the past six months. The essence of his theory was that the atoms in action in a crystal were orderly and co-operated with each other in just the same way as they did when they were at rest. A treatment of the problem from an atomistic point of view correctly predicted the exact nature of crystal dynamics on the basis of the lattice and superlattice vibrations. These theoretical deductions were fully supported by investigations in the field of spectroscopy. X-rays and specific heat of solids.

The Indian History Congress

Fifth Session—Hyderabad (Dn.)—21st. December 1941

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

The fifth session of the Indian History Congress was held at Hyderabad (Deccan) on the **21st. December 1941**, under the presidency of Rai Saheb Prof. *C. S. Srinivasachari*, Head of the Department of History and Politics, Annamalai University who in the course of his address said :—

"The vista of our History has been receding more and more into what may be regarded as prehistory which was widened on an unparalleled scale by the epoch-making discovery of the Indus Valley civilization. The most pressing need of to-day is a correct, impartial and just interpretation of the material which has thus accumulated and many parts of which still require re-interpretation or even new interpretation."

Prof. Srinivasachari said that the exploitation of historical resources should always be conducted with a critical mind and with judgment, and the building of conclusions should be made on the most thorough and unprejudiced bases possible. He added that conclusions which had been accepted for a great length of time and consequently became stereo-typed might in some cases be found to be based upon insufficient data ; and such conclusions to which faddists became, in their manner, indissolubly wedded, grew to be formidable obstacles in the way of even an initial examination of new theories that might go against them. This danger was particularly marked in those aspects of Indian historical studies that were associated with questions of race and culture-contacts and examination of the social order and changes affecting them.

NEED FOR CORRECT EVALUATION

After emphasising the ideal of impartiality in the interpretation of events, Prof. Srinivasachari observed : "True history should be comprehensive and not merely be nation-wide, but also extend particularly in the portrayal of cultures, their origin and dispersion, to a continental and even inter-continental background. Many phases of Indian History, markedly those relating to filiations of Dravidian culture and origin, and the spread of Indian civilisation in Indonesia and Serindia, require that the historian should extend his understanding from the conventional narrow, and possibly sub-national, and project it on a truly international background."

"The great challenges that have come down like avalanches on the slope of time, like Buddhism, the Huna and Scythian invasions and settlement, and the advent of Islam, have tended to modify the lines of social progress and alter even their bases. In this field the duty of the historian is to show that progress has not always been absent as has sometimes been imagined, but has positively been made possible by these great operating forces.

"On the history of Islam in India and the mutual influence of Islamic culture and Hinduism in their widest aspect, the student is faced with a number of questions clamouring for solution, or at least an attempt at correct interpretation. The military and political achievements of the Mahomedan conquerors and rulers, the genius of Muslim writers, artists and builders, these and other related topics have been adequately dealt with: but the problem that still awaits definite interpretation is how far Islam has really entered into the web of Indian life in some of its remote phases and what historians have done to depict the Muslim peoples themselves in their religious and social life, apart from conquests and court connections and superficial contacts."

Scheme for Comprehensive History

Explaining the dangers that confront the student of History in arriving at a correct evaluation of the achievements of the past, Prof. Srinivasachari said :

"The ideal historian should not also display any tendency to weave destiny round his heroes, instead of allowing the story of their destiny to unfold itself in a natural manner. Every piece of his work should be primarily based on an impartial interpretation of data, which should be subjected to strictly scientific tests in their qualitative selection, as these alone would ensure their indicative value.

"Surveying the progress made by our Congress in furthering the scheme of a Comprehensive History of India, we are happy that syllabuses of the various periods have been framed for discussion. The Secretaries will now submit the complete skeleton syllabus of the proposed History, spread out over twelve volumes, for its consideration by the Committee appointed at the last session and also for eliciting the views of the members of the Congress. At this stage it will be useful if this session can give its countenance and approval to the scheme and to provide for the appointment of committees and editorial boards for pushing through the work. A considerable headway still remains to be made before the scheme can be actually put into execution. Finance is a most important factor for the effective fruition of our aim and it is high time that an appeal be definitely made to Governments, both British and Indian, and to generous patrons, in the name of this Congress which is fully representative of historical scholarship hailing from every part of the country, in order that we may get a satisfactory response.

"Emphasis should be laid on the wholly scholarly and specialised nature of our enterprise which should be an irreproachable embodiment of ripe research work and intensive specialisation. Our aim is not the mere popularisation of a knowledge of Indian History, but the production of an authoritative series of volumes, which should be both creative and original in the best sense. For this aim the co-operation of all scholars, Indian, English, American or European and of other nationalities is required."

Concluding Prof. Srinivasachari said : "I would finally urge that it is of supreme importance that our minds should be guided by large ideas and generous principles and not moved by narrow and particularistic impulses ; and the members of our Congress owe a duty to the country and they should not only make available fresh material hitherto unutilised but also try to subject the data at their disposal to the canons of true historical criticism."

Reception Committee Chairman's Speech

"Like the Urdu language of this University (Osmania) which is the outcome of the meeting of two great peoples and cultures, these Dominions have been a common meeting place of different cultures and different peoples ; and the statesmanship of the Asafjahi dynasty has retained and fostered the best that was found in their traditions," said *Nawab Mahdi Yar Jung Bahadur*, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcoming the delegates to the Congress.

Nawab Ali Yavar Jung's Address

"The independence of Nizam-ul-mulk did not come in the way of his marching to the defence of Delhi against an Iranian invader (Nadir Shah), and

to-day the armed forces of his seventh successor are fighting against an even greater menace to the integrity of India. They signify the bonds which unite us with the rest of India, and the homage we pay to the continuance of the unity of Indian history," said *Nawab Ali Yavar Jung Bahadur*, Secretary, Constitutional Affairs, H. E. H. the Nizam's Government, in the course of his sectional presidential address on Deccan History to the fifth session of the Indian History Congress, at the Osmania University on the 22nd. December 1941.

Appealing for the establishment of a special Chair of Deccan History at the Osmania University, the Nawab said, " It is a legacy the variety of which itself speaks of the diversity of its sources, but the continuity of its evolution endows it with a community of interests shared alike by different races.

"No political controversy or economic urge of the day can alter that fundamental fact of history. It has led to the age-long consciousness of an entity and to an instinct to defend it against external interference which found its personification in Chand Bibi and Malik Amber. The same instinct runs down the ages to the present and when the wealth of the heritage is known and seen, and the traditions are felt to which it has given birth, none will stand in need of an apology from us. What has now become known as Mulki or Deccani sentiment is in essence our pride in our past and our determination to defend and strengthen ourselves by our own exertions. The sentiment does not come in the way of others ; it only asks for internal development on the lines of our own genius."

HINDU-MUSLIM RELATIONS IN HYDERABAD

Referring to the relations between the Hindus and Muslims in Hyderabad and the influence of the West, he said : "The system of administration itself was, from the time of the first Asaf Jah, based upon a degree of toleration which left the management of land revenue and finance in the hand of Hindu nobles. Vast grants were made, and so much did the Hindus identify themselves with the new rulers that they took pride in being called Asaf Jahi. The impact of the West, the development of communications and the requirements of the new age induced the genius of Sir Salar Jung to inaugurate far-reaching reforms in every branch of the administration, while the noble edifice of the modern state, which you see to-day, is the result of the personal labours, during the last 30 years, of His Exalted Highness himself."

The All India Oriental Conference

Eleventh Session—Hyderabad (Dec.)—20th. December 1941

SIR AKBAR HYDARI'S MESSAGE

The eleventh session of the All-India Oriental Conference met on the **20th. December 1941** at the address hall of the Osmania University, Hyderabad, (Decan). The hon. *the Nawab of Chattari* inaugurated the session. About three hundred delegates from various parts of the country attended.

Sir *Akbar Hydari*, Information Member, Viceroy's Executive Council, in the course of his message to the Conference, said :

"Two thoughts come into mind. The first is how rich and varied is the heritage of learning and culture which our forefathers have handed down to us. The contribution which the East in general and India in particular has made to the sum of human knowledge and human progress is indeed notable, and it is good that at this time when the very life of civilisation is in danger, you should meet together to remind us and others that East as well as the West have been contributors to our common culture and show that India, even in the midst of war, is determined that the torch of pure learning shall not be extinguished.

"My second thought, when I read the names and the subjects on your programme, is the unity of our common heritage and how it takes no count of Hindu or Muslim or Bengali or Madrasi or Sanskrit or Urdu. Pure knowledge is universal : learning knows no creed or community. Surely it is an encouragement to us today, when the stress is so often on points of disagreement, to know that, however different the sources of our culture, there is a common ground on which we may meet together in agreement."

H. E. H. THE NIZAM'S MESSAGE

"You are meeting at a time when the free nations of the world are struggling against brutal aggression not only to preserve democracy and freedom but to

defend and safeguard the very foundation of society, culture and civilisation. It is all the more incumbent on you to keep alight the torch of Eastern thought, philosophy and religion," said *His Exalted Highness the Nizam* in the course of a message to the Conference.

Welcoming the delegates to the capital of his State His Exalted Highness said, "My Dominions possess a unique historical and cultural importance in the history of India, and I hope the delegates to this Conference, who are all great students and scholars of the languages and literatures of our country, will find abundant material for research in the varied fields of religion, philosophy, archaeology and history in the annals and antiquities of the Deccan.

"It has been the tradition of my family from the time of its illustrious founder, Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah I, to maintain peace, to promote unity, and encourage and foster all the different branches of learning and the arts, with the happy result that my Dominions have to-day become an important centre of education and culture. The Osmania University has led the way in furthering the ideas of employing an Indian language as the medium of instruction up to the highest stage even in purely technical and scientific subject. It has, thus, not only contributed something to the educational ideals of India but has rendered some service to the cause of Oriental languages and learning."

The Presidential Address

Mr. *Ghulam Yazdani*, in the course of his presidential address said, that they were thankful to the British Government for the peace and safety which they enjoyed to-day. Mr. Yazdani reviewed the past year's crop of books in Indian literature and archaeological findings and pointed out the difficulties of publishers due to war conditions. Continuing Mr. Yazdani said : "The activities of the Archaeological Department of the Government of India have suffered considerably by the adverse report of Sir Leopard Woolley on the one hand and the financial stringency resulting from the war conditions on the other. The system of work pursued by the Department, however, requires some reorientation."

With a view to placing the constitution of the Department on a scientific basis and raising the standard of archaeological research in India, the President suggested that there should be a clear division in the recruitment and training of officers for conservation, excavation and exploration work.

"Officers for conservation," he said, "should be recruited from engineering colleges or schools of architecture, and trained for a fixed period, extending from one to two years in the special methods of conservation, of archaeological monuments. After their training they should be posted permanently to a circle, or to a Province, in strict regard to their special qualifications and individual aptitudes and should not be transferred from that circle or Province, for the study of the archaeology of a particular area means a life s study and higher results cannot be achieved by officers who are transferred from Province to Province after intervals of a few years.

Similarly the officers for exploration and excavation work should be recruited from among those graduates who have already qualified in Archaeology as a part of their History course for their degree examinations. The officers thus selected may in the first instance be attached to museums in order to make themselves familiar with Indian antiquities and also to learn the methods of their preservation, classification and exhibition Afterwards, they may be attached to experts who are exploring or conducting excavation operations at important sites, in order to learn the scientific methods of field-work. Further, epigraphy should be entrusted to universities and the practice of training an archaeological officer both for epigraphy and conservation simultaneously should be abolished.

Again, in view of the growing national consciousness among the students of the country, it is desirable that there should be a liaison between the universities and the Archaeological Department, and the staff and students of Archaeology and Ancient History departments may be invited to watch and, if practicable, to partake according to their capacity in the excavation operations." To work out the details of the above reforms. Mr. Yazdani suggested the appointment of a committee.

"Coming over to Hyderabad," Mr. Yazdani, said, "I consider it my duty to state that the illustrious rulers of the Asaf Jah I dynasty, particularly our present benign Sovereign, have extended their patronage and warm support to the fostering and development of Oriental studies in a most catholic spirit, irrespective of the various schools of religious thought under which those studies are being pursued." Mr. Yazdani said : Another important project sanctioned by H. E. H. the

Nizam's Government is the publication of an authentic and up-to-date history of the monuments of India." Mr. Yazdani, also urged the establishment of a permanent office and library by the Conference and added that a Government University, whose name he would announce later, had promised to offer accommodation to the permanent staff and liberary of the Conference free.

Nawab of Chhatari's Speech

In the course of his inaugural address, the *Nawab of Chhatari*, President of H. E. H. the Nizam's Executive Council, said that the bonds of learning were universal and, in bringing scholars and students of different countries and communities in a common assembly, were an essentially unifying factor. To foster and promote Oriental studies was not merely an endeavour to encourage oriental art, literature and learning, to create a sense of just pride in our past, in our citizenship, so to speak, of the East, or to make us worthy of the great traditions we have inherited by brining them before our view for our constant inspiration, but also to spread far and wide that unifying influence which imbues the mind with the quality of detachment so necessary for wider understanding and nowhere so emphasised as in the East. Continuing, the Nawab said that meeting as they did at this critical juncture in the world's history, "your deliberation of the value set on principles which must inevitably lead to conflict, and you may perhaps be able to recall and to instil in minds instead, from study and promotion of Oriental culture, the spiritual values which have throughout the ages characterised the mind and soul of the East.

Earlier in his speech, the Nawab referred to the Decan's place in Oriental civilisation. "Patronage of art, literature and learning," he said, 'has been one of the distinguishing traditions of the house of Asaf Jah."

The Nawab also referred to the Hyderabad Observatory, the Medical College, which is a century old, and the Asafiyyah Library, which was founded fifty years ago and which contains one of the largest collections of manuscripts in India.

"The tradition thus inherited", added the Nawab of Chhatari, "was excelled by His Exalted Highness during whose period of rule, more than in any other, Hyderabad became one of the centres of Oriental studies. Apart from the general progress of education, primary education being free and so planned as to result in a school in every village, apart also from the impetus given to scholarship by large numbers of students enjoying State scholarships or financial assistance, who qualify yearly in Universities abroad, in India and in the Osmania University itself, an atmosphere of study, a zeal for learning and a general spirit of enquiry have been created and find expression in many of the institutions which have sprung into being.

"The Osmania University itself embodies a signal contribution to the cause of Oriental studies. While promoting the study of Western sciences and Western languages like English, French and German, it has fostered and encouraged even post-graduate research in Oriental laaguages like Arabic and Sanskrit, Persian and Telugu, Marathi and Canarese."

The Indian Philosophical Congress

Annual Session—Aligarh—21st. December 1941

THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

The annual session of the Indian Philosophical Congress was held of Aligarh on the 21st. December 1941 under the presidency of Mr. *G. C. Chatterjee* who in the course of his address said :—

"That man is a value-knowing, value-carrying and value creating individual, is the main thesis which I wish to present to you. That values are accidental in the sense that there cannot be shown to be any design or set purpose in nature to create or conserve them, must also be admitted. Further, we must also admit, that our sense of values may often be perverted, and what men may pursue may be disvalues, and what they may seek to destroy may be genuine values. But values are not accidental or subjective in the sense, that 'our thinking makes them so.' They are 'there' to be sought and apprehended, and discovered, and in some measure to be created by our own efforts. But we have no guarantee that the values we have found or created will not prove to be evanescent, and in fact may indeed be lost or destroyed through our own folly, or the malignity of others".

Tagore marks a turning point in the history of Indian thought, for while his theoretical outlook still harks back to the Upanishads and the main current of idealistic thought in India, his joyous acceptance of life, and his exultant enjoyment of the beauty of nature and of art, is poles asunder from the asceticism and negativism which has been so characteristic of our philosophical tradition. It is because I believe that Indian philosophy needs to return once more to a fuller appreciation of the values of this life, values so passionately extolled by the poet himself, that I venetrate him as the greatest figure in our intellectual renaissance.

Problem of Philosophy

That philosophy must face from time to time the practical problems of life, and seek to supply those in search of guidance, not only doubts which will paralyse life, but certainties on which they can regulate their conduct is, I believe, in the best tradition of our own thought in India. For was it not to Krishna that Arjuna went on the battlefield of Kurukshetra to resolve the doubts which had beset his soul on the eve of action ? The Bhagawad Gita, as I understand it, is an attempt not merely to supply a general philosophy, not even primarily a scheme of ethical life, but an attempt to solve the practical problems which present themselves to an average man at the time of a practical crisis in life. Surely it is the courage of Krishna which philosophy needs to-day, not the cowardice of those who would escape the intellectual responsibilities of their time behind the bars of technicalities or the shutters of traditionalism.

What then is the central problem which the urgencies of our time require us to face ? To my mind the problem is to supply a meaning to life, to define the aim or pupose for which we live, and to indicate the manner in which that purpose is to be realised. If the lack of certitude in our modern temper has bred a mood of despair and a sense of the futility of all things human, what solution has philosophy to offer in this predicament ?

The doctrine of absolute idealism to which the Gita is wedded, leads not to the doctrine of non-attachment but to that of ethical nihilism and not to a bold devotion to duty but to a moralism in what is called the phenomenal sphere of action. I do not deny the place of intuition either in knowledge or in experience. To me in a certain sense the whole of life is an intuition till such time as I bring my intellect to relate, interpret and analyse that experience. Every experience, everything lived through is no doubt the raw material of knowledge, but it is not knowledge itself. This indeed is the fundamental postulate of Realism, but it also is the only postulate on which we can rely if we are to escape from the bonds of absolute scepticism. And so to my mind any mystic experience if it exists cannot constitute knowledge of any Absolute Reality, or of our unity and essential oneness with it.

The Gospel of non-Violence

There is another version of the teaching of the Gita which has become popular in India, through the influence of Mahatma Gandhi. I refer to the creed of non-violence. Leaving aside metaphysical aspect of the question non-violence appears to me to be too negative a creed to provide any guidance for actual life. Non-violence strictly interpreted means "no action", for whatever we do is bound in some measure to do violence to others. But by non-violence Mahatma Gandhi appears to mean something much more positive, and in fact speaks of it as, "love in the broadest sense". But if he does really mean love why call it non-violence, for the two things have never before been identified with each other. Such a "violence" to language is not permissible even to a Mahatma. But the fact is that whatever he may say, Gandhiji does not really mean love, because, love is the most "violent" of all human emotions, and there is no compulsive power such as that of love. But perhaps by non-violence Gandhiji does not mean an ideal of life, but only a method by means of which an ethical ideal, whatever its content, can be best attained. This is a question of instrumental good, and its efficacy will depend not only on what ends we seek to pursue, but also under what circumstantial conditions they have to be attained.

That our judgments are often so variable is due in no small measure to our confusing means with ends, and questions of instrumental value with those of intrinsic value. The question is greatly complicated by the fact that means may also have intrinsic values, and that a whole of experience may have a value greater than the value of the sum of its parts. But these are problems of a technical nature which cannot be discussed here.