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# CALENDAR FOR 1944

| JANUARY | | | | | | |
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| AUGUST | | | | | | |
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# Administration of India 1944

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

## Reigning Sovereign—His Majesty George the VI

### India Office

*Secretary of State for India*—The Right Hon. Mr. L. S. Amery, (April, 1940.

*Permanent Under-Secretary of State*—Sir Find-later Stewart, G.C.B., G.C.I.E. C.S.I., L.L.D.

*Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State*—The Earl of Munster.

*Advisers to the Secretary of State*—Sir H. Strakosh G.B.E. Sir H. Williamson C I.E., M.B.E., Sir J. Clay, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., O.B.E., Lt. Col. Sir H. Suhrawardy. O.B.E. Sir J. A. Woodhead, K C.S.I., C.I.E., Dewan Bahadur S. E. Ruganadhan, Sir Courtenay Latimer, K.C.I.E., C.S.I. Sir G. Wiles, K.C.I.E, C.S.I., Sir A. C. Chatterjea, G.C.I.E., K C.S.I.

*High Commissioner of India*—*Sir* Azizul Huq. Kt. C.I.E.

### Government of India

(*Area—1,808,679. Sq. miles with a population of 352,837,778 of people—nearly one-fifth of human race*)

**Viceroy & Governor General**

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

**Members of the Executive Council**

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

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Maxwell, K.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., I.C.S. (*Home*).

The Hon'ble Sir Jeremy Raisman, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S. (*Finance*).

The Hon'ble Dewan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, K.C.S.I. (*Supply*).

The Hon'ble Sir Syed Sultan Ahmed D.L., Bar-at-Law (*Information & Broadcasting*).

The Hon'ble Malik Sir Firoz Khan Noon, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E, (*Defence*).

The Hon'ble Sir Edward Benthall (*War Transport*).

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Sir Mohammad Usman, K.C.I.E. (*Post and Air*).

The Hon'ble Dr. B. R. Ambedkar (*Labour*).

The Hon'ble Sir J. P. Srivastava, K B.E. (*Food*).

The Hon'ble Sir Jogendra Singh (*Education, Health and Lands*).

The Hon'ble Sir Muhammad Azizul Haque, C.I.E., D.LITT. (*Commerce, Industries and Civil Supplies*).

The Hon'ble Dr. N. B. Khare M.D. (*Indians overseas*)

The Hon'ble Sir Asoka Kumar Roy, Bar-at-Law (*Law*).

*President, Legislative Assembly*—The Hon. Sir Abdur Rahim, K.C.S.I.

*President, Council of State*—The Hon. Sir Maneckji Byramji Dadabhoy, K.C.S.I. K.C.I.E., L.L.D., Bar-at-Law.

**Numerical Strengh of Parties**

(a) IN CENTRAL ASSEMBLY

| | |
|---|---|
| Congress Party | 40 |
| Muslim League Party | 25 |
| Non-Party | 25 |
| Independent Party | 10 |
| Congress Nationalists | 11 |
| European Group | 9 |
| Officials | 20 |
| TOTAL | 140 |

(b) IN COUNCIL OF STATE

| | |
|---|---|
| Independent Progressive Party | 10 |
| Congress Party | 6 |
| Muslim League | 6 |
| TOTAL | 22 |

### Government of Bengal

*Area :—82,955 sq. miles ; Population—60,314,000 (Provisional to the nearest thousand).*

**Governor**

H. E. The Rt. Hon. Richard Gardiner Casey, P.C., D.S.O., M.C.

**Council of Ministers**

Coalition formed on 24th April 1943

(1) The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin, K.C.I.E. Chief Minister and Minister for Home Department (*Including Civil Defence Co-ordination*) (*Muslim Bengal Coalition*)

(2) The Hon'ble Mr. Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy, Civil Supplies, (*Muslim-Bengal Coalition*).

(3) The Hon'ble Mr. Tulsi Chandra Goswami Finance (*Caste Hindu—Bengal Coalition*).

(4) The Hon'ble Mr. Tamizuddin Khan, Education, (*Muslim-Bengal Coalition*).

(5) The Hon'ble Mr. Barada Prosanna Pain, Communication & Works, (*Caste Hindu—Bengal Coalition*).

(6) The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Saiyed Muazzamuddin Hosain, Agriculture. (*Muslim-Bengal Coalition*).

(7) The Hon'ble Mr. Tarak Nath Mukherjee, M. B. E., Revenue (*Caste Hindu-Bengal Coalition*).

(8) The Hon'ble Musharruff Hossain, Khan Bahadur, Judicial and Legislative (*Muslim-Bengal Coalition*).

(9) The Hon'ble Mr. Khwaja Sahabuddin C.B.E., Commerce, Labour and Industries (*Including Post-War Reconstruction* (*Muslim-Bengal Coalition*).

(10) The Hon'ble Mr. Premhari Barman, Forest and Excise, (*Scheduled Caste-Bengal Coalition*).

(11) The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Maulvi Jalaluddin Ahmed, Public Health and Local Self-Government (*Muslim-Bengal Coalition.*)

(12) The Hon'ble Mr. Pulin Behary Mullick, Publicity, (*Scheduled Caste-Bengal Coalition*).

(13) The Hon'ble Mr. Jogendra Nath Mandal, Co-operative Credit and Rural Indebtedness. (*Scheduled Caste-Bengal Coalition*).

**Parliamentary Secretaries**

(1) Khan Bahadur Mohammad Ali (*Muslim-Bengal Coalition*).

(2) Nawabzada K. Nasarullah, (*Muslim-Bengal Coalition*).

(3) Mr. Abdullah Al-Mahmood (*Muslim-Bengal Coalition*)

(4) Mr. Serajul Islam (*Muslim-Bengal Coalition*).

(5) Mr. *Biren Roy* (*Caste Hindu—Bengal Coalition*).

(6) *Khan Sahib* Mafizuddin Ahmed (*Muslim-Bengal Coalition*).

(7) Mr. Atul Chandra Kumar (*Caste Hindu-Bengal Coalition*).

(8) Mr. Rasik Lal Biswas (*Scheduled Caste-Bengal Coalition*)

(9) Mr. Jatindra Nath Chakraverty (*Caste Hindu-Bengal Coalition*).

(10) Mr. Syed Abdul Majid (*Muslim—Bengal Coalition*).

(11) Khan Sahib Hamiduddin Ahmed (*Muslim-Bengal Coalition*).

(12) Mr. Banku Behari Mondal, (*Scheduled Caste-Bengal Coalition*).

(13) Khan Bahadur A. F. M. Abdur Rahman (*Muslim-Bengal Coalition*).

(14) Mr. Fazlul Rahman (*Muslim-Bengal Coalition*).

(15) Mr. Mesbahuddin Ahmed (*Muslim—Bengal Coalition*).

(16) Rai Sahib Anukul Chandra Das (*Scheduled Caste-Bengal Coalition*).

(17) Mr. Yusuf Ali Chowdhury (*Muslim-Bengal Coalition*).

**Party Analysis in the Bengal Legislative Assembly—(Total Seats—250)**

**Government Supporters**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Muslim League | 79 |
| 2. | Bengal Swarajya Party | 5 |
| 3. | Scheduled Caste party | 20 |
| 4. | European Group | 25 |
| 5. | Labour Party | 2 |
| 6. | Independent | 4 |
| 7. | Indian Christian | 1 |
| 8. | Anglo-Indians | 4 |
| | | 140 |

**Opposition**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Progressive Party | 24 |
| 2. | Krishak Proja Party | 17 |
| 3. | Nationalists | 13 |
| 4. | Congress (Official) | 25 |
| 5. | Congress (Bose Group) | 19 |
| 6. | Indian Christian | 1 |
| 7. | Independent | 1 |
| 8. | Scheduled Caste | 8 |
| | | 108 |

(One seat is vacant. The Hon'ble Speaker is not included)

Party Analysis in the Bengal Legislative Council.

(Total Seats—63)

**Government Supporters**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Muslim League | 23 |
| 2. | Unattached | 7 |
| 3. | Europeans | 6 |
| | | 36 |

**Opposition**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Progressive Party | 7 |
| 2. | Congress (Bose Group) | 5 |
| 3. | Congress (Official) | 6 |
| 4. | Nationalists | 6 |
| 5. | Unattached | 2 |
| | | 26 |

(The Hon'ble President is not included).

Capital and its population—

Calcutta—21,09,000 (Provisional to the nearest thousand)

Summer Capital and its population Darjeeling—25,900 ( Provisional to the nearest thousand)

Receipt and Expenditure on Revenue Account for the current year—

Receipts—Rs. 18,43,89,000/-

Expenditure Rs. 25,80,57,000/-

## Government of the Punjab

*(Area—136,330 Sq. miles, Population—28,418,819).*

**Governor**

H. E. Sir Bertrand Glancy K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., (Assumed charge April 7,1941)

**Council of Ministers**

A Unionist Ministry with the late Sir Sikander Hyat Khan as Premier was formed on April 1, 1937. Sir Sikander died on December 26,1942, and the other Ministers resigned. Lt. Col. Malik Khizar Hyat Khan Tiwana was then summoned to assist the Governor in the formation of a Ministry. All the former Ministers were included and a new Minister added. The present Ministry was, therefore, technically formed on December 30, 1942, but virtually it is a continuation of the former Unionist Ministry with a new Premier.

(a) The Hon. Lt. Col. Nawabzada Malik Khizar Hyat Khan Tiwana, (*Muslim-Unionist, Premier.*

(b) The Hon. Rao Bahadur Chaudhri Sir Chhotu Ram, Minister of Revenue (*Hindu-Unionist*).

(c) The Hon. Sir Manohar Lal, Finance Minister (*Hindu-National Progressive* ).

(d) The Hon. Mian Abdul Haye, Minister of Education, (*Muslim-Unionist*).

(e) The Hon. Sardar Baldev Singh, Minister of Development, (*Sikh-Punjab United Sikh Party*).

(f) The Hon. Major Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan, Minister of Public works, (*Muslim-Muslim League*).

**Political designation of the Ministry**—*Unionist.*

**Date of formation of Ministry**—December 30, 1942.

**Parliamentary Secretaries :**

**(a) Mir Maqbool Mahmood, (*Muslim-Unionist*).**

**(b) Mian Allah Yar Khan Daulatana (*Muslim-Unionist*).**

**(c) Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan (*Muslim-Unionist*).**

**(d) Sheikh Faiz Muhammad M. B. E. (*Muslim Unionist*).**

**(e) Rai Sahib Thakur Ripudaman Singh (*Hindu-National Progressive*).**

**(f) Chaudhari Tikka Ram, M. B. E. (*Hindu Unionist*).**

**(g) Sardar Jagjit Singh Man, M. B. E. (*Sikh-Punjab United Sikh Party*).**

**(h) Sardar Gopal Singh (*Depressed Class Unionist*).**

**Parliamentary Private Secretaries.**

**(a) Syed Amjad Ali Shah, M. B. E, (*Unionist-Muslim*).**

**(b) Bhagat Hans Raj (*Depressed Class-Unionist*).**

**(c) Sir William Roberts, Kt. C. I. E. (*Christian-Unionist*).**

**(d) Mian Sultan Mahmud Hotiana (*Muslim-Unionist*).**

**(e) Sufi Abdul Hamid Khan (*Muslim-Unionist*).**

**Numerical Strength of Parties**

The total number of seats in the Legislative Assembly is 175 including the Hon'ble Speaker. They are divided into parties as follows :—

**Government Supporters :**—Unionist Party 97 ; Punjab United Sikh Party 17 : Independent 3 ; National Progressive 4 ; Total 121.

**Opposition :**—Congress Party 36 ; Independent Members 17 ; Total 53.

*Capital and its population*—Lahore—671,659.

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

*Receipts and Expenditure on Revenue Account for the current year :—Revenue Estimate Rs. 15.19 lakhs—Expenditure Rs. 14.69 lakhs.*

## Government of Sind

*(Area—46,378 Sq. miles ; Population—4,535,608).*

**Governor**

Sir Hugh Dow, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., (April, 1, 1941),

**Council of Ministers**

Coalition—Formed on 10-10-1942

The Hon'ble Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah K.C.S.I., (Premier in charge Finance Department) (*Muslim League*).

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Muhammad Ayub S. Khuhro (Minister-in-charge Revenue,Registration and Co-operative Societies). (*Muslim League*).

The Hon'ble Pir Illahi Bakhsh Nawazali (Minister-in-charge, Education, Excise, Forest, Agriculture, Rural Reconstruction and Labour Department) (*Muslim League*).

The Hon'ble Haji Muhammad Hashim Gazdar (Minister-in charge, Home, Legal, Political and Miscellaneous Departments) (*Muslim League*).

The Hon'ble Rao Saheb Gokaldas Mewaldas Rochlani (Minister-in-charge, Public Works Department and Local Self Government Department) (*Hindu Mahasabha*).

The Hon'ble Dr. Hemandas Rupchand Wadhwani (Minister-in-charge, Medical, Public Health, Veterinary and Industries Departments) *Hindu Mahasabha*).

**Parliamentary Secretaries**

(1) Khan Bahadur Allah Bakhsh K. Gabole, (*Baloch*).
(2) Syed Nur Muhammad Shah (*Muslim League*)
(3) Mrs. Jenubai Ghulamali Allana (*Muslim League*).
(4) Mr. Muhammad Yusif Khan Chandio (*Muslim League*).
(5) Seth Lolumal Rewachand Motwani (*Hindu Mahasabha*).

**Numerical Strength of Parties**

Total Seats, 60.

Congress 10: Hindu Independent Party 9; Muslim League 30; Azad Muslim 3; Hindu Mahasabha 3; Europeans 3; Independent 1; 1 seat vacant.

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

Budget for 1944-45—Revenue Receipts Rs. 797 lakhs.

Expenditure on Revenue Accounts—Rs. 608 lakhs.

## Government of Orissa

(*Area—32,000. Sq. miles*; *Population—87,28,544.*

**Governor**

H. E. Sir William Hawthorne Lewis K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., I.C.S., J.P., (April 1, 1941).

**Council of Ministers**

Coalition, formed Nov. 24, 1941, *Personnel* :—

(1) Hon'ble Captain Maharaja Sri Sri Krishna Chandra Gajapati Narayan Deo of Parlakimedi (*Prime Minister*)—*Home Affairs (excluding Publicity) Local Self-Government and Public Works.*

(2) Hon'ble Pandit Godavaris Misra —*Finance, Home Affairs (Publicity), Development and Education.*

(3) Hon'ble Maulavi Abdus Sobhan Khan—*Law and Commerce, Revenue and Health.*

*Parliamentary Secretary* :—Sri Pyarishankar Roy (*Hindu-National Coalition*).

**Numerical Strength of Parties**

Total Seats—60

Congress 31; Nationalist Coalition 26, Independent 2.

Capital and its population, Cuttack 74,297. No Summer Capital.

Receipts and Expenditure :—Receipts Rs. 212.21 lakhs; Expenditure—Rs. 2,16.02 lakhs.

## Government of Assam

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

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

**Council of Ministers**

Coalition formed August 25, 1942; *Personnel* :—

(1) Maulavi Saiyid Sir Muhammad Saadullah, M.A., B.L., (*Muslim League*) *Prime Minister.*

(2) Naba Kumar Dutta (*Assam United Party*).

(3) Maulavi Munawwar Ali, B.A. L.L.B. (*Muslim League*).

(4) Hirendra Chandra Chakrabarti, B. A., (*Assam United Party*).

(5) Khan Sahib Maulavi Mudabbir Hussain Chaudhuri, B.L., (*Muslim League*).

(6) Dr. Mahendra Nath Saikia, L.M.P. (*Assam United Party*).

(7) Khan Bahadur Maulavi Sayidur Rahaman, M.A., B.L., (*Muslim League*).

(8) Maulavi Abdul Matin Chaudhuri, B.L., (*Muslim League*).

(9) Miss Mavis Dunn, B.A., B. T., B.L., (*Assam United Party*).

(10) Rupnath Brahma, B.L., (*Assam United Party*). Appointed Minister on August 28, 1942).

No Parliamentary Secretaries.

**Numerical Strength of Parties**

Legislative Assembly :—Total seats—108 Congress—31 (including the Speaker). Assam United Party—54 (32 belong to *Muslim League party*). People's Party—10; Independent—4. Total 108.

*Legis. Council* :—Muslim 7—incuding the President, Mrs Rahman, the rest belonging to the Assam United Party and also the League Party; Europeans 2; Plains Tribal 1; Scheduled Caste 1; Ahom Community 1; Caste Hindu 1 (the latter 4 members belong to the Assam Party); Independents 9 (Marwaries 3 and Caste Hindu 6).

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

*Receipts and Expenditure for current year* :—Receipts Rs, 364,20,000; Expenditure Rs. 3,72,29,000.

## Government of Madras

(*Area 1,24,363 Sq. miles. Population—4.98,40,564*).

Governor :—Capt. the Hon. Sir Arthur Oswald James Hope, G.C.I.E., M.C.; Assumed charge March 12, 1940.

**Advisory Council**

Advisory Council formed October 30, 1939; Present Personnel:

(1) Sir D. N. Strathie C.I.E., I.C.S.
(2) Sir Hugh Hood, K.C.I.E., I.C.S.
(3) T. Austin, C.I.E., I.C.S.
(4) S. V. Ramamurty, C.I.E., I.C.S.

**Numerical Strength of Parties**

*Legis. Assembly*: Total Seats 215 (vacant 37) Congress 138; Justice 12; Anglo-Indian 2; Muslim League 12; European 4; Independents 8; National Democrats 2; Total 178.

*Legis. Council*:—Total seats 55 (vacant 15) Congress 22; Justice 4; Muslim League 2; National Democrats 2; Independents 7. Those who have not intimated their party affiliation 3; Total 40.

Capital and its population—Madras; 7,77,481.

Summer Capital and its Population—Ootacamund: 298,850

Receipts: Rs. 21,32,62,000

Expenditure: Rs. 21,22,57,000

## Government of Bombay

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

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

**Advisory Council**

Council formed Nov. 4, 1939; Present Personnel.

H. F. Knight, Esq., C. S. I., C. I. E. I. C. S. Portfolio: Finance.

C. H. Bristow, Esq., C. I. E., I. C. S. Portfolio: Home.

G. F. S. Collins, Esq., C. S. I., C. I. E. I. C. S. Portfolio: Revenue.

H. K. Kripalani, Esq., C. I. E., I. C. S. Portfolio: Education.

**Numerical Strength of Parties**

(a) *In Assembly*—(Total Seats—175) Congress 86; Muslim League 24; Independents 13; Independents Labours 13; Progressive 12; Peasants and Peoples 6; Peasants and Workers 4; Democratic Swaraj 4; Vacant Seats 13; Total 162.

(b) *In Council*—(Total Seats 30) Congress 10; Mulim League 3; Independents 8; Progressive 1; Democratic Swaraj 3; Liberal 1; Vacant Seats 4; Total 26.

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

*Summer Capital and its population*—Poona—237,560

Receipts—Rs, 1,769, 20,000

Expenditure—Rs. 1,768,74,000

## Govt. of the United Provinces

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

Governor—H. E. Sir Maurice Garnier Hallett, K.C.I.E., C.I.E., I.C.S., (December 6, 1939).

Advisory Council—formed on November 4, 1939. Personnel:—

(1) Dr. Panna Lal, M.A., M.SC., LLB. (Cantab), D. Litt. (Agra), Bar-at-Law, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.,—Education, Industries, Local-Self-Government and Public Health.

(2) Sir Tennant Sloan, M.A. (Glas) K.C.I.E., C.S.I., I.C.S—Home affairs Finance, Justice and Jails.

(3) Mr. A. G. Shirref, B,A, J.P., I.C.S.—Revenue, Rural Development, Agriculture, Forests, Communications and Irrigation.

Sir A. W. Ibbotson, M.A., C.I.E, M.B.E., M.C., I.C.S.—Supply

**Numerical Strength of Parties**

(a) In ASSEMBLY—(Total seats—228). Government supporters: Congress 147, Opposition: Muslim League 36, Independent 24, Unattached (generally vote with Opposition) 21—Total 228.

(b) IN COUNCIL—(Total seats—60) Government supporters: Congress 14; Opposition: Nationalist 13, Independent 8, Unattached (including 11 who have not intimated Party affiliations) 24: Total —59 (excluding President).

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

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

Receipts and expenditure:—*Receipts*—Rs. 20,26,57,900, Expenditure—Rs. 20,18,28,700

## Government of Bihar

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

*Governor*—H. E. Sir Robert Francis Mudie, C.S.I., C.I.E., O.B.E., I.C.S. (Assumed charge 6, Sept. 1943.)

**Advisory Council**

Council formed NOV. 6, 1939.

**Personnel**

1. E. R. J. R. Cousins C.I.E., I.C.S.
2. R. E. Russell, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.
3. E. C. Ansorage, C.S.I., C.I.E., I. C. S.

**Numerical Strength of Parties**

*In Assembly*—(a) Total number of members 147 (excluding 5 seats vacant due to death of members.)

(b) Number of Muslim member (seats) 38 (excluding 2 seats vacant due to death.

(c) Number of members belonging to Congress party 96 (excluding 2 seats vacant due to death of members.

(d) Number of Muslim League party in the Assembly. There is no such recognised party. But there are five members who own allegiance to Muslim League.

*In Council*—(a) Total number of members 29.

(b) Number of seats retained by the Muslim members 8.

(c) Number of members belonging to the Congress Party 10.

(d) Members belonging to the Muslim League Party 2. There is no such recognised party in the Council but two members have informed that they owe allegiance to the Muslim League.

*Capital and its population*—Patna—196,415.

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

Receipts and Expenditure :—Receipts—697 lakhs. Expenditure—636 lakhs.

## Government of C. P. & Berar

*Area—98,575 Sq. Miles* ; *Population*—1,68,97,096.)

Governor—H. E. Sir Henry Twynam K.C.I.E., C.I.E., I.C.S. (October 2, 1940).

ADVISORY COUNCIL

Council formed Nov. 11. 1939.

Personnel—(i) Sir Geoffrey Pownall Burton, K.C.I.E., I.C.S.

(ii) Henry Challen Greenfield, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.

**Numerical Strength of Parties**

Total Seats—112.

| | |
|---|---|
| Congress Party | 69 |
| Independent Party | 16 |
| Muslim League Party | 9 |
| United Party | 5 |
| Independent (Unattached) | 9 |
| | 108 |
| Seats vacant | 4 |
| | 112 |

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

Summer capital and its population—Panchmarhi, 6 696.

Receipts and expenditure :—Receipts—Rs. 6,39,61,000 Expenditure—Rs. 6,32,57,000

## Govt. of N. W. F. Province

*Area—80,38,067 Sq. Mile* ; *Population—5,415,666.)*

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

Muslim League Coalition ; formed May 25, 1943 ; Personnel :

(1) Sardar Mohd. Aurangzeb Khan, Chief Minister.

(2) Samin Jan Khan, Minister of Education.

(3) Raja Abdur Rahman Khan, Minister of Information.

(4) S. Ajit Singh, Minister of Public Works Department.

(5) Sardar Abdur Rab Khan, 'Nishtar', Finance Minister.

**Parliamentary Secretaries**

(1) Sir Syed Jalal Shah ; (2) Khan Sahib Malik-ur-Rehman Khan Kiani ; (3) Khan Nasrullah Khan ; (4) Raja Manochher.

**Numerical strength of Parties**

Total seats—50. Congress—23, Nationalist—3, Muslim League—13, Liberals (Democratic)—2, Independents—3, No party 1. Died, convicted and resigned 5.

Population of the Capital—Peshawar City 173,420. Peshawar Cantonment—42453. Summer Capital—Nathiagalli

Estimated revenue receipts—Rs. 2,06,94,000; Estimed revenue expenditure—Rs. 2,14,67,000.

## Federal Court of India

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

**Judges.**

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

The Hon. Mr. Justice Muhammad Zafrulla Khan, K. C. S. I. (Appointed in 1941).

## Bengal Judicial Department.

**High Court—Calcutta.**

Chief Justice—The Hon. Sir Harold Derbyshire M. C., K. C., Barrister at Law. (12-11-1934).

Puisne Judges—The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Torick Ameer Ali, Kt., Barrister-at Law (30-11-1931).

The Hon. Mr. Justice George Douglas McNair, Kt., Barrister-at-Law, (16-11-1933).

The Hon. Mr. Justice Syed Nasim Ali, M. A. B. L., (13-11-1933)

The Hon. Mr. Justice Alan Gerald Russell Henderson, B. A. (Oxon), I. C. S., (12-11-1934).

The Hon. Mr. Justice Rupendra Coomar Mitter, M. SC., M. L., (12-11-1934)

The Hon. Mr. Justice Nural Azeem Khundkar, B. A., LL.B., Barrister-at-Law, (8-11-1937).

The Hon. Mr. Justice Benegal Narsing Rau, Kt., C. I. E., I. C. S. (16-1-1939)

The Hon. Mr. Justice Noeman George Armstrong Edgley M. A. (Oxon) I. C. S., Barrister-at-Law. J. P. (8-11-1937)

The Hon. Mr. Justice Bijan Kumar Mukherjea, M. A., D. L., (9-11-1936)

The Hon. Mr. Justice Charu Chandra Biswas, C. I.E., M.A., B.L., (1-3-1937)

The Hon. Mr. Justice Ronald Francis

Lodge, B.A., (Cantab) I.C.S., J.P., (17-11-1938)

The Hon. Mr. Justice Frederick William Gentle, Barrister-at-Law, (10-11-1941)

The Hon. Mr. Justice Amarendra Nath Sen, Barrister-at-Law, (7-11-1938)

The Hon. Mr. Justice Thomas James Young Roxburgh, C. I. E., B. A., (Cantab) I. C. S., Barrister-at-Law, J. P. (15-11-1939).

The Hon. Mr. Justice Abu Salch Mohamed Akram, B L. (26-9-1943),

The Hon. Mr. Justice Sudhi Ranjan Das, B. A (Calcutta) LL. B. (London) Barrister-at-Law, (Addl ) (1-12-1942).

The Hon. Mr. Justice Abraham Lewis Blank, M. A. (Oxon) I C. S., Barrister-at-Law, J. P. (Addl) (2-2-1942).

The Hon. Mr. Justice Radhabinod Pal, M. A., D. L., (Offg)

## Bombay Judicial Department

**High Court—Bombay.**

*Chief Justice*—Leonard Stone, The Hon'ble Sir, Kt., O. B. E. (1-10-43)

*Puisne Judges.*—Harilal Jekisondas Kania, The Hon'ble Sir, LL. B., Advocate (O. S.), Kt. (19-6-1933).

Navroji Jahangir Wadia, The Hon'ble Sir, B. A. (Bom & Cantab) Bar-at-law, I. C. S., Kt. (6-12-1933).

Harsidhbhai Vajubhai Divatia, The Hon'ble Mr Justice, M. A., LL. B., (19-6-1933).

Albert Sortain Romer Macklin, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice, B. A. (Oxon), I.C.S. (18-6-1935).

Kshitis Chandra Sen, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice, B. A. (Cal. & Cantab.), I. C. S. (4-8-1941).

Mahommedali Currim Chagla, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice, B. A. (Oxon.), Bar-at-law, (4-8-1941).

Narayan Swamiray Lokur, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice, B. A. LL. B. (24-8-1942).

Eric Weston, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice, B. A. (Cantab.), I. C. S. (14-1-1943).

N. H. C. Coyajee, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice, B. A. B. Sc, (Econ), London, Bar-at-law, (1-3-1943).

John Basil Blagden, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice, (Cantab.), Bar-at-law. (14-11-1942)

Ganpat Sakharam Rajadhyaksha, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice M. A. (Cantab.), Bar-at-law, I. C. S., Addl. Judge. (14-6-1943).

## Madras Judical Department

**High Court—Madras**

*Chief Justice*—The Hon. Sir Lionel Leach (E). Bar-at-law. 10th. Feb. 33.

*Puisne Judges*

The Hon. Mr. Justice V. Mockett, M.B.E. (E). Bar-at-law.

The Hon. Mr. Justice A. J. King. (E). I.C.S.

The Hon. Mr. Justice S. Wadsworth. (E). I.C.S. Bar-at-law.

The Hon. Mr. Justice K. P. Lakshmana Rao, Diwan Bahadur (B). Advocate.

The Hon. Mr. Justice N. Chandrasekhara Iyer.

The Hon. Mr. Justice C. N. Kuppuswami Ayyar.

The Hon Mr. Justice M. Shahabuddin

The Hon. Mr. Justice K. S. Krishnaswami Ayyanger. (B). Advocate.

The Hon. Mr. Justice B. Somayya. (B). Advocate.

The Hon. Mr. Justice M. Patanjali Sastri. (B). Advocate.

The Hon. Mr. Justice L. C. Horwill. (E). I C.S. Bar-at-law.

The Hon. Mr. Justice A. C. Happell. (E) I.C.S.

The Hon. Mr. Justice J. A. Bell. (E). Bar-at-law.

The Hon. Mr. Justice K. Kunhi Raman, Diwan Bahadur. (N). B.A., B.L. Bar-at-law.

The Hon. Mr, Justice J. A. Byers. (E). I.C.S. Bar-at-law,

## Behar & Orissa Judicial Dept.

**High Court—Patna**

*Chief Justice*—The Hon. Sir Saiyid Fazl Ali, Barrister-at-law. 19-1-1943.

*Puisne Judge*—The Hon. Sir Clifford Manmohan Agarwala, Barrister-at-Law 11-7-1933.

The Hon. Mr, Justice Sukhdev Prassad Varma, Barrister-at-law. 22-1-1934.

The Hon. Mr. Justice Francis George Rowland, I.C.S., 21-8 1936.

The Hon. Mr. Justice Manohar Lal M.A., (Cantab). Barrister-at-law. 3-6-1939.

The Hon. Mr. Justice Subodh Ch. Chatterjee, 28-9-1939.

The Hon. Mr. Justice Herbert Ribton Meredith, I.C.S., 1-10-1940.

The Hon. Mr. Justice James Creig Shearer, I.C.S., Barrister-at-law. 19-1-1943

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Bhuvaneshwar Prashad Sinha. 6-12-43.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice David Ezra Ruben, I.C.S. Addl., 14-8-43.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Saiyed Jafar Imam, Barrister-at-Law, Addl. 25-10-43

The Hon ble Mr. Justice R. B. Bewor, I.C.S. Addl. 8-11-43.

## C. P. & Berar Judicial Dept.

**High Court—Nagpur**

*Chief Justice*—The Honourable Sir Frederick Grille, Kt., I.C.S.

*Puisne Judges*—1. The Honourable Mr. Justice M. A. Niyogi, C.I.E. On leave from 1-11-43

2. The Honourable Mr. Justice R. E. Pollock, I.C.S.

3. The Honourable Mr. Justice Vivian Bose.

4. The Honourable Mr. Justice W. R. Puranik.

5. The Honourable Mr. Justice K. G. Digby, I.C.S.

6. The Honourable Mr. Justice J. Sen.

7. The Honourable Mr. Justice M. R. Bobde—Officiating vice no. 1 from 1-11-43.

## Punjab Judicial Department

**High Court—Lahore**

*Chief Justice*

The Honourable Sir John Douglas Young, 7th May, 1934.

The Honourable Sir Arthur Trevor Harries. 19th January, 1943.

*Puisne Judges*

1. The Honourable Mr. Justice Tek Chand, Kt., 27th January, 1927.

2. The Honourable Mr. Justice Dalip Singh, Kt., 4th October, 1926.

3. The Honourable Mr. Justice Monroe. 7th December, 1931.

4. The Honourable Mr. Justice Bhide, 2nd October, 1933.

5. The Honourable Mr. Justice Abdul Rashed. 2nd October, 1933.

6. The Honurable Mr. Justice Din Muhammad. 2nd May 1936.

7. The Honourable Mr. Justice Blacker. 23rd November. 1937.

8. The Honurable Mr. Justice Ram Lall. 9th February, 1938.

9. The Honourable Mr. Justice Sale. 14th November, 1939.

10. The Honourable Mr. Justice Beckett. 23rd September, 1940.

11. The Honourable Mr. Justice Muhammad Abdur Rahaman, Kt. 13th February, 1943.

12. The Honourable Mr. Justice Muhammad Munir. 28th September, 1942.

13. The Honourable Mr. Justice Mehr Chand Mahajan. 27th Sept. 1943

14. The Honourable Mr. Justice Marten, Additional Judge (except from 16 7-1943 to 26-9-43.

15. The Honourable Mr. Justice Dhawan. (Acting from 29-1-1943 to 15-7-1943)

16. The Honourable Mr. Justice Teja Singh. (Acting 1-2-1943 to 15-7-1943. Additional from 17th Sept., 1943).

## United Provinces Judicial Dept.

**High Court—Allahabad**

*Chief Justice*—Hon'ble Sir Iqbal Ahmad Kt. B.A., LL.B.

*Puisne Judge*—Hon. Sir H. J. Collister, Kt., J.P., I.C.S.

Hon. Mr. Justice J. J. W. Allsop, J.P., I.C.S.

Hon. Mr. Justice Mohammad Ismail, Khan Bahadur, Bar-at-law.

Hon. Mr. Justice K. K. Verma, B.A., LL.B.

Hon. Mr. Justice H.B.L. Braund, Bar-at-law, (on deputation)

Hon. Mr. Justice T. N. Mulla, Rai Bahadur, M.A., LL.B.

Hon. Mr. Justice A. H. de B. Hamilton, J.P., I.C.S.

Hon. Mr. Justice S. K. Dar. B.A., LL.B

Hon. Mr. Justice R. L. Yorke, J.P., I.C.S.

Hon. Mr. Justice G. P. Mathur, Rai Bahadur, BA., LL.B. Additional Puisne Judge.

Hon. Mr, Justice P. P. M. C. Plowden, J.P., I.C.S. Acting Puisne Judge.

## Chief Court of Oudh—Lucknow

*Chief Judge*—Hon. Sir George Thomas, Kt., Bar at-law. (23-7-1938).

*Judges*—Hon Mr. Justice J. R. W. Bennet, I.C.S. (13-7-1940)

Hon. Mr. Justice Ghulam Hasan, (16-9-1940),

Hon. Mr. Justice Lakshmi Shanker Misra, Bar-at-law. (11-5-43).

Hon. Mr. Justice W. Y. Madely, I.C.S. Addl. Judge. (11-5-41).

## Chief Court of Sind

*Chief Judges*—The Hon. Sir Godfrey Davis, Barrister-at-law. (15-4-1940).

*Judge*—The Hon. Mr. Justice Charles M. Lobo, LL.B. (15-4-40).

The Hon. Mr. Justice Hatim Badruddin Tyabji, Barrister-at-law, (15-4-1940).

The Hon. Mr. Justice Dennis Neil O'Sullivan, Barrister-at-law. (14-1-1943).

## Indian States (with Salutes)

(*Area—712,508 sq. miles*'; *Population —81,310,845*).

**Assam State**

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

**Baluchistan State**

*Kalat*—His Highness Beglar Begi Mir Sir Mahmud Khan, G.G.I.E., Wali of—
Date of Birth—1864
Date of succession—1893

Area of State in square miles—73,278
Population of State—328,281
Revenue—Rs. 17,78,000 nearly
Salute in Guns—19.

**Baroda State**

*Baroda*—His Highness Farzand-i-Khas-i-Daulat-i-Inglishia Maharaja Sir Pratapsingh Gaekwar, G.C.I.E. Sena Khas Khel, Shamsher Bahadur, Maharaja of—
Date of Birth—29th June, 1908
Date of succession—7th. Feb. 1939
Area of State in sq. miles—8,164
Population of State—28,55[illegible],10
Revenue - Rs. 245·23 lacs
Salute in guns—21.

**Bengal States**

*Cooch Behar*—H. H. Maharaja Jagaddipendra Narayan Bhup Bahadur, Maharaja of—
Date of Birth—15th December, 19[illegible]5
Date of succession—20th Dec. 1922
Area of State in sq. miles—131,835
Population of State—6,39,898
Revenue—About Rs. 38½ lakhs
Salute in guns—13.

*Tripura*—H. H. Maharaja Manikya Bir Bikram Kishore Deb Barman Bahadur K.C.S.I., Maharaja of—
Date of Birth—[illegible]9th August, 1908
Date of succession—13th August, 1923
Area of State in sq. miles—4,116
Population of State—382,450
Revenue—Rs. 33,42,104 (including the revenue of the zamindaries in British India)
Salute in guns—13.

*Bihar & Orissa States*

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

**Mayurbhanj**—Maharaja Sir Pratap Chandra Bhanj Deo, K.C.I.E. Maharaja of—
Date of Birth—18th February, '01
Date of succession—23rd April, '28
Area in sq. miles—4,243
Population—9,89,887
Revenue—Rs. 34 lacs
Salute in guns—9

**Patna**—H.H. Maharaja Rajendra Narayan Singh Deo, Maharaja of—
Date of birth—31st March '12
Date of succession—16th January '24
Area in square miles—2,511
Population—16,32,220
Revenue—Rs. 11,02,251
Salute in guns—9

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

*Bombay Presy. States*

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

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

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

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

**Cambay**—H. H. Nawab Mirza Hussain Yawar Khan Saheb Bdr. Nawab of—
Date of birth—16th May '11
Date of succession—21st January '15
Area in sq. miles—392
Population—87,761
Revenue—Rs. 10,00,000 nearly
Indian State Forces—119 Infantry ; 166 Police Forces ; 15 Body guards.
Salute in guns—11

**Chhota Udepur (Mohan)**—H. H. Maharawal Shri Natwarsinhji Fatehsinhji, Raja of—
Date of birth—16th November '06

Date of succession—29th August '23
Area in sq. miles—88,034
Population—1,62,145
Revenue—Rs. 13,08,248
Salute in guns—9

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Mudhol**—H. H. Srimant Raja Bhairavsinh (minor), Raja of—
Date of birth—15 October '29
Date of succession—9th November '37
Area in sq. miles—369
Population—62,832
Revenue—Rs. 4,85,000 nearly
Indian State Forces—Mudhol Sajjan Sinh Infantry—115
Salute in guns—9

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

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

**Sangli**—Captain H. H. Raja Shrimant Sir Chintamanrao Dhundirao alias Appasaheb Patwardhan, K.C.I.E., Raja of—
Date of birth—14th Feb. 1890
Date of Succession—15th June 1903
Area in sq. miles—1,136
Population—2,93,498
Revenue—Rs. 16,80,244
Salute in guns—9

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

**Savantvadi**—(Minor) H. H. Raja Bahadur Shrimant Shivram Savant Bhonsle
Date of birth—13th August '27
Date of succession—5th July '37

Area in sq. miles- 930
Population—2,52,170
Revenue—Rs. 6,13,478
Salute in guns—9

*Central India States*

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

**Alirajpur**—H. H. Maharaja Pratap Singh, K.C.I.E., Maharaja of—
Date of birth—12th Sept. 1881
Date of succession—14th February 1891
Area in sq. miles—836
Population—112,754
Revenue of the State—Rs. 5,35,000
Salute in guns—11

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

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

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

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

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

**Charkhari**—H. H. Maharajadhiraja Sipahdar-ul-Mulk Armardan Singh Ju Deo Bahadur, Maharaja of—
Date of birth—29th December '03
Date of succession—6th October '20
Area in sq. miles—880
Population—123,405
Revenue—Rs. 8,26,000 nearly
Salute in guns—11

**Chhatarpur**—H. H. Maharaja Bhawani Singh Bahadur, Maharaja of—
Date of birth—16th August, '04
Date of succession—5th April, '32
Area in sq. miles—1,130
Population—1,61,267
Gross Revenue Nearly—Rs. 12,00,000
Indian State Forces—412
Salute in guns—11

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

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

**Dewas (Junior Branch.)**—H. H. Maharaja Sadashivrao Khase Saheb Pawar, Maharaja of—
Date of birth—13th August 1887
Date of succession—4th February '34
Area in sq. miles—419
Population—70,513
Revenue—Rs. 6.83,000
Salute in guns—15

**Dhar**—Lieut. H. H. Maharaja Anand Rao Puar Saheb Bahadur, Maharaja of—
Date of birth—24th November, '20
Date of succession—1st August '26
Date of Investiture—16th March, '40
Area in sq. miles—1,799,34
Population—2,53,210
Revenue—Rs. 3,000,000
Indian State Forces—Dhar Light Horse 66; Dhar Infantry (Laxmi Guard) 263
Salute in guns—15

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

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

**Jhabua**—H. H. Raja Udai Sing, Raja of
Date of birth—6th May 1875
Date of succession—26th April 1895
Area in sq. miles—1,336
Population—123,932
Revenue—Rs. 3,50,000 nearly
Salute in guns—11

**Khilchipur**—Raja Rao Bahadur Sir Durjansalsing, K.C.I.E., Raja of—
Date of birth—26th August 1897
Date of succession—19th January '08
Area in sq. miles—273
Population—45,625
Revenue—Rs. 2,24,000
Salute in guns—9

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

**Nagod**—(Unchehra)—H. H. Raja Mahendra Singhjee Deo Bahadur, Raja of—
Date of birth—5th February '16
Date of succession—26th Feb. '26
Area in sq. miles—501·4
Population—87,911
Revenue—Rs. 3,00,000 (nearly)
Salute in guns—9

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

**Orchha**—H. H. Saramad-i-Rajaha-Bundelkhand Shri Sawai Sir Vir Singh Dev Bahadur, K.C.S.I. Maharaja of—
Date of birth—14th April 1899
Date of succession—4th March '30
Area in sq. miles—2,080
Population—314,661
Revenue—Rs. 13,00,000 (nearly)
Salute in guns—15

**Panna**—H. H. Maharaja Mahendra Sir Yadvendra Singh Bahadur, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Maharaja of—
Date of birth—31st January 1894
Date of succession—20th June '02
Area in sq. miles—2,596
Population—2,12,130
Revenue—Rs. 9.50 000 nearly
Salute in guns—11

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

**Ratlam**—Major-General H. H. Maharaja Sir Sajjan Singh, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O.
Date of birth—13th January 1880
Date of succession—29th Jan. 1893
Area in sq. miles—693
Population 1,26,117
Revenue—Rs. 10 lacs
Indian State Forces—Shree Lokendra Rifles—Authorised Strength—161
Salute in guns—13 permanent, local 15

**Rewa**—H. H. Maharaja Dhiraj Sir Gulab Singh Bahadur, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Maharaja of—
Date of birth—12th March '03
Date of succession—31st October '18
Area in sq. miles—13,000
Population—18,20,306
Salute in guns—17
Revenue—Rs. 60,00,000

**Sailana**—H. H. Raja Sahib Sir Dileep Singhji Bahadur, K.C.I.E., Raja of—
Date of birth—18th March 1891
Date of succession—14th July '19
Area in sq. miles—297
Population—40,228
Revenue—Rs. 3.00,000
Indian State Forces—1. Cavalry 30; 2. Infantry 44; 3, Police 130
Salute in guns—11

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

**Sitamau**—H. H. Raja Sir Ram Singh, K.C.I.E., Raja of—

Date of birth—2nd January 1880
Area in sq. miles—201
Population—26,549
Revenue—Rs. 2,55,076
Salute in guns—11

*Gwalior State*

Gwalior—H. H. Maharaja Mukhtar-ul-Mulk, Azim-ul-Iqtidar, Rafi-ush Shan, Wala Shikoh, Motasham-i-Dauran, Umdat-ul-Umra. Maharajadhiraja Alijah, Hisamus-Salta-nat George Jayaji Rao Scindia, Bahadur, Srinath, Mansur-i-Zaman, Fidwi-i-Hazrat-i Malik-Muazzam-i-Rafi-ud-Darjat-i-Inglistan, Maharaja of—
Date of birth—26th June '16
Date of succession—5th June '25
Area in sq. miles—26,367
Population—3,523,070
Revenue—Rs. 241·81 lacs nearly
Indian State Fonces—
Gwalior 1st Yayaji Lancers—526
" 2nd Alijah " —526
" 3rd Maharaja Madho Rao Scindia's Own Lancers—526
" 1st Maharani Sakhya Ray's Own Battalion—763
2nd Maharaja Jayaji Rao's Own Battalion—765
3rd Maharaja Scindia's Own Battalion—772
" 4th Maharaja Bahadur Battalion —772
" 7th Scindia's Battalion (Training)—488
" Mountain Battery—260
Scindia's House Artillery—138
" Sappers Artillery—178
" Pony Transport Corps—479
Salute in Guns—21

*Hyderabad State*

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

*Jammu & Kashmir State*

Jammu & Kashmir—Lieut-General H. H. Raj Rajeshwar Maharajadhiraj Maharaja Shri Harisinghji Bahadur, Indar Mahindar. Spar-i-Saltanat-i-Englishia, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., LL.D., Maharaja of—
Date of birth—September 1895
Date of succession—September '25
Area in sq. miles—84,471
Population—40,21,616
Revenue—Rs. 257·92 lacs
Indian States Forces—
1. 1st Line Troops (Fighting Service) Jammu and Kashmir Body Guard Cavalry—653
2. 1st Jammu & Kashmir Mountain Battery 314
3. 2nd Jammu & Kashmir Mountain Battery 262
4. 1st " " " Infantry 679
5. 2nd " " " Rifles 690
6. 3rd " " " " 679
7. 4th " " " Infantry 690
8. 5th " " " Light " 679
9. 6th " " " " " 772
10. 7th " " " " " 690
11. 8th " " " " " 679
12. 9th " " " " " 679
1st Line (Troops Administrative Service)
13. J. & L. A. T. C. 365
14. Jammu & Kashmir Infantry Training Battalion 1969
15. Jammu & Kashmir Army Training School 26
16. Auxiliary Service
17. Jammu & Kashmir Military Transport 299
18. Jammu & Kashmir State Band 68
19. " Fort Dept. 117
20. Military Veterinary Corps 21
21. Military Medical Corps 40
Salute in guns—21

Banganapalle—H. H. Nawab Saiyid Fazle Ali Khan Bahadur, Nawab of—
Date of Birth—9th November '01
Date of succession—22nd January '22
Area in sq. miles—275
Population—44 631
Revenue—Rs. 3.53,758
Salute in guns—9

Cochin—H. H. Sir Kerala Varma, Maharaja of—
Date of birth—29th Vrischigon 1039 M. E.
Date succession—13th April '41
Area in sq. miles—1480
Population—1,422,875
Revenue—Rs. 1.21,46,238
Indian State Forces—34. Officers and 370 men
Salute in guns—17

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

Travancore—H. H. Sir Padmanabha Dasa Vanchi Pala Rama Varma

Kulasekhara Kiritapati Manney Sultan Maharaja Raja Ramraja Bahadur Shamsher Jang, G.C.I.E., Maharaja of—
Date of birth—7th November '12
Date of succession—1st September '24
Area in sq. miles—7,661·75
Population—6,070,018
Revenue—Rs. 280·73 lakhs
Salute in guns—19 ; Local 21

**Mysore**—H. H. Maharaja Sri Chamaraja Wadiar Bahadur, Maharaja of—
Date of birth—18th July '19
Date of succession—8th September '40
Area in sq. miles—29,493
Population—73·29 lakhs including Civil & Military Station, Bangalore
Revenue—Rs. 4,65,66,000 nearly
Indian State Forces—Mysore Lancers 495 ; Horse 136 ; Bodyguard 125 ; 1st Infantry 772 ; 2nd Infantry 1130 ; Palace Guard 500
Salute in guns—21

*Punjab States*

**Bahawalpur**—Major His Highness Rukn-ud-Daula, Nusrat-i-Jang, Saif-ud-Daula, Hafiz-ul-Mulk, Mukhlish-ud-Daula, Wa-Muinud-Daula Nawab Al-Haj Sir Sadiq Muhammad Khan V Abbasi, Bahadur, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O. Nawab Ruler of—
Date of birth—30th September '04
Date of succession—4th March '07
Area in sq. miles—22,000
Population—Over one million
Revenue—Rs. 1,40,00,000 nearly
Indian State Forces—Bahawalpur 1st Sadiq Infantry ; Bahawalpur 2nd Haroon Infantry ; H. H. the Nawab's Own Body Guard Lancers
Salute in guns—17

**Bilaspur**—(Kahlur)—H. H. Raja Anand Chand, Raja of—
Date of birth—26th. January '13
Date of succession—18th Nov. '27
Area in sq. miles—448
Population—1,10,000
Revenue—Rs. 3,00,000 nearly
Salute in guns—11

**Chamba**—H. H. Raja Lakshman Singh, the Ruler of Chamba State (minor)
Date of birth—8th December '24
Date of succession—7th. Dec. '35
Area in sq. miles—3,127
Population—16 89,38
Revenue—Rs. 9,00,000 nearly
Salute in guns—11
Council of Administration appointed by the Government to carry on Minority Administration. President—Lt.-Col. H. S. Strong, C.I.E. Vice-President & Chief Secretary—Dewan Bahadur Lala Madho Ram. Member—Rai Bahadur Lala Ghanshyam Dass.

**Faridkot**—Lt. H. H. Farzand-i-Saadat Nishan-i-Hazrat-i-Kaisar-i-Hind Barar Bans Raja Har Indar Singh Bahadur,
Date of birth—29th January '15
Date of succession—3rd December '18
Area in sq. miles—643
Population—164,346
Revenue—Rs. 17,00,000 nearly
Indian State Forces—Faridkot Sappers-Headquarters 8. (Field Company) Sappers & Miners 129. Bodyguard Lancers 27. Infantry 112. Band 35
Salute in guns—11

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

**Kapurthala** Colonel His Highness Farzand-i-Dilband Rashik-ul-Itkad Daulat-i-Inglishia Raja-i-Rajgan Maharaja Sir Jagatjit Singh Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.B.E., Maharaja of—
Date of birth—24th November 1872
Date of succession—5th September 1877
Area in sq. miles—652
Population—3,78,380
Revenue—Rs. 34,00,000 roughly
Salute in guns—13

**Loharu**—Capt. H. H. Nawab Mirza Amin-ud-Din Ahmed, Fakhar-ud-Daula Khan Bahadur, Nawab of—
Date of birth—23rd March '11
Date of succession—30th Oct. '22
Area in sq. miles—222
Population—27,892
Revenue—Rs. 1,33,000 nearly
Salute in guns—9

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

**Mandi**—Major H. H. Raja Sir Joginder Sen Bahadur, K.C.S.I., Raja of—
Date of birth—20th August '04
Date of succession—28th April '13
Area in sq. miles—1,200
Population—2,07,465
Revenue—Rs. 12,50,000 nearly
Salute in guns—11

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

**Patiala**—Dr. H. H. Farzand-i-Khas Daulat-i-Englishia Mansur-ul-Zaman, Amir-ul-Umra Maharajadhiraj Raj Rajeshwar Shri Maharaja-i-Rajgan Shri Yadavindra Singhji LLD., Mahendra Bahadur, Maharaja of—
Date of birth—7th January '13
Date of succession—23rd March '38
Area in sq. miles—5,932
Population—1,625,520
Revenue—Rs. 1,57,0 ,000
Indian State Forces—

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

Salute in guns—17

**Sirmur (Nahan)**—H. H. Lt. Maharaja Rajendra Prakash Bdr. Maharaja of—
Date of birth—10th January '13
Date of succession—Nov. '33
Area in sq. miles—1,141
Population—1,48,568
Revenue—Rs. 10,00,000 nearly
Indian State Forces—Sappers—Headquarters 5; Band 23; No. 1 Company 142, No. 2 Company 155; State Bodyguard Lancers 31
Salute in guns—11

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

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

*Rajputana States*

**Alwar**—H. H. Shri Sewai Maharaj Tej Singhji Bahadur, Maharaja of—
Date of birth—19th March '11
Date of succession—22nd July '37
Area in sq. miles—3217
Population—7,49,751
Revenue—About Rs. 40,00,000
Indian State Forces—1. Jey Paltan Infantry 865; 2. Pratap Paltan Infantry 331; 3. Alwar Mangal Lancers 158; 4. Garrison Force 28
Salute in guns—15

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

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

**Bikaner**—General H. H. Maharajadhiraj Rajeswar Narendra Shiromani Maharajah Sri Ganga Singhji Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., G.B.E., K.C.B., A.D.C., LL.D., Maharajah of—
Date of birth—13th Oct. 1880
Date of succession—31st Aug. 1887
Area in sq. miles—23,317
Population—12,93,000
Revenue—Rs. 1,58,11,000
Indian State Forces—

| | |
|---|---|
| Ganga Risala (Camel Corps) | 532 |
| Sadul Light Infantry | 773 |
| Dungar Lancers (including H. H.'s Body Guard | 342 |
| Bijey Battery | 245 |
| Camel Battery | 20 |
| Artillery Training Centre | 158 |
| 2nd Battalio, Bikaner State Infantry | 697 |

3rd Battalion, Bikaner State Infantry 362
Training Battalion 413
Motor Machine Gun Sections 100
Salute in guns—Personal 19, Permanent 17.

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

**Dholpur**—Lt. Col. H. H. Rais-ud-Daula Sipahdar-ul-Mulk Maharajadhiraja Sri Sawai Maharaj-Rana Sir Udaibhan Singh Lokindar Bahadur Diler Jang Jai Deo, K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O., Maharaj-Raja of—
Date of birth—25th February 1893
Date of succession—29th March '11
Area in sq. miles—1,200
Population—2,30,188
Revenue—Rs. 17,50,000 nearly
Indian State Forces—Dholpur Narsingh Infantry 164; Dholpur Sappers and Miners 75
Salute in guns—15

**Dungarpur**—H. H. Rai-i-Rayan Mahimahendra Maharajadhiraj Maharawal Sri Lakshman Singhji Bahadur, K.C.S.I., Maharawal of—
Date of birth—7th Mar. '08
Date of succession—15th Nov. '18
Area in sq. miles—1,460
Population—2,74,282
Revenue—Rs. 8,00,000
Salute in guns—15

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

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

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

**Jodhpur**—Air Commodore His Highness Raj Rajeswar Saramad-i-Rajai-Hind Maharajadhiraj Shri Sir Umaid Singhji Sahib Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., K.C.V.O. A.D.C., LL.D., Maharaja of—
Date of birth—8th July '03
Ascended the throne—3rd October, '18
Area—36,071 sq. miles
Population—21,34,848
Revenue—Rs. 157,71,521
Indian State Forces—
Jodhpur Sardar Rissala—508; Jodhpur Training Squadron—147; Jodhpur Sardar Infantry, including Training Coy, (163) and State Military Band (39)—864; 2nd Jodhpur Infantry—669; Jodhpur Mule Troops—80; Fort Guard—94;
Salute in guns—17

**Karauli**—H. H. Maharaja Sir Bhompal Deo Bahadur Yadukul Chandra Bhal, K.C.S.I., Maharaja of—
Date of birth—18th June 1866
Date of succession—21st August '27
Area in sq miles—1,242
Population—1,52,413
Estimated Gross Revenue—6,28,000
Salute in guns—17

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

**Kotah**—Colonel H. H. Maharao Sir Umed Singh Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.B.E., Maharao of—
Date of birth—15th September 1872
Date of succession—11th June 1889
Area in sq. miles—5,684
Population—6,85,804
Revenue—Rs. 5368 lacs
Salute in guns—19

**Pratabgarh**—H. H. Maharawat Sir Ramsinghji Bahadur, K.C.I.E., Maharawat of
Date of birth—'05

Date of succession—'29
Area in sq. miles—889
Population—91,967
Revenue—Rs. 5,82,000 nearly
Salute in guns—15

**Shahpura**—H. H. Rajadhiraj Umaid Singhji, Raja of—
Date of birth—7th March 1876
Date of succession—24th June '32
Area in sq. miles—405
Population—61,173
Revenue—Rs. 336 762 nearly
Salute in guns—9

**Sirohi**—H. H. Maharajadhiraj Maharao Sir Sarup Ram Singh Bahadur, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Maharao of—
Date of birth—27th Sept.1888
Date of succession—29th April '20
Area in sq. miles—1,994
Population 2.33,870
Revenue—Rs. 11' 48,771
Salute in guns—15

**Tonk**—H. H. Said-ud-daula Wazir-ul-Mulk Nawab Hafiz Sir Mohammad Sadat Ali Khan Bahadur Sowalat-i-Jung, G.C.I.E., Nawab of—
Date of birth—14th February, 1879
Date of succession—23rd June '30
Area in sq. miles—2,553
Population—3,53,687
Revenue—Rs. 19,30,000 B. C. nearly
Salute in guns—17

**Udaipur (Mewar)**—Lt. Col. H. H. Maharajadhiraja Maharana Shri Sir Bhopal Singhji Bahadur, G.C.S.I., Maharana of—
Date of birth—22nd February 1884
Date of succession—24th May '30
Area in sq. miles—12,753
Population—1,925,000
Revenue—Rs. 80.00,000 nearly
Salute in guns—19

*Sikkim State*

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

*United Provinces States*

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

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

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

*Western India States*

**Bhavnagar**—Lt. H. H. Sir Krishnakumersinghji Bhavsinghji, K.C.S.I., Maharaja of—
Date of birth—19th May '12
Date of succession—18th July '19
Area in sq. miles—2,961
Population—5,00,274
Revenue—Rs. 109,68,620
Indian State Forces—Bhavnagar Lancers —270; Bhavnagar Infantry—219
Salute in guns—13

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

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

**Dhrol**—H. H. Thakor Saheb Shri Chandrasinhji Saheb, Thakor Saheb of—
Date of birth—28 Aug. '12
Date of succession—20th Oct. '39
Area in sq. miles—282'7
Population—27,639
Revenue—Rs. 289,281
Salute in guns—9

**Gondal**—H. H. Maharaja Shri Bhaga-

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

**Junagadh**—Captain H. H. Nawab Sir Mahabatkhanji, Rasulkhanji K.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Nawab of—
Date of birth—2nd Aug. 1900
Date of succession—22nd Jan. '11
Area in sq. miles—3,336·9
Population—545,152
Revenue—Rs. 1,00,00,000
Indian State Forces—Junagadh Lancers —173: Junagadh Mahabatkhanji Infantry 201
Salute in guns—15

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Indian States (without Salute)

*Baluchistan State*

**Las Bela**—Mir Ghulam Muhhmmed Khan Jam of—
Date of birth—December 1895
Date of succession—March '21
Area in sq. miles—7,132
Population—50,696
Revenue—Rs. 3,78,000 nearly

*Bihar & Orissa States*

**Athgarh**—Raja Sreekoran Radhanath

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

Athmalik—Raja Kishor Chandra Deo
Date of birth—10th November '04
Date of succession—3rd November '18
Area in sq. miles—730
Population—59,749
Revenue—Rs. 1,81,000 nearly

Bamra—Raja Bhanuganga Tribhuman Deb, Raja of—
Date of birth—25th February, '14
Date of succession—1st January '20
Area in square miles—1,988
Population—1,34,721
Revenue—Rs. 5,81,000 nearly

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Khandpara—Raja Harihar Singh, Mardraj Bhramarbar Ray, Raja of—
Date of birth—26th August '14
Date of succession—26th December '22
Area in sq. miles—244
Population—64,289
Revenue—Rs. 1,22,000

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

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

Nayagarh—Raja Krishna Chandra Singha Mandhata, Raja of—
Date of birth—15th August '11
Date of succession—7th Dec. '18
Area in sq. miles—552
Population—1,61,409
Revenue—Rs. 3,92,210

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

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

Rairakhol—Raja Bir Chandra Jadumani
Date of birth—1894
Date of succession—3rd July '06
Area in sq. miles—833
Population—31,225
Revenue—Rs. 75,000 nearly

Ranpur—Raja Birbar Krishna Chandra Mahapatra, Raja of—
Date of birth—About 1887
Date of succession—12th July 1899

Area in sq. miles—203
Population—41,282
Revenue—Rs. 65,000

**Seraikella**—Raja Aditya Pratap Singh Deo, Ruler of—
Date of birth—30th July 1887.
Date of succession—9th Dec. '31
Area in sq. miles—419
Population—156,374
Revenue—Rs. 418,000 nearly

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

*Maratha States—(Bombay Presy)*

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

**Aundh**—Meherban Bhavanrao alias Bala Sahib, Pant Pratinidhi of—
Date of birth—24th Oct. 1868
Date of succession—4th November '09
Area in sq. miles—501
Population—88,762
Revenue—Rs. 3,38,278-12-1

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

**Jath**—Lt. Raja Shrimant Vijayasinghrao Ramrao Dafle Raja of—
Date of birth—21st July '09
Date of succession—14th August '28
Area in sq. miles—981
Population—91,099
Revenue—Rs. 4,25,000

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

**Kurundwad (Senior)**—Meherban Chintamanrao Bhalchandrarao alias Balasaheb Patwardhan, Chief of—
Date of birth—13th Feb. '21
Date of succession—10th September '27
Area in sq. miles—182·5
Population—88,760
Revenue—Rs. 3,76,000 nearly

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

**Miraj (Sr)**—Narayanrao Gangadharrao alias Tatyasaheb Patwardhan, Chief of—
Date of birth—6th September 1898
Date of succession—11th Dec. '39
Area in sq. miles—342
Population—93,938
Revenue—Rs. 4,41,000 nearly

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

**Ramdurg**—Meherban Ramrao Venkatrao alias Rao Saheb Bhave, Chief of—
Date of birth—16th Sept. 1896
Date of succession—30th April '07
Area in sq. miles—169
Population—33,997
Revenue—Rs. 2,69,000 nearly

**Savanur**—Captain Meherban Abdul Majid Khan, Diler Jang Bahadur, Nawab of—
Date of birth—7th Oct. 1890
Date of succession—30th January 1893
Area in sq. miles—70
Population—16,830
Revenue—Rs. 1,69,000 nearly

*Mahi-Kantha States*

**Ghodasar**—Thakor Shri Fatehsinghji Ratansinji Dabhi, Thakor Saheb of—
Date of birth—7th. Aug. '09
Date of succession—31st May '30
Area in sq. miles—16
Population—6,708
Revenue—Rs. 51,000

**Ilol**—Thakor Shivsinghji, Thakor of—
Date of birth—31st December '10
Date of succession—18th. Oct. '27
Area in sq. miles—19
Population—3,349
Revenue—Rs. 41,000 nearly

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

Revenue—Rs. 51,000 nearly

**Khadal**—Sardar Shri Fatehsinhji Rajsinhji, Thakor Shri of—
Date of birth—1899
Date of succession—7th February '12
Area in sq. miles—8
Population—2,825
Revenue—Rs. 35,000 nearly

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

**Pethapur**—Thakor Fatehsinhji Gambhirsinhji, Thakor of—
Date of birth—3rd Oct. 1895
Date of succession—1896
Area in sq. miles—11
Population—3,938
Revenue—Rs. 34,000 (nearly)

**Varsoda**—Thakor Joravarsinhji of—
Date of birth—17th April '14
Date of succession—18th July '19
Area in sq. miles—11
Population—3,424
Revenue—Rs. 33,000 nearly

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

*Rewa Kantha States*

**Bhadarwa**—Shrimant Thakur Saheb Shree Natvarsinghji Ranjitsinhji, Thakor of—
Date of birth—19th November '03
Date of succession—26th April '35
Area in sq. miles—27 (excluding several Wanta villages under Baroda State)
Population—13,520
Revenue—Rs. 1,14,000 nearly

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Central India States*

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

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

**Garauli**—Diwan Bahadur Chandrabhan Singh, Chief of—
Date of birth—2nd April 1883
Date of succession—20th Dec. 1883
Area in sq. miles—31
Population—4,965
Revenue—Rs. 86,000 nearly

**Jobat**—Rana Bhimsing, Rana of—
Date of birth—10th November '15
Date of succession—20th May '17
Date of getting Ruling Powers—14th March '36
Area in sq. miles—131,20
Population—20,945
Revenue—Rs. 81,550

**Kachhi-Baroda**—Mabaraj Benimadho Singh
Date of birth—3rd October '04
Date of succession—13th June '06
Area in sq. miles—34,53

Population—5000
Revenue—Rs. 71000/-

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

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

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

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

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

**Nimkhera**—Bhumia Ganga Singh, Bhumia
Date of birth—'11
Date of succession—27th March '22
Area in sq. miles—90
Population—5,358
Revenue—Rs. 62,000 nearly

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

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

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

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

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

**Tori Fatehpur**—Dewan Raghuraj Singh, Jagirdar of—
Date of birth—28.1.1895
Date of succession—7.4.'41
Area in sq. miles—36
Popultation—6,269
Revenue—Rs. 31,000 nearly

*Central Provinces State*

**Bastar**—Maharaja Pravir Chandra Deo
Date of birth—25th June '29
Date of succession—28th Feb. '36
Area in sq. miles—13,725
Population—6,34,915
Revenue—Rs. 13,20,699

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

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

**Kanker**—Maharajadhiraj Bhanupratap Deo Chief of—
Date of birth—17th September '22
Date of succession—8th Jan. '25
Area in sq. miles—1,429
Population—122,928
Revenue—Rs. 3,88,000

**Kawardha**—Thakur Dharmraj Singh Chief of—
Date of birth—18th August '10
Date of succession—4th Feb. '20
Area in sq. miles—805
Population—72,820
Revenue—Rs. 2,93,175 nearly

**Khairagarh**—Raja Birendra Bahadur Singh, Raja of—
Date of birth—9th November '14
Date of succession—22nd October '18
Area in sq. miles—931
Population—157,400
Revenue—Rs. 5,80,000 nearly

**Korea**—Raja Ramanuj Pratap Singh Deo Raja of—

Date of birth—8th December '31
Date of succession—November '09
Area in sq. miles—1,647
Population—90,500
Revenue—Rs. 7,00,199

**Makrai**—Raja Drigpal Shah Hathiya Rai of
Date of birth—24th September '04
Date of succession—30th October '18
Area in sq. miles—155
Population—12,503
Revenue—Rs. 2,01,000 nearly

**Nandgaon**—Mahant Sarveshwar Das, of—
Date of birth—30th March '06
Date of succession—24th June '13
Area in sq. miles—871
Population—1,47,919,
Revenue—Rs. 7,91,000

**Raigarh**—Raja Chakradhar Singh, Raja of
Date of birth—19th August '05
Date of succession—23rd August '24
Area in sq. miles—1486
Population—2,41,634
Revenue—Rs. 6,46,000 nearly

**Sakti**—Raja Liladhar Singh, Raja of—
Date of birth—3rd Feb. 1892
Date of succession—4th July '14
Area in sq. miles—138
Population—41,595
Revenue—Rs. 1,20,000 nearly

**Sarangarh**—Raja Bahadur Jawahir Singh,
Date of birth—3rd Dec. 1888
Date of succession—5th Aug. 1890
Area in sq. miles—540
Population—1,17,781
Revenue—Rs. 3,14,000 nearly

**Surguja**—Maharaja Ramanuj Saran Singh, Deo C.B.E., Maharaja of—
Date of birth—4th Nov. 1895
Date of succession—31st Dec. '17
Area in sq. miles—6,055
Population—5,51,307
Revenue—Rs, 7,58,500 nearly

**Udaipur**—Raja Chandra Chur Prasad Singh Deo, Raja of—
Date of birth—5th June '23
Date of succession—8th Dec. '27
Area in sq. miles—1,052
Population—71,124
Revenue—Rs. 3,22,000

*Madras States*

**Sandur**—Raja Srimant Yeshwantha Rao Anna Saheb, Rao Sahib, Hindu Rao Ghorapade, Mamlukatmadar Senapati Raja of—
Date of birth—15th November '08
Date of succession—5th May '28
Area in sq. miles—167
Population—11,684
Revenue—Rs. 2,03,000

*Punjab States*

**Dujana**—Jalal-ud-Daul Nawab Mohammad Iqtidar Ali Khan Bahadur, Mustaqil-i-Jan, Nawab of—
Date of birth—20th Nov. '12
Date of Succession—21st July '25
Area in sq. miles—100
Population—25,833
Revenue—Rs. 1,65,000 nearly

**Kalsia**—Raja Ravi Sher Singh Sahib Bahadur, Raja Sahib of—
Date of birth—30th October '02
Date of succession—25th July '08
Date of Investiture with full ruling powers: 6th April '22
Area in sq. miles—192
Population—59,848
Revenue—Nearly Rs. 3,50,000

**Pataudi**—Nawab Muhammad Iftikar Ali Khan Bahadur, Nawab of—
Date of birth—7th March '10
Date of succession—30th Nov. '17
Area in sq. miles—53
Population—81,097
Revenue—Rs. 1,40,000

*Simla Hill States*

**Baghal**—Raja Surendra Singh, Raja of—
Date of birth—14th March '09
Date of succession—13th Oct. '22
Area in sq. miles—124
Population—25,099
Revenue—Rs. 1,00,000 nearly

**Baghat**—Raja Durga Singh, Raja of—
Date of birth—15th Sept. '01
Date of succession—30th Dec. 1941
Area in sq. miles—36
Population—9,595
Revenue—Rs. 1,10,000

**Bhajji**—Rana Birpal, Rana of—
Date of birth—19th April '06
Date of succession—9th May '13
Area in sq. miles—96
Population—14,263
Revenue—Rs. 99,000 nearly

**Jubbal**—Rana Sir Bhagat Chandra Bahadur K.C.S.I., Ruler of—
Date of birth—12th Oct. 1888
Date of succession—29th April '10
Area in sq. miles—288
Population—28,500
Revenue—Rs. 8,50,000 nearly

**Keonthal**—Raja Hemendar Sen, Raja of—
Date of birth—21st January '05
Date of succession—2nd Feb. '16
Area in sq, miles—116
Population—25,599
Revenue—Rs. 1,30,000 nearly

**Kumharsain**—Rana Vidyadhar Singh,
Date of birth—1895
Date of succession—24th August '14
Area in sq. miles—97
Population—12,227
Revenue—Rs. 75,000 nearly

**Nalagarh**—Raja Jogindra Singh, Raja of—
Date of birth—1870
Date of succession—18th Sept. '11
Area in sq. miles—256
Population—52,737
Revenue—Rs. 2,71,000 nearly

**Tiroch**—Thakur Surat Singh, of—
Date of birth—4th July 1887
Date of succession—14th July '02
Area in sq. miles—75
Population—4,219
Revenue—Rs. 1,30,000 nearly

*Western India States*

**Bajana**—Malek Shri Kamalkhan Jivankhan, Chief of—
Date of birth—6th December '07
Date of succession—2nd. Feb. '20
Area in sq. miles—183,12
Population—14,017
Revenue—Rs. 1,82,424 average

**Bantwa-Manavadar**—Babi Ghulam Moyuddinkhanji Fatehdinkhanji, Chief of—
Date of birth—22nd December '11
Date of succession—October '18
Area in sq. miles—221'8
Population—14,984
Revenue—Rs. 8,46,000 nearly

**Chuda**—Thakore Shri Bahadursinghji, Jarovarsinhji, Thakur of—
Date of birth—23rd April '09
Date of succession—20th January '21
Area in sq. miles—782
Population—11,348
Revenue—Rs. 2,11,000 nearly

**Jasdan**—Darbar Shree Ala Khachar, Chief of—
Date of birth—4th November '05
Date of succession—11th June '19
Area in sq. miles—296
Population—36,632
Revenue—Rs. 6,00,000 nearly

**Kotda-Sangani**—Thakore Shri Pradyumna-Sinhji
Date of birth—5th December '20
Date of succession—23-2-'30
Date of Installation—10-12-'40
Area in sq. miles—90
Population—12,165
Revenue—Rs. 1,50,000 nearly

**Lakhtar**—Thakore Saheb Shri Balavir-sinhji, Karansinhji. Thakore Saheb of—
Date of birth—11th January 1881
Date of succession—8th August '24
Area in sq. miles—247,438
Population—21,123
Revenue—Rs. 4,49,000

**Lathi**—Thakore Saheb Shri Pralhadshinhji, Thakore of—
Date of birth—31st March '12
Date of succession—14th October '18
Area in sq. miles—41'8
Population—8,35
Revenue—Rs. 1,86,000

**Malia**—Thakor Shri Raisinhji Modji, of—
Date of birth—14th February 1898
Date of succession—10th Oct. '07
Area in sq. miles—103
Population—12,660
Revenue—Rs. 3,02,000

**Muli**—Thakor Shri Harichandrasinhji, of—
Date of birth—10th July 1899
Date of succession—3rd December '05
Area in sq. miles—133'2
Population—16,390
Revenue—Rs. 1,57,000 nearly

**Patdi**—Desai Shri Raghuvirsinhji, of—
Date of birth—8th Jan. '26
Date of succession—25th Oct. '28
Area in sq. miles—39'4
Population—2,508
Revenue—Rs. 1,14,000

**Sayla**—Thakor Saheb Shri Madarsinhji, Vakhatsinhji, Thakor Saheb of—
Date of birth—28th May 1868
Date of succession—25th Jan. '24
Area in sq. miles—222'1
Population—13,351
Revenue—Rs. 2,54,000

**Thana Devli**—Darbar Shri Vala Amra Laxman, Chief of—
Date of birth—28th Nov. 1895
Date of succession—12th Oct. '22
Area in sq. miles—94 2
Population—11,348
Revenue—Rs. 3,00,000 nearly

**Tharad**—Waghela Bhumsinhji Dolatsinhji Thakor of—
Date of birth—28th Jan. '00
Date of succession—19th Feb. '21
Area in sq. miles—1,260½
Population—52,839
Revenue—Rs. 99,000 nearly

**Vadia**—Darbar Shree Suragwala Saheb Chief of—
Date of birth—15th March '05
Date of succession—7th Sept. '30
Area in sq. miles—90
Population—13,749
Revenue—Rs. about 2 lacs

**Zainabad**—Malek Shri Aziz Mahomed Khanji Zainkhanji, Talukdar of—
Date of birth—21st June '17
Date of succession—26th January '23
Area in sq. miles—30
Population—3,456
Revenue—Rs. 1,200,000 nearly

# Chronicle of Events

## January 1944

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, addressing a Press Conference at Lahore, remarked : "Food should not be made a sport of politics.—Economic problems cannot be solved unless the political deadlock disappears."

The Marwari Association, Calcutta, sent a telegram to the Viceroy, expressing great concern at the lathi charge on the peaceful Hindu Mahasabha procession at Amritsar.

An A. P. I. message stated that in December 1943, seven ships carrying 43,000 tons of wheat arrived in India with expectations of further shipments.

The annual Conference of University Labour Federation (London) demanded a change in the British Government's policy towards India.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President, All-India Muslim League, in an interview at Karachi said : "There is no change on the part of the Hindus towards the demand of Muslim India."

The Indian Science Congress concluded its session in New Delhi.

Mr. John Sargent, Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, surveyed the position of education in India and set forth a place of national education.

The Secretary of State for India, Mr. L. S. Amery, had a full discussion on the food situation in India and especially in Bengal, with the National Executive Committee of the Labour Party.

The Central Food Department despatched to Bengal more than 380,000 tons of foodgrains.

The Session of the All-India News Paper Editors' Conference began in Madras, with Mr. S. A. Brelvi as the President.—Addressing the Conference, the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri appealed to the audience to give no rest to the Government until they released Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawharlal Nehru.

A Press Note from New Delhi, stated : "The Government of India wish to state categorically that no foodgrain or their products...have left India since July 1943."

The total defence and supply expenditure brought to account in India's books amounted to Rs. 1,641 crores.

The Special Durbar in connection with the investiture of H. H. the Raja of Padukottah was held with great pomp and ceremony at Padukottah.

The Governor-General in Council nominated Sir Feroz Khan Noon to be a representative of India in the War Cabinet.

The Secretary of State for India was asked in the House of Commons about the employment of women in mines.

Mr. R. G. Casey assumed office as Governor of Bengal.

An "India demonstration" organized by the Midland Council of the India League was held in Birmingham.

"Independence Day," (January 26) was observed in the various parts of India.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President, All-India Hindu Mahasabha, in a communication from Bombay, stated inter alia : "It is only for the anti-Hindu policy of the League that the League Ministries are clinging to their posts and have no higher patriotic goal before them."

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu was served with a notice under the D. I. Rules at Lahore, restraining her activities.

The Secretary of State for India, in reply to a suggestion to increase the pensions of Civil servants, said : "His Majesty's Government are considering the grant of increase in lower ranges of pensions to mitigate really severe hardship."

Food rationing came into force in Calcutta and in some suburban municipalities.

**1st.** In a New year broadcast from the Calcutta Station of A. I. R., Mr. P. B. Mullick, Minister, Publicity Department, Bengal Government reviewed the efforts made by official and non-official agencies to fight famine and disease in the past year.

Sir Arthur Hope, Governor of Madras, in a New Year message from Madras said : "Today will be the fifth New Year's Day of this world-wide war, and as we look back on the year 1943 we have many reasons to rejoice."

The All-India Economic Conference resumed its session in Madras. There was a discussion on the question relating to Currency expansion during the war.

Mr. W. H. Kirby, Rationing Adviser to the Government of India, at a Press Conference at Ahmedabad, said : "Food Control and rationing would not stop with the war. It was a well tried weapon and would be maintained in some form or other."

**2nd.** Sir S. Radhakrishnan, welcoming the delegates to the twelfth All-India Oriental Conference at Benares, said : "In our country to-day the Oriental Conference can be of immense value. By a scholarly appreciation of India's historical culture, by a proper estimate of the interaction of the different races and religions we can bring about a renaissance based on the integrity of Indian Culture."

Dr. Hemandas Wadhwani, Public Health Minister, (Sind) in an interview at Karachi, condemned those responsible for the lathi change made on innocent processionists. He said : "The Punjab Government must appoint an Inquiry Committee forthwith and bring those responsible for this unhappy occurrence to book."

Marshal Chiang Kai-Shek, in a New Year address (from Chunking) to members of the Chinese Government, said : "While Chinese military operations before 1943 had been coordinated with those of the Allied Nations against Japan, in 1944, there would be only one war strategy."

Dr. Shyamaprasad Mookerjee, addressing a Press Conference at Lahore, observed : "We maintain along with the rest of Nationalist India that food should not be made a sport of politics, but we are convinced, economic problems cannot be tackled unless the political deadlock is solved."

**3rd.** The annual session of the Indian Science Congress was opened in New Delhi by His Excellency the Viceroy.—The Congress converted itself into a special Meeting of the Royal Society.

Dr. Khan Sahib, ex-Premier of the North-West Frontier Province, at a press interview at Lahore, expressed the view that those who talked of withdrawing the August (Congress) resolution were the hirelings of the British Government.

The Marwari Association, Calcutta, in a telegram to the Viceroy, expressed their great concern at reports regarding the lathi charge "on the peaceful Hindu Mahasabha procession at Amritsar resulting in injury to about 200 persons." The telegram urged His Excellency to appoint an enquiry committee.

**4th.** An A. P. I. message stated, that it was understood in New Delhi that during December 1943, seven ships carrying over 43,000 tons of wheat arrived in India. Further shipments of wheat were expected shortly.

Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, Minister for Civil Supplies, Bengal, in an interview on Government's *aman* procurement scheme in Calcutta, observed : "Bengal Government have started making small purchases of *aman* rice where prices are

low, but they have been so cautious that in no instance have their purchases put up the prices."

At an informal conference held in Bombay, the status of Indians in Burma after its reconquest with particular reference to control of immigration was discussed. The Hon. Dr. N. B. Khare, member for Indians Overseas, was in the Chair.

The annual Conference of University Labour Federation (London) demanded a change in the British Government's policy towards India. The Conference was attended by delegates from all over Britain. The resolutions carried stated that, "in view of the grave crisis in India, we demand all possible measures for relief, the removal of Mr. Amery from office, the release of Indian leaders and the right of the Indian people to choose their own form of Government."

**5th.** Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in an interview at Karachi, said : "The crux of the conferences of the Hindu Mahasabha and the Liberal Federation at Amritsar and Bombay and the attitude of Mr. Gandhi and Congressmen clearly shows that there is no change on the part of the Hindus towards the demand of Muslim India." He reiterated the Muslim League's Pakistan demand.

The Joint Secretaries of the Bengal (Ministerial) Coalition Party, in the course of a statement in Calcutta, said : "We feel that the Food Member, Sir J. P. Srivastava, has imported politics into food and provoked needless conflicts with Provincial Ministries and therefore the sooner he relinquishes the food portfolio in favour of some one inspiring greater confidence, the better for all concerned."

The Brihan Maharastra Conference held in new Delhi, resolved to raise an Education Fund to be used to open new Marathi primary schools and subsidising existing ones in places outside Maharastra where Maharastrians had settled in large numbers.

Pandit Hridayanath Kunzru, addressing a public meeting at Calicut, referred to the food position in India in general and to the situation in Bengal in particular and observed that the Central Government did not do its duty at the proper time and did not take steps to bring home to the Bengal Government the gravity of the situation.

**6th.** The Indian Science Congress concluded its session in New Delhi. Sir S. S. Bhatnagar was elected President of the next session.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in an interview at Karachi, said : "Mr. Gandhi, on the authority of his letter to the Viceroy, dated January 19, 1943, was not prepared to budge an inch from the August resolution, and since then there has been no indication of any change from Mr. Gandhi or Congressmen outside jail."

Mr. John Sargent, Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, presiding over the section of the Psychology and Educational Science of the Indian Science Congress, (New Delhi), surveyed the position of education in India and set forth a plan of national education.

**7th.** Sir Frank Brown, addressing a meeting of the Baptist Board in London, said that the British themselves had awakened the spirit of nationalism which now ran so strongly in India. If communalism had been accentuated in recent years it was due to the continuous passing of more and more sovereignty into Indian hands and consequent manœuvring of political parties for ascendancy.

Tear smoke had to be used by the police on a Moharram procession which became unruly at Ahmedabad.

The Secretary of State for India received a deputation of the National Executive Committee of the Labour Party and had a full discussion with them on the food situation in India, especially in Bengal. The discussion covered the famine in Bengal and the policy of the Government of India for dealing with the food situation in India.

**8th.** The Central Food Department despatched to Bengal more than 380,000 tons of foodgrains, inclusive of imports from abroad, during the three months ended December 1943 as against the 250,000 tons which the Bengal Governor stated in October 1943, would help the province to "turn the corner."

At a conference in Calcutta of representatives of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India, the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, the Calcutta Import Trade Association and the Calcutta Trades Association with Mr. C. C. Desai, Controller-General of Civil Supplies, Government of India, there was a discussion with respect to the difficulties which the industrial, commercial and trading

interests were confronted with in endeavouring to comply with the provisions of the Hoarding and Profiteering Prevention Ordinance.

9th. The Secretary of State for India, Mr. L. S. Amery, in a speech at York, emphasized that Britain's offer to India through Sir Stafford Cripps was the most generous that any nation had ever made.

Mr. S. A. Brelvi, President-elect of the A. I. Newspaper Editors' Conference, in declaring open the third annual session of the Tamil Nad Journalists' Federation in Madras, expressed the hope that before long an All India Federation of journalists' organizations in the different parts of the country would be established to safeguard the interests of the Press as a whole and to get a fair deal for working journalists.

The Plenary Session of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference began in Madras, with Mr. S. A. Brelvi as the President.—Editors of newspapers from all over India were present, besides a large gathering of visitors.

10th. A Press Communique said :—"The Secretary of State for India has granted leave out of India, for urgent reasons of health, to Sir Thomas Rutherford, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Governor of Bihar and at present acting Governor of Bengal, with effect from the date on which Mr. Casey assumes office."

"During Sir Thomas Rutherfords' absence, Mr. R. F. Mudie, C.S.I., C.I.E., O.B.E, will continue to act as Governor of Bihar."

The Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, addressing the members of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference in Madras, apppealed to them to consider it their foremost duty to give no rest to the Government until they released Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawharlal Nehru in order that, when the whole world met at the Peace Conference, the voice of India might be raised in defence of the future not only of India but of the whole world.

11th. Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha in a communication from Bombay on the statement by the Joint Secretaries of the Bengal Ministerial Coalition Party, declared: "The Bengal Ministry cannot pretend that they are opposing the Central Government in order to protect provincial autonomy as such on behalf of all the provinces. Did not the Muslim League celebrate a Day of Deliverance throughout India, when the Congress Ministries relinquished their offices ? It is only for the anti-Hindu policy of the League that the League Ministries are clinging to their posts and have no higher patriotic goal before them."

12th. Mr. Clement Daires, (Liberal M. P. for Montgomery) in a speech in London re. Mr. Amery's statement said :—"What we require is not a speech for the defence but a statement of actual fact followed by a much more detailed description of the steps that Government are proposing to take to safeguard the people of India from famine and disease in the future. Meanwhile the need for relief still exists."

A Press Note from New Delhi, said: "Since comments have recently appeared in a section of the Press suggesting that foodgrains are still being exported from India, the Government of India wish to state categorically that no foodgrains or other products, except the minimum requirement of crews of ships and aircraft, have left India since July, 1943."

13th. Maj. General J. B. Hance, Director-General, I.M.S. declared in New Delhi: "The alleged failure of the nursing profession to appeal to the right type of women in India is due, far more to the attitude of the authorities responsible for the maintenance of hospitals and to the conditions in which, too often, probationers are trained and nurses expected to work, than to the alleged reluctance of educated Indian women to undertake the care of the sick.

14th. The Restriction and Detention Ordinance issued in New Delhi, set out inter alia: "Defences under Rule 26 of the D. I. Rules henceforth to have new rights approximating to those obtaining in the U. K."

The Bengal Government promulgated under the D. I. Rules, an Order called the Essential Foodstuffs Anti-Hording Order 1944.

According to figures available in New Delhi, India spent Rs. 715 crores on her defence and supply during the five years 1939-44, according to figures available here. During the same period His Majesty's Government helped India with Rs. 926 crores uuder the terms of the financial settlement, concluded in September, 1939, between the Government of India and H.M.G. regarding the

allocation of defence expenditure between them. The total defence and supply expenditure brought to account in India's book stood at Rs. 1,641 crores.

The death occurred at Lucknow of Mr. R. S. Pandit, husband of Mrs. Vijai Laxmi Pandit.

**15th.** Sir S. M. Visveswaraya, President of the All-India Manufacturers' organization and the members of the Committee, discussed with Mr. S, K. Kripalani, Indian Trade Commissioner-Designate to U. S. A., (in Bombay), the question of setting up important and heavy industries in different parts of the country in the post-war period and the facilities required in this connection from the United States.

**16th.** The Rt. Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, delivering the valedictory address of the Mysore University union, spoke on post-war reforms and reconstruction.

His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal was elected Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes,—the Nawab securing 21 votes.

**17th.** Lt. Gen. A. G. O. M. Magne, the G. O. C. in C., Eastern Command met members of the Patna Press to whom he spoke on the subject of famine relief in Bengal.

The first meeting of the Damodar Flood Inquiry Committee constituted by the Bengal Government to advise on permanent measures to control floods in the Damodar river, was held in Calcutta. Mr. B. P. Pain, Minister for Communication and Works, presided.

The Special Durbar in connection with the investiture of H. H. the Raja of Padukottah was held amidst general rejoicings in the Durbar Hall of the old Palace (Pudukattah).

**18th.** Mr. R. G. Casey, Governor-designate of Bengal arrived at Karachi, accompanied by Mrs. Casey and his son and daughter.

Sir J. P. Srivastava, in his opening address (in New Delhi) to the meeting of the General Policy Committee of the Reconstruction Committee of the Council of State, said that a better way of life for the masses was the objective of post-war development plans.

**19th.** His Excellency the Viceroy, accompanied by Sir Maurice Hallett, Sir E. M. Jenkins and the Military Secretary to the U. P. Governor, flew to Gorakhpur. On arrival the Viceroy was received by Mr. Browne, Commissioner, Gorakhpur division.

Sir Jogendra Singh, Education Member, Government of India, in his speech at the meeting of the Central Advisory Board of Education (Baroda) said that the 4 0 crore scheme of national education was not beyond India's capacity.

The Memorandum outlining a plan of economic development for India which was prepared by Sir Purushotamdas Thakurdas and seven other leading industrialists and economists in the country was explained by them at a Press Conference in Bombay.

**20th.** The Governor-General in Council nominated Sir Feroz Khan Noon to be a representative of India in the war cabinet.

Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, answered a number of questions about India in the House of Commons.

A 61 crore scheme of national education for India was drawn up by the Central Board of Education for submission to the Post-War Reconstruction committee of the Viceroy's Council.

The Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, delivering the valedictory address of the Intermediate College, Bangalore, observed: "All that I am asking for is not that Mr. Jinnah should give up his demand for Pakistan, but that he should agree to argue it out with the Hindus, Sikhs and other communities."

Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, questioned in the House of Commons, about the employment of women in coal mines in India, said: "Owing to a serious shortage of coal production and to meet the urgent needs of the war effort, the Government of India have reluctantly, and as a purely temporary measure, suspended the prohibition in force, since 1937, of work by women in coal mines in Bengal, Bihar and the C. P."

**21st.** An order prohibiting the publication of any special number between the 22nd. and 31st. of January, was served on the "Hindu", an Indian language daily of Karachi, and on its weekly edition the "Hindvasi."

**22nd.** Mr. R. G. Casey assumed office as Governor of Bengal.

The "News Chronicle" (London) said: In the House of Commons (on Thursday, 20th.). Mr. Amery had an unsatisfactory story to tell of the famines in India."

"The feeling of dissatisfaction" of the people of India on the appointment of an Australian as Governor of Bengal was expressed in a resolution by Sardar Sant Singh and admitted by the President for the next session of the Central Assembly.

**23rd.** Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, on the eve of the "Independence day, (January 26th.) issued a message from Allahabad. She said: "It is not to ceremony but to sacrament we are bidding the year on 26th. January."

The Working Committee of the All India Hindu Mahasabha began its meeting in New Delhi, with Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee in the chair.

The East African Indian National Congress, which held its meeting in Nairobi, reviewed the whole field of Indian political claims in East Africa and decided to create a fund for propaganda in support of the community's views.

Pandit Hridayanath Kunzru, President of the Servants of India Society, issued a statement (in Calcutta) on his tour of Malabar, Cochin and Travancore in connection with the food situation.

Mr. P. C, Joshi, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India, addressed a meeting in observance of Lenin day at Patna. He said that the food situation in Bengal was far from satisfactory and it was wrong to say that the famine in Bengal was over or had been averted.

**24th.** An India demonstration organized by the Midland Council of the India League was held in Birmingham. It was the opening of the India week campaign which put forward, "the release of political prisoners, the opening of negotiation and genuine attempts to enable Indian participation in large scale measures to relieve and end the famine."

Sir J. P. Srivastava, in a telegram to the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha, expressed the hope that the Hindu Mahasabha would "set an example in assisting the controller of Rationing, Calcutta and illiterate people in making the rationing scheme successful."

His Excellency the Viceroy accompanied by Lord Wavell and the Governor of Bombay, visited a number of places (in Bombay) and saw the progress of war work and rationing in the province.

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, President, Hindu Mahasabha, in a press interview in New Delhi, declared that without a radical change of existing methods of administration in Bengal, a second famine in 1944 could not be averted.

The All-India Depressed Classes League, in a resolution passed by the Working Committe at Patna, demanded the immediate formation of a National Government.

**26th.** "Independence Day" was observed in the various parts of India.

Mr. F. Anthony, President, Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association, addressing a gathering in Calcutta, revealed a scheme to transfer control of Anglo-Indian education into Anglo-Indian hands.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu who arrived at Lahore to see her ailing sister, was served with a notice under the D. I. Rules, directing her not to make any public speech, join any procession or address any gathering of more than five persons without the previous permission of the District Magistrate or make any communication to the Press.

At an India week meeting in Birmingham, speakers celebrated the Independence Day and urged the removal of Mr. Amery from the position as Secretary of State for India.

**27th.** The Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery, in a written Parliamentary reply to a suggestion to increase the pensions of retired Indian Civil Servants resident in Britain, said:—"As the Chancellor of the Exchequer announced on Dec. 3, His Majesty's Government are considering the grant of increase in lower range of pensions to mitigate really severe hardship."

Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, Civil Supplies Minister, Bengal, at a Press Conference in Calcutta, said: Our scheme of obtaining supplies and distribution must be given a chance." He explained the main points of the Government *aman* procurement and distribution scheme.

**28th.** A deputation from the Indian Freedom Campaign Committee and the Federation of Indian Associations in Britain met M. P.'s at the House of Commons, under the Chairmanship of Mr. James Maxton to discuss the question of conscription of Indians in Britain.

The Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery, answering questions in the House of Commons, said that no general statistics of unemployment in India were maintained.

**29th.** Lord Halifax, British Ambassador to the U. S. A., told a gathering at Washington, defending Britain's conduct in India, that the British Empire had encouraged nationalism in India. He declared: "We have sown in her people the seeds of Self-Government.

**29th.** The second session of the All-India Scheduled Caste's conference was held at Cawnpore, under the presidency of Rao Bahadur N. Sivaraja, M.L.A. (central).

Dr. B. S. Moonje presided over the Mahakoshal Hindu Sabha Conference which was held at Bilaspur.

**30th.** The third annual Conference of the Madras Students' organization held its open session in Madras, with Mr. Basant Sanyal, General Secretary of the All-India Students' Federation, presiding.

**31st.** Food rationing came into force in Calcutta and in Howrah, Bally-Belur, Garden Reach, Behala and Tollygunge municipalities.

## February 1944

Mrs Kasturbai Gandhi passed away at 7-30 p.m. on the 22nd. at the Aga Khan palace, Bombay.

The General Council of the All-India Trade Union Congress (Bombay) passed resolutions demanding the release of detenus and political prisoners.

Mr. Churchill informed the House of Commons that Lord Halifax's speech in Washington re: India, involved no new pronouncement on the part of the British Government.

Various schemes to strengthen the Muslim League organizations were considered by the Committee of Action of the All-India Muslim League, at Lahore.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu presided over a meeting of the Committee of the Save the Children Association in Calcutta.

The Standing Committee for Civil Defence met in New Delhi. Sir Feroz Khan Noon presided.

An enemy aircraft approached the Coast of Orissa and dropped a very small number of bombs on February 4.

The Punjab Government passed order for the release of fifteen more Congress detenus.

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee presided over the annual meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal in Calcutta.

The Bengal Legislative Assembly passed the Finance (Sales Tax) Amendment Bill.

The Central Legislative Assembly rejected Mr. Lalchand Navalrai's resolution recommending the release of political prisoners. The Assembly passed Mr. M. A. Kazimi's adjournment motion to censure the Government on the "misapplication" of D. I. Rules in the Provinces.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya decided to call an All Parties' Conference to meet in New Delhi in March to consider the political situation in the country.

The Government of Bengal allotted Bengal 142,000 tons of sugar.

Sir Charles Ogilvie, Defence Secretary, stated in the Central Legislative Assembly that there were 10 air raids in all on places in British India and one on an Indian State between November 20, 1943 and February 5, 1944.

A series of questions were asked in the Bengal Assembly relating to the restriction order on the "Amrita Bazar Patrika."

The Commander-in-Chief, India, made a statement in the Council of State regarding the part played by Indian troops in different theatres of war.

His Excellency the Viceroy addressing a joint session of the Central Legislature said that the Cripps draft declaration stood forth as the solemn pledge of His Majesty's Government. And that the demand for the release of those leaders who were in detention was utterly barren until there was some sign on their part to enter into willing co-operation.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, Mr. T. C. Goswami, Finance Member, disclosed a deficit of Rs. 11 crores and 20 lakhs for the current year.

A Conference of the Natal Indian Congress was opened by the Mayor of Durban.

Mr. Butler, speaking on behalf of Mr. Amery, declined to lift the restriction on Mrs. Naidu's addressing meetings.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, Sir Jeremy Raisman, Finance Member, introducing the Budget for 1944-1945 disclosed a revenue deficit of Rs. 92.43 crores for the current year and Rs. 78.21 crores next year on the basis of existing taxation.

Sind's financial position was described by the Premier, Sir G. H. Hidayatullah as one of unparalleled prosperity.

**1st.** At the opening menting of the Budget session of the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the Government's *aman* procurement scheme and particularly their appointment of some Calcutta merchants as their chief agents to buy paddy and rice, was criticised by the opposition.

A Bombay Government communique said: "Mrs. Gandhi had a severe heart attack yesterday. Her condition is very week.

Mr. C. P. Lawson presiding at the annual meeting of the Calcutta branch of the European Association (in Calcutta) said: "It was useless to talk of their political rights in India unless they were also prepared to play their full part in tackling the country's problems."

Prof. A. V. Hill, Adviser to the Government of India on the organization of scientific research speaking at the annual meeting of the Calcutta Geographical society, said: "The scientific development of India depended on consistent planning."

The General Council of the All-India Trade Union Congress (Bombay) passed resolutions demanding the release of detenus and political prisoners and protesting against the action of Government in permitting women to work underground in mines.

**2nd.** In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the Government's proposal to double the existing rate of the sales tax was criticized by the opposition when the Finance (sales tax) Amendment Bill, introduced by the Finance Minister, Mr. T. C. Goswami, came up for consideration.

**3rd.** Mr. Churchill told the House of Commons that Lord Halifax's speech in Washington on January 28th. that the British Government would not overule any decision taken by India not to remain in the British Commonwealth after the war if the people of India had established an agreed constitution, involved no new pronouncement on the part of the British Government.

The Bengal Legislative Assembly rejected by 90 votes to 63, an opposition proposal for circulating the Finance (sales tax) Amendment Bill, designed to

increase the incidence of the existing sales tax from 3 pies to 6 pies in the rupee.

Various schemes to strengthen the Muslim League organizations were considered by the Committee of Action of the All-India Muslim League which concluded its sitting at Lahore.

4th. In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, when a non-official resolution was passed inquiring Government to take steps to stop the purchase of cattle in the province for the military, an idea, how the Army procured its foodstuffs in Bengal without encroaching on Civil Supplies, was obtained. The information was contained in a letter from Maj. Gen. Stuart.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu presided over a meeting of the Committee of the Save the Children Association, in Calcutta. It was decided at the meeting to run homes for about 400 Children in Bengal.

The Standing Committee for Civil Defence met in New Delhi. Sir Feroz Khan Noon, who presided, made a statement on his recent tours of inspection of Civil Defence arrangements in Assam, Bengal and Madras.

A Communique from New Delhi stated: "In the early hours of February 4, an enemy air-craft approached the coast of Orissa and dropped a very small number of bombs."

5th. "Indian Affairs," published by the India-Burma Association, in an article on the economic implications of Pakistan, said: "If Pakistan were established, India would cease to be one of the greatest internal free trade areas of the world."

Mr. N. R. Sarkar, ex-Commerce Member of the Government of India, broadcasting a talk on "post-war reconstruction" from Calcutta, observed: "India's problem was rather of construction right from the beginning than of reconstruction."

The Punjab Government passed order for the release of fifteen more Congress detenus including Munshi Harilal, M. L. A. and Shrimati Shanno Devi, M. L. A.

6th. At a meeting of the Bengal Hindu Mahasabha Working Committee, held in Calcutta, Dr. S. P. Mukerjee presiding, a resolution was passed urging the immediate release of Hindu M. L. A's in detention.

The National Christian Council of India met at Nagpur under the presidentship of the Bishop of Dornakal, to consider the letter addressed by the conference of Missionaries of Great Britain.

7th. In the Central Legislative Assembly, with the beginning of the Budget session, the Food Member, Sir J. P. Srivastava, faced a long series of questions and supplementaries. He said in reply to Sirdar Mangal Singh that the form, terms of reference and time of the enquiry contemplated into the Bengal famine were under discussion with His Majesty's Government.

At the annual meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal (in Calcutta) the important part played by the Society in the development of India's intellectual and cultural life was stressed. Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukerjee presided.

The Bengal Legislative Assembly passed by 97 votes to 64, the Finance (Sales Tax) Amendment Bill. The measure was designed to increase provincial revenue by raising the rate of tax leviable under the Act from three pies to six pies in the rupee.

The Central Legislative Assembly rejected by 42 votes to 40 Mr. A. C. Datta's adjournment motion to censure the Government on their order on Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, directing her not to make any public speeches or issue directly or indirectly any statement to the Press or otherwise communicate her views to the public.

8th. The Central Legislative Assembly rejected without a divison Mr. Lalchand Navalrai's resolution recommending the release of political prisoners with a view to removing the political deadlock and furthering the war effort.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, five official Bills were introduced.

The Central Legislative Assembly rejected by 41 votes to 23, Mrs. Renuka Roy's adjournment motion to censure the Government for pemitting women to work underground in coal mines in Jharia and the neighbourhood.

9th. The Central Legislative Assembly passed by 43 votes to 42, Mr. M. A. Kazmi's adjournment motion to censure the Government on the "misapplication" of D. I. Rules in the Provinces.—This was the first adverse vote sustained by the Government during the session.

The Bengal Legislative Assembly rejected by 109 votes to 72, an adjournment motion criticizing the Government's decision to fix the acreage to be sown with jute at 8 as. of the basic acreage of 1940, and maximum and minimum prices at Rs. 17 and Rs. 15 respectively.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, the Opposition by an adjournment motion criticized Government for their "failure" to tackle the serious situation created in the province by the outbreak of preventible diseases after the famine. The motion was talked out.

**10th.** The Central Legislative Assembly disposed of three official Bills. Famine mortality figures in Bengal were the subject of a number of questions.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the policy of levying a tax on agricultural income merely for increasing the Provincial revenue without earmarking the proceeds for agricultural improvement was questioned by the Opposition, when the Finance Minister, Mr. T. C. Goswami, moved consideration of the Agricultural Income Tax Bill as reported by the select committee.

**11th.** Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya decided to call an All Parties conference to meet in Delhi in March to consider the political situatiou in the country.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, Mr. H. S. Suhrawady, Civil Supplies Minister, reiterated the Government's determination to reduce the prices of paddy and rice to a sane level and at the same time ensure against hoarding.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, an assurance of Government's sympathy with the aspirations and legitimate grievances of the Scheduled Castes community was given by the Chief Minister, Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin.

**12th.** The Government of India allocated Bengal 142,000 tons of sugar, (for the period covering Dec. 1, 1943 to Nov, 30, 1944).

A Press Note from New Delhi stated that according to the Rubber Production Commissioner, India produced 16,629 tons of rubber durring 1943 despite the the fact that 1943 was a particularly difficult year.

**14th.** In the Central Legislative Assembly, Sir Charles Ogilvi, Defence Secretary, in a written reply to a question by Mr. Lalchand Navalrai, said : "There have been ten air raids in all on places in British India and one on an Indian State between Nov. 20, 1943 and February 5, 1944."

The Central Assembly took up for consideration the Finance Member's Bill to consolidate and amend the law relating to Central Excise duties as reported by the Select Committee.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the consideration of the Agricultural Income Tax Bill continued with questions and discussions regarding the admissibility of two adjournment motions.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, the Finance Member, Sir Jeremy Raisman, in reply to Mr. Rangiah Naidu, said that a scheme was about to be introduced to encourage and assist small investors in making their investments.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, replying to a series of questions relating to the restriction order on the "Amrita Bazar Patrika," Khan Bahadur Mohammed Ali said that action was taken against the paper "for publishing two editorial articles which, in the opinion of the Government were subversive in nature and contained veiled incitements to violence."

**15th.** Mr. P. J. Griffiths, addressing the East India Association (London) on "The Indian food crisis ; its causes and lessons" criticized the Food Department of the Central Government and the Bengal Administration.

The Orissa Government in a Press Note, stated inter alia : Relief work to the extent of Rs. 1,82,000 was being carried out by Government in the Balasore, Puri and Ganjam Districts to provide employment to distressed people.

**16th.** In the Central Legislative Assembly, Sir Edward Benthal, war transport member, introducing the Railway Budget declared : "Passenger fares, except for suburban season tickets, will be raised by 25 p. c. from April, 1944. The additional earnings are estimated at Rs. 10 crores."

In the Council of State, a statement on the war situation and the part played by Indian troops in different theatres of war was made by the commander in-chief, India, General Sir Claude Auchinleck, in answer to a question by Raja Yuveraj Dutta Singh.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, searching inquiry about Governnent measures to prevent recurrence of the havoc caused by the Damodar in flood, were made.

The Bengal Legislative Council considered the Destitute persons (Repatriation and Relief) Bill.

**17th.** His Excellency the Viceroy, Lord Wavell, addressing a joint session of the Central Legislature (in New Delhi) declared: "Nearly two years have passed since the Cripps draft declaration was made public, but it stands forth today as the solemn pledge of His Majesty's Government, that India shall have full control of her own destiny among the nations of the Commonwealth and the world..... The demand for the release of those leaders who were in detention was utterly barren until there was some sign on their part of willingness to co-operate."

The Bengal Legislative Council passed the Destitute Persons (Repatriation and Relief) Bill introduced by the Revenue Minister, Mr. Tarak Nath Mukerjee.

In the House of Lords, moving the second reading of the India (Attachment of States) Bill, Lord Munster, under-secretary for India, said that the Bill was intended to place beyond all manner of doubt the right of the Viceroy to provide for the most suitable administration of a large number of small or very small states, really estates.

In the House of Commons, answering a question about food and the spread of diseases in India, Mr. R. A Butler, replying on behalf of Mr. Amery, said that the food situation had further improved with the harvesting of winter crops.

**18th.** His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda, inaugurating the Baroda Assembly session at Baroda, gave an assurance that the well-being and interests of his people throughout the state had always been nearest to his heart.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, cases of incendiarism in Midnapore district between August and December 1942 were discussed.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, civil supplies minister, announced the Government's intention to appoint a committee to consider the question of providing rations for "bhog" for Hidu deities.

In the Bengal Assembly, Mr. T. C. Goswami, Finance Member, disclosed a deficit of Rs. 11 crores and 20 lakhs for the current year and Rs. 8 crores and 46 lakhs for the next year, in presenting the Province's Budget estimates.

The Council of State took up Pandit Kunzru's resolution, recommending that all persons detained under the Defence of India Rules should be informed of the grounds of their detention.

**19th.** A Bengal Government Press Note stated that orders had been issued to constitute food committees for each of the sub-areas of Calcutta and surrounding districts when rationing was in operation.

**20th.** The Government of Bombay issued the following communique: "Mr. Gandhi's condition has been deteriorating for some days past and is now very grave."

To meet the situation arising out of labour shortage, the Government of India formulated a scheme for co-ordinating the use of unskilled labour throughout India by setting up labour supply committees in the provinces and district or regional supply committees in the areas where labour shortages were apparent or were considered imminent.

The Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinisava Sastri, speaking at a meeting at Poona, held to commemorate the death anniversary of the late Mr. G. K. Gokhale, made the plea that a change in the policy of the Congress was called for immediately and which could not be neglected except at the cost of national welfare.

A Conference of the Natal Indian Congress—the first meeting of the Indians united in one common body—was opened by the Mayor of Durban, Mr. R. Ellis Brown in Durban.

**21st.** In the Bengal Legislative Council, the Finance Minister, Mr. T. C. Goswami presented the Provinces Budget estimates for 1944-45.

H. E. The Viceroy spent nearly two hours in Madras acquainting himself first hand with the rationing of rice and fire wood in the city by visits to some rationing offices and fire wood and rice depots.

The Central Legislative Assembly held the general debate on the Railway Budget.

In the Council of State, several questions were asked by Mr. G. S. Motilal, on the arrest of Mr. Suresh Baidya, an Indian journalist in England on his refusal to obey the "call-up" order.

**22nd.** A communique issued at Bombay, said : "The Government of Bombay regrets to announce that Mrs. Kasturabai Gandhi passed away at 7-35 p.m. to-day at the Aga Khan Palace."

**23rd.** The Council of State held a general debate on the Railway Budget.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, the Government of India's plans for the development of post-war civil aviation in India were indicated by Sir Gurunath Bewoor, Secretary, Posts and Air, in the debate on his Bill to amend the Indian Aircraft Act.

In the Central Assembly, Sir Reginald Maxwell, Home Member, replied to Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari's question about the health of Dr. Syed Mahmud, a member of the Congress Working Committee and other political prisoners.

Mr. Yusuf Meherally, ex-Mayor of Bombay, was served with an order of the Punjab Government banning his entry into the Province of Punjab.

The Sind Legislative Assembly which met to receive the budget, passed at the outset a resolution recording deep sorrow at the death of Mrs. Gandhi and conveying their heartfelt condolence to Mahatma Gandhi and his family.

**24th.** The Council of State passed Mr. Hossain Imam's resolution recommending that price control and adequate supply of requirements of agriculturists might be taken in hand.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, a supplementary budget estimate totalling Rs. 36,24,48,000 for 1943-44 was presented by the Finance Minister, Mr. T. C. Goswami.

The Bengal Council adjourned its business for half an hour as a mark of respect to the memory of Mrs. Gandhi.

Mr. Butler, President of the Board of Education, speaking on behalf of Mr. Amery, declined to lift the restriction on Mrs. Naidu addressing meetings.

The Deputy Speaker of the Bengal Assembly, making a reference to the death of Mrs. Gandhi in the House, observed : "She represented the best and noblest in Indian womanhood—quiet and unassuming and yet resolute and devoted to her duty."

**25th.** In the Central Legislative Assembly, famine mortality figures in Bengal were referred to in a question put by Sir Frederick James. In reply to supplementaries arising from it, the Food Member, Sir J. P. Srivastava said that the Government of India had taken up with the Provincial Government the matter of the accuracy of death statistics due to starvation. He added, the members could well understand that the men who reported these deaths were not qualified to state the cause of death.

When the debate on the Railway budget was resumed in the Central Assembly, a cut motion by Mr. N. M. Joshi demanding that the compulsory dearness fund be extended to cover all railway employees, was passed by 43 votes to 42.

The Hon. Mr. J. H. Burder, in his presidential address to the annual meeting of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, in Calcutta, said : "We look for equality of treatment for all who trade or manufacture in India, the same equality as is given in the U. K. We base this upon our past services and upon the credit balance of our record which has been built up for over two centuries of the community's residence in this country."

In the Sind Legislative Assembly, making a statement on the Government's policy in regard to Congress detenus, Mr. M. A. Guzdar, Minister for Home Affairs, denied the charges that Congress M.L.A's were being kept in jail in order to safeguard the Ministry against defeat.

**26th.** In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, searching inquiries about deaths due to starvation in mofussil districts were made in answer to a question. Khan Sahib Hamiduddin Ahmed, Parliamentary Secretary to the Public Health Department, admitted that Government was not in a position to give the number of such deaths.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, a discussion on Mr. Jamnadas Mehta's cut motion to discuss "the meagre dearness allowance to railway workes," resulted in a tie, 42 voting on each side. The President gave his casting vote in favour of the noes and the motion was rejected.

**27th.** Sind's financial position was described by the Premier Sir G. H. Hidayatulla as one of unparalleled prosperity when he presented the Budget estimatesforh 1944-45 in the Legislative Assembly.

**28th.** The Central Legislative Assembly passed supplementary Railway demands for 1943-44 totalling over Rs. 25 crores.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the conclusion of the general debate on the Budget was marked by a walk-out staged by the Opposition.

In the Bengal Legislative Council the Budget was subjected to further criticism.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, the President admitted Mr. Deshmukh's adjournment motion to discuss the order preventing travelling of persons to stations on the M. and S. M. Railway to attend the eighth annual session of the All-India Kisan Conference at Bezwada, convened to consider problems facing the agriculturists and the food situation in the country.

**29th.** In the Central Legislative Assembly, introducing the Government of India Budget for 1944-45, the Finance Member, Sir Jeremy Raisman, disclosed a revenue deficit of Rs. 92.43 crores for the current year and a perspective deficit of Rs. 78-21 crores next year on the basis of existing taxation. The Finance Member then announced his proposals for new taxation. These were, 3 new excise duties to be levied, namely on tea, coffee and betelnut at 2 as. a lb., and others.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, when the general discussion of the Budget was resumed, Mr. W. Laidlaw, leader of the European party, appealed to the House to support the Finance Minister in his efforts to obtain financial assistance from the centre.

The Council of State passed 5 Bills adopted by the Central Assembly. They were the Coal Mines Safety Act Amendment Bill, the Indian Companies Act Amendment Bill, The Indian Aircraft Amendment Bill, the Insurance Act Amendment Bill and the Transfer of Act Amendment Bill.

The Labour Investigation Committee set up by the India Government to investigate the social and economic conditions of labour concluded their 7 day tour of Calcutta and left for Shillong.

## March 1944

In the House of Commons, the British Government's regret at the death of Mrs. Gandhi on Feb. 22, was expressed by Mr. R. A. Butler.

Mr. R. A. Butler, President of the Board of Education, answering a question in the House of Commons on behalf of Mr. Amery, about deaths in Bengal, said that the total number of deaths above the normal due to famine and disease in Bengal was estimated at 3,500,000, covered only 816 families with a total membership 3,840 spread over districts.

Orissa's fourth war-time Budget revealed a deficit of Rs, 10,36,000 in 1944-45.

Assam's Budget estimates for 1944-45 showed a deficit on revenue account of Rs. 10,40,000.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, Sir Reginald Maxwell, Home Member, in reply to Mr. K. C. Neogy, said that the provision for the expenses of Mr. Gandhi and those detained with him in the Aga Khan Palace amounted to Rs, 550, a month, while that for the members of the Congress Working Committee amounted to Rs. 100, a month, each.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, Sir Henry Richardson, leader of the European Group, asked the Finance Member to consider whether he had made provision for Bengal on a scale adequate to her plight.

The Bengal Legislative Assembly passed the entire Government demand in connexion with supplementary estimates for 1943-44 amounting to Rs, 36,24,48,000.

The C. P. Budget for 1944-45 revealed a surplus of Rs. 1 crore.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, addressing the Aligarh Union said : "The surest way to win the war.....is to concede the Pakistan demand, which means freedom both for Hindus and the Muslims".

In the Punjab Legislative Assembly, questions relating to the prohibitory order by the Punjab Government on Mrs. Sarojini Naidu were asked.

The Bengal Legislative Assembly passed in full, Budget demands for grants under Administration of Justice, Co-operation and Debt conciliation.

The session of the All-India Kishan Sabha began at Bezwada. Resolutions on the 'grievances of the States' peoples,' 'defence fund' and 'savings certificates' and 'food procurement policy' were moved and passed.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, the Ports and Air Secretary announced an increase in the rates of dearness allowance to all Central Government employees.

At a meeting held under the auspices of the Calcutta Muslim League in observance of 'Pakistan Day,' a resolution was passed that 'Pakistan is the only practical way to attain real freedom.'

Dr. Khan Sahib, leader of the Frontier Congress Parliamentary Party explained at Peshwar, the reasons why the Congress Party did not attend the Frontier Assembly.

The Central Legislative Assembly by 56 votes to 45 rejected the Finance Bill in the form recommended by the Governor-General.

At a meeting of Indian Christians in Madras, with Mr. V. Chakkarai Chettiar in the chair, a resolution was passed demanding the release of national leaders.

**1st.** In the Bengal Legislative Council, a defence of the Government's Budget policy was made by Mr. T. C. Goswami, Finance Minister, replying to the general debate on the Budget. Various criticisms concerning their departments were also answered by other Ministers.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, tumultuous scenes were witnessed prior to the voting on a demand by the Finance Minister, Mr. T. C. Goswami, for an excess grant of Rs. 1,83,350 to regularise certain expenditure.

Orissa's fourth war time Budget, presented in the Legislative Assembly by the Finance Minister, Mr. Godavaris Misra, revealed a deficit of Rs. 10,36,000 in 1944-45.

In the Sind Legislative Assembly, the question arose whether the detention of a member of the House as a security prisoner was a breach of privilege.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, Mr. K. C. Neogy asked whether it was a fact that ships on the Indian Registers were commandered for the purpose of local naval defence from 3rd. September, 1939 onwards and whether it was a fact that ships on the Indian Register were requisitioned for the carriage of men, materials and munitions from July 1940 onwards.—Sir Azizul Haque stated that the position as stated was substantially correct.

**2nd.** Mr. R. A. Butler, President of the Board of Education, answering a question in the House of Commons, on behalf of Mr. L. S. Amery, about deaths in the Bengal said that from information in his possession it would appear that the survey and report of the Anthropological Department of the University of Calcutta that the total number deaths above the normal due to famine and disease in Bengal was estimated at 3,500,000 covered only 816 families with a total membership of 3,840 spread over eight districts.

The British Government's regret at the death of Mrs. Gandhi on Feb. 22 was expressed by Mr. R. A. Butler in the House of Commons.

The budget estimates for 1944-45, presented before both House of the Assam legislature showed a deficit on revenue account of Rs. 10,40,000

In the House of Commons, during the debate on the India (Attachment of States) Bill, Mr. Pethick Lawrence (Lab) said that one of the things taluqdars objected to was whether a trustee could delegate his power to another person.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, Sir Reginald Maxwell, Home Member, in reply to Mr. K. C. Neogy's question, said that the provision for the expenses of Mr. Gandhi and those detained with him in the Aga Khan Palace amounted to about Rs. 550 a month, while that for the members of the Congress Working Committee amounted to Rs. 100 a month, each.

The Bengal Legislative Assembly rejected by 99 votes to 79 an adjournment motion censuring Government for banning publication of a joint statement by leaders of different parties in the Opposition criticizing certain observations made by Mr. R. A. Hutchings, Food Secretary, Government of India, on the Bengal food situation.

In the Bengal Legislative Council a plea for the adoption of a procedure which would enable the Upper House to exercise control over the sources of supply of Government was put forward Mr. Humayun Kabir (Praja) during the discussion of the supplementary demands for 1943-44.

**3rd.** In the Central Legislative Assembly, Sir Jeremy Raisman, Finance Member, moved for reference to a Select Committee of his Bill to amend the Income-Tax Act to come into line with the proposals he made in his Budget speech.—The motion was passed.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, a Bill designed to control the working of orphanages, widows' homes and other such institutions sponsored by Mrs. K. Shahabuddin, was passed.

In the Bengal Legislative Council a resolution suggesting the appointment of a body like that of a Royal Commission to inquire into the question of food shortage in Bengal in 1942-43 was passed.

**4th.** The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce began its annual meeting in New Delhi with Kumararaja Sir Muthia Chettiar in the chair.

The death occurred in Calcutta of Mr. S. N. Banerjee, a leading barrister of the Calcutta High Court.

H. E. Mr. R. G. Casey, Governor of Bengal, made reference to the place of education in schemes of reconstruction at the Calcutta University Convocation.

H. E. H. the Nizam, in a message to Indians in Japanese occupied territories, said: "Be patient and don't lose heart, for help comes from God and victory is near.

Begum Zaher Yar Jung, presiding over the 16th. session of the Hyderabad State Women's Conference, observed : "A great evil which prevails among the people is the marriage of young girls. In our Dominion, there are 11 lakhs of widows and child widows below 12 years of age number over 10,000. This casts a slur on the community and it should be eradicated."

In the Sind Legislative Assembly the Premier, Sir Ghulam Hussain said: "If you want progressive planning in this province, you must have a stable Ministry. You cannot play at toppling down Ministries and attack Government for not achieving long terms results at the same time."

In the Orissa Legislative Assembly, the Premier, the Hon. the Maharaja of Parlakimedi said that the Government had decided to constitute a committee to go into each individual case of detenues and recommend about their release after examining the record of each.

**5th.** The post-war position of industries established during the war was among subjects discussed at the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (in New Delhi).

**6th.** The Central Legislative Assembly began its debate on the Budget.—Sir Henry Richardson, leader of the European group, asked the Finance Member to consider whether he had made provision for Bengal on a scale adequate to her plight.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the question of shortage of Salt supply was raised when supplementary demands for grants for 1943-44 came up for consideration.

**7th.** Sir Sultan Ahmed, Member for Information, Government of India, declared in the Central Assembly in reply to Mr. K. S. Gupta's question : "The so-called offer of independence by Japan to certain territories she has occupied is a mere facade. The inhabitants of these territories are governed by Japanese military

rule and their condition is such that the Government of India do not attach much importance to this piece of Japanese propaganda.

The Council of State began its debate on the Budget. The Bengal Legislative Assembly passed the entire Government demand in connexion with the supplementary estimates for 1943-44 amounting to Rs. 36,24,48,000. All the cut motions moved by the opposition, criticising different aspects of Government's work were rejected.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, the question of providing rations for *bhog* for Hindu deities was raised by Mr. Haridas Mazumdar.

The C. P. Budget for 1944-45 revealed a surplus of Rs. 1 crore.

The Assam Legislative Assembly passed the Finance Bill by 40 votes to 13, and the Local Board Elections (Emergency Provisions) Bill by 38 votes to 10.

The Central Legislative Assembly concluded the general debate on the Budget.

A Press Note from Madras stated : "The Government have now decided that all restrictions on grounds of marriage against the employment or retention of women in public service should be withdrawn."

In the Punjab Assembly, a series of questions on Mr. Jaiprakash Narain, General Secretary, Congress Socialist Party, who was being detained as a State prisoner in the Punjab, were answered by Mr. Syed Amjad Ali, Parliamentary Secretary to the Premier.

In the Council of State, H. E. the Commander-in-Chief, Gen. Sir Claude Auchinleck, made an announcement that the Government of India had decided to give a further increase in the Indian Army pay.

A pamphlet was issued by the Committee of Indian Congressmen (in London) which stated inter alia : "A Congressman does not plead for mercy or clemency. He does not seek any political concession from the British Raj. In vindication of his faith he goes to prison if need be and thereby lays the foundation of a free India."

**8th.** A fund to be called the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Fund, to be presented to Mahatma Gandhi on his 75th. birth day to be spent for the welfare and education of women in India, was proposed in an appeal issued by some forty prominent leaders headed by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.

The Sind Assembly passed the entire Budget demand.

**9th.** Mr. P. B. Seal, Chairman of the Tagore Society, (London) at a lecture said : "A move was being made for the placing of a bust of the poet in the Poet's Corner at Westminster Abbey."

In the Punjab Legislative Assembly, members questioned the cancellation of permission to Mr. Munilal Kalia to attend the Budget session. Mr. Bhagat Ram Sharma asked for leave to table a privilege motion.

**10th.** In the Bengal Legislative Council, the Government's policy regarding allowances to security prisoners was explained by the Premier, Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin, replying to a debate on a non-official resolution on the subject.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the Muslim League, addressing the Aligarh Union said : "The surest way to win the war which His Excellency the Viceroy consider his first job, is to concede the Pakistan demand, which means freedom both for Hindus and the Muslims."

**11th.** The death occurred of Sir Lancelot Sanderson, a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and a former Chief-Justice of the Calcutta High Court.

**12th.** Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, speaking at a reception given in his honour in Bombay urged the release of Indian leaders, fresh elections to the Provincial and Central Legislatures, a representative Government at the Centre and the appointment of representative Indians as delegates to the Peace Conference.

The Central Committee of the All-India Kishan Sabha met at Bezwada and converted itself into a subjects committee of the session.

**13th.** The Central Legislative Assembly by 50 votes to 48 passed Mr. Abdul Quaiyum's (Congress) cut motion to reduce the grant under the head "Executive Council" to one rupee, as a mark of "refusal of supplies." The Congress, Muslim League and the Nationalists voted for the motion.

There was no offer of release of Mrs. Gandhi, said the External Affairs Secretary, Sir Olaf Caroe, in the course of a reply to Mr. K. S. Gupta.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, a plea for the relief of distressed school teachers was put forward during the discussion of the Education budget. Reference

was also made to the crisis through which education in the province was passing.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, in a short statement from Allahabad, said : "It is manifestly unjust to keep Mahatma Gandhi in detention for a moment longer after the Government has received his reply to the charges which it is said have been communicated to him. Truth demands that Gandhiji should be released forthwith."

**14th.** In his presidential address to the All-India Kishan Sabha Conference at Bezwada, Swami Sahajananda Saraswathi put forward a demand for the release of Congress leaders and the establishment of a national Government. The President expressed his opposition to the Pakistan scheme and death with the economic problems of the Kisans.

In the Punjab Legislative Assembly, replying to a question, Mr. Maqbool Mahmud, Parliamentary Secretary to the Premier, said : "Eleven Congress members of the Punjab Assembly were detained at present in jail with a view to preventing them from acting in any manner prejudicial to the public safety."

The Central Legislative Assembly passed by 55 votes to 46 the Muslim League's cut motion sponsored by Sir Mohammed Yamin Khan, asking for the immediate appointment of a committee of elected members of the Central Legislature, assisted by officials, to scrutinize government expenditure and suggest economies.

In the Punjab Legislative Assembly, questions relating to the prohibitory order by the Punjab Government on Mrs. Sarojini Naidu were asked. The Premier stated that it had been done to prevent her from acting in any manner prejudicial to the maintenance of public order.

The Bengal Legislative Assembly passed in full, Budget demands for grants under Administration of Justice, Co-operation and Debt Conciliation.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, the motions for referring the Sales Tax Bill to a Select Committee were rejected.

**15th.** The second day session of the All-India Kishan Sabha was resumed at Bezwada. Resolutions on "grievances of the States' peoples", "defence fund and savings certificates", and "food procurement policy" were moved and passed.

The Opposition parties in the Central Legislative Assembly combined to defeat the Government, when the House by 53 votes to 44, passed the Nationalist Party's cut motion, moved by Pandit Lakhmikanta Maitra, to reduce the demand under the Home Department by Rs. 100 to discuss "the abuse of powers under the Defence of India Act and Rules."

The Council of State passed without a division, Pandit Kunzru's resolution recommending that steps be taken for the manufacture of broad gauge locomotives in India.

The Punjab Legislative Assembly voted supplementary estimates aggregating to Rs. 25,100,000 moved by Sir Manoharlal, Finance Member.

The Bengal Legislative Assembly rejected an opposition motion in connexion with the demand by the Excise Minister for a grant of Rs. 25,20,000 under "Provincial Excise."

In the Bengal Legislative Council, further progress was made in the consideration of the Finance (Sales Tax) Amendment Bill.

**16th.** In the Council of State, Mr. B. R. Sen, Director-General of Food, moved for consideration of the food situation in the country.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, "General Administration" was criticized from various angles.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, the Home Member, Sir Reginald Maxwell, replying to the debate on the Nationalist Party's cut motion under "Home Department", said that the debate had proceeded as though the Act and Rules were brought into existence and employed solely for the purpose of maintaining public order or interfering with political or other activities."

The House of Commons gave the third reading without division to the India (Attachment of States) Bill.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, an increase in the rates of dearness allowance to all Central Government employees and a special concession to employees of the Posts and Telegraphs Department were announced by the Posts and Air Secretary, Sir Gurunath Bewoor.

Mr. L. S. Amery declined, in the House of Commons, to comment on Mr.

Sorenson's inquiry whether he had considered the presidential address given to the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce emphasising that the time had come for the release of political leaders in detention and stressing the need of greater industrial development in India.

**17th.** In the Bengal Legislative Council, a statement on the salt position in Bengal and the steps that were being taken by Government to meet the shortage was made by the Civil Supplies Minister.

The Central Legislative Assembly began the debate on the Finance Member's motion that the Finance Bill be taken into consideration.

The Council of State resumed its debate on the food situation.

**18th.** Sir M. Visweswaraya, delivering his presidential address over the 4th. annual conference of the All-India Manufacturers' Organization at Nagpur, stressed the urgent importance of industrialisation of India in any plan of post-war reconstruction.

The Bengal Legislative Assembly passed two Budget demands under "Industries" and "Cinchona."

Mr. M. A. Jinnah inaugurating the annual conference of the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation at Lahore, put forward the claim that 99 per cent of the Muslims of India, whether they were members of the League or not, were behind the League.

**19th.** The All-India Manufacturers' Conference concluded its session at Nagpur.—The main resolution relating to the industrial policy was moved by Mr. Sakalchand G. Shah. The resolution deplored Government's policy in not encouraging any large scale industry inspite of the war.

**20th.** In the Central Legislative Assembly, resuming the debate on the Finance Bill, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari criticized the new taxation proposal, the appointment of a number of experts in various Government departments, Government's policy in regard to the establishment of heavy industries, the activities of the U. K. C. C. and the I. C. I. and immobilization of India's sterling balances.

The Bengal Legislative Assembly passed the budget land revenue demand for Rs. 34,51,000 made by the Revenue Minister.

Sir R. S. Sarma, a member of the Indian Delegation who went on a lecture tour to Britain and America, returned to India.

**21st.** In the Central Legislative Assembly, during the general debate on the Finance Bill, Sir Vithal Chandavarkar referred to the political situation in the country and said that if the British Government were serious they should forget what had happened in the past and without trying to apportion blame proceed to legislate on the lines of making India self-governing. There were bound to be irreconcilables but this should not detract the policy of H. M. G.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, Government attitude regarding public complaints against the police and questions of release of security prisoners and improvement of jails was explained by Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin, Chief Minister, when the Budget demands under "Police" and 'Jail and Convict Settlements' came up for consideration.

At a meeting of the Council of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League, held in Calcutta, alleged attempts by interested persons to prevent agriculturists from selling their crops to Government were criticized in a resolution.

**22nd.** In the Council of State, Raja Yurveraj Dutta Singh asked : "Is it a fact that Government are going to hold the general elections of the Central Legislature some time this year ?" Sir M. Usman, Leader of the House said : "The question depends entirely on whether His Excellency the Governor-General effects a further extension of the life of the existing Chambers."

In the Punjab Legislative Assembly, the Premier had to face a barrage of questions regarding the prohibitory order on Mrs. Sarojini Naidu during her visit to Lahore in Jan. 1944.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, the debate on the work of the Defence Consultative Committee took place on a formal motion by Mr. C. M. Trivedi, War Secretary, for the election of six members of the Assembly to the Committee.

Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India, moved an address to be presented to the King praying that the Government of India (distribution of revenues)—amendment—Order of 1944, be made in the form of the draft laid before Parliament.

**23rd.** At the Royal Empire Society, India's High Commissioner, Sir Samuel Ranganadhan, gave footnotes to Mr. John Sargent's £207,200,000—educational plan for India. He hoped that Lord Wavell would give it his "deepest consideration."

At a meeting held under the auspices of the Calcutta Muslim League in observance of "Pakistan Day," a resolution reaffirming that "Pakistan is the only practical way in the present circumstances to attain real freedom and independence for the Muslim and the Hindu nations", was passed.

The Bengal Council passed the Alienation of Agricultural land (Temporary Provisions) Bill introduced by the Revenue Minister.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the working of the Civil Supplies Department was attacked from various angles, when, following the demand by the Chief Minister, for a grant of Rs. 8,50,57,000 under "Extraordinary charges in India", over 20 cut motions were moved.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, Sir Mohammed Yamin Khan (Muslim League) in resuming his speech on the Finance Bill, advocated a Committee of the Assembly to revise the D. I. Rules and suggest amendments.

About 6,89,000 people died in the Bengal famine.—This figure was given by Mr. Amery in the House of Commons.

**24th.** In the Central Legislative Assembly, Sir Cowasji Jehangir said that price control measures were the sheet anchor of Government's remedy against inflation and they should impress on the Provincial Governments its importance.

Maj-Gen. Nawab Sir Umar Hyat Khan Tiwana died at Lahore.—Sir Umar was A. D. C. to the King and a former member of the Secretary of States' Council.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the House turned down a Congress cut motion in connexion with the budget demand for the Civil Supplies Department.

The 52nd. annual general meeting of the Indian Mining Association was held at the Bengal Chamber of Commerce (Calcutta), Mr. E. A. Paterson presiding.

**25th.** In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, Budget demands under Medical and Public Health were passed.

A declaration issued by the National Peace Council, a federation of 40 separate organizations (London), said : "Self-Government for India is among conditions which must be fulfilled "if the goal of a war-free world is to be achieved."

**26th.** The Congress party in the Central Assembly at its meeting in New Delhi, with Mr. Bhulabhai Desai in the chair passed the following resolution :—

"Bearing in mind the Congress policy and having considered the present situation, it is resolved that as regards the attendance of the Congress party in the Central Legislature, the matter is left to the decision of the leader in consultation with Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, and the party will not attend unless invited to do so by him."

Dr. Khan Sahib, leader of the Frontier Congress Parliamentary Party, in the course of a statement by the Press at Peshawar explained the reasons why the Congress Party did not attend the Frontier Assembly.

**27th.** The Central Legislative Assembly took up the general debate on the Finance Bill. Sir Henry Richardson, leader of the European group, referred to the attitude of certain section of the House which imputed to the British Commercial Community a wish to profit unduly by the circumstances of the war.

Mr. J. K. Mitter, presiding over the annual meeting of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce in Calcutta, supported Bengal's claim for a handsome contribution from the Central Government to meet her budgetary deficit.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the "Grow more food" campaign and other activities of the Agriculture Department were targets for criticism when the Budget demand for Rs. 1,29,51,000 under the head "Agriculture" was passed.

**28th.** The Central Legislative Assembly, by 56 votes to 45, rejected the Finance Bill in the form recommended by the Governor-General. The House also rejected by 55 votes to 45, the demand for a grant of Rs. 1,85,000 in respect of the Information and Broadcasting Department.—The Congress, the Muslim League and the Nationalist parties voting against the Government.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the Government's irrigation policy and

programme were explained by Mr. B. P. Pain, Communications and Works Minister. The Minister's demand for a grant of Rs. 1,49,13,000 was passed.

At a meeting of Indian Christians in Madras, with Mr. V. Chakkarai Chettiar in the chair, a resolution was passed, demanding the release of national leaders and the setting up of a National Government at the Centre and in the Provinces.

**29th.** The Central Legislative Assembly disposed of demands for supplementary grants and took up the Income Tax (Amendment) Bill.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, Government's famine relief activities were criticized by the Opposition.

In the Council of State, the Finance Bill as recommended by the Viceroy was introduced by Mr. C. E. Jones, Finance Secretary.

A Government communique issued in Calcutta, said : "The Bengal Governor has set up a body by whom matters of common concern to the Bengal Government and the armed forces may be considered."

The High Commissioner for Canada, Mr. Malcolm Macdonald, in a speech at Philadelphia declared that the British had made some mistakes during the creation of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

**30th.** The Central Legislative Assembly passed Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan's resolution moved on March 1, recommending the appointment of a Committee with a majority of elected members of the Central Legislature to recommend steps to be taken to introduce constitutional reforms in Baluchistan on lines similar to those in other Provinces of British India.

The Council of State resumed the debate on the Finance Bill.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, voting of Bengal's Budget demands for 1944-45 ended, when grants under 11 heads were sanctioned. The entire Budget was thus passed.

The Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery, circulated in a Parliamentary reply the composition at the end of 1942 of the main parties and the elected members of the Legislative Assembly.

**31st.** In the Central Legislative Assembly, the War Secretary, Mr. C. M. Trivedi, gave details about the removal of boats from certain areas as part of the denial policy.

The Council of State passed by 27 votes to 13 the motion for consideration of the Finance Bill in the form recommended by the Governor-General.

The Central Assembly rejected without a division, Mr. M. A. Kazmi's Bill for the Abolition of Whipping.

The Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery, in a written Parliamentary reply gave the composition at the end of 1942 of the main parties in the Central Assembly. He added that he had no information regarding the number of members in detention.

## April 1944

His Excellency R. G. Casey, Governor of Bengal in a broadcast speech from Calcutta, expressed his determination to avert the famine of 1944 and prevent its recurrence.

The Maharaja of Burdwan, in his presidential address to the British Indian Association, referred to the food situation and said that the control prices of rice were 300 p. c. higher than the pre-war prices.

The Council of State adopted a motion recommending that the Bill to codify the Hindu law relating to marriage be referred to a joint committee of 18 members of both Houses.

7 Indian scientists were invited to visit England to meet and have discussions with various scientific bodies.

In the House of Commons, in reply to Mr. Sorenson's question on food shortage in India and famine, Mr. Amery said : "The situation depends largely on what proportion of crops the Government of India can procure and distribute."

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President, All-India Hindu Mahasabha, in declaring open the first session of the All-India States Hindu Mahasabha Conference, made an appeal for consolidating all Hindu States in India which were great sources of strength to the Hindus.

More than 300 Indian soldiers who had been prisoners of war in German and Italian hands returned to India.

The meeting of the released Congress leaders and workers began at Lucknow. A resolution was passed which stated: "The Congress has always stood against all aggression and is committed to the defence of the country under all circumstances,...The Congress made it clear that they had no sympathy for the aggressors, be they Japanese, Germans or Italians. That had been always their view and that view prevailed to-day."

A proposal urging the application of the Bengal Government's communal ratio rules to all administrative and ministerial appointments of the University of Calcutta was rejected by the Senate of the University by 31 votes to 13.

The Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri said in an interview with reference to the move to replace the "Pegging" Act: "My experiences of the way in which colour prejudice works out in South Africa does not enable me to be sanguine of the result."

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the Secondary Education Bill was formally introduced.

Under the order of the Governor of the Punjab, Captain Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan was dismissed from his office of Minister, Punjab Government.

The Indian Information Service of the State Department (Washington) stated: "By the end of this year, India expects to have given the U. S. A. Rs. 79,21,88,000 worth of goods and services through reciprocal aid."

The Government of Bombay issued communiques re: Mahatma Gandhi's wealth.

**1st.** His Excellency Mr. R. G. Casey, Governor of Bengal, in his first broadcast from Calcutta, declared: "We are determined to succeed and we are going to succeed, in averting the famine of 1944.

The Federation of Indian Association in Great Britain, in a Press statement in London, "deplored the decision of the war office in imprisoning Mr. Suresh Vaidya and in not accepting his plea that his political conviction was a matter of conscience with him."

**2nd.** The Maharaja of Burdwan, in his presidential address to the annual meeting of the British Indian Association, made reference to the food situation in Bengal.—The control prices of rice, he said, were 300% higher than the pre-war prices and were beyond the purchasing power of the lower middle classes.

A Press communique from New Delhi said—"In order to give practical shape to their intention to safeguard the interests of producers while enforcing a strict policy of statutory price control in the interests of cousumers, the Government of India decided to announce their willingness to accept all wheat of average quality offered for sale in the main assembling markets of the Punjab, U. P. and Sind, at a price of Rs. 7-8 per md., should prices fall."

At the annual general meeting in New Delhi of the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association, All-India and Burma, Mr. Anthony, President-in-chief emphasized the fact, that after a long time, the Association was treading steadily the road to financial stability and strength.

**3rd.** Thn Central Legislative Assembly concluded the debate on the Income-tax Amendment Bill and passed it.

In the Central Assembly, the House passed without a division the Law Member's motion that the Bill to codify the Hindu Law relating to marriage be referred to a joint committee of both Houses.

**4th.** The Council of State adopted a motion moved by Mr. Lal, Secretary, legislative Department, concurring in the resolution passed in the legislative Assembly recommending that the Bill to codify the Hindu Law relating to marriages be referred to a joint committee of the members of both Houses.

A Press Note from New Delhi stated, "Invitations on behalf of His Majesty's Government are being extended to seven Indian Scientists to visit England for six weeks to meet and have discussions with various scientific bodies."

**5th.** In the Central Legislative Assembly, Sir John Thorne, in reply to Mr. J. J. Krishnamachari, said that 115 persons detained by or at the instance of the Central Government or under orders of Chief Commissioners had been told the grounds for their detention as required by Ordinance III of 1944. He had no separate information about members of the All-India Congress Committee.

The Central Assembly concluded discussion on the U. N. R. R. A. Agreement and passed the following motion :—"This Assembly approves of the U. N. R. R. A. Agreement signed in Washington on November 9, 1943. In expressing its approval this Assembly recommends that any area important to military operations of the United Nations which is stricken by famine or disease should be included in the benefits to be made available by the U. N. R. R. A."

The Council of State debated a motion approving the U. N. R. R. A. Agreement signed at Washington on November 9, 1943.

A Government Press Note said : "Bepresentatives of Muslim League, Hindu Mahasabha, Congress, Communists, Labour organizations and the Radical Democratic Party are to be included in the Food Committees, which are being set up throughout Bengal, to secure the co-operation of all sections of the people at every stage of allocation and distribution of supplies, as well as in the task of general relief and rehabilitation."

Srimati Kamala Devi, President-elect and members of the Standing Committee of the All-India Women's Conference were accorded a civic reception in Bombay.

**6th.** Mr. Amery, Secretary for India, replied in the House of Commons to a question by Mr. Sorenson (Lab.) who wanted to know if adequate preparations had been made to avoid the possibility of a recurrence of grave food shortage and famine in India. He said inter alia : "Although rice will be in short supply in Malabar, the Deccan and Bombay, no serious shortage is anticipated... The situation depends largely on what proportion of crops the Government of India can procure and distribute."

The Council of State passed Mr. P. N. Sapru's resolution recommending immediate steps to secure the withdrawal of the Regulations restricting the entry of Indian immigrants into Kenya.

**7th.** Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, in the course of his Presidential address at the third meeting of the Non-Party Leaders' Conference at Lucknow, observed : "That there is deep resentment and a keen sense of frustration at large, I have not the least doubt. That it is unwise in the larger and abiding interest of India and England to allow the present State of things to continue in the provinces any longer, I am equally clear. It is absurd to mortgage the future of this country by planning post-war reconstruction and development schemes without giving the duly elected Legislatures a fair and free chance of expressing themselves on the expediency or desirability or feasibility of those plans, however well meant they may be."

**th.** Srimati Kamaladevi Chattopadhya, presiding over the annual session of the All-India Women's Conference in Bombay, declared : "The entrance of women into extra-domestic activities has to be welcomed, for it provides a wider field for their talents, breaks the relative segregation of women as a sex and relaxes the restrictions that otherwise narrow their functions."

Dr. N. C. Sengupta, presiding over the Bengal and Assam Lawyers' Conference in Calcutta, urged the separation of the judiciary from the Executive.

The release of all political anti-Fascist prisoners throughout India was urged in a resolution adopted at a Conference of the Co-operative Party (London) under the Chairmanship of Mr. Alfred Barnes, Labour Member for East Ham.

The Easter session of the Indian Academy of Sciences was held at the University Building at Chepauk.

Sir Chhotu Ram, addressing the annual session of the All-India Jat Mahasabha at Lyallpur, replied to the criticism of the Jat Mahasabha by Mr. Jinnah in his speeches at Lahore.

The South African Hindu Conference was held at Maritzburg, under the auspices of the South African Hindu Mahasabha. It was attended by 300 delegates representing all Hindu religions and educational institutions throughout the country.

**9th.** Presiding over a Pakistan Conference at Gaya, Sir Nazimuddin, Chief Minister of Bengal, said that Britain, which had accepted and conceded the principle of Pakistan for India, would be forced to concede the Muslim demand in full, in view of having to recognize similar demands from other parts of the world.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, in an interview at Shimoga, said : "There is a general idea that the States, particularly Hindu States, are a kind of impediment in the way of progress. That idea, to my mind is, under the present circumstances absolutely incorrect and harmful." He added that the Hindu States were centres of power of Hindudom.

**10th.** At a Press Conference in Calcutta, Mr. Tamizuddin Khan, Education Minister, Bengal Government, explained the main provisions of the Secondary Education Bill which the Government proposed to introduce *de novo* in the Bengal Assembly.

The Commonwealth Conference concluded in London, after passing a resolution reaffirming its belief that Mr. Gandhi's immediate release would be a demonstration of the British Government's goodwill.

Presiding over the 2nd. session of the All-India Brahmin Conference at Amritsar, Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji, Vice-Chancellor of the Lucknow University, said that the Punjab was the home of vedic culture. He added that India had always remained a single unit and was indivisible.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, declaring open the first session of the All-India States Hindu Mahasabha Conference in Yadunagar, made a passionate and spirited appeal for consolidating all Hindu States in India which were great sources of strength to the Hindus.

**11th.** At an informal conference of Hindu leaders at Lahore, a resolution was adopted making a call to the Hindus of the Punjab to close their ranks and to see that no support direct or indirect was given to the formation of a Muslim League Ministry in the province.

Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, ex-Premier of Bengal, in a statement welcomed the decision to call a conference in Delhi of Nationalist Muslims from all over India on May 6, 7 and 8 to consider the situation in the country.

The South African Hindu Mahasabha Conference by a large majority passed a resolution asking that priests who performed Hindu marriages be given legal power to register marriages in the same way as priests of the religions.

**12th.** Mr. Clarkson, Minister for the Interior, in the Union Assembly (S. Africa) said that it was necessary for S. Africans to have a true perspective of the position of Indians and Europeans in Natal.

**13th.** The death occurred at his Calcutta residence of Mr. Prafulla Kumar Sarkar, Editor of the "Ananda Bazar Patrika" and a director of that journal and the "Hindusthan Standard."

**14th** Is the hoisting of the Congress flag illegal ? The point was raised by Mr. M. B. Ahmad, I.C.S., Sessions Judge, Fyzabad, in ordering the retrial of R. S. Dhagat, a Congressman, who had been sentenced to one year R. I. and a fine of Rs. 200 for hoisting Congress flags over the Gandhi Ashram at Akbarpur.

**15th.** More than 300 Indian soldiers who had been prisoners of war in German and Italian hands returned to India.

**16th.** The annual general meeting of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha began in Calcutta. Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee presided.

The Mahasabha spent Rs. 5,52,449-10-8 and distributed about 32,445 mds. of foodgrains besides Rs. 64,247-2-10 worth of cloths and blankets, Rs. 9,440 worth of yarn and Rs. 12,000 worth of medicines apart from 500,000 quinine tablets.

They directly maintained 227 centres in 24 districts in Bengal, serving 107,727 persons.

In the course of his presidential address at Jubbulpore, to the All-India Muslim Educational Conference, Sir Azizul Haque, Industries and Civil Supplies Member, Government of India, said : "The establishment of an institute of science and technology at Aligarh was recommended by a committee of which Prof. A. V. Hill, Sir Ziauddin, Sir Shanti Swarup Bhatnagar were among members."

**17th.** The meeting of the Congress leaders and workers released from jail began at Lucknow, Babu Sampurnanand, ex-Education Minister, U. P. was in the chair.—Dr. N. K. Katju moved the resolution relating to Japanese inroads into Assam, which ran as follows :

"This meeting views the inroads made by the Japanese troops into Assam with great concern. It expresses its sympathies for the people of Assam who already afflicted by famine have now to suffer the hardships and ordeal of invasion..... While reiterating the Congress attitude towards imperialism, this meeting expresses confidence, that, despite all difficulties and impediments, the people of Assam will resist the Japanese attack with all the strength at their command. The Congress has always stood against all aggression and is committed to the defence of the country under all circumstances."

A Government of India Resolution, accepting certain cuts made by the Assembly in the Budget, said inter alia :

"The amendments to the Finance Bill will not result in any material alteration of the estimates for 1944-45 as previously adopted and no change has accordingly been made therein.

"In the net result. the net estimated revenue deficit for the year 1944-45 has not undergone any change."

A meeting at Caxton Hall (London) organized by the "Free India Now" movement passed the following resolution :

"This meeting of Indians and British sympathisers, in view of the present crisis, demands the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners in order that they may take the lead in forming a National Government on the basis of the complete independence of India."

In the Bengal Legislative Council, the Agriculture Minister, Khan Bahadur S. M. Hossain, explained Government's policy regarding the "Grow More Food" campaign, answering questions on the subject.

A resolution, proclaiming that Indian people under national leader alone can effectively rally India's strength for her defence and survival and demanding the release of all political prisoners so that a National Government can be formed, was passed at a meeting of Indian workers in East London.

Maulana Obeidullah, Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Sind Jamiat-ul-ulema said at Karachi : "My head and heart are not like those of many other Indian Muslims. I think on the lines of citizens of present day European countries."

**18th.** Mr. Amery told Parliament that the whole campaign for creating mass sabotage and for paralysing the activities of the Government of India was almost certainly one for which Congress leaders were reponsible.

At the meeting of the released Congress leaders at Lucknow, Dr. Katju in moving the resolution expressing concern at the Japanese threat to Assam referred to the resignation of Congress Ministries and said that its main cause was that Indians were not consulted by the British Government on the question of India's active participation in the war against the aggressors in Europe.—The Congress made it clear that they had no sympathy for the aggressors, be they Japanese, Germans or Italians. That had been always their view and that view prevailed to-day.

Mr. N. R. Sarker, presiding at a meeting in Calcutta, said that any plan of reconstruction would require a great measure of interference by the State in the economic life of the individual, and such interference could be justified, and would be tolerated, only where people had implicit confidence in the Government and believed that this would lead rapidly and effectively to the goal of "Four Freedoms" for India.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, reference to Government relief measures for destitutes among Scheduled Castes was made when the Revenue Minister said that the Government had not so far received any specific complaint.

The Bengal Legislative Council considered the Embankment (Amendment) Bill.

A Press communique from New Delhi said that "The National Defence Council" met at the Viceroy's House. His Excellency the Viceroy presided.

A report from Johannesburg stated : "An important decision affecting the Indian Pegging Act has been taken as the result of discussions between the Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior on the one hand, and a deputation from Natal which included members of the Natal Indian Congress.

**19th.** In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, a proposal to give the Bengal Government discretionary power to grant relief to companies that would be liable to double taxation under the Agricultural Income-tax Bill, was discussed, when the debate on the Bill was resumed.

Mr. B. G. Khaparde, President, All-India States Hindu Mahasabha and Vice-President, Hindu Mahasabha issued a statement re : Sir Azizul Haque's remarks in the course of his address to the All India Muslim Educational Conference. He said : "That a member of the Government of India should go out of his way to discuss politics when speaking on education and that a person of Sir Azizul Haque's standing and status should make these absurd statements and that the Viceroy and the Government of India should allow this to pass unnoticed and give latitude for deepening the present political bitterness is to be deeply regretted, but there it is."

Dr. C. Vijiaraghavachariar, former President of the Indian National Congress and All-India Hindu Mahasabha passed away at Salem.

**20th.** In the House of Commons, in reply to Mr. Sorenson re : U. N. R. R. A. Mr. Amery said that the decision as to what matters should be discussed at the meeting of the Council of the U. N. R. R. A. did not rest with the British Government.

The Bengal Legislative Assembly accepted by 110 votes to 75 an amendment, moved by Mr. J R. Walker, Deputy leader of the European party, seeking to give Government discretionary power to grant relief to companies that would be liable to double taxation under the Agricultural Income-Tax Bill.

Mr. Gopinath Bardoloi, ex-Premier of Assam, in an interview at Gauhati, said, "The fact that the Japs have set their foot on Indian soil makes it more imperative on the part of the British Government to change their adamantine policy. Any further delay by the Government would profit none."

Mr. Amery told the House of Commons that inquiries were being made regarding the protest of certain British correspondents in India against suppression of their reports.

**21st.** In the Bengal Legislative Assembly there was a discussion regarding the suspension of the realization of the education cess in Chittagong Division.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, 2 Non-official Bills came up for consideration. One was the Orphanages and Widows' Homes Bill (as passed by the Assembly) and the other the Amusement House Smoke Nuisance Prevention Bill.

The Chief Minister announced in the Bengal Assembly : "Sanction to the full payment of the amount recommended by the Bengal Government as compensation for damage to property caused by aeroplane accidents that took place in Kidderpore in May last has now been received from the Government of India".

**22nd.** A proposal urging the application of the Bengal Government's communal ratio rules to all administrative and ministerial appointments of the University of Calcutta was rejected by the Senate of the University by 31 votes to 13.

Sadar Harnam Singh, President, Central Sikh League, and several other Sikh members of the Punjab Assembly issued the following statement : "We have followed the controversey between the Unionists and the Muslim League. The situation vitally affects the Sikh Community. We, therefore, wish to make it clear that notwithstanding our differences with the Unionist Party we are opposed to the formation of a Muslim League Coalition Ministry in the Punjab and expect that no Sikh member of the Assembly, including the present Sikh Minister, will join the Muslim League Coalition Ministry."

**23rd.** The Director of Public Instruction Bengal, communicated an order of the Bengal Government to the Governing Committee of the Brojamohan College, Barisal, that unless they removed from the staff of the College, Prof. Miss Santisudha Ghosh, Prof. Prafulla Chakravarty and Prof. Sudhir, the Government's grant-in-aid would be stopped.

**24th.** The Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri in a press interview (in Madras) referring to the move to replace the "Pegging" Act by an Ordinance of the Natal Administration, asked : "Is this anything more than face-saving"—"It is too soon to rejoice. My experience of the way in which colour prejudice works out in S. Africa does not enable me to be sanguine of the result."

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the Secondary Education Bill was formally introduced.

**25th.** Khan Bahadur G. A. Dossani, presiding at the annual meeting of the Muslim Chamber of Commerce in Calcutta, said : "Outside Calcutta, it is difficult to procure salt at any reasonable price."

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the second reading of the Agricultural Income-Tax Bill was concluded when practically the entire proceedings were devoted to the considerations of the schedule laying down the rate of taxation.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, the Embankment Bill was passed without any modification.

Dr. B. S. Moonji, in his Presidential address at the Baroda State Hindu Conference, said : "I ask Hindus to be united and to be continuously on the alert because no nation or no community can live or thrive which is not on the alert to defend itself when attacked."

**26th.** It was officially announced at Lahore that under the orders of the Governor of the Punjab, Captain Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan had been dismissed from his office of Minister, Punjab Government.

The third reading of the Agricultural Income-Tax Bill began in the Bengal Legislative Assembly.

Mr. Churchill told the House of Commons that not only the Secretary of State for India but Sir Firoz Khan Noon and the Maharaja of Kashmir would both be present at the meeting of the Dominion Prime Ministers in London.

**27th.** The Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery, made a statement in the House of Commons on the duties of Gen. Auchinleck, C-in-C., India. He said : "Gen. Auchinleck is C.-in-C., of H. M's. forces in India and is War Member of the Governor-General's Executive Council.....In the latter capacity he speaks on behalf of the Government of India in the Indian Legislature in respect of military matters and on the war itself as it affects India."

The Bengal Legislative Assembly passed the Agricultural Income-Tax Bill.

The Indian Information Service of the State Department ( Washington ), observed : "By the end of this year India expects to have given the U. S. A. Rs. 79,21,88,000 worth of goods and services through reciprocal aid."

The Jinnah-Khizr Hyat Khan talks finally broke down at Lahore.

**28th.** The Bombay Government issued the following communique : "Although Mr. Gandhi has no recurrence of fever he has not recovered from his recent attack as well as was hoped. His general condition is weak and is causing some anxiety."

Dr. Meghnad Saha, presiding at the All-Bengal College and University Teachers' Conference at Howrah, made an appeal to Government to drop the Secondary Education Bill and to call a conference of educationists to examine its provisions from the point of view of pure educational reforms.

**29th.** A Bombay Government Communique said : "Mr. Gandhi was examined today by Major General Candy, I. M. S., Surgeon-General to the Government of Bombay. His report shows that Mr. Gandhi's condition has shown a fair degree of improvement since yesterday. As a result of his recent attack of Malaria, he has still a considerable degree of anaemia and his blood pressure reached very low levels, but since yesterday they have improved substantially. He is in good spirits. He has been advised to take more nourishment and tonics.

His Excellency Mr. R. G. Casey, Governor of Bengal, at a press conference in New Delhi, said that he had already expressed in his broadcast a large measure of confidence as to the non-recurrence of famine in 1944. He had said by way of qualification, that every section of the community in Bengal should play up.

**30th.** A Bombay Government Communique said : "Mr. Gandhi's condition has continued to improve. No further bulletin will be issued unless necessary..... Dr. B. C. Roy, who happens to be passing through Poona, has made a request to be allowed to examine Mr. Gandhi and this request has been granted."

The Punjab Muslim League Conference adopted a resolution relating to the dismissal of capt. Shaukat Hyat Khan from the Punjab Ministry.

Sardar Baldev Singh, in a statement on the Punjab Ministerial development said : "To divide the people of this province by aggravating communal bitterness at this time would be a positive danger to all concerned."

## May 1944

Mahatma Gandhi was released unconditionally. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, in a statement on Mahatma Gandhi's release, said : "He ought not to have been arrested at all and the Government have set right a grave act of injustice.

Prayers were offered for the speedy recovery of Mahatma Gandhi at meetings held in various parts of the country.

The issues in dispute between the Government and the oppositionists over the Bengal Secondary Education Bill were discussed round-the-table in Calcutta with representatives on either side.

Mr. L. S. Amery, replying to a question re : scope of the Conference of Dominion Premiers, particularly with reference to India, said : The proceedings of the Conference of Dominion Prime Ministers are confidential."

Mrs. Durga Prasad, the dismissed Lady Superintendent, Lahore Corporation Girls' Schools, was reinstated under the order of the Punjab Government.

With reference to the reply of Mr. Jinnah to the Hindu Ministers of the Punjab, Dr. B. S. Moonje, Vice-President of the Hindu Mahasabha, characterized it as "arrogant and insulting."

Nationalist Muslims in New Delhi passed a resolution asking for the formation of a National Government.

Mr. Amery stated in the House of Commons that Mr. Gandhi was released solely on medical grounds.

H. H. the Aga Khan, in a message to the people of India, expressed his confidence in the sense of justice of the British people in dealing with Indian wishes and claims.

Dr. Jivraj Mehta, Mr. D. Patel and Mr. J. P. Hutheesing were released unconditionally.

In a letter released for publication, Mahatma Gandhi wrote to Mr. Jinnah, "why should not both you and I approach the great question of communal unity as men determined on finding a common solution."

Khan Bahadur Hashem Ali Khan, presiding over a meeting in Calcutta, held under the joint auspices of the Bengal Provincial League-a-Rasul and the Jamiat-ul-ulema, said : "Pakistan is a negation of Islamic principles."

In the House of Commons, the question of responsibility for the censorship of private letters was raised by Mr. W. Astor (Con.).

Mr. L. S. Amery, replying to a letter written to him by several Labour M. P.'s, said ; "Mr. Gandhi's release was not effected with the intention of releasing other Congress leaders."

His Excellency the Governor-General decided to extend the life of the existing Council of State and Legislative Assembly for a further period of one year from October 1.

The Delhi Provincial Jamiat-ul-ulema adopted a resolution demanding the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners.

The U. P Government promulgated a Restriction of Food Consumption Order, 1944.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, donated a sum of Rs. 50,000 for the propagation of Hindu Sangathan movement.

**1st.** Dr. B. C. Roy went to the Aga Khan Palace and examined Mahatma Gandhi.

Malik Khizr Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab, in a press statement from Lahore, contradicted Capt. Shaukat Hyat Khan's statement that he had given to the Premier his resignation a week before his dismissal.

**2nd.** The Government of Bombay issued the following communique on Mahatma Gandhi's health: "Dr. B. C. Roy, who examined Mr. Gandhi, yesterday, has submitted a report to the Government which suggests that the improvement observed by Maj. General Candy on Saturday has not been wholly maintained Although there is no recurrence of fever and Mr. Gandhi is in cheerful spirit, the level of blood presure cannot be regarded as satisfactory. A further examination by specialists is being carried out."

The stand taken up by Mr. Jinnah during the talks with the Punjab Premier in connection with his proposal to form a League Coalition Ministry in the Punjab was explained in a statement issued by him in reply to the statement issued by the non-Muslim Ministers.

**3rd.** The Government of Bombay issued the following communique: "There has been some worsening of Mr. Gandhi's anaemic condition and his blood pressure has fallen further. His general condition is again giving rise to some anxiety."

Capt. Shaukat Hyat Khan, in a Press statement, contradicted the Punjab Premier's statement on his (Capt. Hyat Khan's) dismissal from the Punjab Cabinet.

The issue in dispute between the Government and Oppositionists over the Bengal Secondary Education Bill, were discussed round-the-table in Calcutta. Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee and four others represented the Opposition, while the Chief Minister and four of his colleagues in the cabinet attended on behalf of the Government.

**4th.** Sir N. N. Sircar, Sir B. P. Singh Roy, Sir Badridas Goenka, Mr. N. R. Sarker and Mr. G. D. Birla sent a telegram to the Private Secretary to the Viceroy, appealing to His Excellency to release Mahatma Gandhi immediately "in view of his continued illness which is causing serious anxiety all over the country."

Apropos of a resolution of the Central Standing Committee of the All-India Shia Political Conference authorizing its President to negotiate with Mr. Jinnah on the question of the Shias' place in the scheme of Pakistan as formulated by the Muslim League, Mr. Mirza Zafar Hossain, Secretary of the Conference, said that the resolution by no way meant that the Shias wanted to accept Pakistan. The conference simply wanted to know, should the Pakistan scheme of the League materialize, what would be the status of the Shias therein, he added.

Mr. Amery, replying to a question in the House of Commons, as to what political, economic or other questions affecting India would be considered at the Conference of Dominion Premiers, said: "The proceedings of the Conference of Dominion Prime Ministers are confidential and I am not in a position to make any statement on the subject matter or discussion."

**5th.** Mrs. Durga Prasad, Lady Superintendent, Lahore Corporation Girls' Schools whose dismissal by Mr. Shaukat Hyat Khan was stated to be responsible for his dismissal from Ministership, was reinstated under the order of the Punjab Government.

**6th.** A Press Communique was issued from New Delhi, which stated: "In view of the medical reports of Mr. Gandhi's health, Government have decided to release him unconditionally. This decision has been taken solely on medical grounds.... "The release takes place at 8 P.M., May 6."

The Central Standing Committee of the All-India Shia Political Conference, which met at Lucknow under the presidentship of Syed Ali Zaheer M. L. C. (U.P.) passed a resolution disapproving of the continuance of Government under Sec.

93 in certain provinces and urging the formation of a national government at the centre.

7th. "Mr. Gandhi's condition remains much the same," said a bulletin on his health issued by Dr. Sushila Nayar.

Interviewed at Madras on Mahatma Gandhi's release, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari said : "It would be small mindedness to belittle the nobility of the step taken by the British Government. Those who commit faults are not always inclined to correct them, and when such an event occurs, it would be wrong not to appreciate it in the fullest measure."

8th. In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, consideration of the Secondary Education Bill was delayed by a day.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, in a statement from Allahabad on Mahatma Gandhi's release, said : "I am greatly relieved to learn that Mahatma Gandhi has been released unconditionally. He ought not to have been arrested at all and the Government have set right a grave act of injustice."

Prayers were offered for the speedy recovery of Mahatma Gandhi at meetings held in various parts of the country.

In a statement on Mr. Jinnah's reply to the Hindu Ministers of the Punjab in connexion with the Jinnah-Khizr Hyat Khan talks, Dr. B. S. Moonje, Vice-President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha said that the Sabha would have to consider the situation and take action. The Minister had the backing of the entire body of Hindus of the province, so that they could be depended upon to act suitably "to repel the attacks of Mr. Jinnah." He characterised Mr. Jinnah's reply to the Ministers' as "arrogant and insulting."

The All Kerala Kisan Conference held its session at Calicut.

Nationalist Muslims in New Delhi, passed a resolution asking for the formation of a National Government and setting out the fundamental consideration on which the communal problem could be solved.

9th. Dr. Sushila Nayar issued a bulletin from Poona saying, "Mahatma Gandhi had a restful day yesterday."

Allama Mashriqui, the Khaksar leader, in a letter to Mr. Jinnah urged the League President to see Mahatma Gandhi to explore the possibility by a settlement between the League and the Congress.

The Council for International Recognition of Indian Independence issued the following statement : "The release of Mr. Gandhi will be welcomed by all upon humanitarian grounds but will be meaningless and futile in the political sense unless it is followed immediately by the release of all Congress leaders unconditionally for the purpose of achieving political settlement in India."

"The Muslim League has never been against the release of Mahatma Gandhi," declared Mr. G. M. Syed, President of the Sind Provincial Muslim League.

10th. In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the Education Minister in moving the first reading of the Secondary Education Bill declared : "The principles and provisions of the Secondary Education Bill are of a fundamentally progressive character which will greatly help to accelerate the educational regeneration of his province ; it is fraught with immense possibilities."

Calcutta Street accidents formed a series of questions in the Bengal Legislative Council.

11th. In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the Secondary Education Bill was hotly discussed. The opposition moved amendments seeking circulation of the Bill to elicit public opinion.

Mr. Amery stated in the House of Commons that Mr. Gandhi was released solely on medical grounds.

At the session of the 34th. Provincial Educational Conference at Annamalainagar, a resolution urging on the Government "the extreme urgency of their taking decisions on the proposals made in the Sargent report, so as to enable the necessary legislation being undertaken by competent authorities without any loss of time," was unanimously passed.

12th. A Bill to promote the breeding of fish, sponsored by Mr. Ahmed Hossain (Muslim League), was referred to a Select Committee by the Bengal Assembly.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, seven non-official Bills, including the Anti-Dowry Bill, the Suppression of Immoral Traffic Bill, the Court of Wards Bill were dealt with.

Mr. M. S. Aney, the Government of India's representative in Ceylon, was entertained at a party by the Indians Overseas Central Association.

**13th.** A statement protesting against the Bengal Secondary Education Bill and urging its withdrawal was issued by Hindu elected members of the Central Legislature from Bengal, including Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta and Dr. P. N. Banerjea, leader of the Assembly Nationalist Party.

H. H. the Aga Khan gave a message to the people of India from Switzerland: "I have full confidence that the British people will deal justly with such Indian wishes and claims as have general support from Indian opinion irrespective of faith and race."

**14th.** Mr. G. M. Syed, speaking at the annual meeting of the Sind Muslim League at Karachi, said: "The jealousies of power politics and the struggle for seats and offices should give place to a single ideal of service for its own sake; otherwise there is danger of friction and disintegration setting in within the organization."

Khan Bahadur Sheikh Mohamad Jan, General Secretary of the All-India Muslim Majlis, in a statement to the press in Calcutta, on the meeting of Nationalist Muslims in Delhi, said that it rendered a distinct service to the country in general and the Mussalmans of India in particular when it formed the Muslim Majlis on an all-India basis.

**15th.** Mahatma Gandhi in a telegram replying to Allama Mashriqui, the Khaksar leader, who had suggested that Congress and Muslim League leaders should meet to explore the possibility of settlement, said: "My last year's request to Quaide-i-Azam Jinnah still stands, and I will be ready to discuss the question of Hindu-Muslim understanding as soon as I get better."

Dr. Jivraj Mehta, Dr. Dahyabhai Patel and Mr. J. P. Hutheesing were released unconditionally. Dr. Mehta and Mr. Hutheesingh had already been released on parole on medical grounds.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, Opposition amendments pressing for circulation of the Secondary Education Bill were discussed.

The Committee of Action of the All-India Muslim League decided to extend up to May 22, the time given to Malik Khizr Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab, to explain his position with regard to the points raised in Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan's letter to him.

**16th.** Mahatma Gandhi had a good night's sleep, according to the bulletin on his health issued by Dr. M. D. D. Gilder and Dr. Sushila Nayar. His condition remained much the same.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the discussion on the motions for the circulation of the Secondary Education Bill was continued.

Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India, replying to the suggestion that he should set up a University Grants Committee in India, said in the House of Commons: "Except in relation to the Universities of Benares and Aligarh, University education is a Provincial subject and it would not, therefore, be within my powers to act as suggested. A proposal of this kind is, however, contained in the recent report of the Educational Adviser to the Government of India on post-war educational development in India. Under the present Constitution this proposal could only be implemented by an agreement between the Provincial Governments.

**17th.** In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the Opposition moved five amendments to refer the Secondary Education Bill to a select committee.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, the Agriculture Minister, Khan Bahadur S. M. Hossain, replying to a question by Mr. Nur Ahmed said that about Rs. 85,77,000 had been spent in 1943-44 on the "Grow More Food" Campaign in the province. The Central Government had advanced on interest-free loan of Rs. 62,15,000 and made a grant of Rs. 3,85,950 to finance partly the projects undertaken by the Bengal Government in furtherance of the campaign.

Mr. A. M. Khwaja, in his first statement as President of the newly formed All-India Muslim Majlis, gave an account of why Muslim Nationalists decided to form a distinct party of their own.

**18th.** A letter written by Mahatma Gandhi to Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the Muslim League on May 4, 1943, was released for publication. It stated: "Why should not both you and I approach the great question of communal unity as men determined on finding a common solution and work together to make one solution workable to all concerned who are interested in it."

The suggestion that a new approach to the solution of the Indian problem should be made was put forward by Mr. Shinwell (Lab) in the House of Commons, when he asked Mr. Amery, "Has he observed the reports in the Press indicating that there is a changed feeling in India due to the temporary release of Mr. Gandhi and that indications have also been given that Mr. Gandhi is willing to meet leaders of the Muslim Party."..... Mr. Amery replied : "If that were the situation, I am sure the Viceroy would take advantage of it."

19th. The Bengal Legislative Council decided to present an address to the Governor requesting him "to urge upon the Government of India to allow, during the period of war, manufacture of salt even by indigenous methods in cottages in any quantity in any part of the province."

In the House of Commons, the question of responsibility for the censorship of private letters in India was raised by Mr. W. Astor (C) who asked whether Mr. Amery was satisfied that letters were not censored on any other grounds than those of military security.—Mr. Amery replied : "Responsibility for the postal and telegraphic censorship of correspondence entering or leaving India has been entrusted by the Government of India to the C. in-C. India. It is exercised on grounds of military security in the broad sense of the term, that is to say in the general interest of national defence or public safety."

Khan Bahadur Hashem Ali Khan, ex-Minister, Bengal, presiding at a meeting held in Calcutta, under the joint auspices of the Bengal Provincial League-a-Rasul and the Jamiat-ul-ulema, said : "Pakistan is a negation of Islamic principles."

Mahatma Gandhi visited the scene of explosions and fires in Bombay. He spent over an hour in the area and returned to Juhu.

20th. A resolution condemning the Bengal Secondary Education Bill and urging Government to drop it was passed at a women's meeting in the Ashutosh Hall, Calcutta University. Lady Abala Bose presided.

A letter sent to the Secretary of State for India by a group of Labour Members of the British Parliament, said : "The way to National Government will surely be opened, we firmly believe, if Messrs. Gandhi, Jinnah and other leaders are allowed to have free discussions to come to some agreement among themselves."

The Orissa Government decided to raise the status of the Orissa Medical School, Cuttack, to that of a Medical College with a five-year course.

21st. Sir C. R. Reddy, in an article under the caption, "Morality, Malaria and Gandhi's release," analysed the Indian political situation with particular reference to the Congress attitude to it.

Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan returned from Chungking to Calcutta, after a short visit to China at the invitation of the Chinese Government.

22nd. Mr. L. S. Amery, replying to a letter written to him by Mr. William Dobbie and other labour M. P.'s said : "Mr. Gandhi's release was not effected with the intention of releasing other Congress leaders."

A Communique from New Delhi, said : "The Governor-General has decided to extend the life of the existing Council of State and Legislative Assembly for a further period of one year from October 1, when the extension effected in his order dated May 29, 1943, will expire."

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, shortage of fish supplies in Calcutta and other urban areas formed the subject of a series of questions, when the Agriculture Minister said that the position was due to difficulties of transport and supply of ice.

23rd. The following bulletin was issued by Doctors Gilder and Sushila Nayar on Mahatma Gandhi's health : "Gandhiji had a restful night and he is feeling better."

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, a counter-demand for the constitution of a separate Secondary Education Board on non-communal lines was made by Rai Harendranath Chowdhury ( non-official Congress ) when discussion of the Secondary Education Bill was resumed.

Addressing the East India Association in London, Mr. John Sargent, Educational Adviser to the Government of India, said : "I am old enough in Government service to realise that almost anybody who is not mentally defective and some of those who are, can produce a report of some kind. What matters and what is more difficult in India than elsewhere is to translate the report into action. My experience in India has shown me that a report is only too often treated as an alternative to action."

**24th.** In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, an appeal to Government to refer the Secondary Education Bill to a select committee and in the meanwhile arrive at an understanding with Calcutta University, was made by the Opposition.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, the discussion on the Agricultural Income-Tax was continued.

**25th.** It was announced at a Sikh dewan held at the Guruka Bagh, Amritsar that there was a reconciliation between Akalis and Kisans.

The Bengal Legislative Council rejected without division a motion to refer the Agricultural-Income-Tax Bill, as passed by the Assembly, to a committee of the whole chamber.

Sir C. R. Reddy, Vice-chancellor of the Andhra University, in a statement to the Associated Press in Madras ; asked : "Do Government want the deadlock to be resolved ? Or do they desire its indefinite prolongation ? What is the position of the Government." He said the August Resolution was not an individual confession of faith or want of faith in Government but a collective resolution sponsored by the Working Committee. Should not therefore the Working Committee be set free to confer and review ?

Dr. Khan Sahib, ex-premier, N. W. F. P., in a Press Statement at Peshawar, said : "It will be a very happy moment when Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah came to an agreement for the solution of the question of Hindu Muslim Unity."

**26th.** The President of the Board of Education, Mr. Richard Butler, presiding at a meeting of the East India Association (London), addressed by the Educational Adviser to the Government of India, Mr. John Sargent, said : "India's ancient traditions should give hope that we will make a successful start in educational reconstruction for India. Is it too much to hope that we may see produced a synthesis of the ideas of Macaulay and Warren Hastings ?

In the Bengal Legislative Council, the Education Minister, Mr. Tamizuddin Khan, announced that Government was now considering a scheme involving several crores of rupees for promoting educational welfare of different communities in the province. The educationally backward communities would be particularly benefitted by the scheme which they hoped to give effect to after the war.

**27th.** A Press note from New Delhi, said : "To supplement the food requirements of urban areas, the Government of India have decided to launch schemes to increase the production and supply of fish as part of their "Grow More Food Campaign."

The death occurred in Calcutta of Maharaja Sashikanta Acharya of Mymensingh. He represented the Dacca Division landholders in the Bengal Assembly.

**28th.** Mr. Syed Abdulla Brelvi, presiding over the Civil Liberties Conference at Indore, said : " In the present circumstances of our country, there are few more urgent and important tasks facing us than that of preserving, safeguarding and securing as many civil liberties as possible ; because civil liberties are to a nation what the breath of life is to an individual".

The death occurred in Calcutta of Mr. S. C. Mukerji, a leading member of the Bengali Christian community and for many years president of the Indian Christian Association, Bengal.

**29th.** Mr. Rasoolkhan Pathan, presiding over the seventh session of the Baroda State Muslim Conference, said : " Pakistan is the symbol of Indian independence. It is very strange that after 5 years of explanation some people are yet asking for its clarification. Self-determination and distribution of provinces on a national basis is Pakistan".

Mahatma Gandhi broke his fortnight's silence. His doctors found good improvement in his health as a result of the silence.

**29th.** The Delhi Provincial Jamiat-ul-ulema Conference, which concluded its session in New Delhi, adopted a resolution demanding the immediate and unconditional release of all political detenus.

The U. P. Government promulgated a restriction of Food consumption order, 1944.

An increase of 30 p.c. in rice production and 50 p.c. in wheat production in India was envisaged by Dr. W. Burns, former Agricultural Commissioner with the Government of India.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, donated a sum of Rs. 50,000 for the propagation of Hindu Sangathan movement, on the occasion of his 62nd birthday.

Mr. Narayana Reddi, presiding over the 4th Andhra Conference held at Bhongni, Hyderabad (Dn.), made a plea for the inclusion of representatives of the Andhra, Maharastra, and Karnatak Conferences and the Ittihadus Muslim in the Nizam's Executive Council.

**30th.** Mahatma Gandhi paid a visit to Mr. Yusuf Meherally, ex-Mayor of Bombay, at Santa Cruz. Mahatma Gandhi spent 15 minutes with Mr. Meherally.

Mr. S. H. Prater, the Anglo-Indian leader, paid a visit to Mahatma Gandhi.

**30th.** Nawab Iftikar Hossain Khan of Mamdot, President, Punjab Muslim League, in a Press interview at Lahore, said : " What the country urgently needs now is the conclusion of a Gandhi-Jinnah Pact, or in other words a settlement between Hindus and Muslims which will be in the interest of all.

The Bengal Legislative Assembly devoted the entire meeting to discussion of the right of a Parliamentary Secretary to make a statement in the House explaining the circumstances leading to his resignation.

Sir Don Baron Jayatilaka, the representative of the Ceylon Government in India, died while on his way to Colombo from Delhi by plane.

## June 1944

Sir Prafulla Chandra Ray died in Calcutta on the 16th. June. The Bombay Government decided to distribute cloth from the stocks frozen by the Government.

Sir George Schuster, asked to state his views on the release of political prisoners, said : "(He) had confidence in Lord Wavell and hoped that, when the time came, the release would be granted without condition."

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, in a statement strongly criticized the Bengal Government's decision banning the Hindu Conference, which it was proposed to hold at Lora (Barisal).

Sir Ushanath Sen was appointed Chief Press Adviser.

The High Commissioner for the Commonwealth of Australia made a proposal for the exchange of University teachers and students between India and Australia.

Three Muslim Ministers of the Punjab severed their connexion with the Muslim League.

Mr. Amery, in reply to a question in the House of Commons, said : "The Government of India...are anxious to accord to correspondents the greatest possible freedom to transmit news and views on the situation in India."

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, an adjournment motion on the order of the Government banning the Hindu Conference at Lora, Barisal District, Faridpur and Jessore for the period from June to 2 to 16, was admitted.

At a Special Convocation, the Calcutta University conferred the honorary degree of D.SC. on Dr. B C. Roy.

The Government of India decided to grant a subvention of Rs. 10 crores to the Government of Bengal, in view of the abnormal expenditure they had to incur in combating the famine of 1943.

The correspondence between Mahatma Gandhi and the Viceroy was released for publication.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, a point was raised whether the provincial legislature was competent to impose a tax on agricultural income from lands issued by a Ruler of an Indian State in Bengal.

The U. S. Army authorities agreed to release on loan to the Bengal Government 10 motor tug launches, 10 "sea mules" and 20 wooden barges for use in connexion with the distribution of food in Bengal.

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The Government of India published a booklet, entitled "correspondence with Mr. Gandhi", containing letters exchanged between Mahatma Gandhi on the one side and Lord Linlithgow, Lord Wavell, Lord Samuel and the Home Department on the other side, during the period August 1942 and April 1944.

The Budget session of the Bengal Assembly was prorogued.

Twenty-seven Indian National leaders, in a joint manifesto on the food situation in India gave the British public a timely warning about the apathy displayed by the authorities at Whitehall.

**1st.** The Bombay Government decided to distribute cloth from the stocks frozen by the Government.

Sir George Schuster, ex-Finance Member, asked to state his view (in London) as the whether guarantees and pledges should be demanded of interned Congress leaders, said that he was able to appreciate the burden of responsibility which was resting on those concerned with the maintenance of law and order, but had confidence in Lord Wavell and hoped that, when the time came, the release would be granted without condition.

**2nd.** Discussing India's over population, the "*News Chronicle*" (London) said: "The facts are appalling. Where, with us, expectation of life at birth is some 62 years, in India it is 25 years. A third of the population is subject to chronic disease. A high proportion of it lives on the very verge of starvation.....

The urgency of India's economic needs makes it essential that the political deadlock should be ended. India will then be able to break the vicious circle of perennial insufficiency and want".

The Bengal Government's decision banning the Hindu Conference, which it was proposed to hold at Lora, Barisal, on 3rd and 4th June, was strongly criticized by Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee in a statement.

**3rd.** A Press Note from New Delhi, said: "Sir Ushanath Sen has been appointed Chief Press Adviser with effect from June 1, 1944."

Sir Ardeshir Dalal, Member-Designate for Post-War Reconstruction in the Viceroy's Executive Council, in a Press interview in Bombay, said: "The object of the new Department of Planning and Development is to co-ordinate the various activities regarding post-war planning and reconstruction which are now going on in the various departments of the Government of India as well as under the Provincial Government."

A proposal for exchange of University teachers and students between India and Australia to promote knowledge, understanding and goodwill between the two countries was made by the High Commissioner for the Commonwealth of Australia in India.

Dr. N. B. Khare, Commonwealth Relations Member, Government of India, speaking at an inter-communal meeting at Simla, said: "So long as the right of citizenship are based on religion there will be communal bitterness in the country, unless this mentality disappears from the minds of the people, all effort to bring about communal harmony will fail."

**4th.** The All-India Kshatriya Conference took place at Motihari. Sir Vijay, President, referred to the Viceroy's address at the Central Legislature and referring to the Cripps Offer said: "To say that the Cripps offer to India still holds good and yet to deliberately prevent steps being taken for our leaders getting together even for discussion is a piece of political deception."

**5th.** Malik Khizr Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab, in a statement at Simla, said: "It is obvious that I have been expelled because I refused to accept Mr. Jinnah's demands which sought to end a state of affairs accepted by Mr. Jinnah and the League for more than six years."

**6th.** In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, a statement by Mr. Atul Kumar and Mr. Jatindra Nath Chakravarty, explaining the reasons for their resignation of

the office of Parliamentary Secretary, and a discussion whether the debate on the Secondary Education Bill which was closed on May 25, could be reopened were the features of the proceedings.

The Mysore Representative Assembly, which reassembled under the presidency of the Dewan, passed an adjournment motion brought by Mr. K. C. Reddy to raise a discussion on the difficulties caused by the working of the Mysore Paper Control (Economy) order, issued by the Government.

**7th.** Mrs. Rukmini Lakshmipati, Vice-President and Mr, C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliar, Member of the Working Committee of the Tamilnad Congress Committee, issued the following statement : " We very much regret that the Commissioner of Police should have refused permission for holding a Conference of Congressmen of the Province in Madras. Our idea was to enable Congressmen from Andhra, Tamilnad and Kerala to meet together and to review the present political situation in the country, specially in view of the fact that Mahatma Gandhi has been released unconditionally."

The Mysore Representative Assembly devoted the whole of the day to a general discussion of the Budget.

**8th.** Three Muslim Ministers of the Punjab, namely, Mia Abdul Haye, Education Minister, Nawab Sir Mohammad Jamal Khan Leghari, Minister of Public Works, and Maj. Nawab Ashiq Husain, severed their connexion with the Muslim League.

Mr. Amery, replying to an inquiry in the House of Commons whether he could make a statement on the censorship of Press messages leaving India, said : " The Government of India have informed me that they are anxious to accord to correspondents the greatest possible freedom to transmit news and views on the situation in India."

Mr. Amery stated in the Commons, that the rationing of firewood in Madras City was a matter for the Madras Government and would not be ordinarily brought to his notice.

Mr. Amery, replying to a question about rationing in India, told the House of Commons : "Over 130 towns and more than 25,000,000 people are now rationed."

**9th.** In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, a non-official resolution recommending an inquiry into the working of the communal rules relating to Government appointments was taken up.

Dr. B. S. Moonje, addressing a public meeting in Madras, made an appeal to the Hindus to raise an army of not less than 15,000,000 for the British.

Nawabzada Khursid Ali Khan, Member of the Council of State, in a statement from Simla, congratulated Malik Khizr Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab "on the clear and unequivocal manner in which he has resisted the attempts of an alien authority to dictate the policy of his Province".

**10th.** Dr. B. C. Roy examined Mahatma Gandhi, (in Bombay), Dr. Gilder, Dr. Vaidya and Dr. Gajjan were present. A bulletin was issued stating, "I find Mr. Gandhi better now than I saw him at the Aga Khan palace before his release. His anaemic condition still persists."

The resignation from the Muslim League of three Punjab Muslim Ministers was interpreted at Lahore as completing the break-up of the Unionists from the League.

**11th.** A bulletin on Mahatma Gandhi's health, issued under the signature of Dr. B. C. Roy and 4 others said : "Mr. Gandhi's health has improved although not as rapidy as desired."

Mr. Mumtaz Daulatana, General Secretary, Punjab Muslim League, in a statement defining the League's attitude towards the war effort, said : "Both for ideological and practical reasons the Muslim League keenly and emphatically desires the victory of the allies over Germany, Japan and their satellites as early as possible."

Sir M. A. Muthiah Chettiar of Chettinad, presiding over the Silver Jubilee Celebrations of the Madras Piecegoods Merchants' Association in Madras, said that for the adequate clothing of the people of the province, the textile industry should be organized on a long range policy with the resources of the province fully husbanded and with the establishment of more weaving mills.

Nawabzada Khursid Ali Khan, member of the Council of State, in a statement from Simla asked : "Mr. Jinnah and his lieutenants are at great pains to convince the world that the attitude of the Muslim League towards the war effort is vastly different to that of the Congress. Theoretically this may be true.

But how does the official attitude of the League towards the war make any practical difference so far as affirmative contribution to the war is concerned ?"

**12th.** In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, by 103 votes to 73, an adjournment motion criticizing Government's action in superseding the Commissioners of the Howrah Municipality under the D. I. Rules was defeated.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, an adjournment motion on the order of the Government, banning the Hindu Conference at Lora in the Barisal District, Faridpur, Khulna and Jessore for the period from June 2 to 16, was admitted.

Mr. H. S. L. Polak, writing in the *Manchester Guardian*, said : "There are today many political leaders and not Mr. Gandhi and Pandit Nehru alone, who, since the passing of the Natal "Pegging Act" last year in the face of the most energetic protests of the Government of India, have been asking with increasing anxiety whether India has a place of self-respect in the British Commonwealth."

**13th** In the Bengal Legislative Council, an adjournment motion seeking to criticize Government action in banning the Hindu Conference which was to have been held at Lora (Barisal) on June 3 and 4 was defeated.

The Nawab Bahadur of Dacca presided over a meeting of the Bengal Provincial Committee of the Majlis-i-Ahrar in Calcutta. A resolution was passed calling upon Mr. Jinnah to state categorically and unequivocally his attitude towards such political hooliganism as was directed against the Majlis-i-Ahrar and warning him that his continued silence in this respect had already led to grave misunderstanding in responsible political circles.

**14th.** The University of Calcutta at a special convocation conferred the honorary degree of D. SC. on Dr. B. C. Roy. His Excellency Mr. R. G. Casey, the Chancellor presided.

Mr. J. M. Wadley, European Chairman of the Local Health Commission when he gave evidence before the Natal Indian Judicial Commission, said : "If my civilization cannot stand against Indian or any other civilization on its own merits, if had better go under. The Indian can have everything that I as a citizen am entitled to."

**15th.** The Government of India decided to grant a subvention of Rs. 10 crores to the Government of Bengal in view of the abnormal expenditure they had to incur in combating the famine of 1943 and in meeting other extraordinary changes.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, as many as six motions expressing no confidence in Mr. B. P. Pain, Works and Communications Minister, were tabled.

**16th.** Mr. Amery, answering a question in the House of Commons whether he would reconsider the question of the release of Congress leaders in view of the freedom enjoyed by Mahatma Gandhi, said that the release of Mr. Gandhi, which was ordered solely for reasons of health, had no bearing on the continued detention of Congress leaders.....Asked whether he would not reconsider the whole question. Mr. Amery replied : "Not at this moment".

Sir Prafulla Chandra Roy, the eminent Bengali Scientist, died in Calcutta.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the debate on a non-official resolution relating to the grievances of Muslims and scheduled castes about appointments under Government was resumed.

The Bengal Legislative Council, by 21 votes to 18, defeated an adjournment motion relating to the rice position in the S. E. coastal Districts of the Province.

**17th.** The correspondence between Mahatma Gandhi and His Excellency the Viceroy, Lord Wavell, was released for publication.

**1 th.** A resolution was passed at a meeting at Poona by the Council of the National Liberal Federation which made an appeal to the Government to release unconditionally those Congressmen who had not been found guilty of violence, and to the Congress to treat the August Resolution as a "dead leader" and arrive at a working arrangement with other political parties for the formation of a provisional national Government.

Serious differences which had arisen within the Orissa Ministry were threatening to develop into a ministerial crisis.

**19th.** The Bengal Legislative Assembly adjourned as a mark of respect to the memory of Sir P. C. Roy and decided to send a message of condolence to the bereaved family.

The Bengal Legislative Council passed a condolence resolution on the death of Sir P. C. Roy and as a mark of respect, the House adjourned without transacting any business.

The Syndicate of the Calcutta University, at a special meeting adopted a resolution of condolence on the death of Sir P. C. Roy.

The General Secretary of the Provincial Hindu Mahasabha, Mr. M. N. Mitter, in a statement said : "Hindus view with alarm the directions given by the Government of Bengal to Union Food Committees to consider communal representation in selecting dealers in the scheme of rural rationing, thereby introducing a ratio of 50/50 between Muslims and non-Muslims. Any reservation of communal percentage in the sphere of trade and commerce would cause incalculable mischief to the Hindu Community."

Inaugurating the Muslim Students' Federation Conference which opened at Rawalpindi under the presidentship of Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan, ex-Minister of the Punjab, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, General Secretary of the All India Muslim League envisaged the complete independence of India in which the 10 crores of Muslims would be absolutely free "from the domination of the British and the Hindus."

**20th.** In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, 11 members of the Ministerialist Party crossed the floor and joined the Opposition.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, when consideration of the Agricultural Income-tax Bill, as passed by the Assembly, was resumed, a point was raised whether the provincial legislature was competent to impose a tax on agricultural income from lands issued by a Ruler of an Indian State in Bengal.

At a meeting of the Working Committee of the All India Majlis-i-Ashar held at Sialkot, a resolution was adopted which stated : "The attitude of Mr. Jinnah in regard to his demand for Pakistan will not lead him towards that ideal. The non-Muslims and most of the Muslims are fed up with the vision of Pakistan presented by him."

**21st.** A Bengal Civil Supplies Department Press Note said : "At the special request of the Governor of Bengal, the U. S. Army authorities have agreed to release on loan to the Bengal Government 10 motor tug launches, 10 "sea mules" and 20 wooden barges for use in connexion with the distribution of food in Bengal."

The Maharaja of Parlakimedi, Premier of Orissa, resigned. The resignation followed an interview by the Maharaja with the Governor at Puri.

A 78 page reply from Mahatma Gandhi to the official pamphlet entitled "Congress Responsibility for the Disturbances of August 1942," formed part of a booklet of 125 pages was published by the Government of India, entitled "Correspondence with Mr. Gandhi", containing letters exchanged between him on the one side and Lord Linlithgow, Lord Wavell, Lord Samuel and the Home Department on the other side during the period August 1942 and April 1944.

The Bengal Legislative Assembly rejected, by 119 votes to 106, a no-confidence motion against Mr. B. P. Pain, Communications and Works Minister.

**22nd.** The Maharaja of Parlakimedi, Orissa Premier, who had tendered his resignation, issued the following statement : "I feel I should mention here that the difference between Pandit Godavaris Misra, Minister of Education and myself were of a fundamental character. His obstruction to Government's policy of the progressive release of anti-Fascist detenus, and holding of general election for local bodies all over the province as well as other important matters regarding the day to day administration, proved intolerable and was quite contrary to the principle of joint responsibility of the cabinet....."Under these circumstances I trust the public will realise the necessity of this step, as I feel that I would have failed in my duty to the country had I not acted as I have done."

**23rd.** The Government of India promulgated an Ordinance providing for the constitution of a commission of inquiry to investigate and report upon the causes of the food shortage and subsequent epidemics in India, and in particular in Bengal, in 1943, and to make recommendations for the prevention of their recurrence.

The Budget session of the Bengal Legislative Assembly was prorogued.

**24th.** Mr. Reginald Bridgeman, opening the 8th annual Conference of Federation of Indian Students' Societies of Great Britain and Eire in London,

said : "The future freedom of India is a condition of the freedom of the world, and this occupies the minds of the British people today as much as the desire for victory."

Malik Khizr Hyat Khan Tiwana, Premier of the Punjab, in a statement from Lahore, made an offer to refer the dispute between him and Mr. Jinnah on the existence of the Jinnah-Sikander Pact to the judgment and arbitration of a Muslim judge of the Federal Court or a mutually agreed Muslim Judge of one of the High Courts.

**25th.** Messrs A. K. Fazlul Huq, Kiran Sankar Roy, Santosh Kumar Basu, Shamsuddin Ahmed and Hem Chandra Sarkar and Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee stated in a joint statement that the circumstances under which the Bengal Legislative Assembly was prorogued on June 23, were of an unprecedented character.

Pandit Godavaris Misra, Finance Minister and Mr. A. S. Khan, Revenue Minister interviewed the Governor of Orissa at Puri jointly for the first time after the resignation of the Maharaja of Parlakimedi.

Sheikh Mahomed Abdullah, President of the Jammu and Kashmir National Conference, addressing a meeting at Srinagar, declared : "Even if lakhs of Jinnahs come to Kashmir, they cannot effect any change in local politics".

The death occurred at Hyderabad of Mr. Bahadur Khan (formely Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung), President, All-India States Muslim League and Hyderabad State Muslimeen.

**26th.** Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin, Chief Minister of Bengal, issued a reply to the Opposition leaders' statement on the prorogation of the Bengal Assembly.

Several representations were received by the Government of India complaining against the drastic character of the Paper Control Order and about the difficulty in complying with the Order.

**27th.** A Committee consisting of about 50 persons, including Mr. Nagindas T. Master (Mayor of Bombay), Sir Shantidas Askuran (Sheriff of Bombay) & others was formed (in Bombay) to celebrate the Golden Jubilee of Mr. B. G. Horniman's journalistic career.

**28th.** A Press Note stated : "At the invitation of the Government of Bengal, Mr. L. K. Elmhurst, an eminent agricultural economist of the U. K., has arrived in India by air and has taken up a special post in the Bengal Ministry of Agriculture".

**29th.** 27 Indian National Leaders in a joint manifesto (from Poona) on the food situation in India, simultaneously giving the British public a timely warning about the apathy displayed by the authorities at Whitehall, said *inter alia* : "We consider it our duty in the interest of the health and safety of the four hundred millions of India and the security of the major offensive base to draw the attention of the British Parliament and the public and of the United Nations to the acute food situation and to ask them to prevail upon Whitehall to arrange in time to carry out the import programme recommended by the Food Grains Committee. We earnestly hope and pray that India may be spared the horrors of a second famine."..... The statement was signed by the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker, Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy & others.

Inquiries in political circles indicated that the Viceroy had turned down Mahatma Gandhi's request that either he should be allowed to contact the members of the Congress Working Committee or be permitted to discuss the entire question with Lord Wavell with a view to convincing him and the Government of the bonafides of his (Gandhiji's) intentions.

# Notes on Indian History

It has truly been said that a History of India that reveals the whole panorama of the vast millenia of her distinctive life and civilisation in its actual shape and colour and due proportion and perspective, still remains to be written. The materials for drawing such a vast outline and making such a comprehensive and connected sketch are not yet in hand. A fairly definite outline and connected sketch which gives the promise of being some day developed into what is called "scientific history" has, however, been steadily emerging out of the mist that veils the immensity of India's past—a mist which (thanks to the labours of the investigators) has perceptibly thinned without being as yet actually lifted as far as one can now make one's incursion into the age that saw the birth of Budhism and Jainism in India in the Sixth Century B. C. Beyond that there is still only "cosmic nebulae" relieved here and there by a few stray constellations of lucidly distinct historical facts. These "nebulæ" have probably a depth and density to be measured only in terms of millenia. But from the position where we can now make our historical prospecting, these vast remote dark spaces of Indian history recede and shrink and fold up and, at last, look like a far-away blank, black spherule beyond the galaxy of human remembrance.

Ancient Indian history is, apparently, "full" of such gaps and blanks. Beyond the time when Alexander the Great invaded the Punjab (326 B. C.), the galactical system of detailed and authentic Indian history does not far extend. There are too many unexplored blank spaces and unformed, chaotic nebulæ beyond that time still. Beginning approximately with that period we are furnished, sometimes in abundance, with fairly trustworthy material in the shape of contemporary Greek testimony bearing on Indian history, and also, as time rolls on, with inscriptional and other kinds of decipherable and dependable domestic evidence. Of course, an immense mass of "documentary" evidence and evidence in the more or less fluid, volatile state of tradition, heresay and folk-lore (written or unwritten) have always lain by the side of the historian hitherto busy with his inscriptions, plates, coins, artefacts and any corroborative evidence that may be forthcoming from outside. And that mass of ancient Indian documentary evidence and tradition has, generally, lain neglected by his side. It has been, generally, of little help to him in reconstructing, "on scientific lines", the missing skeleton of ancient Indian History. It has been, however, of great use to the comparative mythologist, philologist and anthropologist.

But even the historian who seeks to reconstruct on scientific line the missing skeleton of ancient history, whether of India or of any other country, should do well to remember that the dry bones of the skeleton he may have been able to put together will not be true, living history unless they can be made instinct with the touch of life which literature, art, tradition, 'myths', folk-lore, religious and social institutions in their earlier and later forms alone can give. From coins, plates etc., we can build a possible or even probable frame-work of chronology into which we can put our little bits of tested facts according to one possible plan or other. Such a mosaic of dates and facts (mainly relating to dynastic succession, war and conquest) is of course important as necessary ground-plan of history. But it is not the completed structure of history. It is not history as an organic process of evolution. So we have to distinguish between structural or morphological history and organic "physiological" history.

Now India has been so far poor in comparison with some other ancient countries like Egypt, Babylonia and China in her "materials" for writing the first kind of history, and the available materials, as we saw, do not carry us much beyond the time of Budha and Mahavira in the Sixth century B. C. Recently, however, a very old and, apparently, a high order of civilisation has been unearthed in the Indus Valley in the Punjab and in Sind, which according to current official beliefs, is of Summerian pattern. The buried cities now discovered bring to light not only very interesting features of a civilisation thriving in the western part of India in so remote a past (when the Indo-Aryans had not, according to the common view, yet migrated into India), but they even put into our hands interesting clues that may eventually help us to unravel many of the riddles of our Vedic and post-Vedic history. The Tantrik cult, for instance, may have older and deeper roots in the soil of India than have so far been granted or suspected. Nothing contemporaneous with or earlier than the Indus Valley civilisation has yet been unearthed in

other parts of the sub-continent. So the present trend of speculation is to regard the Indus Valley civilisation as a short wedge driven into Western India—the whole of which was still at the low level of aboriginal darkness (with the possible exception of some parts that might have risen to the Dravidian 'light' level)—probably by the races and civilisation of Sumer.

We are still in the duskland of probabilities or even less than probabilities as to the dates, origin, early habitats and earlier forms not only of the Indus Valley but also of the Dravidians and Indo-Aryan people. We do not know for certainty when and from where the Indo-Aryans came Into India. The fact of Aryan immigration into India itself, though generally accepted, is still disputed. And if immigration be admitted, we have, probably, to admit not one but several successive streams of immigration. Such theory apparently called for to account for some of the critical turnings and "sudden mutations" in our ancient historical evolution, will lead to many unexplored avenues of enquiry as to ages and dates, origins and characteristics.

## The Rigveda

The Rigveda—the earliest and the most informing and instructive "documentary" evidence that we possess—appears to set the stage amidst scenes which show the Aboriginal, Dravidian and Indo-Aryan factors fighting for supremacy first in the land of "five Rivers" and in the Ganges Valley, and then gradually, beyond the Vindhya Range which with its impenetrable forest mantle, stood as a barrier between Northern India (Aryyavatta) and Deccan. Gradually we find the aborigines cornered and driven to the hills and forests where their descendants, more or less Aryanised, still continue to live. In considerable parts they were also absorbed into the fold of Aryan society and culture. And in being absorbed they did not fail to impart some little part of their own character of the Aryan complex. There was not so much of racial or even linguistic fusion as of cultural assimilation. The process of Aryanisation in language, culture, etc., has been a process admitting, naturally, of different shapes and degrees, leaving at the one end aboriginal races that have almost kept aloof from Aryan influence and having at the other others that have become part and parcel of the Aryan system. The Aryanisation of the Dravidian peoples, especially in religion, culture and civilisation, has been a much more perfected process. But on the other hand the Dravidian impress on the Aryan system is also in many places, deep and unmistakable. The Dravidian is co-ordinated or even subordinated to the Aryan but not lost in the latter. This power of assimilation of alien races and cultures without losing the individuality of its own essential Type or Pattern and without at the same time making the diverse elements assimilated lose whatever is essential in them—has been a special characteristic of the Indo-Aryan race and culture-complex. This has meant organic unity or unity in diversity of a more fundamental and abiding nature than can, perhaps, be claimed for the political or national unity with which histories are commonly familiar. Historians, accordingly, commonly miss the unity which lies deep and sees only the diversity which lies on the surface. India to them is thus a veritable chaos of jarring elements of races, languages, religions, castes, sects and cultures which have never known unity before the days of the unitary political rule of the British. Of course, the introduction, in later times, of the Semitic religions—Muhammedanism and Christianity—disturbed to some extent the ages-long unity and balance of the Aryo-Dravidian culture and social system in India. But even these elements were in the process of being slowly drawn into the sphere of influence of what we may call the genius of India. In other words, a slow but sure process of cultural assimilation even of these "militant" factors was going apace. Buddhism, which had risen as a "revolt" against orthodox Hinduism—but yet as a revolt from within—and which dominated the situation in India for several centuries, ended in the land of its birth by being eventually absorbed and assimilated into the parent religion. Jainism and many other old or later "revolts" have thus "squared their accounts" with the same parent religion, and have been for many centuries living peaceably side by side with one another and with the latter.

This power of assimilation and co-ordination in which all the components make their own contributions and are permitted to live side by side as members of a commonwealth of cultures, has been the secret of the wonderful resisting and staying power of the Indian culture-complex against such disintegrating forces as have smashed up many an old and glorious civilisation of the world. And it can be easily shown from facts that this staying power has been in evidence not only in the realm of cultural contacts and impacts but also in that of social and political

ones. There have been many raids into India and invasions before and after Christ, but it is a travesty of facts to imagine that Indian resistance has always been weak and short-lived and that such invasions are typically like the raids of Mahmud of Gazni which even swept away Indian armies ane kingdoms like cobweb or a house of cards. Before her final subjugation by the Mahammadan Power—and the final subjugation of the whole of India was anything like an accomplished fact only for a time during the reign of the great Mogul Emperors—India had been, it should be borne in mind, a mighty Power and a Model of civilisation and culture for at least three thousand years. And it should be remembered further that when the British in India turned from trade to conquest (always with native help and alliance) they had to settle their accounts not only with Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan in the South but mainly the Maharatta and Sikh Powers which had risen on the ruins of the Mahammadan Power in India.

### Unitary Indian Empire

But there were and still have been other factors which, to some extent, operated against India developing a compact and coherent political and military organisation, except occasionally like, for instance, the Great Roman Empire of old or the British Empire in modern times. We possess, apparently, no connected retrospect of the remote past of which the Vedas, Epics and Puranas speak. But as far as appearances go an unitary, centralised, Indian Empire was the exception and not the rule. In later times also, an Empire like that of Asoka was not a common achievement. As we said, India has possessed deep-laid cultural and institutional unity beneath all her diversities. India has fought, and fought bravely, for the integrity of her sacred Land, her sacred religion and tradition, and for their sacred visible Symbols and Embodiment. But she has rarely fought for the "State" as such or an Empire as such. The spirit of her culture did not favour the formation and consolidation of Nationalism in the sense it is commonly understood, and her basic institutions would hardly consist with many forms of centralised State control. The all-controlling and co-ordinating Principle was Dharma (the Principle of Human Values and Conduct) rather than any State agency. Each village, for example, was a self-contained commune and autonomous unit owing permanent allegiance to the reign of Dharma and only temporary allegiance to any kingship that might function for the time being. So the village communes continued to live though kingdoms after kingdoms rose and fell. They were but little affected by the accidents and exigencies of politics.

Again, the spirit of Dharma (which should not be translated as religion) has definitely and systematically favoured all human or even all-living values and tendencies and a cosmopolitan outlook, and has opposed militant aggressive, "predatory", nationalism. The old Upanishads are clear and courageous in their conception of those higher values ; and the Dharmashastras ( Codes laying down social and individual conduct) were bold and consistent in their execution of those ideas. Later, Budhism and Jainism and other "reforming" movements have tended only to stress such values as non-violence and fellowship with all men and all living being. These forces operating through the ages tended to produce in the Indian classes and masses a common disposition not quite favourable to the formation and consideration of an unitary military state for purposes of offence and defence.

Of the immense back-ground of Indian History which is represented by the Vedas (Samhitas, Brahmans, Aranyakas and Upanishdas), the various Sutras (or Digests) Philosophies, Epics (the Ramayana and Mahavarata), Puranas and Tantras (our statement here is not anything like full), we possess (unless one is prepared to grant the claim of the Puranas recently put forth in their behalf that they do contain materials for reconstructing a fairly connected chronological history beginning with the very earliest times) very little precise and connected information for the purpose of writing a political history both copious and correct as to facts and their chronological order. But of the ideals and ideas, practices and institutions of the times we do possess a very full, informing and instructive presentation. And after all, what is real history but this ? Scholars have been busy with their sketches and drawings of the ancient orders and specimens of ideas, beliefs, and practices that existed in India. But oftener than not their reviews and retrospects have been made from modern standpoints, with modern notions, criteria and standards of testing facts and appraising values. This has not enabled us in any just measure, to understand, much less appreciate, a civilisation (not confined to India but, possibly, reaching some of its greatest heights in this country) which was essentially of a different kind, and cannot therefore, be represented as only the first uncertain and timid steps taken on the

road which has through a long, long march, at last brought us to our present advanced stage. The ideology, plan and methods of that ancient civilisation we have yet not seriously studied and rightly understood. Much of that civilisation we still regard, without understanding, as consisting of "savage" magic, meaningless ritualism, "theological twaddle" and crude superstition. Side by side with all this we find, however, the highest philosophy, deepest mysticism and pure ethics. There is also much that is of original and genuine value from the point of view of human material and mundane progress. This seems to us a curious medley of what is nearly the highest and what is about the lowest. But let us pass on.

Coming to "historical" times we find that the invasion by Alexander the Great of India proves in the result to be little more than a brilliant raid. His victorious armies could only cut off a small slice of North-Western India, and this little slice the Macedonian would ingest, but could not digest. His steam-roller of conquest speedily developed "war-weariness" on the plains of the Punjab, and he had to go back only adding a bit of India to his vast Empire. He had won some of his battles in India, but it had not been an "easy walk-over" with him.

### Chandragupta and Asoka

After his death shortly afterwards, the vast Macedonian Empire practically went to pieces. Chandragupta, who became the king of Magadha, proved himself too powerful for the Greak invaders who had violated sanctity and integrity of the sacred Land of the Five Rivers. As the result of the formidable opposition by the armies of Chandragupta, a treaty was concluded between him and the Greek which made him the supreme, undisputed lord and sovereign of the Indian Empire. Megasthenes, who was sent by Seleucus as an ambassador to the court of Chandragupta, left a very valuable record ot the times, of the customs and morals of the people, and of the administration, which though unfortunately fragmentary, bears an eloquent, and admiring testimony to the high order of material and moral civilization attained by the Hindus centuries before the Christian era. And this high civilisation was evolved in India not in isolation but in commerce with other civilisations that flourished in ancient times, such as the Babylonian, Greek, Persian and Chinese. Chandragupta's son was Bindusara who was succeeded by Asoka (269-231 B. C.), who was undoubtedly, one of the greatest rulers of men holding their away for the material and spiritual good of mankind. Numerous edicts and inscriptions record the noble and glorious achievements of his reign which, in its later stages, left the bloody path of war and conquest and devoted itself to the much more noble and fruitful task of the moral and spiritual conquest and redemption of ourselves and our fellow-being. With commendable catholicity and tolerance, not seeking to impose it upon others by his great imperial authority and power, he exercised that authority and power for the purpose of transforming Budhism, which had been more or less a local sect in the Ganges Valley, into one of the greatest and most potent living world religions. Asoka's reign is therefore rightly held to be an epoch in the history of the world. His edicts also show the man, his ideals and his methods. But all this had not allowed or favoured the cement of the great Maurya Empire setting into the requisite hardness. Independent kingdoms like Bacteria and Parthia took their rise in the border land, and the Greeks renewed their incursions. New races (the Yuen-chi) came in a surge of migration which swept all before them, and in the first century A. D. a considerable portion of the North-west India came under their influence.

### Gupta Dynasty

Kaniska, who made Peshawar his capital, proved great as a ruler and as a patron and missionary of the Budhistic religion. Under him the Kushan Branch of the Yuen-chi reached the zenith of his power. But this power fell as another power in middle India rose—the Andhra dynasty. A peak like Amaravati or Ujjain would some time rise and shine in the midst of moving vastness of Indian waters. In the beginning of the fourth century the centre of political influence in India was again shifted to Pataliputra in Magadha as the Gupta dynasty emerged into power. Samudragupta, who ruled for fifty years, and his son Chandragupta, greatly distinguished themselves not only in war but in the sphere of peaceful and fruitful administration, promoting general prosperity and giving liberal encouragement to art and literature, a glorious tribute to which was paid by the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien. According to his testimony, their Empires were vast and their administration just, enlightened. Towards the end of the Fifth Century—when the White Huns from Central Asia began to pour themselves into India—the sun of the Gupta dynasty set (during whose regime, it should be noted, there had been a revival and

reconstruction of ancient Brahmanism and Brahmanical culture as evidenced especially by the literature of the Purans ; but this reviving process was, very largely, a process of quiet adaptation and peaceful assimilation.) More than a century had elapsed after the fall of the Gupta dynasty before there rose another great and enlightened monarch who could emulate with no mean success the greatest of the Indian rulers in historical time—Asoka. Emperor Harsha, who consolidated his authority practically over the whole of Northern India in the beginning of the seventh century, was famous equally for his great prowess, his high intellectual attainments and for the broad catholicity of his religious outlook. An account of his times has been left by Chinese, Huen Tsiang by name. In that, India is still painted in generally bright and even glowing colours.

### Mediaeval India

After the death of Harsha, and gradually with the emergence of India into what may be called the mediæval period, the conditions which had made the political unification of India sometimes possible in the past, nearly disappeared, and India was thrown into a state of political confusion and chaos in which petty kingdoms rose like mushrooms and constant internecine strife prevailed., Some outstanding figures like Vikramaditya would occasionally appear on the stage ; but such events were few and far between. In the South of India was being enacted a very interesting but involved drama in which the Andhras, Ballavas, Chalukyas and Cholas were the principal actors. Kashmere in the North, Kanauj in the Doab and Bengal in the east were also alive with many vivid and vital scenes and events of political, cultural and social interests. But we shall not try to make a review of them here. One outstanding event in the confusion and complexity of the general Indian situation which deserves notice even passing was the rise of the Rajput power upon which the mantle of the old caste Kshatrias (the warrior and ruling caste) fell and which was the chief opposition that the waves of Mahammedan invasion coming one after another ever since the second quarter of the 7th century, had to encounter and ultimately bear down. Guzrat, Malwa, Ajmer, Kanauj and Delhi were the principal scenes of the new drama of Rajput ascendancy—a drama so full of episodes of superhuman bravery, noble heroism and sacrifice for the sacred cause of religion and liberty that they have ever since lived in human memory as models which future generations of patriots in any country might well try to emulate. Though Rajput opposition was borne down in Northern India by the end of the twelfth century, Rajput bravery and the spirit that animated it survived the crash of the Hindu Empire of Delhi and Ajmere over which Prithvi Raj, the hero, the last of the Hindu emperors, though not the last of the Hindu rulers had held sway. Rajput bravery and Rajput love of independence were still factors to reckon with in the days of the great Moghuls—Akbar. Jahangir, Shahjahan and Aurangzab. Col. Todd and some others have narrated the story, and it constitutes one of his proudest annals in the vast archives of the Hindu glory in India. As to the conquest of Northern India by the Mahammedans, it should be noted, the great prize was not very easily or quickly won : that the first Mahammedan impact was in the seventh century shortly after the passing away of the Prophet, and a Mahammedan kingdom in Northern India came into being towards the end of the 12th. century. Even this did not mean either a complete or final subjugation of India, and there is another thing to be noted. Hindu power fell not because its resistance was weak and its bravery and heroism in the field was not backed by adequate tact, strategy and discipline in diplomacy, planning and preparation.

The centuries of the mediaeval age in India were marked by a conspicuous lack of political unity and solidarity. But they were by no means unimportant and barren, It was not a "dark" Age. In the Gupta period and in the centuries before and after, a marvellous process of social, cultural and religious reconstruction was going apace. The old Vedic scheme of social economy (involving as it did the four Varnas of "caste" and the four Ashrams or "stage" of life) was being transformed through a process of adaptation, assimilation and multiplication which made society more comprehensive and at the same time more complex. The influence of Budhism, Hellenism and that of Mongoloid races also led to adaptations and assimilations, in many important directions in the older order of Indian customs and institutions. The gradual assimilation of Budhism itself was a phenomenon of the greatest importance. The Vedic religion survived but it was transformed. The Puranas and Tantras renewed and gave a new expression to the Sanatana Dharma. In the domain of literature, art (both useful and fine), science and mathematics, philosophy and metaphysics these centuries were also productive of fruits that were and still are of

the greatest interest and value. Great poets like Kalidas and Bhavabhuti, and great Philosophers like Shankaracharya and Ramanuja and also other pioneers and masters in other fields formed a galaxy of men of genius and talents which showed that an age of political dis-equilibrium and confusion in India was yet not necessarily an age of cultural depression and darkness and social disruption. The soul of India could, apparently, function to its best advantage inspite of her troubled politics.

But whilst this was true for some time it could not be true for all time. Her politics at last began to tell on her constitution. We do not, however, propose to continue the story through the Mahammedan and British periods. The history of these periods is more settled and definite in features, and these are, generally, well-known. One special feature, which is not always clearly recognised and to which we should like to draw attention is this. From the twelfth century right up to the eighteenth, or even for some time later, the Hindu power of revival and regeneration, of initiation and execution was never like dead or even dying. Independent and often powerful kingdoms like Vijayanagar in the South, those of Pratap, Shivaji and the Peshwas in the west (we do not mention some others e. g. those in Bengal ) would now and then proudly lift their heads and challange the authority of the great Moslem emporors. Under that authority, too, there flourished many great Hindu administrators, ministers, governors, generals and financiers. In short, during the Mahammedan era, the Hindu genius was not at its best but it was not quite decadent.

### The Mahammedan Rule

The Mahammedan conquerors, again, from Mohamed Ghori who wrested the sceptre of the kingdom of Delhi from Prithviraj after a first unsuccessful attempt, came to India as foreigners but they did not remain here as foreigners. India was the land of their adoption. Raids like those by Chengis Khan or Nadir Shah were rare and they did not represent the normal course of events. India suffered, and sometimes badly, no doubt, from the effects of the conquering ardour and proselytising zeal of some of the Mahammedan rulers. But the great Moghuls were as much "children of the soil" as the humblest of the Hindu "heathen". And this sharing together by the Hindus and Mussalmans of a common "hearth and home" naturally tended to breed a consciousness of community of interests in both as India's offspring. There was steady assimilation of the semitic and Indo-Aryan cultures also and even a growing understanding and appreciation of one religion by the other. The religions touched and even blended wieh each other at their highest points—e. g., in Sufism and Vedantic mysticism. They also met and evolved a broad common "shrine" to which folk beliefs, practices and institutions would bring their united homage. Even a common dialect (Urdu or Hindusthani) was evolved between the two in Northern India which gradually blossomed into a fine literature. The patronage extended by the Mohammedan emperors to Music, Architecture etc. was also fruitful of very fine result. India's wealth attracted the trade and commerce of the whole civilised world. In fact, America or the West Indies was discovered in an attempt to discover an western route to the Indian market, British, French, Dutch and Portuguese traders all came and scrambled for market, and eventually, for political power in India. It is also worthy of note that even under the sway of such masterful monarchs as Sher Shah, Akbar or Aurangzeb, the government of the country was in the main decentralised, allowing provincial and local autonomy —down to the autonomy of the village units—to adequately function. Even petty local chiefs—like the feudal lords of the mediaeval West—never unlearnt the art of fighting and governing. So it was always possible for a man of ambition and ability, like Shivaji for example, to evolve sanctions whereby he could implement his high political aspirations. It was the very large measure of local autonomy and local initiative that existed that rendered possible the rise of the Mahratta and Sikh Powers and also of the kingdoms of Hyder Ali and the Nizam in the south. And British Power in India in its rise to paramounty found its most formidable rivals or powerful allies in them.

### The British Rule

In 1599, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, some merchants of London formed an association for the purpose of trade with India, and this association was granted a royal charter of incorporation. At first this Company was purely a trading concern establishing factories in the east and west coasts of India and in Bengal and administering its affairs in the three "presidencies" which were at first independent of one another but subordinate to the Board of Directors at home. In course of time

however, chiefly with a view to preserving and consolidating its growing and extensive trade in India, in the face of the French rivalry and intrigue and the prevailing political anarchy and unrest in the land, it established military garrison of defence which soon became involved in hostilities that saddled it with territorial responsibilities. It fought some decisive battles in Madras and in Bengal, which raised a trading company to the status of a political Power in India. French intrigue failed and French rivalry practically died down in India. One of the most decisive battles fought was the battle of Plassey in 1757. The battle was won with the aid of faithful native battalions, and with the active or passive support of the generals and noblemen of the unfortunate young Nawab of Bengal. It is worthy of note that the path of British supremacy in India, and often, its influence and prestige abroad has been paved, amongst other things, with the consent, alliance and willing co-operation of the Natives of India. It was so even during the critical period of the Sepoy Mutiny one hundred years after the battle of Plassey. It was again so during the "ordeal" of the last great War. The machinery of administration by the East India Company was from time to time modified by Acts of Parliament (1773, 1784 ; and the Charter Acts of 1793 and 1833). By these a Governor-General-in Council was made the supreme administrative authority in India subject to a Board of Control at home. By the last Act, the Company ceased to be a commercial concern and became a political and administrative body only. After the Sepoy Mutiny another Act was passed by which the Government of India was transferred from the Company to the Crown, and thenceforth the Governor-General was also the Viceroy of India. The functions of the Government of India are wide and its responsibilities heavy. But its responsibilities are to the Crown and the Parliament. It has not rested on an elective popular basis. There have been legislative bodies, but its motions, resolutions and votes have not, except as regards certain matters of secondary importance under the Act of 1919, a binding effect on the Government.

India's contributions and sacrifices in the Great War were great, but "reward" that came in the shape of the Parliamentary Declaration promising her a "progressive realisation of responsible government", the stages and times of which were to be determined by the Parliament alone was not comforting to her nationalist aspirations. And the Government of India Act of 1919, which is still in actual function though it has been, apparently, broadened and amplified in some directions by a recent Parliamentary Statute, did not meet the wishes or expectations of India. By that Act dyarchy or a kind of dual responsibility was established in the provinces, where the "nation-building" subjects were "transferred" to Ministers (not responsible however to the legislature), whilst the more important subjects were "reserved." In practice the transference of certain subjects to Ministers ( who were appointed by, held office under the pleasure of, and were responsible to the Governor ) meant little more than a complication of the administrative machinery which became, in consequence, more cumbrous and expansive. The Central Government continued to remain unitary under the scheme. The legislative bodies, both provincial and central, were expanded with non-official majorities, but this placed little power, for construction or even for obstruction, in the hands of the popular parties. Whilst the liberals proceeded to work the scheme, the main body of nationalist forces, as represented by the Indian National Congress, would not first even look at it. But some time later, under the guidance of Mr. C. R. Das and Pandit Matilal Nehru, a Swaraj Party, analogous to the present Congress Parliamentary Party, was formed which entered the legislatures, both provincial and central, in telling numbers and by its obstructionist tactics caused not a little embarrassment to those entrusted with the work of day to day administration. In some provinces it was even able to "wreck" dyarchy for a time. Generally, however, the system has worked, though not satisfactorily even according to official appreciation. We need not in particular refer to the unwelcome labours of the All-White Statutory Simon Commission, to which even the habitually co-operating Liberals refused to lend their co-operation. Meanwhile the Congress ideology was becoming bolder day by day, and the Lahore session adopted a resolution setting as the goal of India complete Independence of Purna Swaraj. A campaign of civil disobedience followed to create "sanctions" under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi who has been really at the helm of Congress affairs since the earty twenties. The Round Table idea was broached rather too late : but Mahatma Gandhi after concluding, what is known as the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, joined the Conference subsequently. The result of the deliberations of that body fell short of the Congress demand. And the Congress again withdrew its offer of co-operation. This was forced on the Congress by the way in which the British ruling classes used during the Round Table Conference discussions India's internal

differences as an excuse for the frustration of her political ambitions. The "Communal Award" of the British Premier Ramsay MacDonald that imparted a "vote value" to religious differences and social inferiorities revealed the tactics of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy. It was modified by the epic fast of Mahatma Gandhi so far as the Hindus were concerned. But in its wider ramifications, it has stimulated separatist conceits and ambitions that in course of the last ten years have created a "civil war" mentality in the country where almost every creed and class has been organizing themselves to capture political power in the name of their particularistic interests. It is well-known that Mahatma Gandhi wanted to avoid a fight so soon after the Gandhi-Irwin Pact. This attitude was evidenced by the wording of his telegram to Lord Willingdon sent on the 29th. December, 1931—"whether you expect me to see you and receive guidance from you as to the course I am to pursue in advising the Congress." Lord Willingdon rejected this opportunity of cementing co-operation between Indian Nationalism and the enlightened self-interest of British Imperialism. The second Civil Disobedience Movement was the natural result which continuing for about two years—1932-'34—prepared by repression the mind of India to receive the constitutional changes made by the Act of 1935. The genesis and the long-drawn processes of shaping this machinery were informed by a spirit of arrogant imperialism, ignoring at every step Indian self-respect. The imperial Government could not accept any of the suggestions made in the Joint Memorandum of the Indian delegates nominated by itself. The arrival of "provincial autonomy" changed in no way "a relationship that rests on conquest," whose "sanction" was the physical might of Britain, to quote the words of the well-known British publicist, Mr. Brailsford.

With the passage of this Act the ruling authorities hoped that they had been able to so provide things that the men and women of India would remain satisfied with their enlarged electorates, from 70 lakhs to about 4 crores, and with the Ministries charged with the solution of "things that matter"—the problems of health, education and economic well-being with which are intimately bound up the life of the majority of the people. These problems of dirt, disease and ignorance could not be neglected any more without doing permanent injury to the body politic. The increasing recognition of this sorry state of affairs joined to the increasing resentment with the pretensions of "external authority", felt by increasing numbers of Indians, created a conflict in the mind of India that was reflected in the discussion of public affairs—a contradiction between the spoken word and the practice that sought to give it shape and form. The organization of the election campaign on behalf of the Congress was characterized by this contradiction. The purpose of sending Congress representatives to the Legislatures was declared to be to "combat" and to "end" the Act of which these were the products, the incorporation of the "Fundamental Rights" resolution (passed at the Karachi Congress, 1931), and of "Agrarian Programme" (accepted at the Lucknow Congress 1936) in the Congress Election Manifesto (22, August, 1936) held the promise of relief through these Legislatures of the many ills—political and economic and social—from which the people suffered. Facing the Congress Party in this battle for votes, stood the upholders of varied interests, communal and class, that under various disguises and with radical programmes on their lips tried to canalize the rising temper and the organized feeling of the country. In the election contest the Congress secured absolute majorities in five provinces—Madras, the United Provinces, the Central Provinces and Berar, Behar, and Orissa ; it was the single largest party in four—Bombay, Bengal, Assam and the North-West Frontier Province ; in the Punjab and Sind Congress members were in a minority—a negligible minority.

When their leaders were called upon by the Governors in the provinces to help him in forming the Ministries, they demanded of the Governors' assurance that use would not be made of their veto and emergency powers, and that the advice of the Ministries would not be "set side in regard to their constitutional activities." The Governors expressed inability to divest themselves of "certain obligations" which the Parliament had imposed on them. Ensued a constitutional deadlock ; the Assemblies were not called in seven provinces ; "interim ministries" were appointed to "conceal" this "breakdown" of the constitutional device, said Prof Berriedale Keith. For four months the controversy waxed and waned. As the statutory period for the convening of the Assemblies drew nearer, the Government, "ultra-sensitive over questions of prestige", yielded. Congress Ministries were formed in seven provinces ; in Bengal and Assam, in the Punjab and Sind coalition ministries were functioning from April, 1937 ; the Congress Ministries from the last week of July, 1937. The refusal of the Congress

to entertain the idea of allowing its members to enter into coalition even as the predominant partner, as it was possible in Bengal and Assam, enabled Muslim communalist Ministries to be set up in these two provinces whose activities helped to work havoc with the decencies of civilised life, to inflame the bitterness of communal feeling and waft its poison all over the country. The lowest depth of this degradation was reached when outbursts of arson and loot in the city of Dacca and the country-side within the district occurred during 1941. The device of the "Communal Award" has been working towards its logical end.

The India Act of 1935 had a federal scheme to introduce. A sort of Diarchy was contemplated, and vast areas of power in the administration were withheld from the people's representatives ; the nominees of the rulers of the Indian States were given a disproportionately big representation in both the upper and lower houses of the Central Legislature. The Reserve Bank and the Federal Railway Authority were instances of the former ; and the so-called States' representatives were so many "pocket-boroughs" under the command of the external authority represented by the Governor-General. These and the industrial and commercial and political "safeguards" with which the Federal Scheme bristled repelled public opinion in India. The majority of Muslim politicians were afraid of a central Government where their communalist politics will keep them in a perpetual minority and where they were not prepared to play their part in politics free from narrow appeals to credal and class conceits and ambitions. The rulers of the Indian States were reported to be trying to press hard bargains in their negotiations over the "Instruments of Accession" both in their relation with the "Paramount Power" and in their apprehensions of the rising tide of democracy in their own States. For two years Lord Linlithgow was kept busy smoothing all this opposition with his utmost diplomacy when in September, 1939, the World War II of the 20th century burst upon the world.

India was declared a belligerent by the Governor-General without even the pretence of consultation with the Central Legislature. This was regarded as an insult to Indian self-respect ; it exposed before all the world the unnatural relation that subsisted between India with her 40 crores of people and Britain with her 5 ; it exposed the hollowness of the slogan raised by Britain that she was being forced into the present war for the defence of democracy. The declaration was no panic measure ; the ground had been prepared for it six months earlier by a new Section—Section 126A—in the Act of 1935 securing to the Central Government of India "essential powers of direction and control" over the Provincial Governments when an emergency due to war was proclaimed by the Governor-General under Section 102 of the Act. The emergency power granted by this latter Section had been given to the Central Legislature elected on a wide popular franchise, whereas the new Section empowered an irresponsible Executive with power to "give direction t a Province as to the manner in which the executive thereof is to be exercised." The majority of the Provincial Ministries raised objections to this "invasion by the Centre on the sphere of authority conferred by the Act on the Provinces." Technically the British Government might have been right. But in relations like those that subsist between India and Britain legal and constitutional correctitude does not play a helpful hand.

The actual outbreak of the war did not ease the tension between Indian Nationalism and British Imperialism. The Indian National Congress voiced almost universal Indian feeling when in a statement issued on the 14 September, 1939, it called upon the British Government to declare their "war aims in regard to Democrary and Imperialism and the New Order that it envisaged ; in particular, how these aims are going to apply to India and to be given effect to in the present." Such a declaration, said Pandit Jawharlal Nehru in a message to the London *Daily Chronicle*, will be able to "make the people of India enthusiastic for a war which was not theirs." The Congress invitation to the British Government was international in its import. Dissatisfaction with the vague generalities of British politicians that found expression even in the statements of British leaders of thought was a proof that these "war aims" needed clear statement. Other organisations of vocal Indian opinion—the Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha, the *Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind*—the organization of Muslim divines of India, for instance—were in their statements as insistent on the clarification of Britain's war aims and their application to the peculiar conditions of India. Up to now, (1942), the British Government has not been able to satisfy any party in India, to set up a Central Government at Delhi-Simla that would enlist the self-respect and self-interest of the country on the side of this

war of continents and oceans. This failure had led to the resignation of eight of the eleven Provincial Ministries of the country—Bombay, Madras, Central Provinces & Berar, Orissa, Bihar, Assam, the United Provinces, and the North-West Frontier Province. Two of these have since been revived—Orissa and Assam—carrying on a pale imitation of "Provincial autonomy"—under the rule of the military bureaucracy in India whom this "world war" has p'aced in this dominant position.

Apart from this argument between Indian Nationalism and British Imperialism, the various elements in Indian composite life have not shown that unity for ends and means that would have wrested political power from unwilling hands. The "Pakistan" claim of the Muslim League demands that areas where the Muslims happen to be in a majority should be constituted in sovereign "Independent States." This claim has been recognized by opinion in India and in the wide world outside as a thread to the unity and integrity of India. Confronted by such a situation the British Government stands in anxious helplessness. Priding itself on its concern for minorities it finds itself coereing the majority at every step. Since the 8th August (1940) proposals of Lord Linlithgow for the enlargement of this Executive Council, there have been two enlargements thereof till to-day it consists of eleven Indians and four Europeans inclusive of His Excellency. This increasing "Indianization" and the "Draft Declaration" brought by Sir Stafford Cripps on behalf of the British Cabinet in March, 1942, have not for divergent reasons appealed to any responsible party in India. Japan's startling success in Burma, in Malaya, in the Phillippines, in the Dutch East Indies, the failure of Britain, the U. S. A. and Holland to stand up to the far-flung Japanese aggression have brought down their prestige in the market-place of world affairs. And the peoples of these along with those of India have reasons to be apprehensive of their future. A sense of frustration appears to be oppressing the minds of the men and women of India. It is not fear of Japanese invasion alone that is responsible for this state of things. The evacuation orders on people living in the coastal areas of the country have disturbed and disrupted their habits of life ; practically no arrangements have been made on behalf of the State for life in newer places and surroundings for hundreds of thousands of men, women and children ; the orgy of profiteering in the necessaries of life ; the incompetence of officialdom in face of these anti-social activities—all these, the latter two specially, have spread a feeling of helplessness in the country. This mentality has been affecting, however indirectly, the "war work" that was to repel the enemy and wrest victory from his grasp, Since the "Mutiny" days eighty-five years back the certainties of existence for the people of this continental country have not been so rudely shaken as during the first six months of 1942. The break-down of the machinery of civil administration in Malaya and Burma have sent more than five lakhs of refugees to India—men and women of India who had made their living in those countries. This has also added to the confusion of the times. These betokened changes for which the minds of the people had not been prepared. This unpreparedness has created difficulties both for the rulers and the ruled. The Japanese occupation of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands in the heart of the Bay of Bengal, the advance of Japan's hosts towards India's north-eastern borders, the hurried defence arrangements set up in the eastern districts of India—all these signs and portents confront us.

But it is not all dark. In our neighbourhood China has been showing how disappointments are to be faced. She alone has been showing for five years an unbeaten front against Japan. And the visit to India of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek and Madame Chiang Kai-Shek in February 1942, has been interpreted by all as bringing a message of hope to an India divided against itself and preparing herself to fight against imperialism within and aggression from without. This visit will remain a land-mark in India's recent history. The United States of America has sent to India her armed forces across ten thousand miles of the waters of three oceans to sustain the cause of the United Nations. India, kept unorganized in the modern arts of war and peace, unequal to meeting the challenge of international anarchy, is thankful for such friendliness. But she is not quite happy with this arrangement. For, she remains a debtor both materially and spiritually.

As we send this volume to the Press, we have been passing through an experience of administrative incompetence and greedy exploitation by manufacturers and merchants creating conditions of famine in the country. Millions have died of hunger, of diseases that accompany and follow malnutrition. The year 1943 will be remembered for long years for this catastrophe.

# India in Home Polity

In the discussion on the "Home Polity" that has found a place in the last two volumes of the "Indian Annual Register", the famine that devastated Bengal during the latter half of 1943 and the early months of 1944 occupied a major part. The economic deterioration in India that has been one of the characteristics of British rule during about the last one hundred and eighty-five years erupt into the attention of the world in a cyclic order, during the middle and end of every hundred years, according to a British author who has been quoted in Vol. I of 1943 of the "Register." Within living memory we have had the famine that killed off about 2 crores of people during the closing years of the 19th century. William Digby dedicated his book—"Prosperous British India"—to the memory of these men and women who had "died in vain." And within about fifty years of that catastrophe we have had the famine in Bengal—the result of the accumulation of the forces of disintegration of the norms and forms, the patterns and habits of the people's life. During previous regimes also there had been famines due to failure of rains and due to difficulties of transport arrangements that could hurry food grains from surplus to deficit areas. Men, women and children had died in their millions. But in the middle of the 20th century, with the most developed of communication facilities at their command, the Administration in India was caught napping in taking measures that could halt the worst developments of scarcity created by war profiteers under the distinguished patronage of the bureaucracy that is said to be the "steel frame" of the progressive government of India, the pride and charter of British imperialism.

**Cycles of famine in India**

In these two volumes of the "Indian Annual Register" we have tried to explain the many causes, personal and impersonal, that created conditions of famine in various parts of the country, in areas as wide apart as Malabar, Cochin, Travancore and Bengal. We do not propose to re-open the controversy as to the contribution of British policy and British smugness towards making Bengal the scene of the recent famine, and why the British dictators at London and New Delhi allowed the Ministry of Sir Khwaja Nazimuddin to make the campaign against the famine such a pitiable failure. In the last volume of the "Register" we have traced the constitutional incapacity of this Ministry confronted by a social disintegration that demanded the single-pointed devotion of rulers of men. The Ministry could not rise up to the occasion because it had a more limited purpose to serve—to satisfy the material needs of its political supporters, to endow with legality the nefarious profiteering of members of the Muslim League into whose hands were placed war contracts or contracts for the procurement of food grains in the gift of the Civil Supplies Ministry of Bengal. It has yet to be known why the Bengal bureaucracy manned by "extremely brilliant members of the Indian Civil Service", to quote the words of Mr. Fazlul Huq, failed to scotch this evil, to hunt out the patrons of jobbery, corruption and nepotism that had become

**Failure of Ministry & the bureaucracy**

so rampant in Bengal. We have a feeling that they could not be very happy with regard to the way in which the food situation had deteriorated in the Province. But somehow and somewhere this break-down of the administrative machinery got involved with the prestige and honesty of British rule in India. And the bureaucracy headed by the Secretary of State for India had to be on the defensive, to try to justify before man and God this failure of Britain in India.

**Their sensitiveness to criticism**

In no other way can one interpret the sensitiveness of British bureaucrats to criticism, Indian or non-Indian, of the story of shame spread over Calcutta and Bengal with all the world as witness. World war II of the 20th century had brought to the shores of India men from the United States of America as modern crusaders in a fight against the "Imperial Way" of Dai Nippon, Great Japan. And their conceit as members of the "United Nations," charged with the high destiny of uplifting the "lesser breeds" of the human race—the yellow, the brown and the black—received a cruel shock as they came face to face with the sub-human conditions under and amidst which men and woman lived in a country whose rulers belonged to the Anglo-Saxon race. Members of the British bureaucracy in India could not be happy with this exposure. And in every criticism of their ways specially in the U. S. they scented anti-British feeling, the jealousy of the world with the good fortune that has made Britain the exampler of all the progressive nations of the modern world.

**A case in point**

This super-sensitiveness could be illustrated from any number of instances. One of these deserves notice. On the 9th of November, 1943, at a ceremony held at the White House, the official residence of the President of the United States of America, was signed the Charter of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration that was to afford relief to peoples in war-scarred countries and to set them up again in decent conditions of life. Representatives of 44 United and Associated Governments signed the Charter. The original purpose was to limit the relief and rehabilitation operations to countries that had suffered from the marches and counter-marches of invading and retreating armies, where battles had been fought or lost, where crops had been destroyed, houses burnt, and men, women and children driven from their homes to seek and find shelter amid unimagined conditions of squalor and destitution. This plan would have limited relief to North Africa, to the continent of Europe, to China, and to the islands in the Pacific. But India became the base of operations against Japan, and as a result thereof Bengal fell within the war zone, and owing to measures undertaken by the late Sir John Herbert, the Governor of Bengal, her economic arrangements were disrupted. This disturbance of the dangerously poised life of the Province was the immediate cause of the famine that has disintegrated the social life of about six crores of men and women, causing the death of more than three millions of them and leaving as many millions wrecked in body and mind, the objects of public charity. When the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration was set up the question was quite naturally asked in

India whether or not the famine-stricken people in Bengal, in Travancore, Cochin, Malabar, Orissa and certain areas in and about Bijapur in the Bombay Presidency could expect or were entitled to help from this international fund, specially when India was an original member of this institution and contributed her share of contributions to finance its work. To this question there appear to have been an immediate response from the United States. Its Congress, the Senate and the House of Representatives.—passed on the 25th January, 1944, an amendment to the main resolution expressing acceptance of the principle and policy of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

"In expressing its approval of this joint Resolution, it is the recommendation of the Congress that in so far as funds and facilities permit, any area important to military operations of the United Nations which is stricken by famine or disease may be included in benefits to be made available by United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration."

**Relief & Rehabilitation Administration**

This resolution of the Congress of the United States, if accepted by the United Nations, will bring cases like those of Bengal, of "distress in India's mainland" within the scope of the Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. This was the hope that was expressed in the Central Legistlative Assembly on the occasion of the discussion raised over the resolution moved by Sir Azizul Huque, member for Commerce and Industries and Civil Supplies in the Governor-General's Executive Council which was worded as follows :

"That this Assembly approves the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration Agreement signed at Washington on the 9th November, 1943."

**Comment of London "Economist"**

To this resolution two amendments were proposed, one that the name or names of the representative or representatives of India who will serve on any body connected with the Relief and Rehabilitation Administration be submitted to the Central Legislature of India ; the other was couched in the words of the U. S. Congress resolution. Sir Azizul could not accept on behalf of the Government the the first amendment ; he accepted the second. But during the discussion on this resolution Mr Khitish Chandra Neogy brought to the notice of the Assembly and through it of the country how the resolution of the U. S. A. Congress was interpreted by a section of the British Press, how for reasons that can be easily understood the ruling classes of Britain were found to be feeling very uncomfortable over the interest shown by other countries in the victims of famine in India ; they somehow felt this interest to be a criticism of their administration of India. The U. S. Congress had passed the resolution on the 25th of January, 1944, and in the issue of date January 29, 1944, there appeared in the well-known London financial weekly, *The Economist*, the following comment :

"This (amendment) is interpreted in America as a reference to India and as such it would be contrary to agreements reached at Atlantic City. Probably, it is to some degree an expression of anti-British and pro-Indian feeling.

In the amendment, moved in the U. S. Congress and accepted by

it, there was no specific reference to India. It might be that in the speeches made in support of it India was referred to, the case of Bengal had been brought in to illustrate the point stressed in the amendment. The London weekly that represented the 'big business' of Britain scented in this reference a bias in favour of India, a prejudice against British ways in India that in the middle of the 20th century could drive the people of Bengal to starvation and death. The tales of famine in India during the British period were not unknown to Americans. Along with elephants, snakes and Rajas, famines had appeared in the pictures of India in American minds. "Mark Twain" had high-lighted these for his people in his book—"Innocents Abroad."

**America's knowledge of India**

"There is only one India ! It is the only country that has a monopoly of grand and imposing specialities. When another country has a remarkable thing, it cannot have it all to itself—some other country has a duplicate. But India—that is different. Its marvels are its own ; the patents cannot be infringed, imitations are impossible.....Famine is India's speciality. Elsewhere famines are small inconsequential incidents—in India they are devastating cataclysms ; in the one case they annihilated hundreds, in the other millions."

The paradox that is India in the context of modern life described by this American humourist in language of overstatement was accepted by the American public with a sense of incredulous amusement. But when American men and women were brought by fate and a total war to the shores of India and they were confronted with sights of men, women and children roaming over the country, in the streets of towns and cities, in the City of Palaces—Calcutta—in search of food and dropping down to die from long-continued mal-nutrition, they could realize for the first time in their life that "Mark Twain" was not a master of paradoxes alone, that behind his words lay something, certain conditions of life that was no credit to society in India or to the Government that was an ally of the United States of America for the establishment of the "Four Freedoms"—one of which was "Freedom from want." It was not difficult for them to understand that the famine in the midst of which they had to move, live and have their being, themselves immune from its ravages, was no sudden outburst, but the result of a long process of maladjustment in economic life which the State had neglected or ignored or did not realize the significance of. Therefore their startled revulsion against these scences of degradation of human life, of nakedness and shame was unmistakable, though it might not have expressed itself in any language of disgust owing to their peculiar relation with the representatives of the ruling power. It is known that four members of the U. S. Senate visited India on a tour of inspection of the life of their own soldiers stationed in India, and that their angry comments on the break-down of civilised life which the famine symbolized resounded through their land, and created opinions that were not quite complimentary to British methods of administration. It was the appreciation of this fact that drew the criticism of the London *Economist* on the Senate resolution. A guilty conscience made the ruling classes of Britain sensitive to any reference, however distant, to India. Otherwise, it is difficult to understand why the *Economist* should have reacted to the resolution of the Congress of the United States in the way it did.

**"Innocents Abroad" gave a true story**

This episode revealed that Indo-British relations have a bearing on inter-national affairs, and the attempts of the British Government to keep India in a glass-house of their own manufacture will fail ignominiously as it has already done. Specially as famines and pestilences demonstrate the failure of British rule to initiate those measures that can improve the material life of the Indian people. The contradiction between promise and practice that characterizes the two-centuries old history of the relation between India and Britain cannot any longer be hid behind platitudes. The accidental presence of U. S. men and women in India has high-lighted it for all the world to see. This could not be comfortable for the ruling race. And their propaganda machine in the U. S. has been striving to remove the impression of inefficiency in British administrative machinery that has been created by the Bengal famine and pestilence. We do not know, we are not allowed to know what American observers have said with regard to these two developments in Bengal, nor do we know how British propagandists have been countering the American version of Britain's failure to create modern conditions of life in India during these centuries. Through hints and suggestions now and then finding place in the American Press we can learn that the public there have become critical of British professions, and appreciate the political entanglement in India that has halted British attempts at fighting such catastrophies as the famine of 1943-'44. In the October, 1944, number of the New York magazine—*Asia and Americas*—an organ of international fellowship—appeared words in course of a pre-view of the next month's contents that went to show that increasing sections of the American public were growing aware of the mind of the ruling classes of Britain as it was reflected in the comments of the London *Economist* quoted above. Said the New York magazine :

**British propaganda to mislead**

"India continues to get shabby treatment from Americans who follow the lead of British imperialism rather than the noble democracy of the people of England. Before this issue appears, the facts may have come out about the niggardly and furtive handling of American relief for the victims of the famine in Bengal—in spite of the best efforts of the Indian Famine Relief Committee and the American Friends Service Committee.....The same sort of attitude appeared at Bretton Woods where the American delegates voted against India's demands....."

This cryptic comment of the American monthly does not come to us as a surprise. We have known for years that there have always existed links of kinship, material and spiritual, between the ruling classes of these countries. In successive volumes of the *Annual Register* since 1940 we have tried to trace these, and as these influence political and economic conduct. To the world at large Britain and her Dominions except Eire and the United States of America present a united front. The present war has brought out this fact in vivid colours. So there is nothing surprising that the United States with her responsibility as leader of the "United Nations" should have agreed to the the British line in the application of the "Atlantic Charter" clauses to India, thereby rendering illusory all their declarations about justice and equity between nations. And if even in such matters as famine, pestilence and relief work to mitigate their depredations,

**Kinship between United States & Britain**

political entanglements create difficulties, we can only accept these as natural human failings. It is rare for human nature to rise above credal and social affinities when justice places such a choice before men and women. This rarity is illustrated in the conduct of the men and women associated with the magazine—*Asia and the Americas*—who have dared to be with the minority in their fight for India's cause.

**British rule and India's poverty**

We must, however, return from the digression that political considerations have been playing with matters that do not generally have any political reference or significance. But unfortunately for India even famine and pestilence have a place in the context of her political subjection. In the last two volumes of the *Annual Register* (1943) we have attempted to understand and explain this broader aspect of the break-down in the decencies of civilized life that drew the world's attention to the nature of administration that Britain has been maintaining during the last one hundred and eight-seven years. We do not propose to go over that story in this volume. Within twelve years of the Battle of Plassey (1757), victory which made Britain ruler over vast Provinces in eastern India there was a famine in Bengal and Bihar that caused the death of ten millions of men, women, and children, one third of the population of the Province of Bengal as it was then constituted. There was failure of the monsoon. But the real reason was the process of exploitation to which the people had been subjected. This was brought out by the late Dean Inge in his *Outspoken Essays* in the following words quoted from the Chapter entitled—"The Future of the English Race," that traced the growth of Britain as the leading country in world.

"The first impetus (to the 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 30 years. This ill-gotten wealth played the same part in stimulating England's industries as the "five millions" extorted from France did for Germany after 1870."

**Disruption of India's industries**

This catastrophe almost at the threshold of British rule over India set the characteristic pattern of administration-cum-exploitation that we have become familiar with. The famine of 1943-'44 and the pestilence that followed it are developments that are implicit in the system that Britain has introduced into India. We have seen why more than 22 major famines should have broken out in our country. The progressive deterioration of the economic life of the country caused by the decline and death of the industries that sustained the simple life of the millions in India in health became inevitable when British rulers used the arm of political injustice to advance British industries, when the Parliament of Britain passed law after law imposing heavy duties on Indian manufactures, almost prohibiting their entrance into Britain and other European countries. These steps drove to agriculture the craftsmen who had their arts and crafts to earn a living for themselves and their dependents. The present generation of British bureaucrats make it a grievance that India's soil should have on it such a heavy pressure of population to support it. This state of things is recorded as a special defect of the Indian social economy. They forget the contribution of the selfish policy of

their own country to bringing about this catastrophic developments. The process of this deterioration is writ large in our present life, and recorded in histories written by Indians and non-Indians. Of the former, Dadabhai Naoroji, Mahadev Govind Ranade, Romesh Chunder Dutt are pioneers; of the latter William Digby will long be remembered for his book—*Prosperous British India*. Sir Henry Cotton who was victimized by the bureaucracy for his sympathy with Indian aspirations, and had to retire as Chief Commissioner of Assam, in the opening years of the present century, a very subordinate post in the official hierarchy, whose book—*New India*—was a classic presentation of the case of India for self-government—described in 1890 the history of this economic debacle :

"Less than a hundred years ago the commerce of Dacca was estimated at one *crore* (ten million) rupees and its population was at 200,000 souls. In 1787 the exports of Dacca Muslin to England amounted to 30 lakhs (three million) rupees; in 1817, they had ceased altogether. The arts of spinning and weaving which for ages afforded employment to a numerous and industrious population have now become extinct. Families which were formerly in a state of affluence have been driven to desert the towns and betake themselves to the villages for a livelihood.....The decadence has occurred not in Dacca only.....the manufacturing classes in all parts of the country are becoming impoverished."

Modern students of world economics have been struck by the "arrested economic development" of India. Dr. Vera Anstey, a leading British authority on Indian economics, in her book—"The Economic Development of India" (1936)—has been constrained to recognize that a well-balanced economic life has not yet been attained and the standard of life of the masses remains miserably low." Prof. D. H. Buchanan in his book—The Development of Capitalist Enterprise in India—published in New York in 1934, could but express surprise at the potential wealth of India and its neglect by the State.

"Here was a country with all the crude elements upon which manufacturing depends, yet during more than a century it has imported factory-made goods in large quantities and has developed only a few of the simplest industries for which machinery and organization had been highly perfected in other countries. With abundant supplies of raw cotton, raw jute, easily-mined coal, easily-mined and exceptionally high-grade iron ore; with a redundant population often starving because of lack of profitable employment; with a hoard of gold and silver second perhaps to no other country in the world;..... ...with an excellent market within her own borders and near at hand in which others were selling great quantities of manufactures; with all these advantages, India after a century was supporting only about 2 per cent of her population by factory industry."

**Increasing Dependence on Agriculture**

One can fill up pages with extracts from books and Government reports bearing witness to the progressive pauperization of the country under the regime introduced by Britain. We have already referred to the increasing pressure on the land in India which is being made a point of grievance by modern British administrators as standing in the way of agricultural improvement. Certain figures can be quoted to prove this fact of the people finding no other means of livelihood than land for eking out a miserable existence. In

1891—59·8 per cent of the people were dependent on agriculture.
1911—71·3 per cent " " " " "
1931—73.3 " " " " " " "

These figures show that every twenty years with the increase of

population more people have had to be maintained out of agriculture only, that during the period of the 1931 census the number of landless labourers and unemployed recorded the terrific figure of 8 crores ( 80 millions ) of men and women. A society that had to carry this load of poverty-stricken people, to be somehow kept living, must be subject to tensions that recur periodically and that must have had its balance between food and population restored by famines as it attempted to do in 1943 in Bengal India's poverty and India's mal-nutrition do not require to be proved by statistics. The present writer can trace these since 1905, taking haphazardly a point of time from which one can begin discussion. From his own experience of life he can say that his neighbours were a better fed people than they have been since. He saw the poorest of village widows having their cow and goat, and as the milk produced had no market so to say—all householders being self-sufficient in this item of food—they took the milk and other milk products themselves except the *ghee* which could be sold to the middle class families in the neighbourhood. To-day when milk is in short supply, and official propaganda on behalf of the value of these foods if so enthusiastic, one can recall with bitterness that our people practised in ignorance perhaps what their descendants are being exhorted to do. This is but an instance of the way in which the State in India has been negligent in understanding and appreciating the process of deterioration in the food front that was released over the country by forces like over-population in particular areas, but which the ruling classes did nothing to halt and neutralize. It is an irony that when knowledge of nutrition and researches into factors of nutrition are so much talked about, food materials that make people healthy should be becoming scarce in the country, that the Administration should be trying to satisfy modern conditions by establishing Nutrition Institutes without being able to help the people to provide themselves with nutritious foods. Its feeling of helplessness was expressed in the Council of State on March 22, 1944 by the Secretary of the Department of Health when in reply to a question—whether the Government of India realized that cholera and small-pox have a tendency to become endemic due to the growing deterioration in the physical stamina of the nation ?—he replied :

"The factors which govern endemicity are not yet fully understood but deterioration in physical condition renders a person more liable to certain diseases, including cholera.

"In certain parts of India there has been a deterioration in the physical stamina of the people due to under-nourishment.

This confession is not the product of sudden discovery. The bureaucracy was not ignorant that "of all the disabilities from which the masses in India suffer, mal-nutrition is perhaps the chief." Lieutenant-Colonel MacCarrison, I M S., in charge of the Deficiency Diseases Enquiry, Indian Research Fund Association, Pasteur Institute, Coonoor, presented this picture to the Royal Commission on Agriculture (chairman Lord Linlithgow) during its enquiry in 1926. One or two quotations from the Memorandum presented by him will enable our readers to realize the problem which has been high-lighted by the Bengal famine of 1943-'44.

**Human beings & soil in India ill-fed**

"Of all the disabilities from which the masses in India suffer, malnutrition is perhaps the chief. The more spectacular endemic and epidemic diseases such as cholera, malaria, dysentery, tuberculosis and leprosy kill their thousands yearly. But malnutrition claims its millions, and is the means whereby the soil of human body is made ready for the rank growth of the pathogenic agents of many of those diseases which afflict the Indian people."

"The effect of imperfect food in causing a degree of physical inefficiency, which may not be associated with any gross evidence of disease, is exemplified in India as in few other countries in the world. Few, who have travelled far in India can have failed to observe the remarkable difference in physical efficiency of the different Indian races; and although there are a number of factors, climatic and others, which play their part in determining these differences, yet it has been shown by researches carried out in this laboratory and by Col. McCay in Calcutta that nutrition is the chief among them..... .....Malnutrition is thus the most far-reaching of the causes of disease in India. It is one of the greatest—if not the greatest—problems with which the investigator of disease is faced. It is, too, the chief among the problems facing those engaged in agricultural research. The ultimate aim of both is the same, the adequate nutrition of the people. So far, then, from agricultural and nutritional research being carried out in isolated compartments, there should be the closest co-operation between them, to the mutual advantage of each....."

**MacCarrison's Diagnosis**

We have said that about forty years back our people were better fed, so were they physically more fit. And the malnutrition that has affected their health has in various ways affected the soil from which they extract their food-grains and the animals with whose help they cultivate their soil.

"So it is that such disabilities of mankind as are due to faulty nutrition are sometimes traceable to the soil itself which has become exhausted and unproductive of the best kind of food through improper attention and cultivation. Malnutrition thus pursues its harmful course in an over-widening vicious circle, the cultivator is too often ill-nourished and ravaged by disease which is commonly the result of ill-nourishment, his beasts are alike ill nourished; while both toil wearily in a heartless effort to extract from the ill-nourished earth enough to keep them from starvation....."

**Experiences of Germany in malnutrition**

The Surgeon-General with the Government of Madras, Major-General Hutchinson, in his memorandum submitted on the same occasion, referred to the experience of Germany to explain "the effect of a reduced diet on a population previously well-fed." Diminution of weight was the first symptom; "energy lacking from food" being supplied in the first place by the fat and in the second place by the muscular tissues of the body.

"This seems to have been the condition of the greater part of the urban inhabitants of Germany during the War (1914—'18), these having received a daily allowance of food of not more than 2,000 calories. They lost weight, but they were stated to be also able to carry out their ordinary work under the stress of circumstances in which they were placed.....On the children the effect of the diminished diet has been to restrict growth, but not to stop it.....German observations tend to show that a return to normal conditions will probably be followed by an increased rate of growth which will be sufficient to make up for that lost during the past years."

**Dr. Aykroyd's Researches**

The quotation above describing the experience of Germany under Allied blockade establishes two truths, that "human beings can adapt themselves, at a low level of vitality and with their powers impaired, to an insufficient ration, and scarcely realise that they are under-fed." (*Health Bulletin No 22 on the Nutrition Value of Indian Foods etc. Published in 1938* by Dr. W. R. Aykroyd, Director of

Nutrition Research Laboratories, Coonoor). Malnutrition in India has been recognized by members of the bureaucracy, and except certain research work bringing out the truths of nutrition which the poorest amongst Indians had practised before rural decay overtook them, nothing effective has been done by the State to halt this progressive deterioration in the health of the country. And the people have been driven to adapt their living conditions to "insufficient ration," and somehow carry on without realizing that they were "under fed." This under-feeding they accepted as a decree of fate, and Authority in India watched the process in helpless anxiety without understanding the significance of what the research workers suggested or paralysed by the stupendousness of the problem.

**What Germany could do**

Whatever be the fact, 1943 demonstrated the ineffectiveness of the rulers and the helplessness of the ruled. The Ministries that have been functioning in the different Provinces since the Montagu-Chelmsford "reforms" days have been partners in this crime against the majority of their people. None of them has been found capable of staking its reputation for giving effect to any of the healing measures suggested by modern sciences to meet the difficult and different problems of survival in the keener struggle for existence precipitated by the inventions and discoveries of the same sciences. Their helplessness and ineffectiveness stand in strange contrast to what the ruling classes were able to do to restore conditions of health and growth in Germany, in the rising generation of Germany devitalized by four years of under-feeding. In the course of twenty years they more than made up for the loss forced on them, and from out of the wrecks of a defeated and disrupted Germany, poor in health and poor in material wealth, they could re-construct the mightiest of fighting agencies, human and mechanical, that the imagination of human beings could ever imagine. The defeat of 1918 and the spiritual and material debacle that it entailed were made into instruments for a renewal of hope and strength, were converted into potent weapons of aggression that challenged to a fight all the major Powers of the world except Italy and Japan. For about four years and more Germans, the derelicts of 1918. have been fighting the embattled hosts of Britain, the Soviet Union and the United States of America. How they recuperated their physical stamina would ever remain a wonder to the student of affairs Major-General Hutchinson's memorandum submitted to the Royal Commission on Agriculculture in 1926 had drawn upon the experiences of Germany to suggest a remedy for the state of things in India, to the underfeeding and malnutrition that was sapping the vitality of the people of India. But his voice as well of other health advisers went unheeded by the Central and Provincial Governments in India. What a defeated and discredited Germany could do, one of her victors could not do in India. Why? The reply to this query would take us far afield. The unnatural relation that subsists between India and Britain, the subject country and the imperialist Power, must be held partly responsible for the debacle in the health front of India.

In the background of these weaknesses, mental and physical, in India which the State has not been able to eliminate from the body-politic, famine and pestilence have become parts of a natural state of things. As we write (May, 1945) the report of the Famine Commission appointed to enquire into the causes and consequences of the Bengal Famine in 1943, has seen the light of day. It is not possible to ignore its verdict. And it is something to find that the members of the Commission have accepted almost all the contentions of the publicists and public men of India with regard to the responsibility of the Central Government at Delhi-Simla, of the Government at Calcutta, of the Ministries in Bengal. The Government of India is made responsible for failure to "recognize at a sufficiently early date the need for a system of planned movement of food-grains, including rice as well as wheat....."; "an agreement should have been reached at an early stage between the Government of India and the Government of the Punjab about the price level" of wheat; this would have kept the price of wheat "under control", and sent to Bengal wheat and wheat-products at an "earlier period" when these would have been much more useful." The Commission subjected the constantly varying plans of the Central Government to criticism as betokening an uncertain mind—the Basic Plan, "unrestricted free trade", "modified free trade", control, de-control, etc.

**Famine Commission's Report**

"By August, 1943, it was clear that the Provincial Administration in Bengal was failing to control the famine. Deaths and mass migration to a large scale was occurring. In such circumstances the Government of India, whatever the constitutional position, must share with the Provincial Government the responsibility for saving lives."

Thus has been pricked the plea of Mr. Leopold Amery, the head of the Indo-British Administration, that "this matter in Bengal" (Mr. Amery was careful in avoiding the words starvation or famine to describe conditions in Bengal and tried to give these a respectable look by using the words "this matter in Bengal") is "primarily one for the Ministry of the self-governing Province." The Commission was no less critical of the Bengal Government. One can go on quoting its many references to the act of commission and ommission of the late Sir John Herbert and his successors.

**Delhi Government's Responsibility**

Sir John was a sick man when he undertook the personal responsibility for the government of the Province in March-April, 1943; during these three weeks there was no Ministry to aid and advise him; if he needed any advice there were the sundried bureaucrats at Calcutta's Writers' Buildings to fall back upon. It is these people or their opposite numbers at Delhi Simla who were responsible for the propaganda of sufficiency which the Nazimuddin Ministry embraced with so much gusto when it was pitch-forked into the Ministerial *guddee*. The Commission has characterized it as "misguided", and thinks that "it would have been better to warn the people fully of the danger of famine." The Nazimuddin Ministry has not come out of the ordeal with any dignity. One point made by the Commission against it was that when Bengal needed most the services

**Government of Bengal & Ministry**

of an "all-party" concentration to pull her out of the conditions of famine and pestilence, the Muslim League stood in the way of such a consummation. The Commission referred to the failure of the attempts to set up an "all-party Government", and explained the reason for these failures.

"We understand that the main reasons for the failure were first the refusal of the Muslim League party in accordance with its all-India political policy to join a Government which included any Muslim who did not belong to the party, and secondly, the refusal of the other principal parties either to join or support a Government from which Muslim leaders who did not belong to the Muslim League party were excluded."

**Communalism & Famine Relief**

And the Commission, we are glad to notice, supports the grave charge we made against the Nazimuddin Ministry that it created difficulties for the organization of relief work in Bengal by following its rank communalist policy. We drew attention in the last volume of the *Annual Register* (pp, 48-'9) to the dual purposes it wanted to secure by the pursuit of this policy. It wanted to fight famine; it wanted to establish its supporters in the Muslim community in the distributive trades of Bengal. But in the working of this policy the second purpose gained the upper hand. And the relief of the famine-stricken receded from view except when it was required to propagandize a Muslim League point as a foil to the exploits of the Ministry. The Woodhead Commission brought this fact in an indirect way when considering the three reasons for the delay in introducing rationing in Greater Calcutta. Referring to the third reason—difficulties and delays in securing staff and accommodation, the members of the Commission let off the Ministry rather mildly.

"We recognize that the difficulties of recruiting and training the large staff and of acquiring accommodation were real and great, but we are of opinion that avoidable delay did take place. The delay in the recruitment was accentuated at one stage by an endeavour to maintain communal proportions. We consider this to have been particularly unfortunate. In an emergency, particularly one affecting the food of the people, administrative action should not be delayed by attempts to observe rules fixing communal ratios."

**Malnutrition in India was known**

As we have said, the Famine Commissioners found in favour of almost all the charges that have been brought against the bureaucracy, Central and Provincial, and the Nazimuddin Ministry. The Bengal famine was caused by administrative blunders and corruptions. For, owing to favourable conditions this Province has been "almost entirely free from famine" during the 19th century, to quote the verdict of the Commission, except the western-most district of Bankura. But malnutrition was there. We have referred to this as the basic problem, and the following words of the Commission support our contention.

"At the best of times, however, a section of the poorer classes, both in villages and towns, did not get enough to eat and their diet, largely composed of rice, was of poor nutritive value. Sir John Megaw, Director General, Indian Medical Service, carried out in 1933 an enquiry into the physical condition of villagers in different parts of India, by means of questionnaires sent to local doctors. Dispensary doctors in Bengal reported that only 22 per cent of the population was well-nourished, while 33 per cent, was very badly nourished. The corresponding figures for India as a whole was 39 and 26 per cent respectively. Since the assessment of the state of nutrition depended on the subjective impressions of doctors in different Provinces, it is difficult to accept these figures as showing conclusively that nutritional conditions in Bengal were worse than elsewhere in India. Nevertheless,

the results of the investigation may be quoted as indicating in a general way the unsatisfactory state of nutrition of the people of rural Bengal 10 years previous to the famine."

Amongst a people de-vitalized like what has been described above came the famine and the pestilence that accompanied and followed it.

**Death from famine and pestilence**

There has been keen controversy with regard to the mortality figures due to these two causes. The Commission has differed from official and non-official estimates; according to it the former has under-estimated these, while the latter are thought to be over-estimated. The official estimate, Mr. Amery's estimate, was about six to seven lakhs: non-official estimate has been five times that figure; the estimate of the Commission has been a figure somewhere in the middle, between one million and two millions. Taking the Commission's figures the estimate comes to this. From July to December, 1943, 13,04,323 deaths were "recorded" as against an average of 626,048 during the previous five years. In the first six months of 1944, there was record of 981,228 deaths, an excess of 422,341 over the number of the previous five years. And there are two significant remarks in the Commission's report that "so far as excess mortality is concerned, the year 1944 was almost as disastrous as the previous one." That

"The calamity of death fell on a population with low physical reserves and circumstances were favourable for a flare up of epidemic disease. The association between health conditions in normal times and the high famine mortality must be underlined."

The Commission devoted about 34 pages to the discussion of "Death and Disease in the Bengal Famine." Chapter V of Part II. is entitled—*The Failure to prevent high mortality.* A

**Failure to prevent high mortality**

summary of the Commission's views and ideas on the relation of famines to epidemics is relevant to the subject under review in these pages, and we make no apology in presenting it. A famine-stricken population is a sick population. Famine means not only lack of food in the quantitative sense but also lack of essential constituents of food that are necessary for health. The functioning of every tissue and organ of the body is impaired by insufficiency of food; susceptibility to infection is increased, and resistance to disease when contracted is weakened. The disorganization of life produced by famine furthers the spread of disease of various kinds including the major epidemic diseases. In the estimated death of "some 1.5 millions in excess of the average" in 1943 and during the first six months of 1944, it is "impossible to separate these into groups and to assign a proportion to starvation and under-nutrition, another proportion to epidemic disease, and yet another to non-epidemic disease." Dysentry and diarrhœa are peculiarly famine diseases; as regards cholera other factors may be involved in epidemics associated with food shortage and famine. "We agree with the view of the 1901 Commission that much of the cholera mortality must be deemed to have been preventible..... A cholera epidemic can be checked, even in a famine-stricken population....." Malaria Control in Bengal is a problem for which no solution has yet been found. The main responsibility of medical and public health authorities was to provide facilities for treatment This "responsibility was inadequately fulfilled."

"In view of the state of medical and public health organizations in Bengal before the famine, it is scarcely surprising that they failed to rise to the occasion. On the health side, no satisfactory attempt was made during the early months to deal with the situation ; there was in fact almost a complete break-down of health services, affecting both the centre and the periphery."

**Causes of callousness in high places**

This story of unpreparedness generated a species of callousness to the sufferings of millions that has come upon many of us as a surprise. One can understand that times of war create this insensibility, that death and wounds in battlefields, the burning of houses, of crop-laden fields, of mills and factories have in combatants and their leaders a deadening effect, as well as on the sensibilities of increasing numbers of men and women. But what we saw and heard of in India cannot be explained away by this interpretation of mass or group psychology. Lord Linlithgow's refusal to visit Bengal symbolized something, some defect in the character of the Ango-Indian bureaucracy that the future historian only can rightly analyse. We are too near the event to judge it properly. Political irritation may lead us to think that the famine of 1943 in Bengal was allowed to have such a free run because the value of Indian lives was next to nil in the eyes of the men whom an inscrutable fate had drawn from beyond six thousand miles to India to hold sway over men of lesser breeds. We may think, many of us do so, that men and women who agree to live under such a dispensation, have agreed to live under alien rule do not deserve any better fate. And that in every hundred years, during the middle and end of these years, a retributive agency in the heart of Creation takes its revenge on these sub-humans for failure to display even the elementary instincts of all created beings that lead them to make a show of fight for life and happiness. In India the callousness of the people appeared to have generated in the hearts of the ruling people and their indigenous supporters an identical feeling It may be that they felt pity for these helpless and feckless millions, but that pity more often than not verged on contempt. And from contempt no noble endeavour can grow and thrive. This is the tragedy of the unnatural relation that historic forces have created between the two peoples. This is an interpretation that has not been pleasant for an Indian to write. But on no other can the failure of the Linlithgow Administration be explained. World opinion now or in the future cannot hold any individual responsible for the break-down in the decencies of human life that Bengal presented in 1943. It would try to satisfy itself with the thought that the people of India deserved the system of Government that they have at present, that their littleness of spirit has called out the worst of the instincts, impulses and feelings of the ruling race. History cannot have any other judgment passed on the two-centuries old Indo-British relation. A contemporary Indian publicist anticipates it only.

**How Britain fought in her food front**

The Woodhead Commission has had something of this tragic feeling. Its report bears witness to it. But it could not go into psychological factors to explain the shame of 1943. The Chairman of the Commission was a distinguished member of the Indian Civil Service ; he was known for devotion to his duties, painstaking and heedless

of personal comforts. He must have known that the inadequacies of the Administration boded no good to any body, Indian or British. But caught in its "steel frame," no individual British administrator has been able to get over the inertia of things in a "dependent" country: those among them who tried to "hustle" the pathetically content people failed to make any impression, and, perhaps, retired with bitterness. The more stolid among them carried on without hope and without any exaltation of feeling that only a native can feel. To a ruling race, thus circumstanced, came war—a war that required the whole-souled service of the people, a total war that could have no mercy for any individual, a war of survival for the British Empire that for about a century and more has been dictating the patterns of thought and conduct to the world. In Britain they have shown how an unready Government could be galvanized into concentration of effort that could transform the face of the country. Britain that depended for eight months in the year on import of food grains, of meat, for butter and fat, from Argentina, from Canada from Australia, to be carried across thousands of miles of submarine-infested seas, Britain with food rationing, with cloth rationing, with rationing in every bit and item of every-day necessities, Britain has shown what could be done to maintain the health and stamina of the people. During the last world war Lloyd George, the British Premier and the organiser of the British victory in that war, had spoken of the C-3 people from whom the fighting forces of Britain came. And during the uneasy peace of twenty years that stood between these two world wars, the health front and the nutrition front of the country had not been at all compact, what with the slump in world trade and what with unemployment that afflicted one-sixth of the population. "An un-employed ex-Service man," suffering from this debacle in the material life of his country had "toasted" her in words that laid bare the tinsel glory of the imperialism that Britishers glory in, and that is the envy and temptation of all aspiring nations of the modern world. Writing to the London *Daily Herald*—the organ of the Labour Party—he burst into this poem.

"Protector of weaker nations, whether Arab, or Pole or Greek.
Always ready to help—abroad—'tis the second time we speak.
We have drunk before to Thy greatness where the sunken roads ran red.
Some of us drink this second toast—but the lucky ones are dead.
Ocean and dock and harbour where flaming warships sank;
Field and forest of Flanders are red with the first we drank.
Now—workless, homeless and hopeless—a second toast we give
To a land where heroes—and profiteers—but no one else—can live.
We are down in the gutter, England—down and damned and done.
But we pledge a toast to thy greatness, thy greatness that we have won,
With water stale from the gutter, we pledge thee, deep and strong.
Oh Land! where a man is free—to starve, if he doesn't take too long."

This was the country to which a total war threw a great challenge. And the Government and the people rose up to it with unity of purpose, the latter stilling the bitterness in their hearts that the poem quoted above had given expression to. This was a contrast, set against the background of things in India, that made all the difference between a sovereign nation and a subject people. One may wonder that men like the writer of the above poem, fully conscious

**A contrast between India and Britain**

of the injustices of the social and economic regime obtaining in Britain, should have risen so nobly to avert the threat to the norms and forms of British life, and should have fought so gallantly to preserve these. This could be explained by the feeling, instinctive in free men, that in face of a foreign invasion all other considerations should fade from view, that the injustices and inequities of social and economic arrangements could wait rectification and reform till victory-day, victory over the foreign foe. This feeling transforms the habitual smugness of the bureaucrat as well as the bitterness in the heart of the submerged millions that are to be found even in politically free nations of the world. This was the transformation that we saw taking place in Britain. And this was the transformation that was absent from India. And because of this contrast an area like Britain highly deficit in food grains was the better in health owing to rationed life, and a self-sufficient area like India had to register the death of a few millions of men and women due to starvation and diseases caused by long-continued malnutrition—fruits of an alien State policy. The Woodhead Commission has laid bare certain of the elements of the problem that was set before it to unravel and explain. From the law of its being the Commission could not be expected to indicate the ramifications of this policy, the many ways in which it made the poverty in the material life of India inevitable. In this volume of the *Annual Register* we have tried to point out how British methods of administration and exploitation have resulted in devitalizing the people in India. In normal times the signs of this poverty do not engage attraction. But 1943 and 1944 high-lighted these for all the world to see.

**How the Government fought the pestilence**

Mr. Casey relieved Sir Thomas Rutherford of his heavy duties as Governor of Bengal in the early months of 1944, when the ravages of famine had exhausted themselves and those of pestilence were in the ascendant. On the 1st of April, in course of a broadcast, sent out to re-assure public opinion that the worst days were over, he acknowledged that the machinery of "general administration" which he had been handling had "never been designed to meet the very abnormal problems with which it was so suddenly faced." In a report published by the Bengal Government were given certain striking figures of expenditure by it on medical relief, water supply and other matters—Rs. one crore during the official year 1943-'44. As regards combating diseases the following facts and figures were relevant. The preventive staff were raised from 2,950 to 4,500 ; in normal years the number of anti-cholera inoculations given per week was 70,000 ; now it is 7,60,000 ; the number of vaccinations given per week was 65,000, now it is 9,50,000 ; in normal years Government supply of vaccine lymp per week was 5,50,000 grains ; during December 1, 1943, to March 25,1944, it distributed 61,20,131 grains ; in normal years Government stock of cholera vaccine averaged 4,15,000 c. c. per week ; now it is 15,07,000 c. c. ; the total number of vaccinations and inoculations given from 1st of November, 1943, to the 1st of April, 1944 was 1,11,39,706 and 69,08,662 respectively ; during February, March, April the target was six millions. Another Table gave a list of medical and non-medical drugs and

equipment supplied to civil and military hospitals by the Government. It made an impressive show But whether or not these were adequate to the needs of the situation created by famine and pestilence is more than laymen can say. A Government report has said that between "1st November, 1943, and 1st April, 1944,—1,11,39,706 vaccinations and 69,08,662 inoculations were given in Bengal." This gives an idea of the nature of the devastation that was wrecking the Province, the incidence of the various diseases that found a fertile soil in the famine-stricken bodies of millions in Bengal. Dr. B. C. Roy, President of the Bengal Medical Relief Co-ordination Committee, gave a realistic picture of the situation in course of a statement made to a Press Conference held on the 6th June, 1944.

" ...the Government had declared 18 districts to be under the grip of smallpox and cholera in an epidemic form while the incidence of malaria was going up again according to the report received by the Committee. The total population of the districts comes to 4 crores 47·7 lakhs. Granting that the epidemics had affected only 50 per cent. of the population, though according to the reports received by the Committee some districts had even 80 p.c. to 90 p.c. of the population affected with malaria a conservative estimate would be tha more than 2 crores of Bengal's population were attacked with epidemics. At this rate, 1,500 medical units had to be raised if the epidemics were to be effectively fought.'

**Non official medical men were not satisfied**

The non-official medical men of Calcutta and Bengal, the organisers and conductors of relief organizations, were not satisfied with the arrangements made on behalf of the Government to meet the pestilence. They felt impelled, therefore, to organize themselves into a new organization in order to co-ordinate their activities for fighting this menace On the 12th February, 1944, their representatives met at a conference in which was formed the Bengal Medical Relief Co-ordination Committee with a view to pool together all their resources for an all-round effort to provide medical relief in the Province. The necessity for such a co-ordinated effort grew out of the fact that "official relief agencies were altogether unsufficient to cope with the emergent situation that had arisen." T explain this, a report from a Calcutta daily (March 2, 1944) was quoted which showed how the official arrangements, as always, were too late and too few. It was when epidemics had assumed alarming proportions that the Government woke up to the fact that a start must be made for the appointment of "special medical officers etc. for relief purposes." The set-up of this official organisation was as follows. The sanctioned strength of doctors, nurses, and others were 290, 1,200, 5,760 respectively. The number recruited was 138,710 and 2,800 respectively. And the inaugural meeting of the new Committee was quite justified in recording that "such services as could be rendered by paid or salaried staff were not sufficient to cope with the enormous task ahead. particularly as effective relief work could be possible only in an atmosphere of complete co-operation between the relief workers and the people." This comment throws light on the difficulties placed even in the path of relief work by the unnatural relation between the State in India and the people under its charge. People suffering from disabilities could not heartily respond to the relief operations started under Government auspices—this has been invariable experience in India. And this experience must have been the inspiration of the comment

quoted above from the report of the Bengal Medical Relief Co-ordination Committee. This mentality will persist as long as this unnatural relation continues to poison human relations in India

**Constituents of the Bengal Medical Relief Co-ordination Committee**

The publicist in India would be failing in his duty if he did not bear witness to the valuable work done by this Committee. Nineteen organizations co-operated to form it whose names should have a record in the pages of history. They were : 1. All India Women's Conference. 2. Bengal Civil Protection League. 3. Bengal Muslim League Relief Committee. 4. Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha Relief Committee. 5. Bengal Provincial Trade Union Congress Relief Committee. 6. Bengal Relief Committee. 7. Bengal Women's Food Committee. 8. Calcutta Relief Committee. 9. Friends Ambulance Unit and American Friends' Service Committee. 10. Indian Medical Association. 11. Mahila Atma-Raksha Samity 12 Marwari Relief Society. 13. Mayor's Relief Fund. 14. Mymensingh Sammilanee. 15. People's Relief Committee. 16. Punjab Relief Committee. 17. Servants of India Sociaty. 18. Students' Joint Relief Board. 19. United Teachers' & Students' Relief Committee. These relief organizations have been maintaining 142 Medical units in different parts of the Province, 80 under their direct charge, and 53 placed under the Medical Relief Co-ordination Committee. Each such Unit is manned by one doctor and two medical assistants. It is not possible to describe in detail the activities of each one of these units, as we have not near at hand their reports. The cost of each unit is more than Rs. 500/- every month. As an acknowledgment of the debt immense of endless gratitude that Bengal owed to these organizations and their workers, we record certain figures that will give an idea of the work done by them. The Bengal Relief Committee came first in the numb r of Units maintained by them, 38 under their own direct supervision and 11 under the Co-ordinating Committee. Next came the Bengal Civil Protection Committee with 16 Units all directly under its control. then came the People's Relief Committee with 19 Units—11 under its direct control and 8 under the Co-ordination Committee ; the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha Relief Committee came next with 12 Units, all under its direct control ; the Servant of India Society of Poona maintained 10 Units by itself ; the Bengal Muslim League Relief Committee had 7 Units—2 under its direct control and 5 were placed under the Co-ordination Committee. Over and above these came Medical volunteers from outside Bengal whose number was more than 104. The organizations which sent them with drugs and medicines were 8 in number—Madras Students' Organization—14 volunteers ; Bengal Medical Relief Committee (Bombay)—41 volunteers ; Punjab Medical Students' Bengal Relief Mission—21 volunteers ; Ahmedabad Bengal Rahet Committee—15 volunteers ; Lucknow Medical College—4 volunteers ; Agra Medical School—4 volunteers ; Assam Relief Committee—4 volunteers ; Hyderabad (Deccan)—1. The kind of medical relief that organizations like these carried on may be illustrated from the report of the Servants of India Society of Poona. Their medical work with the co-operation of 25 graduates of the Tilak Vidyapith of Poona, started about the middle of December, 1943 and came to a close on May 20, 1944. During these five months 17 centres were started for giving free medical aid,

The number of patients, most of them suffering from malaria and scabbies, diarrhœa and dysentery, treated at these Centres, averaged between 2,000 to 2,300 daily. In addition to treating sick people who could come to the Centres, the doctors went out to the surrounding villages, met the patients in their own homes and gave them the necessary treatment. In fact, from certain points of view, this part of the work formed "an important feature of the relief" administered by medical men hailing from other Provinces. Not the least of it was that they came thus to acquire an intimate knowledge of life as it is lived in Bengal.

**Value of this non-official work**

The various reports of the work of these organizations bear testimony once again to the value of non-official activities in training people of India in the duties of citizens that have a history of their own traceable to the sixties of the last century. We have tried to trace it in the last volume of the *Annual Register* (pp. 58-9). A report of the Medical Relief Co-ordination Committee makes certain remarks which show that the people who sought relief preferred non-official help to official: "no wonder that patients have always shown an unhesitating preference for our medical centres for their treatment and have come from long distances, even though official medical units have sometimes existed near their homes" This popular attitude is a commentary on all Government activities. Officers of the Administration recognized it. And their appreciation came to non-official organizations in spite of the many mental inhibitions prevalent. The Director of Public Health, Bengal, in a circular letter, dated the 8th November, 1944, addressed to the District Quinine Rationing Authorities, directed their attention to the value of the work done by and through the constituents of the Bengal Medical Relief Co-ordination Committee.

"These Units are most valuable means of ensuring that malaria cases receive proper treatment and must be regarded as very important adjuncts to the efforts of Government in this respect. It is very desirable, therefore, that whatever assistance is available by way of voluntary relief organization Units should be fully utilized and that there should be no unnecessary difficulties placed in the way of such Units in carrying out their important role."

**Famine and scarcity in Orissa & Bijapur**

With this quotation we propose to end the discussion of the harrowing experiences that Bengal passed through during the twelve months beginning from July, 1943 to June, 1944. It is because we believe that the events in Bengal do but represent the material poverty that has followed British methods of administration and exploitation that we have devoted such an amount of space to bring into focus all the elements that went to the making of this debacle. A report of the Servants of India Society drew attention to the fact that "the sufferings of Orissa were overshadowed by those of Bengal; but, though limited in extent they were as acute as those of the famine-stricken districts in Bengal." Again, "the situation in Orissa, where the distress though less in extent than in Bengal, was comparable with it in intensity, failed to attract public attention, it is believed, largely because of censorship restrictions." Relief of famine-stricken people in the district of Bijapur in the Bombay Presidency commenced under the auspices of this Society in 1942 and continued up to

October, 1943. The Bijapur Famine Relief Committee of Bombay handled about 8 lakhs of rupees in this work. Food and clothes had to be supplied to men and women; "cattle relief" had to be undertaken; "cattle camps" being established. Items of expenditure indicate the many ways the Relief Committee had to face novel situations. On cattle feeding centres and camps were expended about two and half lakhs of rupees; on plough centres about seventeen thousand rupees; on a cattle breeding scheme rupees fifty thousand. The Government of Bombay agreed to bear the whole cost of a scheme for making plough bullocks available to cultivators at reasonable rates of hire if the Society undertook the responsibility of working it. 37 Centres in different Taluqas were opened with a complement of 152 pairs of bullocks; to meet the difficulty about fodder 41 Free Cattle Feeding Centres were opened in the district, feeding 6,487 cattle per day.

**Famine conditions in Kerala**

"Kerala is today as famine-stricken as Bengal," said the poet Vattathol in a speech at Bombay in October, 1943. Kerala is the narrow strip of land lying between the Western Ghats and the Arabian Sea, stretching from Cape Comorin in the south to Bombay Presidency in the north. It includes the two States—Travancore and Cochin, the whole of Malabar district (British) and parts of two other British districts—South Canara and Nilgiris. The common bond of the Malayalam literature hold together these areas divided into so many administrative units It has a population of one crore twenty lakhs of people. A report on the life of this people says that even during pre-war times their daily portion of food-grains was 8 to 10 oz of rice per head. They depended on Burma for about 50 per cent. of their food-grains. With the loss of this source of supply, and the ban put by the Government of Madras on export in July, 1942, conditions of famine appeared in Kerala, in two-third of its area. In December, 1942, Malayalam papers reported that people were reduced to taking 2 to 3 oz. of rice per head per day. The causes that precipitated the famine in Bengal worked towards the same catastrophe in Kerala—complacency, corruption, narrowness of vision in high places and selfishness in the general body of the people. The State Governments suffered from the same handicaps as their opposite numbers in the Governments in British India. The result was, as Mr. E. M S. Namboodiripad's pamphlet—*Food in Kerala*—says that during periods between 1942 and 1944, there have been "four famines—one for every half a year—each lasting for 2 to 3 months;" these were "cycles of starvation periods and half starvation periods" throughout the years. During the winter of 1943 several villages had to go without rice for three to four weeks. During the "non-famine" months a typical village in the deficit areas—in two-thirds of Kerala—got 4 or 6 oz. of rice per head per day; during "famine" months 1½ to 2 oz. per head per day was the quota. This arrangement just managed to keep these people alive; they survived "as an emaciated, under-nourished, epidemic-stricken mass of humanity but, nevertheless, a survival of living humanity." These conditions of starvation and semi-starvation created epidemics; during June-August, 1943, there was an epidemic killing 30,000 people. People will ask why is it that Bengal with a 10 per cent of deficit in her food grains

fell a victim to famine, while Kerala with her 50 per cent deficit was saved from such a catastrophe. The writer whom we have been quoting from has suggested an interpretation. Authority in Bengal did not understand the danger of her position while "the very desperate position of her food stocks" saved Kerala from the horrors of famine. Authority in this area, Indian and British, knew this "desperate" position and took early steps to meet famine condition half way.

We have brought the story of the disintegration of the social life of wide areas spread over the whole country to a focus.

**Dishonesty and corruption flourished**

We have seen how inefficiency in Government and corruption in the machinery was reflected in the conduct of classes among the people who in their greed sent their neighbours to death and nakedness. Food and cloth have been made rarities, beyond the reach of the majority of the people. We will, perhaps, never know the many ramifications of the processes by which corruptors in official positions and profiteers in the every-day necessities of the people brought about this shame and degradation to the life of our country. In the last volumes of the *Annual Register* we have tried to show how the politicians of the Muslim League in Bengal exploited their position as upholders of the Nazimuddin Ministry to debaunch administrative and social life in the Province. It is not possible to have details of these nefarious activities recorded in official publications, and the Press has also failed to record the proceedings in Courts before which persons accused of dishonesty and corruptions were tried. The Famine Commission presided over by Sir John Woodhead has not gone over this phase of the break-down in the administrative machinery with that elaborateness that the subject deserved. Perhaps, the terms of its enquiry put matters of moral lapse out of bound. Another Enquiry Committee, appointed by the Governor of Bengal in December, 1944, to suggest recommendations for the "improvement of the administration" of the Province submitted its report during the time when these lines were being written. It was presided over by Sir Archibald Rowlands who has just succeeded to the position held by Sir Jeremy Raisman, Finance Member in the Governor-General's Executive Council. In Chapter VII of the Report, entitled—*Manning the Machine*—in Para 219, the Committee in course of certain references to "Service Morale," gave it out that its members have been told that "there has been a marked deterioration in the morale of the services as a result of the impact of political forces on the frame-work of the permanent administration."

> "The services apprehend that amenability to Ministerial pressure and a 'correct' attitude towards questions in which the Party for the time being in office is particularly interested are more likely to lead to promotion than administrative efficiency."

This demoralization became evident during 1943-'44 when the policy-carrying machinery in the Bengal Administration was found to be so morally inadequate. But it is not quite true to say that Ministerial Parties were the only sources of evil. The traditions of the higher bureaucracy with its "attitude of aloof superiority" had done nothing to enlist the support of the public for any measures either of preven-

**Why the bureaucracy failed**

tion of unhealthy tendencies or of reform of the existing conditions; the Rowlands Committee referred with "surprise and regret" to evidence of this attitude which appeared "to pay greater regard to the mechanical operation of a soul-less machine than to promoting the welfare of the people and look upon themselves as masters rather than as servants of the people." A bureaucracy afflicted by this malady was paralysed by the shock of the Japanese War, and it did things and failed to do things that only added to the confusion of things. From this the descent to corruption in the lower rungs of the official hierachy was a logical step We want to describe this development in the words of the Rowlands Committee's report, not because it said anything original or what others have not said, but because it is necessary to have a record of what an official Committee has had to recognize. It is rather a long quotation.

"The war here, as elsewhere, breeds conditions which make money-making easy. Particularly did this become so when the supply of commodities became so short that Government was forced to grant licences to trade in them. The possession of a licence became a thing of high value and dishonest and unscrupulous persons did not hesitate to offer bribes in order to secure the licence to trade in the commodities affected. The power to grant licences was in many cases in the hands of temporary staffs not versed in the traditions of the Service, with no prospect of a permanent career in it and provided with an opportunity for making easy money which many of them found it impossible to let slip.

"War conditions thus provided the opportunity, but it cannot be denied that it became all too easy for dishonest men to seize the opportunity of illicit gain by reason of two things, namely, (a) ill-advised administrative action; (b) defects in the Law which made detection of offences difficult and which provide inadequate penalties for convicted offenders.

"To take these two points in turn. The power to grant licences to deal in commodities in short supply was conferred on subordinates and temporary officials, with little or no attempt being made to lay down rules prescribing to whom, and in what circumstances, licences should be granted. The commodities being in short supply, common sense should suggest that permits should at least have been confined to reputable *bona fide* dealers in the commodities concerned. Indeed, the sensible course would have been, as was in fact done in the United Kingdom, to reduce rather than to increase the number of authorized dealers. Nothing of the sort seems to have been attempted in Bengal, and people, often of ill repute, rushed in to obtain permits to purchase commodities in which they had never dealt before and in which they had no intention of trading, except in the black market. The profits obtainable were so enormous that applicants for permits had no hesitation in offering bribes far too tempting for officials on relatively low rates of pay to resist.

... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ...

"So widespread has corruption become, and so defeatist is the attitude taken towards it, that we think that the most drastic steps should be taken to stamp out the evil which has corrupted the public service and public morals. Anything less is a denial of justice to the poor people of the province, who comprise the bulk of the population and who, in the end, have to pay for the bribes which go to enrich the unscrupulous and the dishonest."

**What the Government has done to stamp out the evil**

The Woodhead Commission and the Rowlands Committee could not have framed their verdict with regard to wide-spread corruption on the basis of facts placed before them by non-official witnesses and their statements. The Government must have placed *dossiers* in their hands to help them in coming to their verdict. These *dossiers* must have taken months to collect; the details of bribery and corruption must have been definite. Otherwise, the verdict of

these two Government Committees would not have been as strong as it is. The Rowlands Committee indicated one seat of evil—the way in which the number of authorized dealers in commodities that were in short supply was increased, and "people often of ill repute," to quote the Committee's words, were allowed "to obtain permits to purchase commodities in which they had never dealt before, and in which they had no intention of trading, except in the black market." The committee appeared to suggest and believe that only "officials on relatively low rates of pay" were concerned with granting such permits. We do not know on the strength of what facts did the Committee pass this judgment, why it did not trace the evil higher up in the Nazimuddin Ministry whose policy of establishing and maintaining the communal ratio in the trade and commerce of the Province was responsible for increasing the number of dealers who received permits, thus introducing inexperienced and unrealiable persons into these activities The Woodhead Commission Report has stigmatized this policy. And we are upheld in our conviction that through the loophole of "communal ratio" has flowed over the body politic of Bengal the corruption that has been deplored in the Rowlands Committee's Report. It has called attention to the "defeatist attitude" adopted by the Government and the people with regard to this evil. It is not necessary to plead *alibi* on behalf of the latter, the hoarders and profiteers who form the majority of this anti-social confraternity. We have to confess with shame that these corruptors of social morals should have come in such numbers from the heart of Indian society. But it cannot be denied that they could not have flourished and made such a parade of their ill-gotten wealth if the State in India had frowned on them. We do not know how do they deal with moral lepers like these in other countries. But we cannot believe that the State in these turn the blind eye on lapses like these. But here in India the State has been philosophically indifferent to the corruption that throve unchecked and unashamed. We do not forget though that Mr. Richard Casey, the Governor of Bengal, called attention to this deterioration in a broadcast of his in April, 1944. We have not heard since then that his Excellency has taken any positive step to sterilize the sources of evil. It may be that the reform of morals does not come within His Excellency's many discretions and special responsibilities.

**How Britain started the evil**

The disintegration of material and moral life that through famines and scarcities in various parts of India erupted into view during 1943-'44 has an intimate relation to the system of administration that Britain has established in this country and that has been worsening conditions with every year that India remains unfree. The trappings and equipments of modern life that have followed the British rulers into India kept our people ignorant of the real character of this rule—how by a combination of the ruler and the trader the norms and forms of Indian life were wrecked beyond repair, and nothing has been placed in the vacuum to repair the destruction caused. We do not hold any individual Briton responsible for the havoc that his system of rule has wrought in our country. The whole generation that witnessed the spread of British influence over the globe, that helped

to found the British Empire, knew no better. In their treatment of their own people they were no better in dispossessing millions of Britishers of their lands and driving them to work-houses from which were recruited the 'hands' for the working of factories run by steam, and her traders covering the world with the commodities manufactured in them. An interpreter of Britain's industrial development has described this development in the following words :

"Squire Western Junior, a high farming disciple of Arthur Young who would not steal the goose from the common, but had no scruple about stealing the common from the human goose, was unconsciously recruiting for his hated rival, the machine-owning capitalist, and when the village had been emptied out into the work-house, it followed as logically as the deductions of Adam Smith, or the mechanics of his young friend Watt of Grenock, that the work-house would be emptied into the factory."

**Modern industrialism & agrarian decay**

Another historian has described this process of the destruction of British institutions as and when the younger sons of British families were ranging over the world, driven thereto by this chaos in the social life of their country. They left their land because it could not hold out any hopes to them of better life. But even in their exile they found consolation in the grandeur and glory of an imperial destiny that their tiny island in the north Atlantic had secured. Blinded by this prospect, the few and the many in Britain, the privileged and the unprivileged in the country, failed to notice the "England of the poor," and were ignorant of the "black abyss which lay under the surface of England's wealth," to quote from a biography of Lloyd George To summarise the words of another, G. K. Chesterton's interpretation of this development in his country's policy and practice, all through the 18th century, all through the Whig speeches about liberty, all through the Tory speeches about patriotism, through the period of Wandewash and Plassey, through the period of Trafalgar and Waterloo, the Central Senate of the nation, the Parliament, was passing Bill after Bill for the enclosure by the great landlords of such of the common lands as had survived out of the great "communal system of the Middle Ages." These Enclosure Acts in course of forty years (1760-1800) numbered 2,000 ; and the areas enclosed were 24,28, 721 acres of common fields and 74,518 acres of waste lands. Arthur Young, one of the foremost of the advocates of this enlargement of the private estates, recognized all the same that "by nineteen out of every Inclosure Bills, the poor are injured, and grossly injured" The question has been asked—why should the British poor have accepted this dispensation ? The reply has been—"so paramount were the needs of the nation for more food, and so deep the sense of subordination among the masses."—(*George Perris—The Industrial History of Modern England.*) And what was the result of these enclosures ? England became a country of large estates Before Waterloo there were many commoners and yeomen. Even in 1831 when census figures were available, of the 2,36,343 male occupiers of land, about two-fifths employed no labourers, while the remainder employed an average of only 5¼ labourers per farmer. In Scotland at the same time, of about 80,000 occupiers, more than two-thirds employed no labourers, and in Ireland more than three quarters of those were poor cottiers. In marked contrast to this was the state of things in France. There were three and half million

land-owners, three millions of whom cultivated on the average only fourteen acres per head. By 1831, the old race of small independent farmers was disappearing from the British country-side. They have all nearly gone to-day, not merely the names but their blood relations also have gone out of the old habitat. Most of their successors are descended from "workers", and the tradition of hard work remains with them.

**The same development in Japan**

In other countries also the same development has taken place. To quote from the *Japan Times*, written about ten years ago,

"The most unfortunate aspect has been the decline in the status of the farming population which has taken place hand in hand with increase in production of agricultural produce and even with increased investments and general rising of the land wealth of the country.....We thus witness in Chosen (Korea) a development which has taken place to a degree in Japan also, namely, the welfare of the agrarians being sacrificed for progress in urban areas."

Modern industrialism of which Britain was the pioneer and has been its beneficiary for about two centuries, picking up the cream from the material life of the world—this economic dispensation imposed on the broad mass of the British people cruel sacrifices. It could not be milder to Indian interests and rights. What this has meant to India was brought out in 1943-'44, the culmination of about two centuries of exploitation. One of their historians R. Rickards, writing in the early years of the 19th century, more than a hundred years back, wrote :

**The "evil" system persists to the detriment of India**

"It is the system which generates, matures and perpetuates the whole evil. It commenced in error ; it has been continued through a long train of oppressive exactions, which our ablest servants have laboured in vain to alleviate ; and it finally fixes its hapless victims to the galling oar for life."

Mr. Rickards was speaking of the land system associated with the name of Lord Cornwallis in Bengal and of the Ryotwari system in Madras that broke up the socio-economic arrangements in the Provinces. The whole range of laws and ordinances that the British rulers passed and prescribed for the benefit of this country suffered a sea-change that in the result constituted an "evil" so far-reaching in its effects, that after about one hundred and fifty years of their introduction they still act as poison. And it erupts into attention every now and then. It very often happens that the people do not understand the causes and consequences of the malady. During the period we have been discussing, the Finance Secretary, in presenting the budget to the Council of State on February 29, 1944, incidentally referred to "another important inflationary measure," viz, the sale of gold that had been going on for the last six months. Mr. Jones did not like this gold sale ; he thought that investment in Government securities with the liberal terms now offered to "the small investor" was a better proposition. But there were some who under the influence of the "primitive and illogical" alternative preferred gold. And, for their benefit the Reserve Bank of India was selling gold provided by the Governments of Britain and the United States of America; and the sale proceeds were being used by them towards

**Huge profiteering in sale of gold**

the payment of their war transactions in India. Mr. Jones tendered a certificate to this way of checking inflation and the rise in the prices of commodities. This story of the gold sale looked so respectable and innocent. But members in the Central Assembly presented its other side during the same budget session. Let us indicate it in the words of Sir Vithal Narayan Chandavarkar representing in the Assembly Indian commerce in the Bombay Presidency through the Bombay Millowners' Association.

"..... it is now clear that gold is being sold by the Reserve Bank as agents of the British and United States of America Treasuries and the proceeds are utilized to pay partially for the expenditure incurred on behalf of these two countries in India. What, however, seems strange and inequitable is that, while the world price of the metal—based on the official price of 168 shillings and 35 dollars per ounce in Britain and the United States respectively—is equivalent to Rs. 42 and odd per *tola* together with charges at about 5 per cent, gold should be sold in India at as high as Rs. 71, and the worst of all this is that the entire profit amounting to nearly Rs. 29 to Rs. 30 per *tola* goes to the foreign exchequer instead of to the Government of India. If it is argued that India is now getting the gold, it need hardly be emphasised that goods are far more essential to the United States of America and the United Kingdom in these days than gold. According to market estimates, some five million (fifty lakhs) *tolas* have been sold so far, yielding a net profit of at least Rs. 15 crores. If these funds had accrued to the Indian Exchequer instead of such wealthy countries as the United Kingdom and the United States of America, the Indian tax-payer would have benefited to that extent and it would not have been necessary to levy fresh taxation on such a colossal scale. The Finance Member argues that the gold belongs to the United Kingdom and the United States of America and they are prepared to release it at the rate at which they want. Are they going to be allowed to profiteer in this country ?"

The Finance Member, Sir Jeremy Raisman does not appear to have been able to bring forward a better argument in favour of his conniving at this profiteering than that it helped to decrease "the sterling balances," that it "materially supplemented other anti-inflationary measures." But the full story of the transaction which has come out since then puts a more sinister meaning to the whole affair : it showed the Finance Member of the Government knowingly encouraging this "black marketing" at the expense of the people whose taxes maintained the costly paraphernalia of which he was a part. It will bear repetition in the pages of the *Indian Annual Register*. From August, 1943 to the end of February, 1944, the Reserve Bank of India had sold gold in India of the total value of £ 20 million, about Rs. 26 crores and more. People did not understand the policy and techinque of this transaction till the Press in India got scent of a certain discussion in the Parliament of the Union of South Africa at Capetown. The people of this dominion had by that time, sometime in the spring of 1943, come to learn how they had been tricked, how their Government had failed to secure from the British Government a part at least of the profits of the sale of gold in India. The gold that was supplied by the latter of the Reserve Bank of India came from South Africa. It appears that in 1940 the South African gold mine-owners or the Government of that country entered into an agreement with Britain to sell all their gold to the Bank of England at £8-8s. an ounce for the duration of the war. That gold was sold to India at anything up to £16 by Britain and the United States, the latter sending her gold from her hoarded stock.

**More of this story of profiteering**

It was revealed in the Capetown Parliament that the Bank of England was still paying 171 shillings per ounce of fine gold which it has been selling at 174 shillings to America, while in India it has been selling through the Reserve Bank of India that gold at 320 shillings per ounce of fine gold. The Prime Minister of South Africa, Field Marshal Ian Smuts, tried to put the best face on the matter by showing off a moral pose that "the free gold market in India is a bl ack market and therefore, the Union of South Africa did not wish to participate in it." But he was anticipated in this attitudinizing by the Finance Member in Lord Wavell's Executive Council when, pestered by the ill-natured criticism of members of the Central Assembly, he tried to stop them with words of consolation: "India's financial obligations were those of an ally and not of a *bania.*" Sir Jeremy in his fine frenzy forgot that obligations were not an one-way affair, that something more than words would be required to justify to the conscience of the world when the full story comes to be known that the gold, which the United States bought from India during the depression at Rs. 30 to Rs. 35 and which Britain had been buying at Rs. 42 in South Africa, could honestly be sold in India at double that price, and that such transactions tolerated by the subordinate Government at New Delhi did not make them partners in the evil of "black market" in India. The Indian people by their association with Britain has learnt that profiteering is a recognized canon of State morality. But what rankles in their heart in this episode is that a Government using the name of India should have been found encouraging profiteering by alien States at the expense of the people whom it is its duty to serve. For, by no interpretation of the terms of the United Nations' organization could the Government of Britain and the Government of United States be made identical with the Government as by law established in this country. It may be that India has so many counts of injustice recorded against Britain in the Book of Fate that this one of profiteering in gold sales would not weigh much more than a feather when the final reckoning comes to be made.

**India's blocked sterling assets at London**

Another of the matters that has been creating suspicion is with regard to the disposal of Indian assets lying blocked in London. The problem rose thiswise during the present war. Britain had to buy raw materials, manufactured goods and services from India to meet the needs of a total war, a war of survival for her as a Great Power. Instead of paying India for what she had bought, she credited the amount against India's public debt held in Britain which was in the neighbourhood of about Rs. 900 crores, more or less. The story of this debt has a history of its own. The wars of the East India Company were financed from the treasuries in India, Bengal and Bihar contributing the most towards finding these monies. When the Company transferred its authority to the British Crown, that is, to the British Government, India's accounts showed a debt of about Rs. 150 crores and more. The cost of the wars against Afghanistan, the expeditions directed against the tribes in and around what is to-day known as the North-West Frontier Province for the purpose of finding or manufacturing a

"scientific frontier", the two wars against Burma—all the cost of these wars were entered into the bill. A part of the debt was incurred for the financing of the irrigation works and the railways, for instance. We have been told that almost all this debt stood repaid by the end of the financial year of 1942-43, and that during the war years as a result of purchases in India made on behalf of the British Government there is on credit to the accounts of India held in the Bank of England the value of which was near about Rs. 1400 crores. It was not out of superfluity that India built up this account. Her people were forced to stint in the very necessities of their not high standard of life. Her growers of cotton and jute, for instance, were cornered as their commodities could not reach the world's markets owing to this war, and owing to the control over shipping exercised by the Governments of the United States and of Britain. This case exemplified what happened to all the producers of all the raw materials of India. A people who are chronically close to starvation had been required to suffer and sacrifice so that Britain may come out of the present war with the wings of her imperialism unclipped, that she might retain her position as one of the Great Powers of the modern world. The prices of these sufferings and sacrifices are recorded in the books of the Bank of England. And it is not quite unnatural that the people and the men and women who can speak on their behalf should expect to see these in some concrete forms, that they should expect and hope to build up a better life for their people, a higher standard of life for them equitably spread over the commonalty of the land, with the help of the credits that are at present blocked in London. But their political subjection to Britain has made these blocked "sterling balances" a subject of political argument. It is an arguable proposition that Britain cannot be expected to pay out at a time the whole amount or its equivalents in British goods and services. This position has made Britain, the debtor to to India, a dictator of how, when, and in what form India can expect a repayment of the debt.

**Planning the industrial rehabilitation of India**

And it has been asked—what can India do with this huge amount? Every one, Government and the governed, speak of industrialization, the expansion of old industries and the establishment of new industries, as the way out of the economic bog into which India has sunk. Plans and planners have been abroad in the country. In 1938 when Sri Subhas Chandra Bose was President of the Indian National Congress, the National Planning Committee was appointed with Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru as the Chairman. Representative scientists and industrialists and theoreticians co-operated in its work. A number of Sub-Committees was appointed, and work divided among them to study the various phases of India's life and suggest remedies to the many ills from which she suffers. In a "Note for the Guidance for Sub-Committees," Planning was defined by the parent Committee as follows;

"Planning, under a democratic system, may be defined as technical co-ordination, by disinterested experts, of consumption, production, investment, trade, and income distribution, in accordance with social objectives set by bodies representative of the nation. Such planning is not only to be considered from the point of view of

economics, and the raising of the standard of living, but must include cultural and spiritual values, and the human side of life."

And the aims of Planning in and for India were defined to be

(a) The attainment of national self-sufficiency for the country as a whole, without being involved, as the result of such efforts, in the whirlpool of Economic Imperialism ;

(b) The doubling of the present standard of living among the people of India within a prescribed time limit, say, ten years.

**Other Plannings and Planners**

The work of this National Planning Committee came to an end with the outbreak of the present war, as the Indian National Congress got entangled in a controversy with the British Government with regard to the latter's pushing India into the war without consulting Indian opinion. The heat generated thereby added to bitterness between the two countries. The Ministries in eight Provinces which owed allegiance to the Congress were recalled. The Chairman of the Planning Committee, Pundit Jawahar Lal, was put behind prison bars, and Congress activities were put under official ban. The Government busy with its war, and the people having had no heart in it, frustration appeared to be brooding over the country. The former, of course, was going about tapping the human and natural resources of the country for all that they were worth. The Eastern Group Supply Conference was organized with headquarters in India. Technical Missions from the United States and Great Britain were sent to speed up the productive activities of the country with special reference to war necessities. That from the former had Dr. Henry F. Grady for its Chairman ; the British Ministry of Supply sent a Mission headed by Sir Alexander Roger. The purpose of all these activities was to relieve Britain of the task of providing for most of the military needs of the Anglo-Saxon Powers in their fight with Japan. These had no other long-range purpose, though "the crux of the Eastern supply question is the industrialization of India," as it was recognized by the *Manchester Guardian*. But the Governments that sent the Missions and the members of the Missions refused to recognize such a responsibility. Dr. Grady, head of the U. S. Mission, was frank in this matter. On the eve of his departure from India, from his five weeks' mission during the spring of 1942, he summed up its scope in his farewell statement.

"……the function of the Mission was to make recommendations after investigation concerning ways and means by which the United States Government could assist in augmenting India's war production. The work of the Mission, therefore, has been directly related to the common war effort of the United Nations, and *has been no way connected with the post-war industrial and commercial problems of India.*" (The *italics* are ours).

**The inadequacies of industrial institutions in India**

The Grady Mission was impressed with the inadequacies of India's industrial technique. In its report it said that most of the engineering workshops engaged in war production were "historically and actually jobbing shops." A basic change was needed. It suggested the establishment of "a War Cabinet with a strong Secretariat to control war production on all its phases." It should consist of members responsible for Production, Transportation and Communication,

Defence and Finance. Out of this recommendation grew the Committee of the Executive Council of the Governor-General known as the "War Resources Committee of the Council." Owing to wartime restrictions on the publication of the news of the production and distribution of "essential" materials, it is not possible to say how India's major industries have advanced. But at the time when this Council Committee was established, students of economic data told us that India's steel production remained practically where it was before the war, that is, about 1½ million tons a year. The hydro-electric potential of India is said to be second only to that of the United States, but only 3 per cent. of it is being used. Leaders of Indian industrialism, men like Sir M. Visveswaraya, ex-Dewan of Mysore, hold that the political bias of the New-Delhi Government is responsible for this backwardness. His charges were definite....."just as the Indian element is entirely absent from the higher ranks of army, navy and air force services, so heavy industries have been excluded from the orders placed with Indian industrialists or firms." While this country has had to be content with the industries connected with the feeding and clothing of the fighting forces, it was not entrusted with the production of military equipments and war armaments in which Indian engineers and workmen could have acquired practice, capacity and skill. "....in the belligerent countries associated with the Allies, *viz.*, the United States of America, Canada and Australia, orders for heavy machinery and war materials required during the war, both for Great Britain and the country concerned, were placed with the local industrial firms in the respective countries. But this good fortune did not come to Indian industries in this war." The two centuries connection between India and Britain have been marked by apathy and indifference and of hostility on the part of the State ; to India's industrial development, the financing, working and controlling of industries by Indians on their own soil, the State more often than not has been more than step-motherly in its narrow and selfish concern for British interests. A people with such an experience could not expect any sincere help from the State, any effective guidance. Rather, their experience was that State policy had been helping, it may be through ignorance or conceit of superiority, the throttling of Indian industries, depriving millions of their means of livelihood.

**It took decades to realize this injury**

It is a historical fact that it took the natural leaders of our people decades to realize the ramifications of this injury. When an alien people establish their rule over a country, the disturbance created in the socio-economic life of the subject people may appear to be inevitable. Knowingly they break the back of the ruling classes from whom they wrest the powers of the State. And after a time they accept the country as their own and merge themselves into its people ; the distinction between the conqueror and the conquered are erased. This is the general pattern of history. In England it happened as the Danes and the Normans, for instance, lost themselves in the British or English people. In India it happened as the Huns and the Sakas, the Pathans and the Mughals, became Indians for the practical purposes of life ; the former two lost themselves in the bosom of the society into which they had intruded as aliens, and conquerors at that ;

the latter two maintained their separateness as a community or sects in Islam. But with the arrival of European peoples in India as traders and their struggle for monopolising the trade of the country a new spirit of adventurism was indroduced into the country. The weakening of the State in India with the death of Emperor Aurengzab, the rebellious spirit of the provincial satraps of the Mughal State, the uprising of ambitions amongst them and other peoples, such as the Marhattas and the Rohillas, for carving out independent States for themselves—these personal and impersonal influences were symptoms of a disintegration in all-India life. The European traders took advantage of the eruption of these short-sighted ideas and sentiments; the French and the British taking the lead in the fight that ensued. The former were worsted, leaving the field to the latter to pick up the sceptre that had fallen from the palsied hand of the Moghul, the Marhatta and the Sikh. The system of administration that the British introduced into India was suited to a plantation out of which profits were to be extracted. The representatives of the ruling Power came here bound by a covenant to stay for a number of years and then depart from India which they were not taught to regard as anything better than a "Land of Regrets." Neither the traditions nor the training of the Indian Civil Service, the "steel frame" of British administration, favoured the thought that its members should think it worth while to attempt to identify themselves with the feelings, the sentiments and the material interests of the people of India. Rather, they were encouraged to cultivate the feeling of "aloof superiority," to regard Indian patterns of thought and conduct not only as different to their own but as inferior to theirs by every standard of modern life. A country ruled by men like these could not but wilt and wither. It is true that in the early flush of British education our predecessors had welcomed the enlightenment from the West of which the new rulers were thought to be the authentic voice. Under the influence of its glamour they could not realize those elements of imported values that were disrupting and destroying their own. Specially were they blind to the wreck of the arts and industries of their country under the impact of the new civilization, under the blows of a State that was rootless in the soil of the country, almost religiously avoiding any attempt to base itself on the affections and ideals of the people. But by the forties of the 19th century, almost after a century of stupor, the modern-educated leaders of the country were found to be growing conscious that their people were getting materially poorer under the new regime. It was not possible for them, as it is for us to-day, to trace the whole process of the evil working. They could not know that Britain's wealth was minted out of the dispossession of her own yeomen and commoners; they could not know how the ruling classes of Britain did not draw their power from the consent of their people; they could not know what John Morley wrote more than 50 years afterwards.

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

catastrophic in its social effects or more perplexing in the problems of social adjustment which it created."

**Middle 19th century developments misled them**

Our predecessors of a century back, of the forties of the 19th century, must have heard of the Chartist Movement in Britain which embodied popular demands in a "People's Charter": (1) Annual Parliaments; (2) Universal Suffrage; (3) Vote by ballot; (4) Equal electoral districts; (5) Abolition of property qualifications for members of Parliament; (6) Payment of members of Parliament. In these demands the emphasis appeared to have been laid on constitutional principles and practices. And progressive people in India were enthusiastic over these. But they did not understand that the Movement represented a revolt against the conditions of unsettlement introduced into Britain by the Industrial Revolution. It was the time when the social mind of Britain was full of doubts and questionings, when Disraeli, who later on became the leader of the Conservative Party and Britain's Prime Minister, had been popularizing his theory of "two nations" in the country—the rich and the poor—the time which interpreters of British history characterized as the "Bleak Age", the "hungry forties." This crisis the British ruling classes resolved with the help of Free Trade, by making food cheaper to the people, just as the other crisis, that which began in the seventies of the 19th century, was tried to be resolved by Imperialist expansion. The characteristic feature of this remedy was the combination of exploitation of the raw material and human resources of dependent countries with exporting British capital to other countries and drawing therefrom tributes. John Stuart Mill had dubbed this as "a system of outdoor relief for the upper classes," while Cecil Rhodes who paved the way of the expansion of British dominance over Africa defined it as "a question of the stomach", stomach of the dispossessed in Britain whom doles from the tributes drawn from all over the world helped to keep satisfied. Our predecessors of the times beginning with the middle of the 19th century were under the influence of British Liberalism associated with the names of Bright and Cobden, of Gladstone. They could not rightly understand the impulses that moved British life; they were taken in by the glory and the grandeur of an imperial race who happened to rule over them, and to thrive on exploiting their country. It is true that Indian publicists of that generation, men like Akshaya Kumar Datta and Kishory Chand Mitter, Harish Chandra Mukherji of Bengal, for instance, discussed in the columns of the *Tattwabodhini Patrika*, organ of the Brahmo Samaj published in almost all the languages of the country, and in the *Indian Spectator* and the *Hindu Patriot*, problems of the agriculturists' life, of the injustices they suffered from both at the hands of native land-owners and the European planters of indigo. It is true that by the sixties of the century even our poets had begun to bemoan the lot of our weavers and black-smiths thrown out of employment by Manchester and Birmingham. But they could not relate this decay in the economic life of their people to the policy of the State under which they lived. Even during the first few years of the Indian National Congress, founded in 1885, there was no evidence of the recognition of this poverty as conditioned by developments in British conduct and thought, though there were

resolutions passed drawing attention to the decay of Indian industries, to the worsening of the material conditions of life in India.

**Dadabhai Naoroji, Mahadev Gobind Ranade, William Digby & Romesh Chunder Dutt's work**

From this malady of scattered thoughts and incoherent remedies our people were rescued by the life and work of representative men like Dadabhai Naoroji, Mahadev Gobind Ranade, William Digby and Romesh Chander Dutt. Their studies on Indian economics, as these were evolving under the impact of British methods of administration and exploitation, brought to a focus all the various elements of disintegration in the material life of the people that had followed the regime of Britain in India. The fruits of their researches into the living conditions in India opened the eyes of their people to the process of exploitation of which they have been victims for about a century and half. Their books supplied the weapons of offence directed against the irresponsible authority of the alien rulers ; these placed in the hands of public men and publicists the truth of their life in India that enabled them to judge and make the "new departure" in their methods of political struggle that was symbolized by the Swadeshi and anti-partition agitation in Bengal. Thus from more points than one the men whom we have named above can be called the economic interpreters of Indian Nationalism, founders of the School of Indian Economics. The lessons of history brought out by them helped to clear our vision, to energize our thoughts, to supply the dynamo of our activities, to put a new courage and determination into us ; and these have taken us through the conflicts and struggles of the last four decades.

**Intensification of the struggle for freedom**

At the end of the last century India stood face to face with the truth of her real position in the scheme of things British. Dadabhai Naoroji and his fellow-workers lived to see that their countrymen understood the significance of this truth, that they realized that without freedom in political life their country would continue to remain poor materially and spiritually. This realization called forth from the deeps of national consciousness impulses to suffer and sacrifice so that the shame and ignominy of life as a subject people may be ended. The ruling power met this challenge with repression, thereby exposing the more the basic principles and practices of its rule. With the growing intensity of the fight for freedom in India, captains of trade and industry awakened to the realization that their material interests were involved in it, that they could not afford to remain disinterested spectators of this struggle between Indian Nationalism and British Imperialism. Since the emergence of Mahatma Gandhi into the leadership of the Indian National Congress, this section of the community has been more increasingly backing the political movement. With their intimate day-to-day experience of bureaucratic discrimination directed against the interests of the Indian people, they could bring reality into the discussion of public affairs, generally concerned with first principles rather than with their application to the concrete problems of existence. We have been witnesses to the evolution of this change in the habits of the industrial and commercial sections of our population.

It was thus that the public did accept the Plan of economic and social reconstruction publicized by eight of the leaders of India's industrial life. It is popularly known as the Bombay Plan or the Tata-Birla Plan after the names of two of the framers of the Plan. For a time it occupied the centre of discussion in the Press of the country, carrying, as it was surmised, a message of hope to an otherwise hopeless people. The Plan touched on all phases of India's life with its various schemes of reconstruction of Industry, Agriculture, Communications, Education, Health, Housing and Miscellaneous. The capital expenditure budgetted for it was put at Rs. 10,000 crores distributed as follows: Industry—Rs. 4,480 crores; Agriculture—Rs. 1,240 crores; Communications—Rs. 940 crores; Education—Rs. 490 crores; Health—Rs. 450 crores; Housing—Rs. 2,200; Miscellaneous—Rs. 200 crores. For the purpose of execution of the Plan, it was divided into three stages, each covering a period of five years. The expenditure to be incurred during each stage was indicated thus:

**The Bombay Plan**

(*In crores of Rupees*).

| *Industries.* | First stage. | Second stage. | Third stage. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Basic Industries. | 480 | 1,200 | 2,160 |
| Consumption Goods Industries. | 310 | 330 | 360 |
| Agriculture. | 200 | 400 | 640 |
| Communications. | 40 | 320 | 510 |
| Education. | 40 | 80 | 370 |
| Health. | 40 | 80 | 330 |
| Housing. | 190 | 420 | 1,590 |
| Miscellaneous. | 30 | 70 | 100 |
| Total ... | 1,400 | 2,900 | 5,700 |

**The capital required to finance the Plan**

In P. 48 of the pamphlet describing the Plan appeared an estimate of the capital requirements to work it out. The following sources are expected to supply these:

(*In crores of Rupees*).

| | |
|---|---|
| *External Finance*: | |
| Hoarded wealth. | 300 |
| Sterling securities. | 1,000 |
| Balance of Trade. | 600 |
| Foreign Borrowing. | 700 |
| Rs. | 2,600 crores. |
| *Internal Finance*: | |
| Savings. | 4,000 |
| Created Money. | 3,400 |
| Rs. | 7,400=Total Rs. 10,000 crores. |

In this estimate there is the item of 'Sterling Securities' or Balances. The Plan has been built up on the expectation that Rs. 1,000 crores of the 'Sterling Balances' would be made available for carrying it out. This opens out the controversy between India and Britain which we have referred to above. There was always some Indian money locked up in the Bank of England as 'security' for the transactions of money, official and non-official, for which

**'Sterling Securities' & the "Bombay Plan"**

the Secretary of State for India, a member of the British Cabinet, felt himself to be morally and legally, perhaps, responsible to his masters, the British Parliament and ultimately to the British people. But it never attained the huge amount that has accumulated during the present war. Under various disguises it is there. Compared to the British war expenses it may not appear to be much of an amount. But Britain's Chancellor of Exchequer has already begun to show anxiety about it. In April, 1943, he said

"The greater part of the additional cost of India's outer defences of the frontiers fell upon Great Britain which meant that a financial situation of some difficulty was being created for Great Britain in the future."

**How can Britain pay her debts ?**

Since then the same personage who is Sir John Anderson known to Bengal as its Governor has on more than one occasion adverted to the subject, and he gave a broad hint about the way in which they expect to settle this question of debts. These could not be settled as "commercial" transactions, said he. But how could Britain eventually meet them is the question that is disturbing the minds of more than one country, specially the United States and India to which Britain is a debtor. The unnatural relation between India and Britain make it a sore point. The Plan of the Indian industrialists has been built on the hope of Rs. 1,000 crores from Britain either in the form of capital goods, *i.e.*, machineries for heavy or basic industries, or services of technicians. But can Britain do it during the next few years ? Whatever she can produce she will need to reconstruct the life of her war-battered people. So, it may happen that India may fall back on U. S. machineries and services. Experts say that the industrialists of the great Republic are capable of helping India, and more than willing. That would require the conversion of India's 'sterling assets or balances" into United States dollars to pay for goods and services from that country. It is reported that at the Bretton Woods Conference held to build up an international fund and an international exchange ratio, two of the Indian representatives, Sir Shanmukham Chetty and Mr. Shroff, pleaded passionately for the conversion of India's balances in Britain into U. S. dollars, not all of these, but sums equal to 50 million dollars per annum. British representatives are reported to have put up the plea that the question could not be taken up then and that the U. S. representatives upheld this British contention. This story is no longer a secret in India. It has given rise to mistrust and uneasiness among the leaders and organizers of modern industries in India ; and in the Central Assembly the Finance Member, Sir Jeremy Raisman, was hard put to it to squarely meet the criticism of the members. It is being apprehended that with a view to discharge the debts Britain may resort to any one of the three devices or a combination of these. She may "de-value" her currency and substantially reduce the amount due ; she may ask for "a revision" of the Financial Settlement which at present regulates the division of military expenditure between India and Britain ; or she may stage a "gift" from India to Britain and thus have a considerable part of these written off, a device which was adopted during the last great war when about Rs. 150 crores

was secured as a "gift" from India, as a token of her loyal support to Britain's war against the Kaiser.

**"People's Plan" for economic development in India**

The Indian Federation of Labour also produced a Plan which was broadcast as a counter-blast to the Bombay Plan. Two pamphlets appeared about the middle of 1944, the first, analysing or as the authors phrased it "ex-raying" the Bombay Plan; the second embodied the concrete suggestions for reconstructing India's economic life. Socializing the means of production, and restoring the original purpose of all production which is satisfaction of all the demands of community life, was put forth as the instrument of all progress, of fighting poverty, the central problem of Indian economy. The framers of the Bombay Plan had spoken of political freedom as the pre-condition of its success, that "underlying our whole scheme is the assumption that on the termination of the war or shortly thereafter, a National Government will come into at the centre which will be vested with full freedom in economic matters." The People's Plan spoke of the "Federal Democratic State of India," of the control by the State over private capital already invested in the industries of India; this it called 'rationed' capitalism guaranteed a revenue of 3 per cent by the State. In the fore-front of its programme the Plan put the acquisition by the State of all rights in land, over or under, on the basis of compensation at 7 times the nett income from land all over India. Thus, taking into account compensation to be paid to rent-receivers in Zamindari areas, to non-cultivating owners in Rayatwari areas, for lands which are devoted to public purposes, for acquiring mineral and fisheries rights, etc., the total cost of this nationalization works out to about Rs. 1,735 crores. The Plan is to be pushed through in course of ten years, the expenditure to be distributed as follows.

(*In crores of Rupees*).

| | |
|---|---|
| Agriculture. | 2,950 |
| Industry. | 5,600 |
| Communications. | 1,500 |
| Health. | 760 |
| Education. | 1,040 |
| Housing. | 3,150 |
| Total ... | 15,000 |

The money needed for the execution of this Plan was expected to be provided from the following sources :

(*In crores of Rupees*).

| | |
|---|---|
| Sterling Balances. | 450 |
| Initial finance—estate duty, inheritance tax, death duties etc. etc. | 810 |
| Income from nationalized land in the pre-first year of the plan. | 90 |
| Income from agriculture for re-investment during the period of the plan. | 10,816 |
| Income from industries for re-investment during the period of the plan. | 2,834 |
| Total ... | 15,000 |

Both the Plans—the Bombay Plan and the Indian Federation of Labour Plan—and the other individual Plans have given importance

**Political deadlock in India**

to the "Sterling Balances" as forming part of the initial finance for the different Plans. And as these monies are held in London a vast amount of negotiation must precede their release. All the Plans that we have seen postulate the establishment of a "National Government" in India for their successful working. Thus are politics and economics interlinked in India, and the hopes of an economically better life for India made dependent on political power coming under the control of the Indian people. The situation thus visualized takes us into the heart of the Indo-British problem, to the solution of the political deadlock in India. The bureaucracy has so contrived affairs that all the separatist conceits and ambitions have sprouted out in the country, making it difficult to construct a common platform for all. In every age and in every clime are nursed in the heart of the people these narrow feelings and sentiments. It has been the duty of the State to train and broaden these trickles into the stream of national feeling. In our country owing to the alien origin of the State authority and its interests that are different from those of the people, this obvious duty has not been fulfilled by it. Rather, it has taken every opportunity to irritate and inflame these separatist conceits and ambitions. The law of its being forced this policy on it.

**Divide et impera— British motto also**

One of the earliest of British rulers in India, Mountstuart Elphinstone, a historian of India who showed a certain amount of insight into India's life and thought, indicated this policy in the words : "*Divide et impera* was the old Roman motto, and it should be ours." The founder of the Aligarh College has been accepted as a representative of the Muslim mind as it has been oscillating between nationalism and communalism. Before the birth of the Congress he could define the word *Nation* in India as including "both Hindus and Muhammadans because that is the only meaning that I can attach to it."

"With me it is not worth considering what is their religious faith, because we do not see anything of it. What we do see is that we inhabit the same land,....., and the pangs of famine also we suffer equally. These are the different grounds upon which I call both these races which inhabit India by one word, i.e., *Hindus*, meaning to say that they are inhabitants of Hindustan.. ..."

**Sir Syed Ahmed's changes**

But the influence of the first Principal of the Aligarh College, Mr. Theodore Beck, soon changed the spirit of the dreams of "the ageing leader", and in course of a speech delivered at the Kaiser Bagh, Lucknow, in 1888, he delivered himself of words that had a narrow sectarian ring :

"We the Mahommadans are those who ruled India for six or seven hundred years. From our hands the Government was taken by the English. Is the Indian Government so foolish as to suppose that in seventy years we have forgotten all our grandeur and all our empire ?"

**British policy encouraged this**

The Government of the day under Lord Dufferin encouraged and pampered this conceit and pretension. Replying to a farewell address presented by the Mahommedan Central National Association of Calcutta, His Excellency said : ".....Descended as you are from those who formerly occupied such a commanding position in India, you are excep-

tionally able to understand the responsibility attaching to those who rule." About twenty years later, on the occasion of the Aga Khan Deputation led before Lord Minto, the same game was played. The Governor-General summed up the Deputation's case better than what it could do: "..... you justly claim that your position should be estimated not on your numerical strength, but in respect to the political importance of the community and the services it has rendered to the Empire. I am entirely in accord will you." But it was not solicitude for the Muslims but the protection of Imperialist interests that was the guiding principle of the Minto dispensation. The official mind was reflected in a letter received by the wife of the Governor-General on October 1, 1906, from an official :

"I must send Your Excellency a line to say that a very big thing has happened today, a work of statesmanship that will affect India and Indian history for many years. It is nothing less than the pulling back of 62 millions of people from joining the ranks of the seditious opposition."—(*Lady Minto's—Indian Diary.*)

**The prophetic note of the quotation justified**

The last forty years have proved that the prescience of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy has worked on the line set when British rule was young in this country. As Syed Ahmed Khan was transformed so has Mr. Jinnah been. In their moods and phases of nationalism and communalism they represent the mind of their community afraid of their minority position in India and at the same time dreaming dreams of regaining their dominant position in the economy of India's life which they occupied when Muslim kings ruled at Delhi. Between these two moods the community is uncertain of what would best secure their interests. They are not prepared to take their chance with their neighbours. From this feeling has grown up the scheme of what has come to be known as "Pakistan," a division of the unity and integrity of India, and on this division constructing Muslim States and Hindu States independent of one another. It was at the Allahabad session of the All-India Muslim League (1930) that the poet Mahommed Iqbal first gave voice to this separatist ambition. In successive volumes of the *Annual Register* since 1936, specially since the second half of 1938, we have traced the history of this demand. The All-India Hindu Mahasabha has never been able to think of such a sacrilege ; other organizations, Hindu, Muslim, Sikh and Christians have been opposed to it both in theroy and practice. The Indian National Congress has been wobbling ; no other word can better describe its attitude. In April 29—May 3, 1942, at a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee a resolution was passed opposing "any proposal to disintegrate India." The ex-chief Minister of Madras, Mr. Rajagopalachari, moved a resolution supporting the Muslim League demand ; in it appeared words about "the doubtful advantage of maintaining a controversy over the unity of India." The resolution was defeated. Since then he has been persistent in the pursuit of his policy of arriving at an agreement with the Muslim League. In the first part of June, 1944, the Indian public was startled by the announcement that he has succeeded in persuading Gandhiji to accept his formula of "appeasement" of the Muslim League by conceding its demand with a view to get its support for the constitution of "popular" government in India, at the Centre and in the Provinces. Gandhiji

was released on the 9th. of May, 1944, and Mr. Rajagopalachari took the earliest opportunity to take up the thread of his discredited attempt, heartened by the endorsement of Gandhiji. This was his formula : and its acceptance by Gandhiji even as a basis of discussion showed that the Anglo-Indian official was right when he wrote to Lady Minto that the device of separate electorates would have far-reaching effects on the development of India.

*Rajagopalachari Formula*

(1) Subject to the terms set out below as regards the constitution of a free India, the Muslim League endorses the Indian demand for independence and will co-operate with the Congress in the formation of a provisional interim Government for the transitional period.

(2) After the termination of the war a commission shall be appointed for demarcating contiguous districts in the North-West and East of India wherein the Muslim population is in absolute majority. In the areas thus demarcated, a plebiscite of all the inhabitants, held on the basis of adult franchise or other practicable franchise, shall ultimately decide the issue of separation from Hindustan. If the majority decides in favour of the formation of a sovereign State separate from Hindustan, such a decision shall be given effect to, without prejudice to the right of the districts on the border to choose to join either State.

(3) It will be open to all parties to advocate their points of view before the plebiscite is held.

(4) In the event of separation, a mutual agreement shall be entered into for safeguarding defence, commerce and communications and other essential purposes.

(5) Any transfer of population shall only be on an absolutely voluntary basis.

(6) These terms shall be binding only in case of transfer by Britain of full power and responsibility for the governance of India.

**Defeat & surrender of Germany— Japan in retreat**

This episode should close the discussion of the "Home Polity" of India during the first six months of 1944. The main features of the story were not modified in any way by the war events happening near and far. During this period the expeditionary forces of Japan, stationed in Burma, came nearer to India than in any other time during the last twenty-seven months. The Japanese detachments invested Imphal, the capital of the small State of Manipur, captured almost the whole of Kohima, the small hill town headquarter station of the Lushai Hill district ; they approached the Dimapur Junction of the Bengal and Assam Railway. If they had succeeded in any of these adventures, the eastern Provinces of India, Assam and Bengal, would have been open to them. But before the end of June, 1944, with the arrival of the monsoon in the hilly tracts in the Indo-Burmese frontier, the momentum of the Japanese advance was lost ; and the Japanese detachments faded from the area. Why ? The future only can say. One interpretation suggested was that owing to differences between the Jap High Command and the Indian Army chiefs organized under the leadership of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, the former thought it best to pull out of the Manipur-Kohima area as they felt that without full-hearted Indian support it would be dangerous to risk at such distance from their main communications lines this adventure in the plains of Hindustan. In the far waters of the Pacific the Japanese fared no better. The re-conquest of the Phillipines by General MacArthur is too near us, as we write, to be susceptible to any other interpretation than that the productive power of the United States mills and factories was winning the war in the Pacific as it has done in Europe with the surrender of Germany. It is not

easy today to recapture the hopes and fears of peoples in the United States and Britain, of peoples in Nazi-dominated Europe, as the Western Allies, the United States and Britain, put their forces on the Normandy beach for the invasion of Europe. On June 6, 1944, in Berlin, in Moscow, in Rome just occupied by the Allies, rulers of countries faced up to the fact that at long last has come the war against Germany not on two fronts, from the east and west, but on three fronts—west, south, east—the war that German strategists have ever feared the most, that would spell defeat to any Power, however great and organized. The immeasurable might of Russia's hosts was rolling up the German hoardes from their wrecked land, driving them over the ways that had taken the invaders to the Caucasus. On the Normandy beach 4000 ships, not counting small crafts, 12 battleships plus cruisers, escorted by 80 destroyers, poured out of their bellies the men who were to help to carry the flags of the victors to Berlin before twelve months were out. 7,500 planes had covered them. And the significant thing was the absence of the *Luftwaffe* when the landing craft and the troops disembarking were so vulnerable to attacks. Hermann Goering is reported to have told the creation of his genius, the *Luftwaffe* and its leaders, that "the invasion must be beaten off even if the *Luftwaffe* perishes." But the *Luftwaffe* failed to rise up to the occasion, and it missed the chance of a life-time when it let the Allied forces cross the English Channel without having a try at destroying or dispersing them. Instead, mechanically moved, pilot-less bombers were sent over Britain to defeat the invasion. These two facts symbolized that Germany's, Nazi Germany's bid for world domination was doomed to frustration. The war in Europe is ended by the time we write these lines. A United Nations Conference has been sitting at San Francisco on the western coast of the United States. Japan is in retreat from her lately-conquered territories. The world that had witnessed another world war, another great victory, and a great betrayal of its hopes and aspirations, is in no mood to go in for tumultuous celebrations of the victory over Germany, for the return of a peace. For, its eyes had seen the forces of greed and destruction triumphant, had seen social life disintegrated, and the patterns of economic arrangements disrupted and shattered over two continents. And those eyes will take time to rekindle with joy and hope.—(*Specially contributed by Sri Suresh Chandra Deb.*)

Proceedings of

THE

# Central Legislative Assembly

# The Council of State

AND

# Provincial Legislative Assemblies

*JANUARY—JUNE 1944*

# The Council of State

## Budget Session—New Delhi—15th February to 6th. April 1944

### Railway Budget for 1944-45

The Budget Session of the Council of State commenced at New Delhi on the 15th. February 1944 with a brief sitting during which formal business was transacted, and the President, *Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy*, made references to members past and present who had received honours recently and adjourned the House till the next day, the 16th. February, when the Railway Budget was presented.

*Sir Leonard Wilson*, Chief Commissioner of Railways, in the course of his speech presenting the Railway Budget for 1944-45 said :

"A year ago I spoke of our efforts to procure additional goods engines and wagons and the result of these is that we expect to have received by the end of next month 106 broad gauge engines, 214 metre gauge engines, about 1,900 broad gauge wagons and about 2,950 metre gauge wagons The engines are coming from America, also most of the metre gauge wagons. The broad gauge and some of the metre gauge wagons have been manufactured in this country except for some components imported from abroad. The manufacturing capacity for both broad and metre gauge wagons has been stepped up and we expect a much better rate of production in India during the coming months. In order to provide for increased facilities for the repair of broad gauge locomotives, the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway shops at Dohad which had been employed on the manufacture of munitions were relieved of this work in September 1943 and have since then been re-employed on the repair of locomotives.

"Throughout the war there has been a steadily increasing gap between the quantity of coal required by consumers and the quantity which could be delivered to them. This has been due partly to shortage of transport but in recent months to a serious fall in the raising of coal. Action has been taken by Government to encourage an increase in raisings and in the railway collieries mechanical excavators have been introduced first to remove the overburden and then to increase the quantity of coal raised. In the past and by arrangement with the coal trade, the supplies of coal to railways from railway collieries were limited to about 35 per cent of their requirements but with the present shortage of coal it has become necessary to increase the output from railway collieries to the maximum possible. It has not been possible to maintain supplies of coal for other essential purposes and at the same time maintain railway coal stocks which have fallen so low that it is now necessary to increase them if rail services are to be ensured ; in doing so there must be a cut in supplies to other consumers. When raisings increase to the desired level, there will be the ever present difficulty of allocation of transport capacity for the movement of coal, foodstuffs and other essential commodities. Some relief may be expected as and when the new engines and wagons come into service, but these additional engines will to some extent put up the railways' consumption of coal which is about 40 per cent of the coal consumed in India. It will be of interest to note that the despatches of coal for the public have been maintained during the past 12 months at a level slightly above that of the previous year, but this has only been possible at the expense of railway stocks and, even so, the supplies to the public have not covered their increased demands." Sir Leonard revealed that the Government have to pay Rs. 51 lakhs on account of compensation to the Madras and Southern Mahratta and South Indian Railway Companies for loss of earnings due to the premature termination of their contracts on 31st March 1944 instead of 31st December 1945. In conclusion, he stated : 'There is a shortage of experienced staff to deal with the ever-expanding activities of the railways and the strain on all the staff has been heavy especially on the supervisory staff on whom so much depends when the railways are working at full pressure throughout the year and are still unable to meet all demands. The men have stuck to their work, except for a few minor strikes, throughout the war despite the economic pressure brought about by the rise in prices for which relief could not be given to all affected. This should be remembered when the war is over and the pay and conditions of service are reviewed in the light of the circumstances then existing. I trust that Honorable Members of this House will agree that the way in which railwaymen have stuck to

their work and the way in which most of their unions have encouraged them to do so are commendable.

### INDIA'S FUTURE CONSTITUTION

**18th. FEBRUARY** :—The Viceroy's speech was commented upon by a number of members of the Council of State in the course of the debate on Mr. *Kumar Sankar Roy Chaudhury's* resolution urging that steps be taken to frame India's future Constitution. The resolution was rejected without a division. The resolution favoured federal principles, making provision for functional representation in the Legislatures of agricultural, commercial, industrial and intellectual interests, with equal representation for capital and labour and representation of such racial and religious minorities as desire it.

Moving the resolution, Mr. Chaudhury said that the British Government had said that the future constitution of India must be framed by Indians themselves. This was difficult owing to the existence in India of an alien bureaucratic Power and the political deadlock which had been brought about by the incarceration of Congress leaders. If a false sense of prestige did not allow the British authorities to release Congress leaders, their absence should not prevent others from hammering out a constitution. Mr. Chaudhury suggested the adoption of non-federal principles, which involved the creation of different units before they could confederate. Referring to Pakistan, he said that India had been one economic whole, united politically and socially, even during the times of Muslim rule. He also criticised the Muslim League's demand for half the seats in the Executive Council.

The Leader of the House, Sir *Mohammad Usman* reminded the House that HMG had left the question of framing the future Constitution of the country to Indians. If the mover of the resolution could convince the country that his scheme was best suited to it, and that there would be an agreed basis on which the future Constitution could be framed, nobody would be better pleased than himself. Government would leave discussion of the resolution to non-official members and Government members would remain neutral. "My individual opinion is that, if this is the way in which you are going to deal with the Muslim League and Muslims, it is not going to bring about an agreed solution".

Mr. *R. N. Mahatha*, referring to the Viceroy's address, said it meant "no negotiations, no deputations and no consultations." Of the two important political parties in the country, one was behind prison bars. How could any agreement be reached in these circumstances ?

Mr. *Hussain Imam* said that the country was not yet in a position to solve the communal question, and the mover of the resolution was seeking to introduce new elements to complicate matters. He criticised the Viceroy's reference to geographical unity, and asked why Belgium and Holland, Norway and Sweden, Spain and Portugal were separate countries. If there was to be an independent Hindusthan, there should be Pakistan for the Muslims.

Mr *Ray Chaudhury*, winding up the debate, said that he did not wish to raise the communal question. All that he wanted was to find some platform on which the different parties could come together to discuss these matters.

### RIGHTS OF DETENUS

The House then took up *Pandit Kunzru's* resolution, the debate on which had been postponed, recommending that all persons detained under the D. I. Rules should be informed of the grounds of their detention and that such charges together with evidence in support of them and explanations submitted by detenus should be placed in each province before a Judge, or a committee of Judges, of the provincial High Court, who might be asked to submit a report to the Government concerned on each case. Pandit Kunzru referred to instances in which the Executive had abused their powers. He also pointed out that the benefit and advantages claimed to be given by Ordinance 3 of 1944 applied only to these persons who were detained without trial.

Sir *N. Gopalaswamy Iyengar* urged the Government to overhaul the ordinance relating to detention of persons without trial, and bring it into line with the corresponding law in England. There was no dearth of legal talent to prevent the appointment of advisory committees such as existed in the UK. The committees would be only advisory in character and the final decision would always rest with the Executive.

The Home Member, Sir *Reginald Maxwell*, replying, said that, on the first two points made in the resolution Ordinance 3 of 1944 adequately met the wishes of the Opposition. Dealing with the third part of the resolution, he referred to

Ordinance 3, which replaced Rule 26, and said that, although the Ordinance was much criticized in this House, he failed to notice any appreciation of the great advance in certain points made by it in securing certain rights for persons arrested or detained. The statement had been made that powers given to the Executive were not properly used, but, he said, the objections which might have been raised to the action taken in certain cases were based on allegations only. No one, not even High Courts, had heard in full the evidence on which the Governments concerned had acted. The Home Member quoted from the House of Commons debates to show that it had been recognized by eminent lawyers and administrators in England that detention without trial was a function of the Executive, which was responsible for the safety of the realm, and not a function of the Judiciary. Although the case for advisory committees had been forcefully and weightily urged, Government could not see their way at present to accept it. He suggested, however, that it did not mean Government would never consider it at any time.

After Pandit Kunzru had replied, the resolution was rejected by 26 votes to 14, and the House adjourned till Monday the 21st.

### The Central Excise Bill

21st. FEBRUARY:—There was a brief debate on the Central Excise Bill during which Mr. *Greenfield* explained that it was in the interest of efficient administration as well as in public interest that the various acts relating to Central Excises should be consolidated in one single enactment. Mr. *Hoosain Imam* welcomed the Bill which, he said, had certain desirable features, but there were certain other features which sought to make the law more stringent. Provisions which were probably necessary in the case of certain commodities such as salt were now made applicable to all excisable commodities. He thought it would have been better if in matters of this kind, Government set up Joint Select Committees of both the Houses of Legislature. *Pandit Hridayanath Kunzru* said that the Bill was not purely a consolidating measure. He asked why special provisions which were necessary in the case of salt should now be applied to all excisable goods. He also criticised the wide penal powers which Government had taken under the provisions of the Bill and said it would have been better if they had treated salt and tobacco in this respect differently. Pandit Kunzru also mentioned that complaints had reached him from Chittagong that the authorities were not permitting manufacture of salt for domestic consumption without duty. The speaker asked how the Bill would affect excisable goods produced in Indian States coming into British India. Mr. *Badsha* congratulated Government for bringing forward such a measure of consolidation. He, however, complained that, instead of liberalising existing provisions, they had taken the opportunity to stiffen the laws so that provisions which were applicable to particular commodities now applied to all excisable goods. Mr. *Greenfield*, winding up the debate, stated that in Excise matters, Government usually tried to carry the Indian States along with them. He also promised to look into Pandit Kunzru's complaint that manufacture of salt for domestic consumption was not being permitted in Chittagong. Mr. Greenfield referred to apprehensions which had been raised about the power of Courts to order forfeiture of animals, vehicles, etc, used in carrying the goods in violation of the Act, and said that the Courts which would exercise these powers would take into consideration all the circumstances of the case. Referring to the question of transport by sea, Mr. Greenfield said that provisions in this regard did not apply to all commodities, but Government would by notification limit the operation of these provisions to particular commodities. The Bill was passed by the Council as it had emerged from the Lower House.

The Council next passed the Bill to further amend the Coffee Market Expansion Act and the Bill to consolidate and amend the Law relating to Central Duties of Excise, both as passed by the Legislative Assembly. The Council then adjourned till the 23rd.

### Death of Mrs. Kasturba Gandhi

23rd. FEBRUARY:—The Council of State adjourned for half an hour today before taking up the business on the agenda as a mark of respect to the memory of Mrs. Gandhi. *Pandit Kunzru*, making a reference to her death, said that irrespective of differences of opinions the entire nation mourned the death of Mrs. Gandhi and suggested that the Council should be adjourned as a mark of respect to her memory and also a telegram might be sent to Mahatma Gandhi expressing the sympathy of the House in his bereavement.

### General Discussion of Railway Budget

When the Council met again after half-an-hour's adjournment, *Pandit Kunzru* and several other members were absent. On account of the adjournment, the

question hour was dispensed with and the Council then began general discussion on the Railway Budget. Sir *Parsuram* regretted that in spite of the big surplus, passenger fares were to be increased. The Government were killing the goose that laid the golden egg ; in his opinion it was the third class travelling public who had contributed most to the railway earnings He was not convinced by the reasons adduced by Government for enhancement of the passenger fares and asked "how can this act as an anti-inflationary measure ?" Sir Parsuram referred to the question of transport and said it intensified famine conditions. Cochin and Travancore, for instance, were still suffering because railway help was not adequate. If it was absolutely necessary to raise fares, he considered that a 12½ per cent rise would be more appropriate.

Sir *Shantidas Askuran* criticised the railways for bad accounting, faulty estimates and failures to utilise the opportunities created by the war.

Sir *David Devadoss* contended that nobody in these days travelled for pleasure. At any rate, so far as South India was concerned, he could assure the House that they did not have money to spend on unnecessary travel. It was unfortunate that the people of lower classes should be taxed more.

*Haji Abdus Sattar* stated that enhancement of rates would not relieve overcrowding or combat inflation in the country. He drew attention to the unsatisfactory arrangements for food on the railways and urged the War Transport Member to remedy these defects.

Mr. *Badshah* did not think the increase in fares would have any deflationary effect as the measure affected only that section of the population that travelled in trains and he characterised the increase as an attempt to profiteer on the part of the railways and 'share in the general plunder.' He contended that the present overcrowding in trains was not due to plentiful money as the Transport Member had stated but due to lack of alternative modes of transport and increased military traffic.

*Sardar Sobha Singh* strongly opposed the 25 per cent increase in railway fares and said that 82 per cent of the travelling public were third class passengers and it would be unfair to impose this additional burden on them. He said that unless these third class passengers were exempted from this rise, he must ask the House not to support the budget.

Mr. *Hossain Imam* pointed out that the working expenditure had increased during the last five years from 78.08 crores to 114.10 crores and offset the 60 per cent increase in income during the same period and he thought that this increase in working expenditure was not justifiable. Regarding the proposal to effect certain improvements on the Assam, Bengal and Eastern Bengal Railways, Mr. Imam said that these railways had always been deficit railways and during the last five years they showed a deficit of Rs. 169 lakhs. Now for effecting these improvements, their capital outlay was going to be increased by 40 per cent. There was no justification to do so. These improvements were obviously intended for military purposes and therefore, this additional expenditure on these railways should be debited, not even to the Government of India, but to His Majesty's Government and certainly not to the railway revenues. Referring to coal transport, Mr. Imam suggested that H. M. G. should be asked to obtain coal from South Africa and secure some shipping space to transport this South African coal to places in India particularly on the west coast and in South India. If this were done, it would meet the situation created by the shortage of wagons and at the same time relieve the coal scarcity in this country.

Winding up the debate, the War Transport Member, Sir *Edward Benthall*, said that he appreciated the expressions of appreciation by some members of what the officers and men of the railways were doing. Such appreciation would encourage the men who were carrying out an onerous task. Referring to Sir A. Shantidas Askuran's remarks that the budget estimates were faulty, the War Transport Member said the method adopted by Government was the only practical one. He thought that both expenditure and receipts would increase with the arrival of new locomotives and wagons, which he hoped, would also increase their efficiency. Sir Edward said several members had pointed out the shortage of lights in carriages and that appeared to apply particularly to the Bengal and Assam Railways. The difficulty there, he said, was purely one of getting the material. But the trouble started with the public stealing the bulbs and fittings in very large numbers. On the question of the food shortage in Travancore and Cochin, he said that the Food Department was fully aware of the sufferings of the people and were doing all they could to help. Sir Edward maintained that the fact that more people were

travelling in trains was certainly due to the greater circulation of money in the country. He quoted figures to show that the increased traffic was confined not only to the third class but also to the upper classes. He would not agree that overcrowding was mainly due to increased military traffic. He pointed out that in the year 1942-44 the revenue from civilian passengers showed an increase of Rs. 10 crores while the corresponding revenue from military passengers travelling on ordinary trains showed an increase of only about three crores. Sir Edward said that another cause of overcrowding was pilgrim traffic. The Council at this stage adjourned.

STABILISATION OF PRICES

24th. FEBRUARY :—After question hour, the Council of State passed Mr. *Hossain Imam's* resolution recommending that price control and adequate supply of the requirements of the agriculturists be taken in hand Replying on behalf of the Government, Mr. *B. R. Sen* said : Government of India had taken up the question of increased supply of consumers' goods to agriculturists very seriously and were doing their best in the matter. The resolution was rather wide in its scope, but he assured the House that so far as essential articles were concerned Government were doing all they could.

REHABILITATION PROGRAMME

The Council then took up Mr. *M. N. Dalal's* resolution recommending the appointment of a consultative committee composed of non-official representatives of the Central Legislature and representatives from Indian financial and commercial interests to advise Government to rehabilitate the economic structure of the country. After some discussion the resolution was withdrawn.

MANUFACTURE OF LOCOMOTIVES

*Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru* then moved a resolution recommending that steps be taken to manufacture broad gauge locomotives in India. He said his object in raising discussion on this question was to stress the responsibility of the Government and the Railway Board for the present situation. The need for locomotives was extremely urgent and Government should have taken steps earlier to meet this need. The debate was at this stage postponed, and the House adjourned.

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF BUDGET

7th. MARCH :—The Council today began its debate on the Budget. Sir *Shantidas Askuran*, referring to India's defence expenditure, stated that it had risen 6½ times since 1938 and that the country could not afford this "terrible scale' of expenditure. He apprehended that if offensive operations against Japan began this year, the estimates might be exceeded by a large margin. Regarding EPT, he suggested that out of the 19.64% proposed to be immobilized, Government should be content to keep only half as deposit and leave the other half to the industry. If this was not done the incentive for further production would be taken away to the detriment of the war effort.

Mr. *M. N. Dalal* urged the Commander-in-Chief to consider the possibility, consistently with war exigencies, of bringing back to India more Indian troops from abroad to replace British troops whose maintenance was more costly. Indian troops, whose achievements had drawn praise from all quarters, could surely be trusted to defend their native soil.

Sir *A. P. Patro* felt that the question of production and industrial expansion had received very little attention from the Finance Member, and said whatever was proposed would take effect only after the war. The incentive to agriculture would be lessened with prices falling and there was already a noticeable sliding down towards that. He hoped Government would not fail to encourage agriculture and industries now, and said no country had grown prosperous by utilizing imported raw material.

*Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru*, dealing with defence expenditure, said although the country had no constitutional means of disputing the decisions of the Defence authorities, he was afraid that in spite of the maximum requirements of India being fixed, this would include requirements which were not purely Indian. The reconquest of Burma was an Imperial concern for which HMG should bear the burden. He wanted to know the proportion of Indian and British troops in India. He asked whether African troops in India were paid on the same scales as Indian soldiers or at a higher rate. Why was it necessary, he asked, to bring these troops into India when Government were claiming that they were able to raise a purely voluntary army of over 2,(00,000 in the country. Pandit Kunzru wondered how the Government of India could agree to the "scandalous" procedure of allowing

Britain and the USA to sell gold in India at profitable rates and asked why HMG could not transfer the gold to the Indian Government at the exchange rate.

Mr. *J. H. Burder* congratulated the Finance Member on the salient features of the Budget. He appreciated the relief given to the poor man by raising the taxable minimum to Rs. 2,000, and suggested that Government should do everything in their power to encourage production of consumer goods in the country and where that was not possible for import of essential goods, for the benefit of the poor. Referring to allocation of revenues from income-tax between the Centre and the Provinces, he hoped that the Central Government would give attention to Bengal to ensure that the finances of that province were not left in such a state as to prevent her from embarking on any programme of post-war reconstruction. Bengal had suffered and was suffering more than any other province by reason of her proximity to the area of military operations.

Mr. *G. S. Motilal* declared that his general impression of the Budget was that the keynote of British policy in India was exploitation of the people of this country—exploitation in time of peace and greater exploitation in war-time. The imposition of excise duty on textiles and the principle of Imperial preference, he said, were designed to help England to sell her goods to India and now in war-time every facility was given to England to buy goods from India. He also criticized the defence expenditure, about which they had no detailed information.

Mr. *Hossain Imam* complained that adequate provision had not been made for relief of evacuees in India. Referring to dollar resources he suggested that these should be available to the Reserve Bank for circulation in India and the Reserve Bank Act should be amended suitably. Mr. Imam questioned the intentions of the Government to import more consumer goods into the country during the coming year, because he found no increased provision under revenues from Customs duties for the period. "There is no word to apply to the Budget except robbery," he declared.

The *President* objecting to the word "robbery" as unparliamentary, Mr. *Imam* amended it to "dishonest." "It is a misnomer to call the Budget a budget or even a statement of affairs : it is a statement of actions taken by Government at their own discretion," Mr. Hossain added.

## MANUFACTURE OF LOCOMOTIVES

15th. MARCH : —The Council passed without a division *Pandit Kunzru's* resolution recommending that steps be taken for the manufacture of broad gauge locomotives in India. Mr. *Kalikar*, resuming the debate, referred to the complete unanimity of opinion prevailing in the country, both among officials and non-officials on this question, and complained that the Government were persistently resisting the public demand for the manufacture of locomotives. Sir *A. P. Patro* thought that the war should act as a stimulus to Government to undertake the manufacture of locomotives immediately. Since Government had accepted the recommendations of the expert committee, there was really no dispute between the Government and the rest of the House on the necessity of manufacture of broad gauge engines. Mr. *Hossain Imam* argued that the manufacture of locomotives was not a purely civil affair. It was one of the urgent needs of the war situation and he felt that if the Government pressed their demand for machinery, they would succeed in getting it from abroad Sir *S. N. Roy*, Secretary, War Transport Department, accepted the principle underlying the resolution and said that Government were going ahead with the scheme. He pointed out that the question of designs and layouts in regard to the Kanchrapara factory was under correspondence with the consulting engineers and assured the House that Government were determined to push forward with the scheme. He, however, stated that there were difficulties in obtaining machinery and tools which were of a complicated character. Government, he added, accepted the resolution only with the one proviso that it could not be immediately put into operation, owing to difficulty in getting the necessary machinery. *Pandit Kunzru* regretted that government had not prevailed upon themselves to assure the House that they would get over the difficulties in the way of making a start immediately and said this policy of Government had caused both annoyance and anxiety in the country. Nothing that had been said by Sir S. N. Roy in the Council or by the War Transport Member in the Assembly had removed the impression that the inability to manufacture locomotives at present was due to the slackness of the Railway Board and their failure to take up this question earlier. Sir S. N. Roy's assurance was satisfactory so far as it went. The members were afraid that the importation of locomotives from America in large numbers might furnish a fresh argument to the railway authorities to put off manufacture in India.

But he was very glad that Sir S. N. Roy had given a clear assurance on this point by stating that even if the cost of manufacture was more than in other countries government would still take steps to manufacture locomotives in India. Winding up the debate, Sir *Edward Benthall*, Member, War Transport, explained that it might take two and half years to see the first locomotive engine after the setting up of a factory. It was a matter of extreme urgency to see that the present traffic moved and that was met by the importation of engines and by more efficient repair work. Had it not been for the fore-sight of the Government in deciding to import engines, Sir Edward said, we would have been in a sorry plight to-day. Dealing with the difficulties that faced government in the setting up of a locomotive factory now, Sir Edward said that they would have to make provision for the immediate repair works and also some vital work carried on in workshops. The setting up of a factory was a big undertaking which had got to be treated with seriousness. He assured the House that Government were doing everything possible to finalise the plans and efforts to put through would be pushed forward with the maximum possible energy and speed. They would have two or three workshops for the manufacture of locomotives but what precise time it would take did not lie in his hands. The House passed the resolution and adjourned.

### Debate on the Food Situation

16th. MARCH :—Mr. *B. R. Sen*, Director-General of Food, moving the consideration of the food situation in the country, expressed the deep sense of sorrow of the House for those who suffered and lost their lives during the last famine in Bengal and also expressed India's gratitude to those friends across the seas in distant lands whose active sympathy in their hour of trial had been a source of solace and strength. Dealing with the immediate problem, Mr. Sen said that it was the considered view of the Government of India that the question of procurement could not be solved by reversion to free trade or by the establishment of a Central foodgrains monopoly They had, therefore, agreed to the provinces continuing to shoulder the responsibility of procurement both on their behalf, whether for their own consumption or for export to deficit provinces and on behalf of the Central Government for Central Government needs, including the Defence services. At the same time, it was incumbent on the Government of India to exercise a degree of superintendence and control, necessary to secure the effective discharge of that function. Replying to the charge that the quality of foodgrains supplied to deficit areas from surplus areas was the responsibility of the Central Government, Mr. Sen re-stated that under the present system the responsibility of arranging for inspection for despatch of food grains from the supplying areas with a view to ensuring quality was that of the receiving provincial Government and not of the Central Government. Mr. Sen assured the House that every one concerned was conscious that transport movement, no less than purchase, would be a determining factor in the success of the procurement scheme. Referring to the present food situation in Bengal, Mr. Sen said they had been blessed with a very bountiful rice harvest. They had imported substantial quantities of food grains and were now almost in daily touch with His Majesty's Government on the subject of future importation programme. Mr. Sen said that it was the public leaders and the Press, in whose hands the outcome of the issues largely lay. It was their over-riding duty in this hour to help their own people. Mr. Sen stated that there was no intrinsic scarcity in Bengal as a whole this year. The problem was essentially one of distribution within the province and the Aman procurement scheme, with certain modifications, was in operation in the province since January. The operation of the scheme during the last two and half months had brought out some interesting fact. The cultivators appeared to be holding on to their crop as they had never done before. Mr. Sen dealt at length with the conditions obtaining in Malabar, Travancore and Cochin and said that the Government of India had decided to send 4,000 tons immediately to Cochin for providing a reserve, in addition to the quotas which would be allotted to Travancore and Cochin jointly under the basic plan.

The *Maharaj Kumar of Nashipur* said that there seemed to be a suspicion in the minds of the agriculturists generally that the Government might attach the standing crops and commandeer them for army use. Government, he said, should publicly proclaim that they have no such intention. The food requirements of the army, he thought, had been over-emphasised in the past to the neglect of the civilian population. He urged for the elimination of competitive buying. The present ministry in the province, he said, had failed to tackle the situation and suggested that means might be found for the formation of a ministry, consisting of all the

principle political elements in the province, and thereby strengthen the hands of the new Governor of Bengal.

Mr. *Susil Kumar Roy Chaudhury* said that the improvement in Bengal, though not substantial, was due to the Aman crop harvest. He complained that the Government of Bengal were not doing all they should. They were busy suppressing news in regard to the food situation. Supplies that were made available now were bad in quality and it appeared to him that they were hoarded stocks. To improve the present situation and to avert a greater calamity, Mr. Chaudhury said that the Government of India, through the provincial Government, should take more energetic steps. He also urged that a Government, representing all the parties in the province should be set up.

Mr. *G. S. Motilal* asked how many of the recommendations of the Foodgrains Committee had been given effect to by the Government. He emphasised that, instead of expecting outside help, the Central and provincial Governments in the country should do all they could to improve the situation.

*Rai Bahadur S. K. Das* gave a picture of the conditions in rural Bengal. Measures should be taken to utilise tracts of waste land for the production of food crops.

*Sardar Sobha Singh* urged that the transport system should be improved. The most important thing was to bring all cultivable land under the plough.

Sir *David Devadoss* complained that military contractors were offering higher prices than those prevailing in the markets and, thus, increasing the price level. Government should also see that the money which they were granting to cultivators should actually reach them. He wondered whether even 75 per cent of the amounts thus granted was actually reaching the cultivator. Lastly, he urged that the military should make it a rule to grow their own vegetables. For want of green vegetables, in Madras many people were suffering from scabies.

Sir *A. P. Patro* complained that other parts of India, especially the west coast—Malabar, Cochin and Travancore,—had not received the same attention as Bengal. What had happened in Bengal in 1943 had also happened all along the west coast. He urged that the same degree of assistance and relief should be extended to South India as to Bengal and stated that the agriculturist in South India was in no way in a better position than in Bengal.

Sir *Parsuram* accused middlemen, profiteers and hoarders of creating black-markets and 'sucking the very blood of the people' and urged Government to take steps to eradicate this evil.

Mr. *Mohendra Lal Das* complained that Assam had received very little attention from the authorities Assam's voice was so weak that it was rarely heard.

**17th. MARCH**:—Pandit *Kunzru* said that Mr. Sen's speech yesterday had created the impression that the Government were rather optimistic. He compared the situation in the country with that obtaining in Britain and said in spite of the fact that Britain was faced with greater difficulties, she was able to find shipping space to import half of her food requirements. He commended the steps taken by the Madras Government to increase the weekly quota of food grains to Malabar from 10,000 tons to 15,000 tons but complained that the Government were still trotting out difficulties of transport to explain their inability to feed the people. He regretted that Mr. Sen had not made any reference to South Kanara in his speech. He had information, which was supported by the collector of the district, that the district would require about 18,000 tons more of food grains. He hoped Mr. Sen would look into this. In regard to Orissa, Pandit Kunzru appealed to the Central Government to show more consideration. It would not be correct for the Central Government to practically compel the Orissa Government to go on exporting food at the present time as in the past. The export of rice, he added, was only made possible because of the poverty of the people. Referring to Bengal, he said that with over 12 million tons of food grains at its disposal this year, he would expect there would be no shortage of rice in the deficit districts and that the prices would be within reach of everyone. But he was sorry to say that information in his possession did not enable him to believe that the position was satisfactory in either of these respects.

Mr. *Hussain Imam* thought that Mr. Sen's statement yesterday was a comprehensive and clear statement of facts and he welcomed the progress made in pursuance of the Foodgrains Policy Committee's recommendations. Mr. Imam deprecated attempts being made in Bengal by interested parties and interested persons to create difficulties and asked the Central Government to state clearly their policy in this respect. Did they want to encourage such actions ? Did they want that

there should be no confidence in the authority of the Government ? Was that Government's policy or did they want to rehabilitate confidence ? Mr. Imam urged the Government to make available to fishermen in Bengal more boats either free of cost or on easy hire-purchase-system. Government should not be content with giving back only 10,000 boats. On the question of rationing, Mr. Imam thought that the ration of one lb. of rice and wheat was not sufficient. He urged that this be increased to 2 lbs. per head for manual labours and one and half per head for ordinary citizens. The existing rations if necessary be supplemented by other food grains. Mr. Imam suggested that Government should import tractors from abroad for collective farming. They might even take over some lands in Assam for this purpose and run a farm on scientific lines.

Sir *Jogender Singh*, member for Education, Health and Lands, stated that 100 tractors had been ordered from the U. S. A. and ought to be delivered here at any time now. He dealt at length with various measures taken by Government to afford medical relief to Bengal and disclosed that the military wae using jeeps and water transport to reach these supplies to outlying areas. He paid a tribute to the military authorities who had rendered invaluable assistance to Bengal in this respect. There were 16 military hospitals, each with 100 to 300 beds spread over 10 districts. Besides mobile trucks, by the production of a suitable injection for starvation cases in a state of collapse, the All India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health had enabled a 90 per cent death rate to be converted into 90 per cent cure rate. The situation had really improved and cholera mortality had fallen to 60 per week. 600 cases had been treated by medical personnel upto the 16th February. Besides military assistance the Government of India had made available to Bengal the services of a number of medical officers.

Sir *Satyendranath Roy*, Secretary, War Transport Department, stated that Government had never contended that the Transport Department had been able to move all that there was to be moved, but as far as foodgrains were concerned he could claim that, by and large, the Department had moved the requirements of the Food Dept. In Bengal, especially certain parts of Eastern Bengal, movement was dependent on boat transport. For internal movement in Bengal, Government had allotted 95 broad-gauge wagons and over 30 metre-gauge wagons per day, but he should be wrong if he were to say that the situation in regard to internal transport was satisfactory. Government, he added, realised the difficulties and were doing their best to overcome them.

Winding up the debate, Sir *Jwalaprasad Srivastava* claimed that but for the measures adopted by the Food Department to meet the situation, losses in Bengal would have been far greater and the province would have been faced with a much bigger disaster. Government of India, he said, were having an All-India policy in regard to food and were giving effect to it. H. E. the Viceroy in his various public utterances had made it plain that policy. He claimed that the Food Department, since last August, had played a very important part in alleviating the food situation. Nobody regretted more than himself the appalling loss of life in Bengal but he was sure that had it not been for what the Food Department had done, this loss would have been far greater and Bengal would have been faced with a much bigger disaster. Sir Jwala Prasad pointed out that there was enough food in Bengal this year. The conditions for success had also been created. The world and the rest of India would place a heavy responsibility on the Government and the people of Bengal, if they failed to feed themselves this year. The food debate concluded and the House adjourned till Wednesday March 22.

### Merchant Shipping Amend. Bill

**22nd. MARCH** :—The Council passed Mr. *Hoosain Imam's* Bill to amend the Indian Merchant Shipping Act, 1923 as passed by the Assembly. Mr. *R. N. Banerjee*, Secretary, Overseas Department, pointed out that the present war conditions were not suitable for enforcing the Bill but gave an assurance that Government would not unduly delay its enforcement as soon as the abnormal conditions cease to exist.

### Exchange Ratio of Rupee

Mr. *Hossain Imam's* resolution suggesting the appointment of a Committee consisting of members of the Central Legislature, businessmen and agriculturists to recommend a suitable permanent exchange value of the rupee to help the agricultural and industrial rehabilitation of India in the post-war period was rejected without a division. In the course of the debate on it, Mr. Imam said he had not suggested any specific ratio because he thought it should be left to the

Committee to decide. He referred to the plans emanating from the United States of America and Great Britain for regulating post-war international exchange and currency and said once an agreement was reached there would be no scope for unilateral action for individual nations to regulate their exchange rates He criticised the present exchange rate of 1s. 9d. and said this was intended to be a temporary measure. Pandit *Hridaynath Kunzru* said : The crux of the matter was not that the exchange rate should be fixed at present, but that India's freedom to determine an exchange ratio suitable to her interests should not be taken away from her. Apprehensions had been created in the minds of the people in this country in regard to what bearing the decisions of the International Conference which was likely to be held in the near future, would have on the country's economy, it was, therefore, necessary that Government should clarify their policy. Mr. *C. E. Jones*, Finance Secretary, regretted he could not accept the resolution. He recalled that the passing of the Reserve Bank Act by the Legislature entailed recognition on their part of the provision that the Reserve Bank was the proper body to advise Government in this matter. His first objection was on this scope. Secondly, present conditions were far too full of uncertain factors to enable any body of men to recommend suitable rates of exchange for the Indian rupee whether in terms of pound sterling or dollar or gold. For this reason, the appointment of a Committee would be premature and ineffective.

### Citizenship Rights of Indians in America

The Council next passed Mr. *G. S. Motilal's* resolution recommending that early steps be taken to secure right of citizenship for Indians resident in the U. S. A. He said that India had played a great part in the war and this fact alone should be enough for the U. S. A, to accept the Indian claims for entry into the U. S. A. Sir *Olaf Caroe*, Secretary for External Affairs, accepted the resolution on behalf of the Government. His reason for intervening in the debate at this early stage was to bear witness to the efforts that the Government of India made to emphasize the need of goodwill and understanding on the U. S. Government. He was anxious that the debate should be centred on the future rather than the past. Sir Olaf referred to the two Bills that had been introduced in the U. S. legislature and said the one introduced in the Upper House sought to give citizenship rights to Indians who had been resident in the U. S. prior to 1924. This would have no effect on Indians who might wish to enter the U. S. A. in future. What Indian opinion wanted was the enactment of a measure giving exactly the same treatment to Indians as had already been accorded to the Chinese—entry under quota and the right to obtain citizenship. The second Bill, which was recently introduced in the House of Representatives, aimed at securing for Indians this position. In the U. S A. only private members could introduce legislation and not the Government, and he hoped that nothing would be said in the debate today which would make it difficult for the authorities, who were very sympathetic to secure the objects which were desired. The Council at this stage adjourned till March 27.

### Indian Cocoanut Comm. Bill

**27th. MARCH** :—The Council held a brief sitting today and passed the Indian Cocoanut Committee Bill, an official measure, as passed by the Assembly. The Bill provided for the creation of a fund for the improvement and development of the cultivation, marketing and utilization of cocoanuts.

### Debate on the Finance Bill

**29th. MARCH** :—The Finance Bill as recommended by His Excellency the Viceroy was introducted in the Council of State today by Mr. *C. E. Jones*, Finance Secretary. Mr. *P. N Sapru*, who opened the debate on behalf of the Opposition, considered it a "sin" to vote for the Finance Bill, but at the same time made it clear that his vote must not be regarded as a vote against the war efforts of the country. "We are not opposed to India's participation in the war in terms of honourable co-operation," he said. "We are asked to vote for a bill, which will become law with or without our approval and will place funds at the disposal of an Executive Council whom we neither regard as representative of the popular will nor efficient for carrying out the war efforts of this great country." He realised it was not in their power to turn the Government out, but in the existing circumstances their votes had a moral significance. Referring to the defence expenditure Mr. Sapru said that last year the Government stated that the expenditure on defence services would not be higher this year than in 1942-43, but actually the xpenditure had mounted up.

Mr. *Jones*, the Finance Secretary intervened to explain that the Government's expectations did not materialise. If more divisions had moved into Burma, the Indian tax-payer would get a relief to the extent that the expenditure of the troops moved in would not fall on him.

Mr. *Sapru* wanted to know if the departure of Indian troops would not result in British troops taking their place. He asked what would be India's maximum liability in the financial agreement between His Majesty's Government and the Government of India. The agreement was between two unequals, between his Majesty's Government and its subordinate branch. Mr. Sapru asked what the Government had done for the social security of the people. He criticised the new taxes and urged the Government to improve the machinery for the collection of vital statistics. Dealing with the political situation in the country, Mr. Sapru said that there was a deadlock in this country because Government spoke with mental reservations. Government's intention to make India self-governing was not trusted either by the Congress or by the League, or even by the so-called loyalists. He likened the August Resolution of the Congress to that of a trade union resolution which mentioned general strikes if certain things did not happen. Government wanted that Congress leaders should come forward, "not in sack cloth ashes" and declare "oh ! please, sir, we are sorry we passed the August Resolution." "You want to break the morale of the Indians", Mr. Sapru added, "you want to import the Versailles spirit in dealing with the Congress leaders. You want an admission of defeat." Mr. Sapru thought that that was not the spirit in which the Government would be able to solve the Indian problem. It was of vital importance that they should achieve independence and there could be no compromise on the principle of independence Mr. Sapru stressed the importance of an accredited representative of the Indian people participating in the Peace Conference. He thought it was a "scandal" that there had been no general election in India for the last so many years.

*Sir A. P. Patro* thought the taxation proposals were inevitable, for the war was the primary concern of everyone. The Finance Bill he regretted, did not contain any proposal for industrial, agricultural and social development of the country.

Mr. *S. N. Mahatha*, opposing the Finance Bill, said that the Government of India had been disclaimed and disowned by all sections of people in the world. Despite all this, "led by Maxwell, they continued to wax well and tax well."

*R. B. Lala Ram Saran Das* said that the present policy of the Government was such that he had no other alternative but to oppose the Finance Bill.

The *Rajah* of *Nashipur* opposed the Finance Bill on the ground that the Government of Bengal were greatly responsible for the food shortage in Bengal and the catastrophe that followed. He deplored the taxes on tea and tobacco which, he said, "are the only items of solace" to the masses.

Mr. *Kumar Sankar Roy Choudhry* said the new taxes were unjustified and complained that the Government had no proper plans in regard to the future. He disapproved of *Sir Ramunni Menon's* suggestion that taxes should be enhanced further with a view to find money for post-war reconstruction. The House at this stage adjourned.

**30th. MARCH** :—Mr. *V. V. Kalikar* said that unless HMG made up their mind to take the people of India into their confidence he saw no bright future for the efficient prosecution of the war effort. He expressed dissatisfaction with the administration of the country and complained that the sons of the soil were denied their due share and foreign experts were being imported for administering the country.

Pandit *H. N. Kunzru* said that it would be impossible for him to support the Finance Bill 'because of the arrogant insistence of the Government on having its own way.' They thought that when the certified Bill was placed before them Government would let them know their decision in regard to the proposed increase of 25% in railway fares. The War Transport Member announced in the Assembly a few days ago that all financial measures would be considered together and that Government would arrive at a decision after the Budget had been considered. The Budget debate in the Assembly was over and the Governor-General had now certified the Finance Bill. Pandit Kunzru asserted that the new loans floated in this country were practically for the purpose of obtaining funds to pay for Britain's war purchases in India. The proceeds of net permanent loans were expected to amount to about Rs. 530 crores and the interest charges had increased since 1942-43 by Rs. 10.80 crores. He said that India paid 3% interest while England paid only

1½% on the sterling balances. He urged that the difference should be paid by England. Pandit *Kunzru* went on to criticize the inadequate news from the E. front. He expressed his appreciation of the fact that the C-in-C informed the House the other day of the position in Manipur even before the publication of the SE Asia Command communique. "Frankly speaking, what I and others feel is that what is taking place in Manipur shows that information which is of the greatest importance to us has been withheld longer than was necessary." If the C-in-C took the trouble of meeting the elected members of the Assembly he would find that there was deep feeling with regard to the manner in which India was being dealt with about war news. He knew that the C-in-C personally never minimized the situation but yet the general feeling of the man-in-the-street in regard to the various announcements was that India was not going to be invaded. One morning they were told that the Japanese were within the borders of India. Speaking on the Defence Services Pandit Kunzru said that in spite of the recent increase the pay of Indian soldiers was only one-third of that of the British. He urged the appointment of senior Indian officers as battalion commandants and asked for an increased number of Indians occupying staff appointments. He inquired whether Government were thinking of reconstruction in the Defence Services. Pandit Kunzru urged that three or four thoroughly efficient Indians should be given command of brigades. If that was done they might hope to see an Indian Division commanded by an Indian major-general.

Mr. *Hossain Imam* referred to the gold sales in the country and asked whether there was any justification for allowing even Abyssinia to sell gold at high prices in India ? It looked as if we were a band of philanthropists to enrich everybody. S Africa was claiming a share in the loot of HMG. Was it not surprising that the Government of India had not entered the field at least as an 'also-ran' if not a winner ? The reason for all this lay in the position of the Government of India which was no better than that of a jamadar vis-a-vis HMG. Mr. Imam said the Finance Member's statement in the Assembly in regard to sale of gold had encouraged speculators and the price of gold was rising rapidly. The U. S. A. and the U. K. were selling gold at exorbitant prices. It was nothing but legalized robbery. Mr. Imam criticized the allocation of Defence expenditure and said there was no shadow of justice for the British Army in India being paid by the Government of India. Did Britain pay for the U. S. army in Britain and did the U. S. A. charge for the pay and salary of her personnel which were sent to India ? Mr. Imam added that the peoples of India wanted to fight the British Government and not the Government of India. He had great sympathy for the members of Treasury Benches. Some of them had told him privately how powerless they were on certain occasions.

Sir *N. Gopalaswami Iyengar* said that on the broadest of financial considerations alone the financial proposals in the Bill were indefensible. And as there would be no opportunity afforded for amending or improving its provisions and as the House would be asked to vote only in favour of or against the Bill as it stood, he found himself unable to give his support to it. He drew attention to the fact that the amount of the closing balance estimate at the end of 1944-45 would be 571.89 crores and asked what financial justification could there be for the Government to attempt to raise petty taxes affecting a large number of people yielding eight or nine crores. The amount of four crores proposed to be raised by taxes on betelnuts, coffee and tea was less than 1/60th of the total taxation revenue. The yield was so miserably poor that it was against the essential canons of taxation to levy it He pointed out that there was enough money on the ways and means side of the budget not merely to bridge the butgetary gap but the entire inflationary gap as well in the budget year and that, therefore, the House could not in reason agree that all the proposals contained in the Finance Bill were essential for the interests of India.

Referring to the political situation, Sir Gopalaswamy said that the present Executive of the Government of India had failed to react in a reasonable manner to the criticisms of the representatives of the public in the Legislature and they had displayed neither wisdom nor political imagination in tackling the situation. An Executive irremovable for a term, when it had to deal with a democratic Legislature, must, if possible, try and behave in a manner consistent with democratic principles "in so far as the truncated constitution under which that democratic Legislature is constituted functions." Where the Legislature did not agree with the Executive, it was the duty of the Executive to see whether by negotiation and compromise it was not possible to meet the wishes of the Legislature

in such a fashion as to prevent its refusing supplies altogether. The rejection vote in the Assembly could have been averted by the Executive giving effect to the cut in the Railway Budget by dropping the proposal to enhance the railway passenger fares, dropping the excise duties on coffee, tea and betelnuts and by amending the alterations made in the Income Tax and E. P. T. "The mere prestige of the Executive should not stand in the way of acceding to popular opinion when that opinion certainly does not deserve to be brushed aside as being crooked or unreasonable", he said. Referring to the establishment of a National Government it was his view that the essential preliminary to such a development was the release of the political leaders who were now in jail and affording an opportunity to them for getting into contact with public feeling as it was to-day and taking steps for the bringing about of an agreement amongst the important sections of political opinion which would enable them to join hands in running the Government of the country during the period of the war. He maintained that the release could not at the present time be considered to be fraught with any risks to public tranquillity even from the standpoint of the present Executive. 'But even a more preliminary gesture than this", he said, "for example, of permitting contact between the political leaders in jail and those outside with a view to the exploration of the possibilities of a solution of the present deadlock, if the present Government had the imagination to make it in the course of the debate in the Assembly, would almost certainly have effectively averted the turning down of the Finance Bill in the Assembly." He regretted that the Government had been unwilling to move in that matter.

Sir *Mahomed Usman* said that the Opposition had discussed the Finance Bill in an unreal atmosphere. They were in the midst of a great war, the greatest war that the world had ever seen. The United Nations had made a wonderful recovery. The victories won ensured the final victoy of the Allies. But they could not yet afford to lessen their vigilence and relax their efforts. Germany was reeling under the blows in Europe but the arrogant and brutal Japan was still to feel the might of the mightiest combination of nations. She was still threatening their country and they had to remain prepared to meet that threat. Such continued threat, Sir Mahomed said, should, as in other countries, have led to cementing the bonds between different elements in the country. But unfortunately this was not the case here. The House would remember that Lord Linlithgow when he was the Viceroy at the outbreak of the war, called important leaders of various parties and tried to bring them together on a common platform—resistance to the enemy. He failed in that attempt. "The most common accusation against the British Government is," Sir Mahomed went on, "that their policy is to divide and rule. But here was the Viceroy trying to bring various parties together on various occasions, but the parties failed him and refused to come together. Later, came the Cripps Offer which as H. E. Lord Wavell told us when he addressed the two Houses is still open. It is for us to come together, agree among ourselves, give the Muslims and minorities their rightful place in the administration of the country." Sir Mahomed continued, that for years, the Congress Party had been crying for independence, but when in the Cripps Offer such independence, full, complete and secure, was offered, they rejected it for two reasons : one that it recognised at the same time the Muslims' claim to self-determination and their right to have a separate union of their own if they so desired and secondly, because the British refused to abdicate in favour of the Congress in the midst of the war.

Replying to criticisms against the Executive Council, the Leader of the House said : "I may remind the house that patriotism is not the exclusive monopoly of political parties. I do not owe an apology to anybody for being an Executive Councillor to-day. I deem it a privilege that I have been asked to shoulder the responsibilities of office at a time when I can be of real service to my country and at a time when others refused to respond to the call and deserted their post of duty at the first signal of danger. (Cheers.) Had the Congress shown a sense of responsibility and not resigned office in seven Provinces when the clouds of war started gathering around the country and shared the perils and sacrifices of a nation at war, they would have been amongst the wise and patriotic men of the world. But to be responsible and responsive is not in their nature and in their constitution. They had always on one pretext or another shirked the responsibility of office. They do not even hold themselves responsible to those who trusted them and sent them as their representatives in seven out of eleven Provinces. All the political ills of this country are due to the fact that they are not responsive to the rights and claims of others." "We are accused" Sir Mahomed

continued, "of being irresponsible as if it is of our own creation. But I ask : has this ancient land ever seen an age in which the Executive was responsible to an elected House ? All the progress that has been made in India as a result of British connection has been through the so-called irresponsible Executive Council. A responsible executive system "of the British type" based on the system of simple majority rule will not suit India on account of great communal differences." Unfortunately in India, Sir Mahomed said, there was absolutely no national spirit. It was all communal. It was that that was responsible for retarding the political progress of this country and for preventing the formation of a National Government. When this was the case, why blame the British Government ? he asked.

*Rai Bahadur S. K. Das* supported the Finance Bill but thought that the tax on tobacco, betelnuts and tea was unfair as it would affect the poor in the country.

Mr. *Sushil Kumar Roy Chaudhury* criticised the tax on betelnuts, which, he said, was an agricultural product and as such a provincial subject. He was also opposed to the levy of income-tax up to Rs. 3,000, considering the high prices prevailing for all necessities of life. He could not extend his support to the Bill on principle because the representatives of the people had no control over expenditure. The Bill had been rejected by the Lower House twice. On a much lesser issue, he pointed out, the Prime Minister of England was threatening to resign unless Parliament passed a vote of confidence in him.

31st. MARCH :—*His Excellency the C.-in-C.* replied to a number of points regarding the defence services raised by previous speakers. He referred to Mr. Kalikar's remarks that cadets and officers were discharged ostensibly not on the ground of inefficiency, but really on account of their political record and said that Mr. Kalikar had been misinformad. Membership of ordinary peaceful political organisations was not a bar to service in the armed service. In a few cases, however, the War Department had taken action when some persons after getting commission were found to be concerned in subversive or revolutionary activity. Removals on the ground of inefficiency were done after careful scrutiny. The officer was always given an opportunity to show reasons why he should not be removed and whatever reasons he cared to give were carefully considered by the commanding officers, by himself (C.-in-C.) and by the Viceroy. The Commander-in-Chief referred to the statement he made in the Assembly about the Burma Front and said it gave an impartial picture of the situation as it existed to-day. Pandit Kunzru had suggested that it was queer that the Japanese should be advancing eastwards when we were advancing westward. Queer things did happen in war, but he added, what had happened was this. We had not exactly advanced west except by air. We had flown in troops into Burma behind the enemy and they were now getting busy destroying and interrupting the enemy's communications and the effect of their efforts would make itself felt. He hoped these efforts would also help to stop the enemy's westward advance. Answering the question whether the army was representative of the nation, the C.-in-C. said the armed forces to-day were more broadly based than ever before. They represented all clases and communities and he could, if necessary, produce figures to show the proportion in which the armed forces drew their recruits from various parts of the country. He paid a tribute to their spirit and enthusiasm and said such enthusiasm and spirit could not be created by coercion. The spirit and the desire to show that they could make good were not confined to any one class, it was widespread and universal. The proportion of Indian officers in the army was steadily rising. The ratio of British to Indian officers now was 1.3 to one, compared with 5.5 to one in 1939. This did not however include British service officers who where attached temporarily to the Indian army during the war. The C-in-C. added that he was prepared to take every Indian officer he could get, provided he was fit to be a leader of our men. He would like to tell the house however that he was not getting the standard of men he wanted and he was alarmed at the poor quality of men who were coming forward. Steps were being taken to improve the machinery of selection to secure men of the right stamp. On the question of appointing Indians in High Commands and staff appointments, he stated the situation was steadily improving. The matter was under his constant—almost daily—care and watch. He would ask the House to leave it to him to ensure that Indian officers received fair play.

Mr. *C. E. Jones*, Finance Secretary, winding up the debate, recognised with appreciation the definite statement that had been made on the floor of the House that the vote on the bill was not an indication of opposition to war efforts. He appreciated that because that gave them some common ground on which to discuss

matters. He reminded the House that it was the tempo of war efforts in India which determined the volume of rupees in this country and the tempo of war efforts had to be regulated by military and operational events and not by financial considerations. He appealed to the members, even to those who proposed to vote against the bill, to co-operate with Government in maintaining economic stability of the country, irrespective of political differences, by assisting in all Government's anti-inflationary measures. That seemed to him to be the fundamental duty of every patriotism. Referring to the bullion market the Finance Secretary sternly warned speculators and said that Government would be prepared to take most drastic measures to deal with the situation. (Cheers). Sales of gold, Mr. Jones said, have been made by the Reserve Bank for some time at a price which was regarded as not unfair to the investor having regard to the rise in the prices of other commodities. Sales were made with the dual object of providing the U. S. Government and H. M. G. with rupees for use on their war expenditure in this country and as an anti-inflationary measure. The end of last week and early days of this had witnessed the results of scare-mongering by interested parties on the minds of the public. A wave of speculative buying of gold had developed with the result that the market price of gold had outstripped the price at which the Reserve Bank were prepared to sell. The Finance Secretary assured the House that when that unreasoning speculative fever had abated the price of gold would undoubtedly subside to the loss of certain unfortunate people and the Bank would be able to continue sales at more reasonable rates. Referring to H.M.G.'s contribution to the direct defence expenditure of India, Mr. Jones said that apart from the British navy which defended India and whose value could not be exaggerated, India was importing equipment and stores of all sorts not made in this country free. It was not possible to give a complete evaluation of the help we received but Mr. Jones pointed out that the value of aircraft we had received was about a hundred crores of rupees. Besides several categories of A.-A. guns (and one variety must have cost H.M.G. ten crores) and petrol valued approximately seventeen crores had been imported into India, India also received free engineering equipment, signal equipment, specialised instruments of various sorts and she was getting monthly about 4,000 tons of ammunition—apart from what we manufactured. To the list might be added a hundred thousand tons of tinned food imported last year for the troops in the forward areas. He pointed out that India charged for everything supplied to H.M.G even if it was for her own troops fighting beyond her borders for the protection of India. Britain was said to be ungrateful and after what he had stated he thought comment was superfluous.

The House passed the motion that the financial proposals be taken into consid ration by 27 votes to thirteen and later adopted the bill without a division. The House then adjourned till April 4.

### Hindu Marriage Law Bill

**4th. APRIL** :—The Council of State adopted a motion today, moved by Mr. *Lal*, Secretary, Legislative Department, concurring with the resolution passed in the Legislative Assembly recommending that the Bill to codify the Hindu law relating to marriage be referred to a joint committee of eighteen members of both the Houses. In commending the motion to the acceptance of the House, Mr. Lal hoped that there would not be any serious objection to it. He realised that there might be room for honest differences of opinion in respect of certain provisions of the Bill, and that was why it was being referred to a joint committee, where it could be fully discussed and the largest measure of agreement reached. The Bill, as it would emerge from the joint committee, would again be circulated for eliciting public opinion. Government, he said, would welcome constructive and helpful criticisms. He acknowledged with gratitude the labours of Sir B. N. Rau and his colleagues on the committee and the clarity with which they had expressed themselves on the many knotty problems. Mr. *P. N. Sapru* supported the motion and said that, left to himself, he would have gone much further than the Bill itself. If we claimed political, economic and social justice, he said, it was our duty to approach the problems raised by the Bill in a spirit of true liberalism. There was no hope for progress for a society which denied justice to its women, he said. Mr. *Sushil Kumar Roy Choudhury* took the opportunity to contradict a statement made by Mr. Ghulam Bhik Nairang in the Lower House that the presence of Muslim members in the select committees dealing with matters which affected the Hindu community alone did not prejudice the Hindu cause in anyway, and said that, on one occasion, non-Hindu members did participate in voting in committee

and influenced vital matters affecting Hindu interests. He said that if any Muslim member wanted to be in the proposed committee, then he would say that monogamy should be applied to all persons in British India, irrespective of their religion. *Sardar Sobha Singh* extended his support to the motion. Pandit *H. N. Kunzru* pointed out that dissolution of marriages under certain conditions was not unknown to Hindu law. Some stated that if divorce was allowed, then the very foundations of Hindu society would be shaken. Pandit Kunzru said that experience of Western countries showed that divorce was an exception and not the rule. He was glad that the Bill would be circulated for eliciting public opinion, because, thereby, they would be able to carry a larger volume of public opinion in favour of the Bill with them. He, however, urged the Government that the measure should not be unduly delayed and asked the Government to give an assurance that the Bill would be brought before the House in the next Winter Session. Sir *Mahomed Usman*, Leader of the House, referring to Mr. Sushil Kumar Roy Choudhury's remarks in regard to the presence of non-Hindu members in the committee, said that, as far as the Council of State was concerned, members of the Muslim community had better stand aloof from the committee. Mr. *Kumar Sankar Roy Chaudhury* also supported the motion which was passed.

The House agreed to the following members being on the joint committee : Pandit H. N. Kunzru, Mr. Kalikar, Mr. P. N. Sapru, Mr. Sushil Kumar Roy Choudhury, Mr. G. S. Motilal, Sardar Sobha Singh, Sir N. Gopalaswami Iyengar, Sir Jotsna Ghosal and Mr. S. Lal. The House then adjourned.

## U. N. R. R. A. AGREEMENT

**5th. APRIL** :—The Council of State debated to-day a motion approving the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration signed at Washington on 9th November 1943. Mr. *Y. N. Sukhtankar*, Joint Secretary, Commerce Department, who moved the motion yesterday, declared that the Government of India before approving the U. N. R. R. A. proposals had held that the help which India should give must be limited on account of her physical and financial difficulties and that before making any contributions the approval of the Legislature should be obtained. Pending such approval, the Government of India provisionally agreed to the scheme and authorised the Agent General to sign the Agreement and also agreed to his being nominated to that body exactly on the same footing as other representatives. After explaining the constitution of the U.N.R.R.A. and how it would operate, Mr. Sukhtankar said that the attitude of the Government of India towards U.N.R.R.A. was one of sympathy and they had made it plain that any assistance which India gave must be on a limited scale and subject to the approval of the Legislature. So far they had made no payment whatsoever. Referring to the amendment discussed in the United States Congress for the inclusion of India within the scope of U. N. R. R, A. relief, Mr. Sukhtankar said that any assistance which the U. N. R. R. A. might afford was limited by shipping. Mere extension of help, he said, did not mean that much help would be coming. On the contribution of one per cent of the national income to the U. N. R. R. A., Mr. Sukhtankar was asked what would be India's contribution. He said that various estimates ranging from Rs. 67 to Rs. 112 per annum per head were calculated.

Pandit *H. N. Kunzru*, while supporting the motion, pointed out that any contribution that India might be called upon to bear should not be larger than was warranted by her resources. He urged that the Indian representative on the U. N. R. R. A. should be one who had the confidence of the people here, and Government should not follow the past precedent by nominating their own representatives. Mr. *Kumar Sankar Roy Chaudhury* supported the motion and said that the Legislature should elect a representative for the U. N. R. R. A.

Sir *K. Ramunni Menon* said that the U. N. R. R. A. was a good illustration of international union and welcomed India's participation in it. He wanted that India should have an adequate share of the personnel of the administration of U. N. R. R. A. Sir *N. Gopalaswami Iyengar* further supported the motion. He urged that India's contribution should be commensurate with her low economic standard.

## ENTRY OF INDIANS INTO KENYA

**6th. APRIL** :—The Council of State to-day passed Mr *P. N. Sapru's* resolution recommending immediate steps for securing the withdrawal of regulations having the effect of restricting the entry of Indian immigrants into Kenya which came into force recently. Mr. *R. N. Bannerjee*, Commonwealth Relations Secretary accepted the resolution on behalf of the Government. He said that they had received

the categorical assurance from the Governments of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika that the Regulations were purely temporary and would be terminated with other wartime regulations and that they would be applied to all non-native immigrants without any distinction whatsoever. With regard to the provision prohibiting the re-entry of persons, who had been away, for more than two years, the Government of India had the assurance that this part of the regulations would not be enforced rigidly but due allowance would be made to the circumstances of each particular case.

Pandit *Kunzru*, Mr. *Hossain Imam*, Mr. *Kalikar* and Mr. *Sapru*, in the course of their speeches, urged the need, which they said had been shown by the circumstances of this regulation, for the appointment of a diplomatic representative for India in East Africa. Mr. Banerjee pointed out that Indian residents in East Africa apparently felt strong enough to safeguard their interests and were not anxious to have an agent. But in view of the strong feeling expressed in the country the Government of India should take up the matter.

### Muslims' Share in Services

The House rejected by 22 votes to 4, Mr. *Hossain Imam's* resolution recommending that the share of Muslims in Central services be increased to 30 per cent of the total, direct recruitment and promotions being combined.

### Delhi Muslim Waqfs Amend. Bill

The Council passed Mr. *Khurshid Ali Khan's* Bill to amend the Delhi Muslim Waqfs Act, and the official Bills to extend tariff protection to certain commodities and amend the Factories Act.

### U. N. R. R. A. Agreement

Resuming discussion on Mr. *Sukhtankar's* motion (moved yesterday) approving the U. N. R. R. A. agreement, Mr. P. N. Sapru gave his support to India's participation in the scheme but urged that the vote of the Indian legislature should prevail in the matter of selecting representatives. In regard to India's contribution, he urged that her peculiar circumstances must be taken into consideration. The Commerce Member, Sir *Aziz-ul-Haque*, winding up the debate, said that there seemed to have been some misunderstanding about the scope of the U. N. R. R. A. It was not intended to provide relief to areas affected by war conditions, but its object was to give relief to those areas which would be liberated by Allied forces either by conquest or by the retreat of the enemy. He opposed the suggestion that the representatives from India should be elected by the Legislature and said whether it was a Government working under the present constitution, or any other future constitution, they could not possibly select an international representative by discussion in the Legislature. He referred to the remarks that India was not represented on the Supply Council and other Councils and said the Government of India would not let the matter go. He, however, doubted whether it would be possible for him to find experts to go out of the country to sit on these committees.

The House passed the motion and adjourned '*sine die*.'

# The Central Legislative Assembly

## Budget Session—New Delhi—7th. February to 5th. April 1944

### Adjournment Motions Disallowed

The Budget Session of the Central Legislative Assembly commenced at New Delhi on the 7th. February 1944. Five adjournment motions were disallowed either by the Chair or by the Governor-General. The Governor-General, in a message on Mr. *A. C. Datta's* motion to discuss the appointment of Mr. Casey as the Governor of Bengal, declared that it related to a matter which was not primarily the concern of the Governor-General-in-Council.

The Chair ruled out *Sardar Mangal Singh's* two motions, one, on the dispersal of the Mahasabha procession in Amritsar, and the other on the incidents in Haripur where a Gurdwara and a temple were burnt by an unruly mob. The Chair held that they were matters within the Provincial Government's sphere.

Mr. *Kailash Behari Lal* attemped an adjournment motion to discuss "the disappearance of rice" from Patna and Bhagalpur as a sequel to the partial introduction of rationing. The *Food Member* said that the Government of India were not aware of the facts but from enquiries made after receiving notice of the motion, he had been told that the facts were not as stated in the motion. Rice was still to be found in sufficient quantities in these two places. Government, however, were awaiting reports from the Provincial Governments. Mr. *Kailash Behari Lal* reiterated that his facts were correct and added that during a visit which he paid to Bhagalpur after giving notice of the motion he found that no rice was available in the market. The *Chair* suggested that the mover should put down a question.

The *President* ruled out *Sardar Mangal Singh's* adjournment motion to discuss the Orders issued on the *Hindusthan Times* and the *National Call* prohibiting the publication of statements made by or attributed to Mahatma Gandhi or members of the Congress Working Committee. *Sir Reginald Maxwell*, Home Member, objecting to the motion explained it was issued under the Defence of India Rules.

### Govt. Order On Mrs. Naidu

The Assembly next rejected by 42 votes to 40 Mr. *A. C. Datta's* adjournment motion to censure Government on their order on *Mrs. Naidu* directing her not to make any public speeches or issue directly or indirectly any statement to the press or otherwise communicate her views to the public. *Sir Reginald Maxwell*, Home Member, defended the official policy in imposing a ban on Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. He tried to import into his argument that it was unfair to give freedom of speech to Mrs. Naidu which was denied to her colleagues of the Congress Working Committee. Mr. *Abdul Qayum* and Mr. *Lahiri Chowdhury* were the only two speakers from among the twelve Congress members who attended the session to-day. Both of them challenged the Government to give the Congress a chance to defend itself against the various allegations made by Government propagandists. But the Muslim League, which also supported the censure motion, adopted a different line of attack, demanding that, if the Government still thought Mrs. Naidu dangerous enough, then she would not have been released at all. The Naionalists, however, differed from this view and supported the motion because the ban orders on Mrs. Naidu amounted to a declaration of the Government policy that they did not want a solution of the deadlock. Mr. *Krishnamachari* and Mr. *Neogy* picked out the weak spots in the Home Member's armour. To the Home Member's suggestion that Gandhiji himself could have published his letter to the people of Orissa, advising them of their attitude in the event of Japanese invasion, Mr. Neogy effectively retorted that Gandhiji was not then, as he is now, thrown on his defence.

### Release of Political Prisoners

8th. JANUARY :—The Assembly to-day rejected without division Mr. *Lalchand Navalrai's* resolution recommending the release of political prisoners with a view to removing the present political deadlock and furthering the war effort. The Home Member, Sir *Reginald Maxwell* said that if Government were asked to release the Congress leaders, they must be assured that the results would be beneficial to India and to war effort. The Home Member gave an outline of the story of the deadlock

For List of Members See 1943 Vol. I.

and said it was a story of consistent and repeated refusal of all offers of the Government intended to secure the co-operation of the Congress with other parties in the war administration and to secure a settlement of the deadlock. Mr. *Abdul Qaiyum* (Congress) said they would not ask or beg for the release of the leaders and added: "There can be no question of withdrawal of the resolution of August 1942. If there is going to be any withdrawal, it will have to be done by the Government. There can be no retreat, you can keep these gentlemen in jail as long as as you like." The *President* disallowed Mr. *T. T. Krishnamachari's* amendment to the resolution on the ground that it was beyond the scope of the resolution. The amendment sought to recommend the dissolution of the present Legislative Assembly after the present budget session with a view to holding fresh elections and reconstitution of the Governor-General's Executive Council so as to include in it persons commanding the confidence of all the important groups in the Assembly.

Speaking on the resolution, Mr. *Lalchand Navalrai* pleaded for the release of political prisoners on the ground that it would be a right step in ending the deadlock. No political party in India would object to this. He thought that the atmosphere in the country had now changed for the better as was evidenced by the new Ordinance relating to the detention of persons. He hoped that when the Viceroy addressed the Legislature next week, he would be gracious enough to direct that all these prisoners would be forthwith released. Their release was essential, he added, if the present tangle was to be ended. The Congress leaders must be enabled, he urged, to hold consultations amongst themselves on the one hand and with other important parties on the other before any settlement could be reached.

### Working of Women Underground

The House then took up Mrs. *Renuka Ray's* adjournment motion, to censure the action of the Government in permitting women to work underground in mines in Jharia and its neighbourhood, was lost by 41 votes to 23. The Europeans voted with the Government, while the Muslim League party, the Independents and the Congress Nationalist party voted for the motion. Congress members had left the House earlier. Mrs. Ray, moving the adjournment, reminded the House that the Government of India was one of the signatories to the Geneva Labour Convention prohibiting the employment of women underground in coal mines. The convention did not contain any clause enabling any participant nation to suspend the convention. The Government of India was thus guilty of a gross breach of international convention solemnly entered into. Apart from this, Mrs. Ray declared that even in England to-day, it had not been found necessary to permit women to work underground. She asserted that shortage of labour on coalfields was due to low wages and bad living conditions and she said that the average wage in Jharia, even with the present dearness allowance, amounted to not more than Rs. 14 or Rs. 15 per month. It ought to have been possible, she insisted, for the Government to find other means to remedy this shortage of labour without permitting women to work underground. Dr. *Ambedkar*, answering the debate, asserted that Government did not take the decision to allow women labour underground in a headlong or wanton manner. He emphasised the temporary nature of the notification and made it clear the moment it was found that the provision was not necessary, he would have no hesitation in withdrawing it. He also mentioned the steps the Government were taking to recruit labour from outside and send them to the mines and also labour camps to provide labour for military contractors so that they might not attract labourers from the mines. The Government had also insisted that the women should get the same wage as a man so that women would not be exploited. After a brief reply by Mrs. Ray, the motion was pressed to a division and declared lost.

### Executive Onslaught on Bar

**9th. FEBRUARY**:—The Opposition censured Government today for "the reign of terror" it had established in the country. It was a single vote that turned the scales against the Government, but the Opposition made the most of it by vociferous cheers and loud thumping of desks. The motion, which stood in the name of Mr. *M. A. Kazmi*, raised a issue, namely. the onslaught of the Executive on the Bar and the Bench in India. The cases of Mr. *Pardiwala* of Bombay, and *Pandit Baijnath* of Agra, were held up by the speakers on the non-official side as instances of unscrupulous victimisation of members of the legal profession for no greater offence than that of defending political suspects. Mr. *Frank Anthony*, the Anglo-Indian member, delivered a scathing condemnation of the entire system of Judicial administration in this country which vested judicial and executive functions

in the hands of the Magistracy. He described the system as "reign of terror par excellence." Pandit *Lakshmi Kanta Mitra*, who followed Mr. Anthony, was so carried away by his own vehement denunciation of the executive that he strongly resented an interruption from the Home Member and snapped back : You have no business to interrupt me." Raising his voice to its highest possible pitch, Mr. *A. C. Dutta*, Deputy President of the Assembly, asked the Home Member : "You say it is the Defence of India Act. But whose India is it ? Is it the India of the bureaucrats and not the India of the Indians ?" The *Home Member* intervened at this stage of the debate. But his defence was based on much the same grounds as those on which he opposed admission of the motion itself earlier in the day. His plea that the Centre was powerless in the face of the Constitution Act to interfere with provincial administrations was met with ironic booings from non-official benches. Warming up in his argument, he asked in a rhetorical flourish : "What would the Muslim League Party say if, for instance, the Centre interfered with the League Ministers in Sind or Bengal ?" The Hindu members from Bengal and Sind denied that there were League Ministers in those provinces but it was enough to bring *Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan* to his feet. The Deputy Leader of the Muslim League Party used the occasion to have a fling at the Food Member, Sir *Jwala Prasad Srivastava*, who could issue directives from the Centre in petty matters like the number of private and Government shops. His contention was that the Governor of a province was the real custodian of law and order.

### Working of Reciprocity Act

**10th. FEBRUARY** :—The Assembly disposed of there official Bills today and adjourned till Monday next. The *Chair* called on Mr. *Govind Deshmukh* to move the adjournment motion which had been admitted to censure the Government on their dilatory tactics to defeat the purpose of the Reciprocity Act, as evidenced by the answers given by the Indians Overseas Member." Dr. *N. B. Khare*, appealing to Mr. Deshmukh not to move the motion at the present stage, gave an assurance that Government were doing everything they could in the matter. Negotiations were going on at present between the Governments of India and South Africa. Mr. *Deshmukh* agreed and withdrew the motion.

Earlier, the *Commerce Member's* Bill to amend the Coffee Market Expansion Act of 1942 was passed.

### Central Coconut Comm. Bill

Mr. *J. D. Tyson's* Bill to provide for the creation of a fund for the improvement and development of the cultivation, marketing and utilization of coconuts in India was referred to a Select Committee. The Bill sought to establish an Indian Central Coconut Committee with an independent source of income, which, Mr. Tyson said, would probably come from the levy of a cess on coconuts. There was reason to believe, he added, that the present production of coconuts could be increased in a comparatively short time by the adoption of better cultural and manurial practices. Coir and coir-manufactured goods would for the present be exempted from the purview of the proposed committee in deference to the wishes of the Govenment of Travancore and the Chambers of Commerce in the State.

### Consolidation of Excise Laws

**14th. FEBRUARY** :—The Assembly today took up for consideration the Finance Member's Bill to consolidate and amend the law relating to Central excise duties, as reported by the Select Committee. The Finance Member, moving consideration, stated that the measure was essential as it consolidated a number of enactments in respect of excise, some of which dated back 60 years or more. It was highly desirable that the law relating to Excise duties should be simplified and made uniform so that it could be understood by the public. Mr. *T. T. Krishnamachari* (Nationalist) opposed the Bill on the ground that its full implications had not been made clear to the public at any stage. The price paid for uniformity should not mean that people should be subjected to more harassment and restrictions. Mr. *Essak Sait* (Muslim League) asked for an assurance that beyond consolidating the existing provisions of law, the Bill did not introduce any new principle. Such an assurance would facilitate the passage of the Bill. Dr. *P. N. Banerjee* thought that the measure went beyond mere consolidation. So far as the Government were concerned it might simplify their task but for the public the Bill sought to give very wide powers to excise officers and the Revenue Board, which would be very unsatisfactory. There was

no urgency for bringing a Bill of such far-reaching consequences before the House. He suggested that the Bill be given fuller consideration. Winding up the debate, the *Finance Member* said that the Bill had been before the public since the last session of the Assembly. Not a single line of criticism had been received from any chambers of commerce or other bodies which might be affected by the Bill. The apprehensions entertained by the previous speakers were vague beyond amendments, which were inevitable when trying to reproduce the gist of no less than 17 enactments, the Bill contained only one new item, which was included in the rulemaking powers; but there was no principle involved in it, By consolidating the provisions of the different excise Acts, he thought the public would be able to understand the law more easily. He was convinced that the House by passing the Bill would be doing an important and useful duty to the country.

During the debate on the clauses of the Bill, Mr. *Krishnamachari* moving his amendment relating to salt manufactured for domestic purposes, said that it was but meet that legislative sanction should be accorded to a practice which had been in existence for the last 13 years, ever since the Irwin-Gandhi Pact. Mr. *M. Nauman* (Muslim League) could see absolutely no reason why the Government should not be willing to place on the statute book the exemption sought by the amendment, as it had been in vogue for such a long time. The *Finance Member* declared that the Government did not intend to retract from the Irwin-Gandhi Pact, would be quite willing to meet the desire of the House if there was no technical difficulty. He suggested that the amendment be left over to enable him to look into the matter closely. He added that the Government did not intend to levy any duty on salt collected or manufactured for domestic purposes by any person. The House then adjourned till Wednesday.

## RAILWAY BUDGET FOR 1944-45

**16th. FEBRUARY** :—The railway estimates presented by *Sir Edward Benthall* in the Assembly to-day forecast for 1943-44 a surplus of Rs. 43.77 crores (1.30 crores less than last year but 7.73 crores more than the original estimates) and for 1944-45 a surplus of 52.21 crores.

In 1943-44 total traffic receipts are expected to be 178½ crores, 23 crores more than last year and 28½ crores more than the original estimates. Total working expenses including 16,88 crores for depreciation and 1.71 for payment to worked lines, are 108.58 crores and exceed last year's expenses by 24.32 crores. Of the expected surplus of 43.77, general revenues will receive 32.27 crores which is 12 14 crores more than the original budget, the balance of 11.50 crores going to the Railway Reserve.

After considering the recommendation of the Railway Convention Committee, Government have decided to make an additional appropriation of 4 crores to the depreciation fund as an emergency provision to cover excessive wear and tear of assets during the war. The net accretion to the Fund will be 5.86 crores, raising the balance to 87.93 crores. The balance in the Railway Reserve will rise from 9.35 crores to 20.85 crosses.

Passenger fares, except for suburban season tickets will be raised by 25% from April 1. 1944. The additional earnings are estimated at 10 crores. They will not be shared between general revenues and railways but will be placed in the Railway Reserve specifically earmarked for expenditure on lower class travel amenities. Since there is now no slack season, the surcharge on coal will be continued at 20% throughout the year instead of being reduced to 15% for seven months of the year as hitherto Railways' capacity to move traffic will also be greater next year due to receipt of additional locomotives. For these reasons the budget estimate assumes traffic receipts of 192 crores, 13½ crores more than the current year. Total working expenses including depreciation and payment to worked lines, are estimated at 114.28 crores, 5 70 crores more than the current year.

The surplus for commercial lines is anticipated to be 53.36 crores and the loss of strategic lines 1.15 crores giving a net surplus of 52.21 crores. After earmarking 10 crores for amenities for lower class travel (the earnings from increase in passenger fares), the surplus for commercial lines will be divided between general revenues and railways in the proportion of 3 : 1, the same as in 1943-44. The general revenues will get 31.37 crores and 10 84 crores will be transferred to the Railway Reserve, which will, at the end of the year, stand at 31.69 crores or including the amount earmarked for amenities at 41.69 crores. In the depreciation fund there will be a balance of 82.05 crores.

Against a works programme of 58.17 crores which includes 8 crores for the purchases of Madras and Southern Mahratta and South Indian Railways, 52 lakhs for the balance of the purchase price of Bengal and North Western and Rohilkund and Kumaon Railways and 67 lakhs for the purchase of Guzerat and Dhond Baramati Railways, there is a provision of 51.7 crores (28.7 crores from capital and 23 crores from depreciation fund) out of which no less than 34.24 crores is for rolling stock.

Sir Edward Benthall disclosed a picture of rising receipts and growing expenditure combined with an ever-increasing strain on Railways. With no increase in the number of engines and coaches and negligible increase in the number of wagons, the railways have, in the first six months of the current year, achieved 8.6% more freight ton miles and 30% more passenger miles, the bulk of the later increase being under civilian traffic. Steps are being taken to increase bus service in areas where the war effort is likely to suffer from the existing congestion of passenger traffic. The publicity campaign against unnecessary travel will also be intensified.

There have been delays in both engine and wagon delivery programmes but both metre and broad gauge engines are now coming forward in a steady flow to meet the growing demand for rail transport. It is expected that before March 31 106 broad gauge and 214 metre gauge locomotives and 1,900 broad gauge and 2,950 metre gauge wagons will have been received and in the next year another 284 broad gauge and 288 metre gauge locomotives and 5,824 broad gauge and 10,626 metre gauge wagons are expected. For the repair of engines and wagons, workshop capacity is being steadily taken back from the manufacture of munitions although 20,000 workers are still engaged on munition work.

To increase line capacity Government are doubling 750 miles on certain sections of the Bengal Nagpur, Bengal and Assam and East Indian Railways and adding a fourth line between Asansol and Khana.

During the year, breaches occurred on 13 railways, the greatest havoc having been caused by the Damodar river breaching its bund, which interrupted traffic on the East Indian Railway for 64 days. As a measure of security against interruption of communications, a scheme, costing 24 lakhs, for providing wireless communication between important control points is well advanced.

Coal stocks have during the year 1943-44 fallen to the lowest figure on record and drastic steps have been taken to render the position more secure, which include more raisings from railway collieries.

While paying a tribute to the great loyalty of railway workers who have stuck to their work in difficult circumstances, Sir Edward Benthall described the ameliorative measures taken by Government who, claimed Sir Edward, had endeavoured to carry out their undertakings to the letter and in a spirit of appreciation of the services of the staff.

In Dec, 1943, 521 grain shops functioned and 776.000 ration card holders were served with 1,015,000 mds of food. The estimated loss on grain shops is 10 crores in the current year and 11½ crores in the next, when a further expansion is expected in the range of commodities. The possibility of the establishment of cost price canteens to provide for the necessaries of life of higher paid railwaymen is also under investigation. It has been decided to abolish the Lower Gazetted Service in due course but the proposal is not being proceeded with at present in order to avoid piecemeal reorganization. In due course, a comprehensive review of the salaries of all Government servants in the light of economic conditions which may be expected to prevail is foreshadowed.

Planning of post-war reconstruction has been taken vigorously in hand and the principal subjects on which the Railway Board are concentrating, in addition to the problem of rehabilitation, are (i) the implementing of the decision to construct locomotives in India, (ii) the improvement of the amenities of travel particularly for lower class passengers, (iii) development of staff welfare work, (iv) the improved handling of post-war traffic, (v) the participation of railways in road services and (v) the development of railways in accordance with the general policy of road and rail transport.

Sir Edward Benthall discussed at length ways of financing post-war measures, many of which would be unremunerative. He stated that it was clearly financially unsound that non-paying expenditure should be financed by loan and he gave reasons why the railways would not be able to meet such post-war schemes out of future surpluses. The question, therefore, arose whether it was reasonable to increase rates and fares. Rail transport was among the cheapest things in India today;

there had been only a 4½% overall increase over pre-war fares and the ability of passengers of all classes to pay for travel is greater than railways can cater for. It was not a mere coincidence that the increase in travel took place in the period in which the inflationary tendencies became more prominent. Sir Edward Benthall continued that there were three good reasons for increasing the fares, namely, the effect that such increase might have on reducing or at any rate preventing further increase of passenger travel, the deflationary effect owing to the immobilization of substantial volume of currency and the opportunity of taking the first step towards building up a fund for post-war reconstruction purposes.

As regards the latter, he stated : "The argument in favour of building up a fund for post-war purposes is to my mind paramount and irrefutable and the Governments of the future would rightly blame our short-sightedness and lack of courage if we failed to put them in a position to carry through the post-war plan which we are preparing for their fulfilment." For these reasons, Government have decided from April 1, 1944, to increase rail fares ( including fares for military passengers travelling at their own cost ) by 25% so long as present conditions exist. Sir Edward Benthall made it clear that money taken from the railway-user now would be expended for his benefit later when times were less good. The entire proceeds from this increase, which are expected to be 10 crores in 1944-45, will therefore be placed in the Railway Reserve but earmarked for an amenities fund for lower class passengers. This was the first positive move towards the finance of post-war reconstruction.

Sir Edward Benthall concluded by thanking the Chief Commissioner, Sir Leonard Wilson, and other railwaymen for the work they had done. The increase of traffic achieved with little or no new equipment was work to be proud of. But more and more traffic had got to be moved and every operation on the railways had got to be speeded up. For many the work was arduous and the strain prolonged, but he ended by recalling to the railwaymen the words of Sir Francis Drake on the eve of battle : "Lord God, when, Thou givest to Thy servants to endeavour any great matter, grant us also to know that it is not the beginning, but the continuing of the same until it be thoroughly finished which yieldeth the true glory."

### The Central Excise Bill

The Assembly later passed the Central Excise Bill with the amendments accepted on Monday, but without the provision embodying the Irwin-Gandhi Pact relating to salt. Members of the Nationalist Party made an effort to add a separate clause giving statutory form to the provisions of the Pact, but after an assurance by the Finance Member they decided not to press their demand. In the course of the debate the Finance Member first explained that the Government had given considerable attention to the matter. There was a good deal more in the agreement of March 5, 1931, and in the explanatory Press communique of May 26, 1931, than was included in the amendment suggested. The Government had no intention of departing from the practice which had been adopted ever since the agreement was entered into ; but at the same time there were included in that agreement certain safeguards and these must always be included so long as an arrangement of this kind was in force. In his own opinion, the arrangement was already suitably embodied in the form of the agreement, and in that form was well understood, both by the villagers and by departmental officers. He could not see that it was a matter which ought to be given an unduly rigid form by being included in the statute as a separate section. All other exemptions of this kind and special arrangements were covered by exemption notifications or by rules made to secure the desired effect. He, however, had endeavoured to see in what form it could be incorporated in this measure, and he read out a draft amendment which while exempting from the purview of the Act, salt collected for domestic consumption, laid down provisions against abuse of the provisions. A number of members suggested postponement till tomorrow so that a more comprehensive amendment could be attempted. The Finance Member declined to agree to this. He reiterated that nothing would be gained by pressing an amendment of the kind suggested. The debate had the effect of making the Government reaffirm their intention to abide by the letter and the spirit of the agreement. The Bill was passed.

### H. E. the Viceroy's Address

**17th. FEBRUARY** : —The following is the text of the address delivered by H. E. the Viceroy to a joint session of the Central Legislature to-day :—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It has been the practice of Viceroys to address the Legislature at the first opportunity after taking office. Hitherto it has happened that the earliest opportunity has been about six months after the Viceroy's arrival. For myself, as you know, the first opportunity occurred within so short a time that I felt obliged to postpone the occasion. I have now spent some four very busy months in my post ; and am prepared to offer you such views and guidance as I can, at this momentous stage of India's history. You need not regard them as final views. I always look forward to making fresh contacts and gaining fresh knowledge. But they indicate certain principles on which action for the progress of India must, I consider, be based.

The last address to you by a Viceroy was at the end of the longest term of office in the history of the appointment. It was not only the longest term but the most exacting. Lord Linlithgow's patience, strength and administrative skill were shown to the full in those difficult years. The war inevitably interrupted or hampered much of the work which was nearest to his heart, to further the material prosperity and constitutional progress of India. As time goes by, the greatness of the service he rendered to India in those critical years will become even more apparent.

Though not entirely a stranger to this Legislature, I have till lately served India as a soldier. As a soldier, in the positions which I have held during this war, I know better perhaps than anyone what the United Nations owe to India for our success in the struggle against Nazism and Fascism and the barbarous ambitions of Japan. I shall do my best to see that the debt is acknowledged and paid, not only with tributes of words but with practical aid. I will also try to pay my personal debt to the Indian soldier for his gallant and enduring service by doing my best to further the welfare of the Indian peoples of whom the Indian soldier is the fitting representative. Though the soldier stands in the limelight, it is not only to the soldier that the United Nations owe gratitude. The Indian worker also, and many others in India, have made a very great and vital contribution to the war effort.

## War Against Axis

My first task here is to assist the South-East Asia Command to drive the enemy from the gates of India. There can be no peace or prosperity for India or anyone else till the Japanese ambitions are utterly destroyed. I need say little to you on the general course of the war. You have seen for yourselves how the United Nations took and withstood the dangerous shocks of three years of war—war for which their enemies had planned and prepared, while they had planned for peace ; and how they rallied from those shocks in irresistible strength. You have seen how the spirit of the British people flashed like a sword from its sheath at the challenge of the disasters in France ; how they faced a triumphant Germany for a year, almost alone and unequipped, but undaunted ; how they won the Battle of Britain against the mighty German air force, and the battle of the Atlantic against Germany's many U-boats, and, with the aid of the Dominions and India and the United States, the Battle of the Mediterranean and Africa against the combined strength of German and Italian sea and air forces. You have seen how Russia met the mightiest, the most formidably equipped the most mobile, the most highly trained, the most arrogantly confident force of fighting men ever launched by land ; and has hurled them back in defeat and ruin, as she did another would-be world conqueror 130 years ago. As one who has seen much of the Russian soldier both in peace and in war, I have watched with special interest the prowess of an army and people I have always liked and admired. You have seen too how the United States of America has recovered from the treacherous surprises of Pearl Harbour and Manila, and how powerful a fighting machine she has organised to carry her counter-offensive to Japan. You have seen China indomitable for over six years though almost unarmed. You are joined with four of the toughest nations of the world in spirit and action. The end is certain and you may be proud of your contribution to it.

When the end will come it is difficult yet to say. Germany is reeling under a series of shocks, physical and moral, which may well put her out of the ring at an early date, though we must not count on it. We shall then be able to intensify the war against Japan. You realise the physical difficulties of the reconquest of Burma and of the other territory seized by the Japanese early in the war. It will be accomplished, but it needs careful training and preparation.

INDIA'S FOOD PROBLEM

India, as one of the principal bases of the war against Japan, must be organised. To maintain stability we must solve our economic problems. Food, which is the most important of them, was so fully debated in both Houses at the last session of the Legislature that I need say little here about it. It is an all-India problem, which my Government is trying to organise on an all-India basis. The key points in our plan are the strict supervision of dealers under the Food-grains Control Order, the avoidance of competitive buying in the procurement of Government requirements, statutory price control over movements, and rationing in the larger towns. We rely for success on the administrative energy of the Provincial Governments and on parallel action in the Indian States, and I am glad to say that during the past four months we have made progress. We are not out of the woods yet, but, backed by substantial imports, I believe we can improve our food position greatly in 1944. Our aim is not to favour the townsman at the expense of the cultivator, but to see that the stable foodgrains are available to all at prices at once fair to the cultivator and within the means of the poorer members of our population. The "Grow More Food" campaign has already produced valuable additions to our supplies and will, I am sure, produce more. There is likely to be a world shortage for some years after the war during the period of recovery, and India must be prepared to stand by herself as far as possible. A bold agricultural policy will be necessary.

The situation in Bengal is special, and has caused my Government grave anxiety. But there too conditions have improved, and I trust will continue to improve. We must run no risk of last year's disaster being repeated.

The food problem is closely linked with the inflationary threat, which we are determined to avert. The Finance Member will deal fully with this in introducing the budget, and I do not intend to speak now of the remedies he will propose. I need only say that there has been a distinct improvement in the rate of savings and that we have made some progress in increasing the supply and bringing down the prices of consumers goods manufactured in India, as well as of those imported from abroad. The new Department of Industries and Civil Supplies has a formidable task ahead of it, but has made a good start with standard cloth, the release of woollen goods to the general public, and the control of the prices of imported drugs.

The transportation system has been subjected to great strains which it has supported creditably, thanks to the fine work of our railwaymen to whose steadiness and regularity we owe a great deal. I know that conditions of travel are not easy for the general public; I am afraid that that is inevitable in wartime and is a condition obtaining practically throughout the world at present.

The latest problem to confront not only the transportation authorities, but public bodies, industrialists, and private households throughout India is shortage of coal. The seasonal fall in raisings which occurs in the last quarter of the year was abnormally great in 1943. There were reasons for this—an exceptionally good harvest, the presence of easier and better paid work in the coalfields, difficulties about the supply of food, and the epidemic of malaria, combined to draw labour away from the mines and to take their return slow. Labour conditions are beginning to return to normal; but there is much to be done to improve the raising and distribution of coal and conditions in the coalfields. My Government has appointed a Coal Commissioner to study all the factors bearing on production and movement and to see that the policy of the departments concerned is effectively carried out. We shall, I hope, effect a considerable improvement though it may take time.

GOVERNMENT AND THE WAR

Unless and until some other form of government can be established with general consent, the present Government of India, mainly an Indian Government, will continue to carry out to the best of its ability—and I am satisfied that it is a very good ability—the primary purposes of any government—the maintenance of law and order, the duties of internal administration, and the preparation for the work ahead at the end of the war. The winning of this war is our first task, but it must not exclude preparation for the future.

We are approaching the end of the greatest of all wars. On the whole, in view of the scale of the dangers and disasters to the world as a whole, India has come through it with less hurt than any other nation in the front line. And the war has in many directions enhanced her opportunities and prospects. It has

hastened her industrial development, it will increase food production, it has strengthened her financial position. That it has not brought, as in certain other countries, an increased unity of spirit and purpose is an unhappy circumstance which we all deplore. There is, however, nothing more unprofitable than to indulge in recriminations about the past. We must look forward and not back. The post-war world will be for India a world of great opportunities and great dangers, in which she has an outstanding role to play. It is our present business to prepare her materially and morally for these testing years.

Let us count the blessings first. India has great undeveloped resources, in agriculture and in industry. Her soil is not yet cultivated to its full fruitfulness; with improvement in methods, in irrigation, and in fertilisation, we can increase our food supply greatly both in quality and quantity. We can much improve the breed of cattle. There is wide scope for development in India's main industry, agriculture. There are also great commercial possibilities in India. There are mineral resources still undeveloped; there is abundant labour, a portion of which has now attained a considerable degree of technical skill. India has many experienced and able men of business. Her financial position at the end of this war should be a good one. There are almost unlimited markets, internal and external for her produce.

Such are her main economic assets. She has, however, also many economic difficulties and disabilities. The pressure of increasing population, the small percentage of educated persons, the low standard of health services, the poor conditions in which the greater part both of agricultural and labouring populations live, the flagrant contrast between wealth and poverty, the inadequacy of communications, all mark the immensity of the problem which confronts India in raising the standard of living. Our task is to use rightly and to best advantage her great economic assets not to increase the wealth of the few, but to raise the many from poverty to a decent standard of comfort. A hard task indeed, but a noble task, which calls from all for a spirit of co-operation, a spirit of hope and a spirit of sacrifice.

The present Government means to prepare the way for India's post-war development with all earnestness of spirit and with all resources, official and non-official, which it can enlist. We have to consider first of all the "winding-up" process that follows all wars—the demobilisation and re-settlement of soldiers, the termination of wartime contracts with industry and the orderly return of industrial labour to peace time tasks; the dispersal of property and stocks of goods acquired for war purposes. Our great aim must be to plan for economic and social development so as to raise our standards of living and general welfare. We must lift the poor man of India from poverty to security; from ill-health to vigour; from ignorance to understanding: and our rate of progress must no longer be at bullock-cart standard but at least at the pace of the handly and serviceable Jeep.

### Post-War Problems

"As you know the development of India is being dealt with by a Committee of my Executive Council, which is assisted by a number of other committees with a strong non-official element. I am considering means to strengthen our planning organisation and to accelerate our progress. Much useful preliminary work has been done, and we have now reached a stage at which, for certain subjects at least, as for example the demobilisation and resettlement of soldiers, definite planning can begin in some detail. Over the greater part of the field, our actual conduct after the war will depend to some extent—often to a great extent—on international factors, such as tariff policy in international currency, of which we can at present know little. But we need not wait on these; on the big questions of policy we have to make certain broad assumptions, and we are now deciding what our assumptions should be. Concurrently, we are appointing individual development officers—not committees—to draw up outline plans for subjects such as electrification, industries, road development, irrigation and agriculture. We are also arranging to give opportunities for bodies of Indians connected with industry, the health services, and other branches of development to visit the United Kingdom, and if required, the U. S. A., to study for the benefit of India the latest developments in their line of work. For the main social services we already have the Educational Adviser's memorandum, and shall later have the report of the Bhore Committee on Medicine and Public Health. I believe that during 1944 our plans will take shape: they must cover the whole of India and the Provinces and States will, I

am sure, co-operate with the Centre in producing the best and most comprehensive possible statement of our needs. I and my Government are in earnest in doing all we can to further India's progress after the war.

### Bombay Economic Plan

We welcome constructive suggestions ; and my Government is examining with interest the plan recently propounded by seven prominent business men. The views of the authors of this plan on the objects to be achieved are in principle the same as those of my Government—we must work for a substantial increase in stardards of living and social welfare. We may, on examination, differ on the methods to be employed, their relative importance in the plan as a whole, the part to be played by the State and by private enterprise, and the financial practicability of development on the scale contemplated within the time suggested by the authors ; but our aim is similar and we welcome any sincere contribution to the problem that sets people thinking and makes them realise both the possibilities and the pitfalls ahead of us.

As I said at Calcutta, it may in the initial stages be necessary for the Government of India and the Provincial Governments to devote the larger proportion of the resources available to economic development, agricultural and industrial, so as to increase the wealth of the country. But you may rest well assured that the vital matters of health and education will not be allowed to stand still, and that the recommendations of the Educational Adviser and the Bbore Committee will receive the most earnest consideration. So much for India's economic future. It should be possible, if all goes well to make good progress ; and to lay plans well ahead. It is more difficult at present to plan India's political future in any detail. I can state to you what I know is the point of view of practically the whole of the British people, of His Majesty's present Government and I am confident, of any future Government of the United Kingdom. It is their genuine desire to see India a prosperous country, a united country, enjoying complete and unqualified Self-Government as a willing partner of the British Commonwealth. That last desire is not prompted by any sense of imperialism or wish for domination, but by a real belief that, in such association, India can best find security and help in the testing years ahead, and that peace in the East can so be best assured.

I am absolutely convinced not only that the above represents the genuine desire of the British people, but that they wish to see an early realisation of it. It is qualified only at present by an absolute determination to let nothing stand in the way of the earliest possible defeat of Germany and Japan ; and by a resolve to see that, in the solution of the constitutional problem, full account is taken of the interests of those who have loyally supported us in this war and at all other times —the soldiers who have served the common cause, the people who have worked with us ; the rulers and populations of the States to whom we are pledged ; the minorities who have trusted us to see that they get a fair deal. We are bound in justice, in honour, in the interests of progress, to hand over India to Indian rule, which can maintain the peace and order and progress which we have endeavoured to establish. I believe that we should take some risk to further this ; but until the two main Indian parties at least can come to terms, I do not see any immediate hope of progress.

### Cripps Offer

The Cripps Offer was a bold and generous offer and gave India a great opportunity to progress towards solution of her problem. Be well assured that it was not made in any panic. I can say that with certainty : I was Commander-in-Chief at the time and in a position to know that there was no panic in the Councils of those in authority, either in India or in the United Kingdom. We are not a people who panic easily in the face of danger. The offer was made in the hope that, as the war had come so close to India and threatened its national life, it might arouse, as in other countries, a spirit of unity and co-operation that would have overridden political differences in the hour of danger. That hope was not fulfilled. There is no profit in recriminations about the reasons for the rejection of the Cripps Offer. But since that Offer, as has been stated more than once by His Majesty's Government, is still open, it may be well to restate it here.

Nearly two years have passed since the Cripps draft declaration was made public, but it stands forth to-day as the solemn pledge of His Majesty's Government

that India shall have full control of her own destiny among the nations of the Commonwealth and of the world. It declared in unmistakable terms that India should have the same status as the Dominions or the United Kingdom itself under the constitution of her own devising. It also embodied a constructive suggestion by His Majesty's Government to aid India in the attainment of that status. Proposals were made for setting up a constitution-making body, representative, both of British India and of the Indian States ; and His Majesty's Government undertook to accept and implement the constitution framed by this body, subject to two conditions. First, the declaration recognised the right of a province not to accede to the Indian Union. Such provinces could either retain their present constitutional position ; or if they so desired, His Majesty's Government would agree with them upon a new constitution giving them the same status as the new Indian Union itself. Second, the declaration made provision for the signing of a treaty between His Majesty's Government and the constitution-making body to provide for matters arising out of the transfer of power, including protection for racial and religious minorities. It was made clear beyond all doubt, that this treaty would not impose any restrictions upon the power of the Indian Union to decide in the future its relationship with the other States of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

The Cripps Offer was an offer to India of full Self-Government, of the right to frame her own constitution, and even of the right, if she so desired, to sever her partnership with the British Commonwealth. Because of the military situation—which still obtains—it was provided that, pending the framing of the future constitutions, the direction of Defence should remain the responsibility of His Majesty's Government, but it was contemplated that Indian leaders should be associated not only with the Government of their country as under the existing constitution necessarily, till a new constitution was framed and accepted—but with the counsels of the Commonwealth and of the United Nations.

### 'Quit India' Resolution

The offer of co-operation in the Government on this basis by the leaders of Indian opinion is still open to those who have a genuine desire to further the prosecution of the war and the welfare of India. But the demand for release of those leaders who are in detention is an utterly barren one until there is some sign on their part of willingness to co-operate. It needs no consultation with any one or anything but his own conscience for any one of those under detention to decide whether he will withdraw from the 'Quit India' resolution and the policy which had such tragic consequences and will co-operate in the great tasks ahead.

Not the least of those tasks is the preliminary examination of the constitutional problems of India by an authoritative body of Indians. We should be ready to give this body every assistance it might desire in carrying out its task. For the present the Government of the country must continue to be a joint British and Indian affair—with the ultimate responsibility still remaining with the British Parliament, though it is exercised through a predominantly Indian Executive—until it can be transferred to a fresh constitution. But the framing of that future constitution is essentially and properly an Indian responsibility. Until they can agree on its form, the transfer of power cannot be made. We offered a suggestion in the Cripps Proposals, which may or may not have been suitable. If Indians can devise a method which will produce agreement more readily, so much the better. If I may offer a personal opinion, born of some experience, the smaller the body which discusses a difficult and controversial problem, the more likely it is that a profitable solution will emerge.

### Pakistan

On the main problem of Indian unity, the difference between Hindu and Muslim, I can only say this. You cannot alter geography. From the point of view of defence, of many internal and external economic problems, India is a natural unit. What arrangements you decide to make for the two great communities and certain other important minorities, as well as the Indian States, to live within that unit and to make the best use of its wealth and opportunities is for Indians to decide. That two communities and even two nations can make arrangements to live together in spite of differing cultures or religions, history provides many examples. The solutions of the problem have varied. England and Scotland, after centuries of strife, arrived at an absolute union ; in Canada the British and French elements reached a federal agreement which operates satisfactorily ; the French, Italian and German elements in Switzerland agreed on a different form of federa-

tion. In all the above, there were religious as well as racial differences. In the United States, many elements, racial and religious, have been fused into one great nation with a federal structure, after the bitter experience of a disastrous civil war. In Ireland, the conflicting elements have so far failed to unite, and Ireland has a sort of Pakistan, though the analogy is, of course only relative. The Soviet Union in Russia seems to have devised a new modification of its already flexible system, which will also no doubt, repay careful study. These examples are before India for her constitutionalists to study. It is for her to say which will most nearly fulfil her own needs. But no man can alter geography.

I have spoken to you frankly and bluntly as I have been taught to speak, as a soldier. Let me re-state the main principles which guide me in my heavy task and responsibility. Our primary object over-riding all others, must be not merely to make certain of winning the war—the United Nations have already done that by endurance through adversities, by sacrifice of comforts, by unity of spirit, by unremitting hard work—but to win it as speedily as possible and with the least draft on future prosperity. That is a great administrative task. The second task is to prepare for the future, economically and politically.

We cannot settle the future of this country without the full co-operation of the British and Indian people and the co-operation within the Indian people of Hindus, Muslims and other minority groups and of the Indian States.

I am conscious of the co-operation of many elements in this country—the eminent and patriotic Indians of my Executive Council and of Provincial Governments; the fighting forces of India, the largest forces ever raised in history by voluntary enlistment; the leaders and workers of industry who have made such a contribution to the war; the rulers of the Indian States. All these place India first in their thought and aims, but they have a practical view of the necessity for co-operation to realise progress.

### CONGRESS POLICY BARREN AND UNPRACTICAL

There is an important element which stands aloof; I recognise how much ability and high-mindedness it contains; but I deplore its present policy and methods as barren and unpractical. I should like to have the co-operation of this element in solving the present and the future problems of India. If its leaders feel that they cannot consent to take part in the present Government of India, they may still be able to assist in considering future problems But I see no reason to release those responsible for the declaration of August 8, 1942, until I am convinced that the policy of non-co-operation and even of obstruction has been withdrawn—not in sackcloth and ashes, that helps no one—but in recognition of a mistaken and unprofitable policy.

During the last three months, I have visited seven out of the eleven main provinces of British India and two Indian States. I am setting out to-morrow to visit two more provinces. I have seen something of the rural life as well as of the towns. I wonder whether, in considering India's economic and political problems, we always remember how much of India is countryside and how little urban, how many live in villages and how few, comparatively, in towns. I am impressed everywhere by the work which is being done for the betterment of India, both by officials and non-officials. India has a very small official administration for its size, but it has very fine services, the way in which they have stood up to the additional strain and work thrown on them by the war has been admirable. There are also a very large number of non-official bodies and persons who are doing great work for India. There is much goodwill and wisdom in India if we can harness it to a common purpose.

I have no desire to make invidious comparisons, but I do feel it worth while to point out that coalition governments by Indians for Indians is not an impossible ideal. It is being carried out at the Centre without friction; it has been carried on for nearly seven years with conspicuous success in the Punjab. Thanks to the leadership of men of goodsense, goodwill, and good courage, the affairs of that province have prospered with the minimum of communal friction; they have administered their province in the interests of the province, but also with regarding the interests of India and of the war effort of the United Nations to which the Punjab has made so striking a contribution. I will make bold enough to say that had all provinces worked the 1935 Act in the same spirit and with the same efficiency, India would now be very close to complete self-government.

We have come a long way together up the steep and difficult mountain at the

summit of which lies complete Indian self-government. We are almost within sight of the top, but, as with most mountain climbs that are worth doing, the final cliffs are the steepest and most baffling of all. At such a time, it is doubly necessary to test each handhold and foothold, to cut adequate steps in slippery ice, so that the whole party roped together, may not fall back in ruin. It is not the moment that prudent mountaineers choose to unrope, to dismiss their guides, and after militant dispute, to take separate routes towards different peaks. We must go on together; we cannot halt too long at the heights which we have reached, and we cannot with honour or safety turn back. We may have to pause to reconnoitre or cut steps, but we must endeavour to go on climbing, even though the rate may seem slow to impatient watchers or to the climbers themselves. Finally, we must keep in mind the splendour of the view that lies before us when the summit is reached—the prospect of an India at peace within herself, a partner in our great commonwealth of nations, the mother of a great people, a shield for peace in the East, busy and prosperous, yet with leisure to develop the thought and poetry and art which are the real salt of life and of which India has already contributed much to the world. Not an immediate vision, but I do not think it unattainable, if we work together with patience, good sense and goodwill.

I believe firmly in the future of India. I am a sincere friend of India and should like to help her to political advance, but my military training has made me quite certain that no objective is ever gained without the fullest measure of co-operation from all concerned.

## DEBATE ON RAILWAY BUDGET

**21st. FEBRUARY** :—The Assembly held the general debate on the Railway Budget to-day. Prof. *P. N. Bannerjee*, Leader of the Nationalist Party, opening the debate, characterised the proposal of increasing the fares as an unconscionable burden on the people, an iniquitous impost ; and highly injurious to them. It was astounding that instead of providing comforts to the travelling public and in spite of the demand for reduction of fares, because of the appalling conditions of travel, the Government of India should want to increase fares. Lack of transport had resulted in the Bengal famine, he declared, and over-crowding had led to accidents. As for the argument that the increase in fares was intended to discourage unnecessary travel, he stoutly denied that the third class passengers travelled for pleasure or as a matter of luxury. He was sure that the elected members of the House would turn down the proposal for increase of fares. Sir *Yamin Khan* declared that the burden of the increase would mostly fall on the Government servants and the general public connected with war work. If travel was curtailed as a result of increase in fares, it was war effort that would be affected. Sir *Henry Richardson*, leader of the European Group, said that his group now, more than ever before, gave full support to the strengthening of railway reserves and to the steps contemplated by the Transport Member in this direction. "Individually, we may dislike paying more for railway travel just as my friends on the other side may dislike it, but the three reasons which have been given by the Transport Member for taking this course are, in our opinion, valid reason." Mr. *Hussainbhai Laljee*, leader of the Independent Party, complained that the Government's promise to manufacture locomotive had not been carried out. Strongly opposing the increase in fares, Mr. Laljee declared it would create embitterment ; people would feel that an attempt was being made to prevent them from seeing their kith and kin. Mr. *A. C. Datta* asserted that the imposition of higher fares was neither just nor would it serve the intended purpose. The object of the increase was declared to be to prevent over-travelling ; but was there any scope f r further reduction of passenger traffic ? The civilian travel, he said, had already reached the reducible minimum. On the other hand, one single member of the Executive Council occupied as much space as 20 ordinary passengers. Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta* characterised the Railway Budget as predatory in its purpose, oppressive in its results and contemptuous of public opinion. He vigorously refuted the argument that railway travel in India was the cheapest in the world. It was, he asserted, actually 400 per cent costlier than in England. Sir *Abdul Halim Ghaznavi* saw in the Railway Budget the "Tyranny of monopolists." During the war, two increases had already been made in the rates and fares, in addition to cutting down free allowances of luggage, so much so that even a walking stick and articles of food were now weighed. It had really developed into a "pay more campaign" from a "travel only when you must" campaign. Mr. *Frank Anthony* deplored the allegations of inefficiency made by Dr.

Bannerjee against railwaymen. He complained that enough had not been done to ameliorate the conditions of the railwaymen. Mr. *N. M. Joshi* complained that the number of days allotted for discussing the Railway Budget had been cut down to three days from six days and said that this was a breach of convention and appealed to the Chair to safeguard the privileges of the House in this respect. *S. Mangal Singh* declared that the proposal to raise passenger fares had created bitterness all over the country. The arguments in favour of the increase were amazing and, judging from them, he thought the country should be prepared for many more measures of taxation in the general budget. Sardar Mangal Singh referred to the overcrowding in trains in the Punjab and the stoppage of 71 trains at one stroke by the N. W. R., and expressed the view that the Government was being vindictive to the Punjab because of the Transport Member's controversy with the Punjab Ministry. The *War Transport Member*, replying to the debate, placed before the House further facts in support of his stand that the Government's proposals were wise, fair and reasonable. The increase of 156 million passengers last year, equivalent to 600 trainloads a day, he said, could only be explained by increasing ability to spend and not by any corresponding increase in war activity. The possible inflationary effect was negligible, he said, while the deflationary effect of removing the money from circulation was obvious. If the contribution to the general revenues were cut, he gave a solemn warning that the cut would have to be replaced by other taxations in the general budget. Sir Edward pointed out that out of the ten crores which the railways were spending on cheap food for the staff, the amount spent on officers would not exceed three lakhs. He also calculated that the total amount of benefit to railwaymen under dearness allowance, cheap food, etc., was about 19 crores. He denied that there had been lack of food in Bengal due to shortage of transport to that province. The Transport Member replied that adequate arrangements were now in existence for this purpose and for handling food. Referring to the criticism of the cutting down of 71 trains on the N. W. R., the Transport Member said coal shortage was the sole reason for this regrettable step. He announced, however, that eight of those trains were being put back and would be in operation from to-morrow. The House then adjourned till wednesday.

### Statement on Mrs. Gandhi's Death Disallowed

**23rd. FERRUARY** :—In the Assembly, to-day, after questions, Dr. *P. N. Bannerjee*, Leader of the Nationalist Party, sought the Chair's permission to make a statement, The Chair held that no statement could be made Thereafter, members of the Nationalist Party withdrew from the House. It was learnt in the lobby that Dr. Bannerjee's statement was intended to refer to Mrs. Gandhi's death. The Congress Party members were not present when the House met today.

### Post-war Civil Aviation

The Government of India's plans for the development of post-war civil aviation in India were indicated by Sir *Gurunath Bewoor*, Secretary, Posts and Air, in the course of the debate on his bill to amend the Indian Aircraft Act. The post-war plan, he said, contemplated the establishment of daily air services on the main trunk air routes, covering India north to south and east to west with link routes connecting the trunk routes at suitable points, and with extensions to the capitals of adjacent countries. The services, said Sir Gurunath, would be mixed passenger, freight and mail services to ensure safety, regularity and reliability, to ensure that the air service met the real needs of the country : to discourage the growth of mushroom organisations and wild-cat schemes and to prevent uneconomic competition, involving waste of national energy and of national assets. It was with these objects that the Government of India were now proposing to take powers to make rules under the Bill for the regulation of air transport services. *Rai Bahadur Shiva Raj* feared that the bill was likely to be misunderstood by the people as an attempt to check private enterprise in the matter of air development in India and he warned the Government against giving any such impression. He declared that if the Government were serious and wanted their scheme to succeed, they should take every step to manufacture aircraft in India and to provide civil employment for the thousands demobilised from the Indian air force after the war. The Bill was passed with an amendment, providing that rules framed under it shall be laid on the table of the House for its consideration.

### MANAGEMENT OF BANKING CONCERNS

Certain undesirable features in the structure and management of banking companies in India were sought to be removed by the Commerce Member, Sir *Azizul Haque's* Bill further to amend the Indian Companies Act, which was passed earlier. One of the main provisions of the Bill laid down that no banking company shall, after the expiry of two years from the commencement of the Bill, employ or be managed by a managing agent or any person whose remuneration or part of whose remuneration takes the form of commission or a share in the profits of the company or any person having a contract with the company for its management for a period exceeding five years at any one time. In the course of discussion of the clauses, Government accepted Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta's* amendment to the effect that any contract for management may be renewed or extended for a further period not exceeding five years at a time if and so often as the directors think fit. Besides Mr. Mehta, others who took part in the debate on the Bill were Mr. Hussain Bhai Lalji, Mr. Nauman, Sir Frederick James, Sir Ziauddin Ahmed. The Assembly then adjourned.

### VOTING ON RAILWAY BUDGET DEMANDS

**24th. FEBRUARY**:—The House commenced voting on Railway Budget to-day. It recorded its verdict against the Government's proposal regarding the increase in railway fares, by carrying the cut motion of Mr. *B. Das* (Congress) that the demand under the head "Appropriation to Reserve" be reduced by Rs. 10 crores. This amount of Rs. 10 crores was expected to be got as the result of the proposed increase in fares. The motion was adopted by 51 votes against 46. The Congress, Muslim League, the Nationalists, the unattached members and some members of the Independent Party joined hands to defeat the Government.

Moving that the demand under the head "Appropriation to Reserve" be reduced by Rs. 10 crores, Mr. *B. Das* commented on the fact that the European Group was the only supporter of Government in this matter. He said that overcrowding which was mainly caused by military traffic would not be checked by the increase in fares. It might be that the Transport Member had provided a few wagons for the carriage of foodstuffs to the famine areas but that was not enough. He criticised the despatch of rolling stock from this country to Iraq, Iran and other countries. The Finance Member, Sir *Jeremy Raisman* explained the Government's point of view with regard to the references made to the relationship which the proposal to increase passenger fares bore to the inflationary situation. Broadly speaking, and putting it in non-technical language, he would say inflation was the state of affairs in which the rupees going out of Government's hands exceeded the rupees coming back to them. There could be no question, therefore, as to how the increase in passenger fares would operate. Whatever brought money back to the Government was anti-inflationary. The Finance Member went on to explain that in the case of increase of freights, there was an inflationary effect which neutralised the deflationary effect. If Government were to increase freights, it would in the first instance be deflationary in its effect but since the cost of additional transport would in certain commodities be passed on throughout the price structure, that would be inflation and would neutralise the advantage which we gained by additional income to Government.

The Finance Member gave the warning that if nothing was done to deal with inflation, much greater hardships would be caused ; over-crowding, overcharging, all these things were insignificant compared with the untold misery which uncontrolled inflation was capable of inflicting on the country. Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta* declared that if anyone had any doubt about the unwisdom and impropriety of raising passenger fares, it would have been removed by the Finance Member's speech. The Finance Member did not argue it at all on the basis of the cost of running railways. He quite frankly admitted that the increase in fares was required not because the transport service wanted it but because he needed it. It was thus a non-railway proposition, foisted on the railway owing to exigencies of general finance. It was the Finance Member, Mr. Mehta continued, who had raised the storm of inflation and now wanted to visit the consequences on the taxpayer. That was the long and short of it. Mr. Mehta asserted that no public body favoured the increase.

Mr. *Abdul Qaiyum* (Congress) declared that the debate had shown how utterly out of date the expanded Executive Council was ; if that Council could claim to represent any constituency it was the constituency of the European Bloc. He did not know how any Indian, even an Indian in the expanded Executive Council, could be a party to the iniquitous impost. (a voice : Were they consulted ?)

If they were not consulted that made the matter all the worse. Mr. Qaiyum called on Government, if it had any respect for the wishes of the House and the wishes which were strongly expressed outside, to retrace its steps and give up the increase.

Sir. *Edward Benthall*, replying to the debate, remarked that it had taken the form of another general discussion on the budget. So far as the Government was concerned, it had endeavoured to base its case on reason (Voices : no, no. No reason). The Government had given reasons for increasing fares and he confessed that the Government had received little constructive criticism from the Opposition. Sir Edward went on to observe that if he was in charge only of the Railways, he could have agreed that all the surplus should be put in reserves, but he was a member of the Government and he must consider the finances of the Government as a whole, and so must the House. He asked the House to vote on merits and support the measure, which was intended to achieve social benefit and provide a nation-building fund for the future (Mr. Mehta : Question).

Concluding he explained what the effect of the motion would be and said that the motion disapproved the transfer of ten crores to the reserve and if it was passed the sum would be left in the railway surplus with the automatic result that it would be transferred to general revenues (Voices : Don't mislead us). If this cut motion went through, it would defeat the object of everyone ; it would deprive the third class passengers of the fund intended to improve amenities for them. (Cries : No, no. you are misrepresenting, Don't shed croco ile tears). He did not think that was the intention of the House (A voice : Wait and see.) The motion was pressed to a division and carried by 51 votes to 46 amid loud Opposition cheers.

Mr. *K. C. Neogy* wanted to move the Nationalist Party's cut motion to discuss "the enhancement of railway fares". He explained that the motion was intended to obtain a straight vote on the increase. The President held that as the matter had already been discussed, the motion was out of order. Pandit *L. K. Mitra* moved the next cut motion to reduce the demand under the head Railway Board to Rs. 1 to mark "refusal of supplies". After some discussion the motion was rejected without division and the House adjourned.

**25th. FEBRUARY** :—A cut motion by Mr. *N. M. Joshi*, demanding that the compulsory dearness fund be extended to cover all railway employees, was passed by 43 votes to 42 to-day. An interesting situation arose over a cut motion by Sir *Frederick James* to discuss the general financial position of the railways, with special reference to post-war development. When the motion was put to the vote, the European Group evidently did not desire a division, but members of the Congress and Muslim League and the Nationalist and Independent parties combined in pressing for it. When the House divided, the European members abstained ; 17 members of the Opposition parties voted for and 38 against it. The motion was rejected. Sir Frederick, moving the cut, said that in the post-war years, India's railways would be faced with a dwindling income, increased working expenses, high cost of materials, a drive for the betterment of travelling conditions and the need for a renewal of workshop plant, rolling stock and track. There would also arise the question of improvement of open lines and the development of new lines. If the war lasted for two more years, railway resources at the end of that period which would be about Rs. 150 crores, would not be enough. The railways would need greater assistance from general revenues. The inadequacy of the railways to meet the present situation was largely due to the past policy of starving railway development. Railway rehabilitation and reconstruction was an indispensable element in any programme for India's agricultural and industrial development ; it would be unwise to postpone all investigation until after the war. Mr. *Radhabhoy Subbaroyan*, after pointing out that the vital questions at present in India were how to live and how to secure political freedom, offered suggestions for the improvement of railway travel. She said modifications should be made to provide more berths in upper class carriages and there should be more third class compartments. The use of free passes by railway officers and their families should be severely restricted and pleasure journeys absolutely forbidden. Sir *Ziauddin Ahamed* questioned the propriety of financing post-war reconstruction programmes out of general revenues : in every other department such schemes were to be financed by loans. Sir Frederick James, he said, had based his figures on the assumption that the war would last two more years : he calculated that it would last for five. He thought the figures quoted by Sir Frederick were too low—they could be expected to be more in the neighbourhood of Rs. 250 crores in two years. Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta* said he supported the cut motion but for reasons different from those of

Sir Frederick James. He complained that after 20 years of the convention to Indianize the railways, there were still about 2000 foreigners. He also objected to the statutory provision of 8% of posts in the railways for Anglo-Indians. *Sir Edward Benthall* gave an outline of the programme of post-war reconstruction under the heads, rehabilitation, locomotive manufacture, improvements, staff welfare, travel amenities and construction of new lines. He estimated that the total expenditure under these heads for seven years after the war would amount to Rs. 319 crores. They would have to spend a large amount of money on repairs and renewals on account of the present heavy wear and tear. Staff welfare schemes, like housing, etc., were likely to cost Rs. 43 crores in seven years. They had plans to construct 14,000 miles of new lines and if the whole scheme was worked out it would cost about Rs. 56 crores. At the present rate, the whole of the depreciation funds would be exhausted by 1966, even on the assumption that they were able to obtain replacements and renewals at pre-war prices. It was therefore necessary to build up reserves and depreciation funds. For these reasons, he asked the mover to withdraw the cut. *Sir Frederick* would not agree to withdraw his cut motion.

The House rejected without a division *Rao Bahadur Shivraj's* cut motion to discuss the "non-representation of the scheduled castes in the railway services".

**26th. FEBRUARY**:—A division today on Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta's* cut motion to discuss "the meagre dearness allowance to railway workers" resulted in a tie, 42 voting on each side. The President gave his casting vote in favour of the Noes and the motion was rejected. Sir *Edward Benthall*, War Transport Member, replying on the debate said that in arriving at their policy in regard to dearness allowance for railway workers, Government had to consider the views of other departments as well as provincial Governments and could not take an independent line of action. The Government was constantly reviewing this intricate all-India problem. The dearness allowance scheme had cost the Government Rs. 7 crores and the cheap grain shops scheme had cost Rs 10 crores last year. The combined relief afforded by those two schemes amounted to 50% or 60% of the pay of the railway worker. The War Transport Member contended that railway workers would have suffered a great deal if Government had not opened grain shops. The effect of of this action was to stabilize the principal items of the poor railwayman's budget round about the prices which ruled in Aug 1942, i.e., before the big rise in prices took place. The War Transport Member informed Mr Frank Authony that Government were trying to inaugurate "cost price canteens" to help the kind of employees—workers getting from Rs. 250 to Rs. 300—to whom Mr Authony had referred in his speech, and maintained that the benefits which would accrue as a result of the extension of the scheme of the cheap grain shops and stabilization of the cost of living on the Aug. 1942 level would be real. Even Mr. Jamnadas Mehta had agreed that the cost of living was now showing signs of being stabilized. Any increase was, therefore, less justified now than before. Government considered that what they had done to meet the needs of "a very deserving service" had been fair.

When the guillotine was applied at 5 p. m. and the first demand under "Railway Board" was taken up, Mr. *Abdul Qaiyum* asked the War Transport Member to state whether the Government still persisted in increasing the passenger fares by 25%. He wanted a reply because on it would depend the attitude of the Opposition parties to the demands.

*Sir Benthall* : I do not think I am called upon to give an answer.

*Sir Yamin Khan* made a renewed plea to the War Transport Member to reply.

*Sir Edward* repeated that he was not in a position to give a reply.

The voting on the first demand resulted in a tie with 43 on either side.

The *Chair*, following the principle of maintaining the status quo, announced by mistake that he gave his vote to the Noes. This was received with loud cheers by the Opposition, but the President later corrected himself and said his vote was with the Ayes, and the demand was carried. Tho other demands were all carried without a division.

The Assembly next carried by 44 votes to 42 the Muslim League Party's cut motion to censure the Government's policy of granting extensions to super annuated personnel.

The Government also suffered another defeat by 47 votes to 40 on another cut motion moved by a member of the Muslim League Party to discuss the stoppage of a number of trains.

**28th. FEBRUARY**:—The Assembly passed today supplementary Railway demands for 1943-44 totaling over Rs. 25 crores. The demand of Rs. 4,03,32,000 for appropriation to the depreciation fund raised a brief debate.

BAN ON KISAN CONFERENCE

The Assembly by 43 votes to 42 rejected Dr. *Govinda Deshmukh's* adjournment motion to discuss the Madras Government's order preventing travelling on the M and S. M. Ry, to Bezwada to attend the All-India Kisan Conference. Dr. Deshmukh said this was another instance of the misuse of the DI Rules. The conference was being convened to consider the food problem and to further the "Grow More Food" campaign. Therefore the conference was actually furthering the war effort. He referred to the difficulties in enforcing such an order and said that apart from the merits of the conference itself, the order curtailed the civil liberty of citizens to proceed to Bezwada if they wanted to. The Home Member, Sir *Reginald Maxwell*, dealing first with the legal argument maintained that Provincial as well as Central Governments were given the power to require that certain persons shall not be carried on railways. Provincial Governments were given that power for the reasons that a situation might arise in which they might have information to show that a large number of people proposed to use the railways in order to travel to a place to form an unlawful assembly or to a place which was an infected area. That was his answer to the question how a Provincial Government could pass an order in a matter affecting a Central subject. As for the contention that the object of the kisan conference was a proper one and to interfere with the holding of it was a misuse of power, the Home Member said that in the first place he would not admit that the order in question, if passed, would interfere with the proposed conference. He himself did not know whether that conference would be allowed by the Madras Government. The Home Member went on to give certain information which, he said, he had in his possession regarding local conditions and which he thought might have influenced the Madras Government's action. The House then adjourned.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR 1944-45

**29th. FEBRUARY**:—Introducing the Goverment of India Budget for 1944-45 in the Assembly today, the Finance Member, Sir *Jeremy Raisman*, disclosed a revenue deficit of Rs. 92.43 crores for the current year and a prospective deficit of Rs. 78.21 crores next year on the basis of existing taxation. The Finance Member then announced his proposals for new taxation. These were:—

Three new Excise duties to be levied namely, on tea, coffee, and betelnut at 2 as. a lb.

Under income-tax, relief is proposed to be given to persons whose incomes are below Rs. 2,000 by raising the taxable minimum from Rs. 1,500 to Rs. 2,000.

There will be no change in existing incidence on incomes up to Rs. 10,000, but on the slab from Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 15,000 the Central surcharge is to be increased by two pies from 16 to 18 pies over the basic rate of 24 pies; and on the balance above Rs. 15,000 the surcharge will be increased by four pies from 20 to 24 pies over the basic rate of 30 pies. This latter rate will apply to companies and in every case where the tax is to be charged at the maximum rate.

The existing emergency surcharge of 20% on Customs duties will continue for another year. In the case of tobacco and spirits the surcharge will be increased from 1/5 to 1/2.

The tobacco excise to be increased to yield Rs. 10 crores of additional revenue.

Under the proposals for compulsory deposits is a provision for a pay-as-you-earn scheme under which an assessee has the option to pay income-tax in advance quarterly, such advance payments carrying 2% interest.

A system of death duties on non-agricultural property to strengthen Provincial finances after the war.

Under super-tax there will be an increase of half-an-anna in the Central surcharge of slabs between Rs. 35,000 and Rs. 2 lakhs.

The Corporation tax will be increased by one anna to three annas, but a rebate of one anna in the rupee will be given on so much of a company's total income as is not distributed in dividends other than dividends payable at a fixed rate.

As regard EPT, while there is no change in the present rate of 66⅔% EPT nor in the proportion of the tax to be refunded, the compulsory deposit of 1/5 of the tax prescribed in the Ordinance of 1943 will be increased by 19/64 of the tax. This is designed to immobilize as deposits the whole of excess profits remaining

after EPT has been paid thereon and income-tax and super-tax paid on the balance. This compulsory deposit has no been hitherto payable in connexion with the provisional EPT assessment, but hereafter at the time of provisional assessment a compulsory deposit of 19/64 of the tax provisionally assessed will have to be paid.

A special provision to be made for life insurance business by which the combined rate of income-tax and super-tax is limited to 63 pies in the rupee. This will have retrospective effect from the year 1943-44.

The total estimated revenue from the new proposals will reduce the prospective revenue deficit from Rs. 78.21 crores to Rs. 54.71 crores.

The salient features of the Budget are: The Financial Settlement stands. The setting up of the South East Asia Command does not of itself either add to or diminish India's liability for Defence expenditure. The several anti-inflationary measures adpoted by Government in 1943-44 are contributing in various ways and degrees to the desired result. Government's loan programmes have had a striking success, total borrowing (including sale of counterparts) amounting to Rs. 547 crores since the beginning of the war of which more than half has been raised during the last 12 months. Estimates for 1944-45 provide increased grants for scientific and industrial research. A Dollar Fund is to be built up, to be available for post-war development.

The actual deficit for 1942-43 is Rs, 112.17 crores as against Rs. 94.66 crores anticipated in the revised estimates for that year.

The revised estimates of revenue for 1943-44 are expected to amount to Rs. 254.50 crores, an improvement of Rs. 35.50 crores over the Budget estimates. There is a net increase of Rs. 87.34 crores under expenditure charged to Revenue, taking Defence and Civil Expenditure into account. The current financial year is thus expected to close with a revenue deficit of Rs. 92.43 crores.

Taxes on income, as a result of the measures adpoted to speed up assessments, are expected to yield Rs. 138 crores against Rs. 102 crores envisaged in the Budget. EPT is likely to yield Rs. 62.25 crores as compared with the forecast of Rs. 40 crores. This amount excludes some issued last summer, which for accounting purposes are treated as deposits pending regular assessments. The share of the Provinces from the divisible pool of Income-tax will amount to Rs. 19.50 crores, Rs. 7.40 crores above the Budget estimates.

The revised estimates of Defence expenditure for 1943-44, amount to Rs. 262.64 crores under Revenue and Rs. 38.30 crores under Capital. The details are:—

| | Revenue portion | (Crores of Rs.) |
|---|---|---|
| (1) | Basic normal budget | ... 36.77 |
| (2) | Effect of rise in prices | ... 13.01 |
| (3) | India's war measures | ... 204.53 |
| (4) | Non-effective charges | ... 8.33 |
| | Total | ... 262.64 |

| | Capital portion | |
|---|---|---|
| (1) | Air Force—Airfields | ... 14.67 |
| (2) | Capital Outlay on Industrial Expansion | ... 6.00 |
| (3) | Reciprocal Aid—Airfields | ... 10.85 |
| (4) | New Construction for RIN | ... 2.58 |
| (5) | Capital Outlay on Tele-communications Scheme | ... 4.20 |
| | Total | ... 38.30 |

The increase of Rs. 77.52 crores in item (3) of the Revenue portion is one mainly to the rise in the price levels of stores and to the grant of improved scales of rations to Indian troops from July 1. 1943, as well as to the inclusion of a portion of the recurring expenditure on the air forces provisionally placed under suspense last year: also to increases in the strength of forces in India and to increased supply and services rendered by India to the USA on Reciprocal Aid terms.

The setting up of the new South East Asia Command, stated the Finance Member, did not itself either add to or diminish India's liability for Defence expenditure. While this did not mean any slackening of the country's war effort, "the Government of India have made it clear," he observed, "that no further

substantial increase in the overall quantum of war demands on India's resources can be met without grave risk of an economic collapse and that an early lightening of her present burden by the release, for vital civil needs, of certain types of supplies and productive capacity at present appropriated for war purposes, is essential in order to counteract the unhealthy tendencies now manifesting themselves."

Land forces reached during the year approximately the strength held to be necessary and sufficient for local defence purposes. Should the strength of troops in India at any time exceed this limit, the cost of such excess would not fall on this country. Further improvements in the conditions of service of officers and other ranks of the Indian Army have been introducted or are in contemplation. A larger amount of money is now being spent on the welfare and well-being of the services than in any previous period, and at the same time, a good deal of the attention is being paid to the protection of the interests and well-being of the men's families.

The programme of new construction of ships for the RIN is now well advanced and a considerable fleet of war vessels is now in commission. Units of the RIN have operated in British waters and participated in various operations in the Mediterranean including the invasion of Sicily.

Satisfactory progress has been made in implementing the Ten-Squardron plan of the IAF. To back this Air Force steps have been taken to develop a maintenance organization. Some other measures of expansion have also been undertaken including the Indianization of the Balloon Squadron of the Air Forces in India and the inauguration of the Indian Air Training Corps.

The allocation of Defence expenditure between India and the UK continues to be governed by the terms and principles of the Financial Settlement and developments in the war situation and the establishment of the South East Asia Command have not rendered it necessary to depart from these principles. In accordance with those principles India's liability for the cost of forces serving within her geographical frontiers is subject to the condition that such forces are both necessary and available for local defence purposes. The strengths of forces for such purposes at any time are subject to maximum limits, which are indicated by the Defence authorities from time to time.

"While the Defence estimates exclude the cost of forces serving in India in excess of ceiling strengths, India also bears no financial liability for other units or formations employed in India on duties unconnected with her local defence or for measures such as those relating to the expansion of administrative and maintenance organizations, the acquisition and holding of additional stocks and the improvement of internal transportation and port facilities, which are incidental to the setting up of the South East Asia Command or to the utilization of India as a base for largescale offensive operations against Japan."

Civil expenditure in the revised estimates for 1943-44 shows an increase from Rs. 76.78 crores (budget) to Rs. 84.29 crores. An excess of Rs. 2 crores is accounted for under financial assistance to evacuees and families in India of British subjects detained in enemy-occupied territories. Assistance to the extent of Rs. 2 crores has been given to Provinces and States in furtheranee of the "Grow More Food" campaign. Central assistance to Bengal for famine relief up to Rs. 3 crores has also been provided for.

The question whether the somewhat uneven effects of the impact of war on provincial share of the Income-tax pool was examined but it has been decided that the situation does not call for any modification at present.

A scheme for the further liberalization of dearness allowances is under consideration. On the present basis Rs. 2½ crores has been provided for dearness allowances to Central Government servants, other than those paid from the Railways and the Defence Estimates. Provision of supplies for them at concessional rates will entail an expenditure of Rs. 41 lakhs.

The value of orders placed by the Supply Department rose from Rs. 184 crores in 1941-42 to Rs. 256 crores in 1942-43 and amounted to Rs. 129 crores in the first nine months of 1943-44.

Total revenue estimates for 1944-45 amount to Rs. 284.97 crores as compared with Rs. 254.50 crores in the revised estimates for the current year. Anticipating more shipping space for imports, 'Customs' revenue is placed at Rs. 27 crores as against Rs. 25.94 crores in the current year. An improvement of Rs. 1.25 crores is also expected under Central Excises. Rs. 10½ crores is expected to be collected under "tobacco" as against Rs. 9 crores in the current year. Corporation Tax and

income-tax are expected to bring in Rs. 174 crores, including Rs. 73 crores from EPT. The share of the divisible pool available to the Provinces is placed at the high figure of Rs. 23.69 crores. Posts and Telegraphs surplus is estimated to be Rs. 11.31 crores.

The Budget estimates of Defence expenditure for 1944-45, amount to Rs. 276 61 crores and Rs. 24.60 crores under the Revenue and Capital heads respectively, the relevant details being :—

| Revenue portion | (Crores of Rs.) |
|---|---|
| (1) Basic normal budget | ... 36.77 |
| (2) Effect of rise in prices | ... 15.05 |
| (3) India's war measures | ... 215.58 |
| (4) Non-effective charges | ... 9.21 |
| Total | ... 276.61 |

| Capital portion | |
|---|---|
| (1) Air Force—Airfields | ... 10.00 |
| (2) Capital Outlay on Industrial expansion | 2.00 |
| (3) Reciprocal Aid—Airfields | ... 5.20 |
| (4) New construction for the RIN | ... 1.60 |
| (5) Capital Outlay on Telecommunications Scheme | ... 5.80 |
| Total | ... 24.60 |

The decrease of Rs. 13.70 crores under Capital portion as compared with the Revised Estimate for 1943-44, is due to the completion of the bulk of airfields and a reduction in the capital expenditure on expansion of factories and dairies. The tele-communications scheme is expected to be completed next year.

The Finance Member stated that, after preliminary discussions, it was agreed that the talks relating to the possibility of India's entering into a direct Mutual Aid Agreement with the USA should be suspended in view of the difficulty of determining India's post-war policy in certain respects at this stage. The Government of India, however, he said, had accepted the principle underlying mutual aid and continued to receive Lend-Lease goods and services from the USA and grant reciprocal aid in return.

The estimated cost of reciprocal aid to be afforded to the USA on present information during 1943-44 and 1944-45 is about Rs. 26 crores and Rs. 43 crores respectively. The total cost of such aid up to the end of 1942-43 was Rs. 12¼ crores. The estimated progressive total up to the end of 1944-45 is a little more than Rs. 81 crores.

It is not possible at present to say what the total financial benefits that India will receive as a result of Lend-Lease supplies from the USA during the same period will amount to, because the allocation of Lend-Lease goods and services received in India between the Government of India and HMG has not yet been determined. The total value of Lend-Lease up to the end of 1944-45 is estimated to be Rs. 350 crores. It is reasonable to assume, the Finance Member said, "that India's share in these benefits will not be less than one-third."

Civil expenditure shows an increase of Rs. 2¼ crores as compared with the current year, or an increase of Rs. 6¼ crores if the reduction of about Rs. 4 crores in the amounts transferred to War Risks Insurance Funds, consequent on the reduction in the rate of premium, is taken into consideration. It accrues mainly under the head "Interest" where the liability increases with increased borrowings and the success attending the savings campaigns. A contribution up to Rs. 1½ crores towards Bengal's expenditure on famine relief increases the expenditure estimates. In connexion with industrial research provision has been made for a grant of Rs. 10 lakhs for the construction and equipment of glass and fuel research laboratories and for general planning for other institutions. The Council of Scientific and Industrial Research has been asked to draw up plans for a scheme of co-ordinated research, through a chain of research stations on the assumption that Rs. 1 crore, spread over a period of 3 or 4 years after the war, will be forthcoming towards capital expenditure. The institutions in contemplation, besides the two mentioned above, are a National Physical Laboratory, a National Chemical Laboratory, and a National Metallurgical Laboratory. "This step", said the Finance Member, "will be regarded as a practical expression of Government's resolve to foster the development of Indian industry."

The final position for the coming year can be summarized as follows :—

( in crores of Rs. )

| | |
|---|---|
| Civil Estimates | ... 86.57 |
| Defence Estimates | ... 276.61 |
| Total Expenditure estimates | ... 363.18 |
| Total revenue at existing level of taxation | ... 284.97 |
| Prospective deficit | ... 78.21 |

Sir Jeremy Raisman said : "This is the fith war budget which it is my duty to present to the House, and I do so at a time when the growing ascendancy of the United Nations over their enemies has created in us all the fullest confidence in a victorious outcome, though the precise time and manner of that victory are still hidden from us. We can now look back and survey the grim vicissitudes through which we have passed. In India the last 18 months has been a period of economic storms.

"The rapid advance which brought the Japanese to the eastern threshold of India had produced a widespread feeling of uncertainty, at the same time as it called for the most active measures to meet the threat. The execution of those measures necessitated very heavy expenditure and a vast and rapid diversion of resources from civilian to war consumption. At that critical moment there was an outburst of internal disturbances which aggravated the loss of confidence and the economic instability. Natural calamities—cyclone, flood and pest—also played their part in destruction and dislocation. Soon hoarding, speculation and profiteering manifested themselves in every form and on a scale to cope with which the administrative machine was but poorly equipped.

"There was a time when it seemed that there could be no check to the ravages of these pernicious forces and that salutary measures of control could never overtake them. At that moment the economic perils which beset the country were as grave as the military threat, and if they have now receded somewhat, the aftermath has been a measure of human suffering which will stand out even in the record of this devastating war.

"Many of the problems with which we have had to grapple are still with us, if not in so acute and intractable a form. There is still cause for anxiety and need for constant vigilance. But he would be a pessimist indeed who denied that in many respects the economic situation has greatly improved, and that a gratifying degree of stability has been achieved and maintained in recent months. The resolute measures of a two-fold character launched by the Government, in the monetary field and in the sphere of control of commodities, have had a distinctly salutary effect on price tendencies.

"There has also been a marked psychological reaction, a growth of confidence in the determination and the ability of the Government to enforce its policy of control and to overcome the resistance of sectional interests which, in this country as elsewhere, place their own advantage above the common good. In spite of the limitations of our administrative machinery, the vast territories and multitudes with which we have to deal, and the constant opposition of those who hoped that we would fail, we have made definite and welcome progress towards our broad economic objectives. At times, when solemn warnings had failed to check unhealthy practices and tendencies we have taken very drastic action and have been encouraged to find it endorsed by the mass of public opinion. We cannot, of course, emulate the results achieved in much more highly organized and closely integrated countries who can employ large qualified staffs to operate their controls and can count on the intelligent co-operation of a highly educated public. We can only claim that our efforts should be judged in the light of the experience of other countries similarly situated and at a comparable stage of development, who have, like us, been exposed to the turbulent forces released by the alternating and unpredictable fortunes of war."

Dealing with the Ways and Means position, the Finance Member emphasized the need for greater efforts to "save and lend" in order to avoid the dangers of war-time inflation, "Goods and services are mobilized for the common end by a vast outpouring of Government money," he said, "and unless this is systematically reabsorbed on an adequate scale, it exercises an ever-increasing pressure on the reduced supplies available for civilian consumption. We have all become conscious

of the dangers of inflation, an awareness which has been heightened by the series of anti-inflationary measures which Government themselves have launched and which are in operation today contributing in various ways and degrees to the desired result." He emphasized the supreme importance of more and more borrowing for the economic health of the country.

Thanks to sustained propaganda, special efforts throughout the country and the favourable turn in the progress of the war, it was possible to attract in the current year a sum nearly three times as large as the total of the previous year. Subscriptions to Defence Loan from Jan 31. 1943 to Feb 1 1944 amounted to the record figure of Rs. 115 crores. There was considerable demand for counterpart loans, the total amount invested from Feb. 1, 1943 to Jan 31. 1944 being Rs 93 crores. The total investments during the last 12 months amounted to Rs 279 crores as compared with Rs 93 crores in the corresponding period of the last year and an aggregate of Rs 547 crores since the beginning of the war. As regards Prize Bonds, complete figures relating to the progress of their sale, which is spread all over the country, are not yet available. There has been a welcome improvement in small investments. Whereas in 1941-42 and 1942-43, the transactions in all forms of small savings resulted in net withdrawals by the public totalling Rs 14 crores and Rs 3½ crores respectively, they are now yielding net deposits at the rate of over Rs 2½ crores a month and still show a marked upward trend.

The Finance Member announced that a scheme had been evolved for encouraging small saving by the employment of authorized agents on a commission basis whose function will be to assist investment from villages. In concluding his remarks on the Savings campaigns, he observed that "while we may take comfort from the encouraging response to the efforts which were continued throughout the year to attract support to public loans, it must be recognized that we have still a long way to go to achieve our purpose. The aim of our borrowing is not merely to meet our budgetary deficits but also to bridge the inflationary gap and there is no reason why if the necessary concomitant steps are taken, we should not attain this target." Referring to the anti-inflationary measures adopted by Government, he stated, in respect of enforcing physical controls, that "it is the Government's firm intention to take all possible steps to increase the effectiveness of the measure they have already adopted and to extend control in such further directions as the situation may from time to time demand."

Dealing with the suggestion made in certain quarters that the rate of interest should be raised in order to attract more subscriptions to the Defence Loans, the Finance Member said : "The Government are convinced that an enhancement of the rates of interest would be infructuous and is fraught with the risk of heavily mortgaging the future development of the country, apart from its immediate ill-effects on the balance sheets of institutional investors who have for the last four years steadily supported the securities market." "Nor," he continued, "can I see any advantage in the proposal that any other Allied Government should enter the field as a direct borrower, substituting its credit for that of the Indian Government."

Referring to the gold sales which the Reserve Bank has been conducting for the last six months, he said : "These sales afford an age-long alternative to those who do not, for one reason or another, wish to invest in Government securities, notwithstanding the advantages of the latter over investment in gold." The gold has been provided by HMG and the U.S. Government from their own resources and the sales proceeds have been used by them towards their war expenditure in India. This, he added, has materially supplemented other anti-inflationary measures.

The sterling holding of the Reserve Bank, as on March 31 1944, is expected to be about Rs. 950 crores. The total amount of sterling obligations of the Government of India so far redeemed amount to about £350 millions, the amount till outstanding being £11½ millions.

Discussions are still taking place in regard to the British, the U. S. and other plans for international monetary regulation in the post-war period. The discussions are still at a technical level without implying any commitments on the part of the Governments' representatives. After an opportunity has been afforded for discussion in the Legislature, the Government of India will be in a position to formulate their views. India will be represented at any Conference of United Nations which may be convened for this purpose. The Finance Member said : "It is patent that one of the problems that will confront the world in the post-war period will be the orderly liquidation of balances acquired by various countries during the war and in considering whether India should lend her support to any scheme that may be put forward for international monetary regulation, one of the major considerations

will naturally be the extent to which such a scheme assists in providing a solution for problems of this character."

For raising the extremely low standard of living plans for reconstruction and development, including a forward policy of industrialization, are being laid. The early implementation of these plans will be dependent to no small extent on external finance. This aspect of the problem was discussed with HMG in connexion with India's acceptance of the extension of reciprocal aid to raw materials and foodstuffs. In this connexion, the Finance Member announced that HMG have agreed, "as an integral part of the reciprocal aid arrangement to set aside each year from now onwards a part of the dollars accruing from India's exports to the USA. apart from and in addition to our current dollar requirements which are met from the Empire dollar pool." Such dollar accretions will be available for post-war development.

"This is perhaps the most suitable stage for me to say a few words on the financial aspect of post-war planning. I have been dealing with magnitudes larger in the perspective of Indian finance, and this in itself seems to provide a bridge between the limitations of the past and the larger future. Indian public opinion, in striving to outline that future, is also thinking in figures of an order which would have frightened an older generation. Let me say at once that I fully recognize that if any effective development is to take place, large amounts are bound to be involved, but this is equally true of war. But perhaps the closest resemblance between war-finance and reconstruction finance is this : They both involve, and necessarily involve, a continuously high level of taxation, as well as of borrowing, if the objective is to be attained.

"It is true that if the investment is wisely carried out, we may expect from development expenditure both an increase in the real income of society and an increase in the taxable capacity of the country, but we cannot overlook the fact that some forms of investment will never be able to pay for themselves in the literal sense of being financially self-supporting. This is obviously true of two forms of effort which must inevitably bulk large ; public health expenditure and expenditure on education. In the phase of expansion, very heavy capital outlay will be involved, and once the desired level has been reached, there will be a heavy recurrent charge, a large proportion of which will inevitably fall upon the general budget of the Centre and the provinces. It is indisputable that the nation will greatly benefit by such capital and recurrent expenditure ; but it is equally beyond doubt that the annual recurrent cost cannot be met out of taxation levied from the direct beneficiaries themselves. A heavy residual budgetary charge will remain.

"That brings me to another point. We may hope and legitimately hope, that the provision of capital equipment from overseas will be powerfully assisted by our possession of large sterling balances. We must not, however, ignore the difficulties which are likely to arise in at least the first post-war decade, from competing claims for capital equipment and from transfer difficulties associated with the balance-of-payments position of the UK. Again to utilize the whole of these balances and at the same time the whole increment of foreign funds accruing from current exports, would leave India with a wholly fiduciary currency. A note-issue with nothing behind it except the authority of the Government is exposed to all the winds that blow, and some of them might be very adverse. Indeed a failure of the monsoon or a world-depression or a renewed threat of war might easily lead to a flight from the currency or to a demand for foreign exchange which it would be very difficult to satisfy. Some external reserves seem to me to be absolutely indispensable, and therefore it is unrealistic to assume that foreign balances, actual or prospective, could in any circumstances be fully available for reconstruction finance.

"I have no wish to enter into controversy regarding certain aspects of the plan which a number of prominent businessmen have recently put out in the desire to focus discussion and to provide a nucleus for constructive thinking. I am, however, bound to confess to a feeling of misgiving regarding the extent to which the financing of post-war development could be based on 'created money'. I realize fully that an expansion of the currency in peacetime, during a period of rapid intensification of production, is a different thing from an expansion accompanying the enforced scarcities of war-time. But the difference between the initial effects may well be much less than has been suggested. In so far as development projects are concerned with capital investment, time-gap will necessarily intervene between initial investment and final completion, during which time no addition to the

national income in real terms will take place to offset the inflationary effect, and by the end of that time prices will already have risen.

"Again, if development projects such as education and public health are to be financed in this war, the effect will be still more marked, for although improved health and higher standards of education are important elements of national well-being, their influence on national production and on national income is of a more remote and indirect nature, whilst the influence on money incomes and on demand created as a result of inflation will be direct I must say in justice to the authors of this proposal that they are aware of the dangers involved and propose to counter these effects by drastic over-all controls imposed by a strong Central Government.

"This would mean that the public which has perforce to submit to control in war-time when the fact of shortage was inescapable, should accept the continuance of controls prolonged over a far longer period after peace returns. I am far from suggesting that the results to be achieved would not justify this degree of sacrifice. But could so comprehensive and drastic a control be effectively administered in the conditions of this country, with the internal inflationary pressure rising rapidly with each succeeding year? It would surely not be wise to force the pace of post-war development at the cost of imposing such severe limits on the standard of living during the development period, at the cost of further accentuating the disparities of wealth which inflation inevitably entails, or at the risk of a financial and economic collapse before the the objective itself could be reached.

"It is my firm conviction that the first prerequisite of reconstruction finance is a sound financial position, both at the Centre and by the provinces, secured by the fullest development of their respective taxation resources. This may perhaps sound pedestrian, but in the light of our experience of war-time finance there is no reason, given the will to find money for peace on the scale on which it has been found for war, why resources should not be forthcoming to an extent which could not possibly have been envisaged in pre-war days.

"Many provinces have already started exploiting their revenue sources and building up reconstruction funds, as a result of which they will embark on the post-war period with an improved revenue position and a useful cash balance. This is a hopeful start, though there is still considerable scope for extension. But the magnitude of the problem is so great that the provinces will undoubtedly need all the financial assistance that the Centre may be in a position to give. I have recently brought under review the post-war budgetary position of the Central Government in so far as the many uncertainties inherent in the conditions of the present and the future permit.

"The review indicates that, on the assumptions of a reasonably speedy rate of demobilization after the conclusion of hostilities, the maintenance by concerted international effort of full production and employment, and a determination on the part of the Government of the day to utilize to the full the taxable surpluses would emerge rising in the fourth or fifth year to the order of Rs. 100 crores per annum. With all-out borrowing continued in accordance with the technique developed during the war, it is by no means fantastic to visualize total resources for the purposes of reconstruction during the first effective quinquennium approximating to the Rs. 1,000 crores level, and this excludes any estimate of direct private investment. Beyond that I would prefer at this moment not to attempt to dip into the future although it would be reasonable to assume that estimates for the subsequent five-year periods could be related to the actual results of the first quinquennium in a sort of geometric progression.

"The immediate task of investigation and planning is already well in hand, and some of the official reports and data which are now under the consideration of Government will shortly be released for the information of the public. These constitute the essential raw materials of any practicable plan of development, but equally important is the preparation of a sure foundation of sound finance capable of carrying with safely the edifice to be erected upon it. This edifice can itself be made both stronger and larger if the individual schemes of which it is composed are so designed as to be in their revenue aspect as remunerative as possible, and if high priority is accorded to such of them as can contribute directly to an increase in material wealth and prosperity and thereby reinforce the public revenues."

The Finance Member then introduced two Bills—the Finance Bill to give effect to the financial proposals explained in his speech, and the Bill to amend the Indian Income-tax Act on the lines proposed by him.

### Cow Slaughter & Milk Famine

1st. MARCH :—Mr. *Govind Deshmukh's* resolution recommending that 'as an anti-inflationary measure, a loan of ten crores of rupees, earmarked for purposes of subsidising agriculturists to grow more food and increase milk products be now floated" was passed without a division in the Assembly to-day. Mr. Deshmukh, moving the resolution, referred to the food shortage in the country and said as in other countries, subsidies should be given to agriculturists. The scheme of economic development suggested by Sir Purshotamadas Thakurdas and others was a long-range one and would not meet the immediate needs of the country. Further, the scheme pre-supposed the existence of a national Government which could borrow hundreds of crores for the rehabilitation of agriculture. More food could not be grown merely by bringing more land under cultivation and with the meagre help which Government in this country had given to the agriculturists. Measures should be adopted to meet the shortage of labour in the farms and prevent it from drifting into more profitable employment, such as 'military works.' The cattle wealth of the country, which was so essential for agriculture, was being depleted and effective steps should be taken to stop the slaughter of bullocks as well as prime cattle. He suggested that Government should raise a loan of ten crores of Rupees and earmark it for subsidising agriculturists. Mr. *Tyson*, Secretary, Department of Health, Education and Lands, explaining the policy of the Government in the matter of agriculture, stressed that there were definite limits to what the Government could do under the "grow-more-food-campaign." The Government of India could not themselves grow more food but could only assist provinces and States to achieve this object. Wherever a provincial Government or a State put forth a promising method to increase agricultural production and asked for assistance, the Government of India had always accepted the scheme and extended assistance. Referring to shortage of labour, Mr. Tyson said that Government enquiries had shown that as a whole there was no serious shortage of agricultural labour except in a few very small areas where recruitment had been particularly heavy or military works were proceeding. The Government of India, in the course of their "grow-more-food-campaign" had accepted liabilities in 1943-44 to the extent of Rs. 83 lakhs in the form of subsidies and Rs. 165 lakhs in the form of loans. During the coming year, the Government had already accepted commitments to the extent of Rs. 65 lakhs in subsidies and Rs. 75 lakhs in loans. He assured the House that Government were doing all they could to improve the position of agriculture in the country. Mr. *Baijnath Bajoria* urged Government to take steps to stop indiscriminate slaughter of cattle, particularly milch cattle. Arguing 'on purely economic grounds' he quoted statistics to show that in five slaughter-houses in Calcutta alone, over 30,000 cattle were slaughtered during 1941-42. He suggested that Government should put a ban on slaughter of milch cattle and on bullocks under 15 years. Sir *Jeremy Raisman*, replying on behalf of the Government and dealing with the resolution from the financial point of view, agreed that a loan of ten crores would have an anti-inflationary effect. Government also viewed with sympathy all efforts to grow more food and increase milk products in the country. They were fully anxious to help in any way they could to mitigate the scarcity of goods, particularly in matter of food. But the question of earmarking a particular sum of money for a particular purpose created a difficulty. In ordinary practice, all receipts went into one control pool from which they disbursed expenditure on items approved by Government. Earmarking a particular sum of money would obstruct the ordinary procedure of Government finance. Mr. *Gwilt* (European Group) warning the Government of the danger of a milk famine in the country urged that Government should consider the possibility of subsidising cattle-rearing, with a view to meeting the milk shortage in the country. Mr. Gwilt referred to the question of foodgrains and emphasized the need to ensure fair prices to the grower for his crop. Mr. *Govind Deshmukh* regretted he could not agree to the elimination of the words 'subsidy' and 'earmarking' from the resolution as had been suggested by the Finance Member. Speaking as an agriculturist he was convinced that only a subsidy programme would do any real benefit to the agriculturist. He hoped that even if Government did not accept the resolution, they would do all they could to help the agriculturist as in the past. The resolution was passed without a division.

### Backward Baluchistan

*Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan* moved a resolution recommending the appointment of a committee with a majority of elected members of the Central Legislature on it to suggest what steps should be taken to associate constitutionally the people

of Baluchistan with the administration of the province on similar lines as in other provinces of British India. Further debate was adjourned.

INDIAN STATES DISAFFECTION ACT

2nd. MARCH :—The House rejected to-day without a division Mr. *Kazmi's* motion for circulation of his Bill to amend the Indian States (protection against disaffection) Act, 1922. Mr. Kazmi complained that the Act was abused in certain States. He wanted to amend the Act so that a person accused of writing or publishing anything considered objectionable against a State should be tried at the place where the publication was printed and not in some other place or in the State where the publication was circulated, and to provide that such an accused should have right of appeal to a High Court. Sir *Asoka Roy*, Law Member, opposing the Bill, said that under the Criminal Procedure Code, all offences were triable at the place where they were committed and under this general procedure, venue of trial in the case of an offence under the State Protection Act would be where copies of the offending article were circulated. He could not see any reason why a special exception from this general practice should be made in the case of offences under this Act, as the Bill sought to make. Referring to right of appeal he said that the assurance given by Government at the time of passing the Act to his mind could only refer t. any High Court which had jurisdiction in the area of the trial court and not to a chartered High court in British India as Mr. Kazmi inferred.

*Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Ghani* introducted his Bill to amend the Delhi Muslim Wakfs Act 1943 to remove certain difficulties arising in the interpretation of the Act. The House then adjourned.

INCOME-TAX AMENDMENT BILL

3rd. MARCH :—The Assembly today passed Sir *Jeremy Raisman's* motion to refer to a select committee the Bill to amend the Income-tax Act so as to bring it into line with the proposals he made in his Budget speech. The main object of the Bill is to provide for advance payments of tax on income which is not liable to deduction at source. The income mainly affected will be income from property and from business, profession or vocation. The other provisions of the Bill are designed either to correct certain defects in the Act or to give relief. A clause in the Bill seeks to prevent payments from unrecognized provident funds before the termination of employment in order to evade payment of tax. Another clause refers to Sec 14 (1) of the Act which is intended to grant exemption to an assessee in respect of any sum received by him as a member of a Hindu undivided family where such sum is included in the income of the family. Cases have arisen where a sum received by a member has been held to be exempt under this sub-section, even though it does not form part of the income of the family. The amendment provides for its taxation in the hands of the recipient, if it is not taxable in the hands of the family. Another amendment designed to prevent tax-evasion in the form of short-term insurance policy for one or two years, restricts the premium on which relief is admissible to a maximum of 7% of the actual capital sum assured.

INDIAN COCONUT CESS BILL

The House passed, with two amendments, the Indian Coconut Cess Bill as reported by the select committee.

Mr. *J. D. Tyson*, Secretary, Education, Health and Lands, moving consideration, pointed out that the select committee had made two important changes in the original Bill. Instead of the cess of 2½ annas per cwt proposed in the original Bill, the committee recommended that a maximum limit of 4 annas per cwt be fixed as they felt that ample funds would be required, as the work of the committee developed. The second charge, which was regarding the constitution of the committee, recommended that to represent consumers' interests three members of the Central Legislature be included in it, and in order that the three States primarily concerned—Cochin, Travancore and Mysore—might have similar representation, provided for the nomination of one member each from these States.

Dr. *B. R. Ambedkar*, Labour Member, introduced a Bill further to amend the Factories Act 1934, to remedy certain defects and meet some difficulties in the working of the Act.

CODIFICATION OF HINDU LAW OF MARRIAGE

The House began discussion of the *Law Member's* motion to refer to a joint committee of both Houses the Bill to codify Hindu Law relating to marriage. Sir *Asoka Roy* said that the Rau Committee had expressed themselves in favour of codification of Hindu Law stage by stage, beginning with the law of succession and

the law of marriage. The Government accepted this view and the Bill before the House was one of the measures recommended by the committee. Mr. *Baijnath Bajoria* opposed the Bill and moved its circulation for eliciting public opinion by Oct. 31. Marriage law, he said, affected the humblest and no attempt had been made to get the opinion of the masses. "I am sure if opinion is taken from the masses, 95% of the Hindu community will be against this Bill." Mr. Bajoria urged that if the Bill was to go before a select committee, it should consist only of Hindus as the question affected the community alone. Mrs. *Renuka Ray*, supporting the Bill, said that the first feature in sacramental marriage was enforcement of monogamy and she heartily supported this provision in the Bill. Polygamy was, no doubt, rare in Hindu society, but there was always a loophole in the existing law for a man to take advantage of it and the women had to go to law for redress. In regard to caste restrictions the framers of the Bill, she thought, had been very cautious. These barriers must be broken once and for all, for the development of democratic ideas and economic betterment of society. She conveyed the appreciation of women to Government for reappointing the Rau Committee and hoped that after the Bill returned from the select committee and had been considered by the country, the House would enact the measure which, she said, would derive its authority from ancient laws but adapt it to the present times. *Sardar Sant Singh* pointed out that it was very common for Hindus and Sikhs to inter-marry, but the Bill made no provision for such marriages. Before the Bill was finally reported on he hoped this aspect of the question would be dealt with. Mr. *Ananga Mohan Dam*, opposing the motion, said that in a vast country like India it was extremely difficult to try to bring about uniformity in the matter of marriage when there were so many castes, customs and traditions. Mr. Dam had not finished when the Assembly adjourned till Monday.

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF BUDGET

6th. MARCH ;—The Assembly began today its debate on the Budget. Mr. *T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar* (Congress), opening the debate, criticized Government's policy and method of commodity control and said it had had two results ; it had taken things out of the reach of the poor man, it had driven money into secret channels. "Black money," as he termed money made in the black markets by big business men, was so plentiful that those who made it thought little of parting with portions of it to officials. Corruption increased, as was evidenced by the number of cases, but it was a shame, he declared, that there was discrimination even in corruption, for only Indian officers were being brought to took ; while European officers went scot free.

*Sir Henry Richardson*, Leader of the European Group, said the chief impression left on his mind by the Budget was its moderation. For the past four years the incidence of taxation had, it was true, been pressing with ever-increasing severity upon a steadily enlarging proportion of the community ; and to that extent the margin of taxable capacity upon which the Finance Member could draw was equally steadily diminishing. But that did not alter the fact that he had chosen the path of wisdom in making his imposts in this Budget as temperate as possible. The country's ability to sustain the present burden of taxation as well as to support the heavy loan programme, depended in no small measure upon Government's success in preventing any further rise in the cost of living and, in fact, in bringing about its progressive decline. Stressing the need for retrenchment, Sir Henry said he was aware of the scrutiny exercised by Public Accounts Committees, but he wondered if a stage had not arrived when a more continuous, purposeful, independent and expert check on waste of all kinds and obsolescence was not called for—particularly in respect of those projects and departments of Government which were purely war-time creations.

*Sir Mohamed Yamin Khan* (Muslim League) emphasized that deficits must be met by retrenchment in salaries and considered it high time that a retrenchment committee was established to go into the salaries paid, particularly in newly-created departments. He urged that all Government servants of the higher ranks should be made to invest 25% of their salaries in Defence Loans. He criticized the financial arrangement between the Government of India and HMG, and declared that he and his party could take no responsibility for expenditure on foreign troops stationed in India for operations against Japan.

Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta* approved the income-tax proposals but wished that the level had been raised to Rs. 3,000 instead of Rs. 2,000. He also approved of the super-tax, EPT and Corporation tax proposals, but stated that the rest of the

taxation proposals were retrogiade. After commenting on the Finance Member's "vacillating" attitude towards inflation, Mr. Mehta said : "The time has come for a dictator with a bullet-proof armour and with two pistols, one armed at the profiteer and the other at the inflator."

Mr. *T. T. Krishnamachari*, after stating that the whole Budget was based on a number of economic assumptions, criticized the Finance Member's remarks about "ceiling" defence expenditure, and said the ceiling would be raised or lowered at the sweet will and pleasure of the authorities concerned. He wanted to know whether India's sterling balances in Britain were the result of direct dealings between India and the UK or whether they represented the value of exports and services rendered by India to the Allied Nations, which had vanished from the common pool to find a place in the sterling balances.

*Sardar Sant Singh* asked why was it that Indian troops had been sent abroad and foreign troops brought into India for the defence of the country. Had Indian troops been kept at home, probably the financial burden due to the war would have been less.

*Sardar Mangal Singh* characterized the Budget as a "pick-pocket budget," and said the Finance Member had tried surreptitiously to put his hands into the pocket of the people and "steal" money somehow or other. He complained that the Government had by their own bungling caused conditions in Bengal which had taken away 3 500,000 of his countrymen and women. Referring to defence expenditure, he held that India was not the only country interested in the fighting in Burma. China, Burma itself, Australia, America and the British Empire were all interested and all these United Nations should pay towards the expenditure incurred in India as base of operations.

Dealing with the monetary policy of the Government, Sir *Ziauddin Ahmed* complimented the Finance Member on his rupee policy. The stability of all paper currencies depended on the prestige of the Government, and so long as the Government had prestige they need not have metallic reserve. The wealth of a country depended on the capacity to work and its natural resources. Assessing a country's wealth in this way, they would require a unit, as the ordinary monetary unit would not suit, and for this Sir Ziauddin proposed what he termed the wage unit. He defined the wage unit as the daily requirements of a labourer in the shape of food, cloth and other commodities. A labourer should be paid on the basis of the wage unit or in other words, the relationship between the paper rupee and the wage unit must be fixed, and that would represent the purchasing power of the rupee. He requested the Finance Member that he should fix the value of the rupee, as far as purchasing power was concerned. He also urged that the maximum percentage of profit by industrialists should be fixed by law. The House then adjourned.

**7th. MARCH** :—The Assembly today concluded the general debate on the Budget. Mr. *Abdul Quayum* (Congress), dealing mainly with the defence expenditure, said that the real war against Japan had not yet begun : it could, therefore, be taken that defence expenditure would mount.

Dr. *P. N. Banerjee* said that this was the fifth war budget, but the tenth taxation measure. He objected to the EPT proposal which, he declared, would stand in the way of industrial develoment ; so would the Corporation tax, although in his view that tax could be justified to some extent. He advocated the setting up of an impartial tribunal to go into the question of allocation of expenditure on defence.

Mr. *E. L. C. Gwilt* (European) dealing with the provisions for industrial expansion after the war urged that a large volume of expert technical executives should be released from the Army and that there should be a survey of the country's industrial potential as it was to-day. Referring to education, he suggested that for a minimum period of 10 years and until the Sargent plan fructified, the State should grant to children and young men and women of the requisite intellectual capacity scholarships designed to give them professional and technical education abroad. The suggestion envisaged an extension of the Bevin plan.

Mr. *N. M. Joshi* asserted that during the war it was the capitalists who made money and the burden of war-time taxation should fall on them and money should also be drawn off from them by way of voluntary loans. This was possible only if Government had the confidence of the people. He criticized the Finance Member's handling of inflation and of price control.

The Commerce Member, Sir *Aziz-ul-Haque*, defending Government's control measures of various commodities said that, having regard to the fact that the Anti-

Hoarding and Profiteering Ordinance came into being only four months ago, a measure of success had been achieved. He pleaded for wholehearted public co-operation in making the control effective and said that wherever complaints had been made, Government had acted with promptitude and inquired into them. Referring to criticisms of the 20% profit, he pointed out that this was not an unalterable limit but represented an effort to rationalize profits.

The Finance Member, Sir *Jeremy Raisman*, replying to certain types of criticism of defence expenditure, said he had a grievance against people who somehow expected him to abstract them out of a world at war—people who were possessed of an escapist complex and seemed to think that it was his duty somehow to reproduce for them conditions which could not possibly be found anywhere in the world today. Did Mr. Neogy or other members, he asked, really expect that defence expenditure would in this or any other belligerent country, be less this year than it was in 1941-42 or 1940-41 ?

As for the question why British troops who were more expensive should be employed in India and Indian troops abroad, the Finance Member explained that the distribution of total forces available to the United Nations was governed entirely by operation needs and availability of shipping, and the desirability from various points of view of bringing back to India troops at present serving abroad was fully realized and constantly borne in mind but its feasibility was conditioned by the exigencies of the war situation. He stated that airfields included in the budget comprised those necessary to enable the Indian forces to perform their functions of local defence in India, and included airfields provided on reciprocal aid terms for US. forces in India, but additional airfields constructed in India in connexion with the operations contemplated by the SE Asia command were not provided for in the Indian budget. On the question of "cellings" the Finance Member pointed out that Lord Wavell, when he was C-in-C, definitely determined what could be regarded as forces adequate and necessary for the local defence of India. He emphasized that puely financial considerations could not possibly determine military matters of that kind : the ceilings were determined entirely on military merits of the case and only the financial results of that determination had to be worked out by him and his department. He repudiated any suggestion that there was any possibitity of bad faith or elastic conscience. Speaking of inflation, the Finance Member declared that he knew there were people who went about the country asking people to withhold co-operation from the war effort and made deliberate attempts to destroy confidence in Government in the currency and made exhortations to the people to refrain from providing supplies. The economic effect of those things undoubtedly contributed to inflation. The Finance Member pointed out that the question whether a country exposed to the effect of war suffered from inflation or not was related to the question whether it had a certain political constitution or not. At the same time he was bound to agree that to deal with inflation successfully required the co-operation of the people. Dealing with the criticism that the budget did not provide for an increase in the indigenous production of consumer goods, Sir Jeremy repeated what he had said in a previous session, that if domestic production of consumer goods could be greatly increased it would be a valuable counter-measure to inflation. Even if the productive capacity in the UK and the USA could be diverted in order to produce machinery that India required, that machinery would have to be shipped, assembled and experience gained in working it and getting it into full production. Would that, desirable as it might be, lead to a solution of the immediate difficulty ? He entirely agreed that as soon as it was possible to import machinery and plant for the production of goods that this country required it should be done.

### Voting on Budget Demands

**18th. MARCH** :—Voting on Budget demands commenced to-day. The House by 50 votes to 48 passed Mr. *Abdul Quaiyum's* (Congress) cut motion to reduce the grant under the head "Executive Council" to one rupee as a mark of "refusal of supplies." The Congress, Muslim League and the Nationalists voted for the motion. Mr. *B. Bajoria*. Mr. *N. M. Joshi*, Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta* and Mr. *Ananga Mohan Dam* were among those who remained neutral. In moving the cut motion Mr. Quaiyum declared that the Executive Council had continuously flouted public opinion. He asked what had happened to the vote of the House against the increase in railway fares and what was the Viceroy's Council's response to the vote of the House against sending the "propaganda delegation" abroad ? His complaint was not so much against the

British members of the Council as against the Indian members, who did not represent anybody but themselves. Mr. Quaiyum stated that the present Executive Council was "a hybrid monster born of an illicit love affair between British imperialism and Indian vested interests." Sir *Mohamed Yamin Khan* (Muslim League) supporting the motion, stated that the present Government of India was "a miniature form of Fascism and Nazism." If the present Government laid any claim to democracy, it should have resigned long ago. The best thing for those in authority was to invite those parties who were ready to carry on Government, to work the constitution, and not to keep "some people, who may be patriotic from their point of view but whom the country had renounced." He urged the Indian members to resign and "show their patriotism." He referred to the Sarma Delegation which was visiting England and America, and said they were misrepresenting the country abroad. Why, he asked, had Government not recalled the delegation when they found they were exceeding their limits and indulging in political propaganda, maligning political parties and institutions in the country and misleading the world.

**14th. MARCH** :—The Assembly today passed by 55 votes to 46 the Muslim League's cut motion sponsored by Sir *Mohammed Yamin Khan*, asking for the immediate appointment of a committee of elected members of the Central Legislature, assisted by officials, to scrutinize Government expenditure and suggest economies. Sir Mohammed sought to reduce the demand under "Finance Department" by Re. 1. He said that neither the Standing Finance Committee nor the Public Accounts Committee would meet the purpose he had in view. Representatives of the people wanted to scrutinize for themselves whether the expenditure to be incurred by Government was justified or not. Mentioning examples of extravagance and lack of control he said that he knew of an instance where shoes were purchased by the Government from Cawnpore. All of them, 200,000 in number, were found to be for the same foot. He added that information of this character would never reach the ears of the Finance Member unless independent elected members of the House were associated with him.

**15th. MARCH** :—For the third day in succession the Opposition parties combined to defeat Government today when the House passed by 53 votes to 44 the Nationalist Party's cut motion moved by *Pandit L. K. Maitra* to reduce the demand under "Home Department" by Rs. 100 to discuss the "abuse of powers under the Defence of India Act and Rules." Moving the demand, Pandit Maitra said that lawyers whose only offence was defending accused in political cases were also arrested under the DI Rules. Restrictions placed on the movement of some people and on railway travel were unbearable. It would be recalled, said the Speaker, that the Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court had exclaimed that the DI Rules had paralysed them. He next referred to the Pardivala case, the proceedings of which gave the impression that a reign of terror was going on in the Lahore High Court and that there was widespread panic in the court itself, Several letters between the Judges and the Advocate-General were intercepted by the police. The police had tried to get out of the difficulty by saying that they were destroyed. The Chief Justice questioned whether he had to depend for getting letters on the whims of a sub-inspector. The Chief Justice had observed that not only did the Government ignore and flout the legislature but the judiciary also. Pandit Maitra added that this was from a British Chief Justice, not a Congress agitator. Sir *Yamin Khan* said he had made a great mistake in supporting the DI Act. He had not then realized that the weapon placed in Government's hands would be misused. He referred to the instance in which the "Prophet's Day" procession had been prevented in Nagpur. He read out the text of an Urdu order served on Mr. Hossain Imam, member, Council of State, in which the SDO. of Gaya asked Mr. Imam to appear before him on March 15 to show cause why he should not be imprisoned under Sec. 38 of the DI Act as it was reported that he had not bought War Bonds and had prevented others from buying them. Mr. *P. J. Griffiths* (European Group) asked why anyone should try to prevent others from purchasing War Bonds. (Angry cries of "why not"). Sir *Yamin Khan* asked under what Rule could a man be forced to purchase Bonds ? "I have every right," he declared, "to tell my friend not to purchase War Bonds. If he asks me whether it is profitable to invest money in War Bonds, I have every right to say it is not profitable." He asked how much money the European Group had invested in War Bonds. (Laughter and cheers from Opposition benches).

**16th. MARCH** :—The Home Member, Sir *Reginald Maxwell*, replying to the debate to-day said that the debate had proceeded as though the Act and Rules were brought into existence and employed solely for the purpose of maintaining public

order of interfering with political or other activities. The Act was not primarily a penal enactment. A great portion of it dealt with the creation of powers which it was necessary for any Government to be able to exercise in war. Explaining how the Act had been actually used, the Home Member said that since the beginning of the war the number of convictions in India under the Act was 94.500. But of these some 43,500 were non-political cases, dealing with matters entirely separate from those which interested the speakers in this debate. The actual number of persons convicted under these Rules was 8.972 on Jan. 1. That, he urged, was not a record of oppression when it was remembered that the war had lasted four and a half years and that some 300.000,000 people lived in India.

A voice : What is the percentage in England ?

The Home Member : Very much higher.

The number of persons detained without trial was about 5,000 on January 1, compared to the peak of 17,572. That meant that up to that date some 12,000 persons who had been detained had already been released. It did not look as if Provincial Governments were anxious to keep people under detention longer than necessary. Replying to the criticism that the new Ordinance III of 1944 did not provide for advisory committees to consider the cases of persons against whom detention orders had been passed, the Home Member pointed out that as against that there was the provision for periodical review and claimed that this was a definite advance and removed the necessity for advisory committees. Although the Government were not able to go so far as the House would like, in the way of advisory committees, they had done a great deal to meet the sentiments expressed from time to time in the House, and that in considering these matters Government were not unresponsive to the opinions expresse here.

Mr. *Abdul Quaiyum* (Congress) said that the Home Member had tried to reply to arguments about the difference between the provisions of the DI Act and those of the British enactment and to make out that the provisions here were similar to those enforced in Britain. He asked whether the Government in Britain was as irresponsible there as was the Government here. "May I know whether in the House of Commons when a candidate is defeated at the elections he is taken in as a Minister of the Crown and given extension after extension while his opponent is made to rot in jail and die". The DI Rules were intended for the defence of British imperialism against Indian nationalism.

The supply of consumer goods as an anti-inflationary measure was urged today during the debate on a cut motion moved by Mr. *A. C. Inskip* (European Group). Speaking with first-hand knowledge of the USA, which he visited last year, Mr. Inskip stated that the practice of taking over the entire output of any one industry for war purposes did not appear to have been followed there or in the UK. Despite the rising tempo of the war and the enormous contribution which the USA had made towards the common effort, she was already, or would shortly be in a position to turn over certain of her industries to the production of essential items for civil consumption. He also stated that the USA and the UK had begun to manufacture goods for supply to countries which had been or would be free from enemy occupation. If the war burden on this country could be lightened, India, he felt, should be given the opportunity to produce not only for her own needs but for the future requirements of such countries as Burma, Malaya and China. The motion was defeated without a division.

### Debate on the Finance Bill

**17th. MARCH** :—The Assembly today began the debate on the Finance Member's motion that the Finance Bill be taken into consideration. Mr. *T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar* (Congress), who opened the debate, referred to the sale of gold and said that, as against the ruling price in America of about Rs. 45 an ounce, gold was being sold in India at about Rs. 35. The *Finance Member*, intervening, pointed out that the price in India had been Rs. 71 for some time. Speaking of sterling balances, Mr. Chettiar objected to these being allowed to accumulate in one country and wanted that these be divided into sterling and dollar. He suggested that the sterling balances should be spent in training Indian technical personnel in England and America in as large number as possible in importing such consumer goods as could not be manufactured in India and in importing capital goods. Speaking as a member of the AICC, Mr. Chettiar repudiated the charge that the Congress Working Committee had incited the sabotage movement in the country. It was true, he said, he had seen a notice in July 1942, in Madras, advising people to cut telegraph wires. He asked a member of the Working

Committee about that notice and was told that there were no instructions or programme of civil disobedience issued by the Working Committee. Who issued that notice was a matter which remained to be found out. The question might be asked how did the burning and sabotage come about ? The explanation he had heard in jail was that Mr. Amery made a broadcast on August 9, 1942, in which he described the Congress programme as one of violence and sabotage and gave details of that programme ; and many Congress workers took this broadcast to mean that it gave out the real Congress programme and acted accordingly. Mr. *Ramratan Gupta* suggested that the Finance Member should give an assurance that all dollar actuals, hereafter, should be kept exclusively in the Indian account instead of in the Empire pool. He did not believe in the developing industry under State management so long as the Government in India was dominated by those whose economic interests were not those of Indians. He instanced the railways and said that some Rs. 900 crores were invested and yet for maintenance and expansion the railways had to depend on imported material instead of on indigenous industry. The Transport Member had not told the House how much of the money to be used for rehabilitation would be spent in India. Mr. *T. T. Krishnamachari* referring to the doubling of the tobacco duty said that the mere fact that tobacco bore a high incidence of taxation in other countries was not an argument which could be made applicable in India. He had not concluded when the House adjourned till Monday.

20th. MARCH :—Resuming the debate Mr. *T. T. Krishanamachari* criticized the new taxation proposals, the appointment of a number of experts in various Government departments, Government's policy in regard to the establishment of heavy indisturies, the activities of the UKCC. and ICI and immobilization of India's sterling balances. There was no justification at the present stage, he said, for any enhancement of the tobacco tax. He was afraid that the tax on coffee would eliminate the small man from the trade and harass many others in the business. On the subject of recruitment of experts and special officers, Mr. Krishnamachari said that the appointment of two dehydration experts had not helped the country much. Referring to the UKCC in India, Mr. Krishnamachari said that though the Corporation was commercial yet its objectives were political. The position of the organization in relation to the Government of India had not been fully clarified. The House was told that the UKCC had no monopoly but he knew that the export of tea and hides was their monopoly. He complained that the ICI had a stranglehold on the Indian industries. Mr. Krishnamachari asked what had happened to Government's plan for the setting up of power alcohol manufacture in the country. He knew that the initial work had been done and Government had already circularized the Provincial Governments on the setting up of power alcohol plants. Referring to India's sterling balances and inflation in the country, he said that the issues were no more academical. He voiced dissatisfaction at the failure of the Indian Directors of the Reserve Bank to protest against the continuous increase in the sterling balances or against the gold sales. Sir *Frederick James* (European Group) devoted most of his speech to questions relating to the India Defence Services, and paid a tribute to their "outstanding and gallant record." He hoped that some words of encouragement would go out to them from members of the House. He commended the increase in pay for Indian soldiers announced by the C-in-C recently. The recent record of the IAF, he said, was one of which the House could be proud. He inquired what precise role the IAF would now play both in regard to the India Command and the SE Asia Command. Dealing with the RIN Sir Frederick said this small but rapidly-growing and efficient force was worth more than a passing reference ; its role was greater than that allotted to her. He urged that the policy adopted in naval training establishments in the country be strengthened and extended to the utmost limits, for, not only had they to establish new traditions in this country but they had to try and recapture old seafaring traditions that had existed for many years. Sir Frederick brought to the notice of the House certain grievances in the pay of ratings and petty officers, and asked why their salaries were still so low and had remained unchanged after the last war. In the matter of long service awards, he pleaded that Government should automatically award them to men with long record of services instead of restricting them to three every year as at present. India's future needs in the matter of defence, he stated, would be a small and efficient army, a larger navy and a larger air force. If India wished to have a mercantile navy worthy of the name, she must have a navy to protect it. After the war, when the Army would be demobilizing, he hoped the Navy would be

consolidated and strengthened. Dealing with the question of demobilization and resettlement of soldiers after the war, he welcomed the Defence Member's plans for land acquisition for collective farming in the Punjab. Referring to the various post-war reconstruction committees that had been established by Government, Sir Frederick said they were haphazardly set up with little relation to one another. He stressed the need for writing up the reports of the various reconstruction committees in an abbreviated form and simple language and quoted the example of the "Bombay Plan" which, whatever its merits or demerits, had aroused widerspread interest in the country. Sir *Vithal Chandavarkar* supported the Finance Bill not because he agreed with the detailed proposals of the Budget but because there was a war on and if they were anxious to save the country from foreign invasion, it was their duty to offer support of a discriminating character to Government. He had not concluded when the House adjourned.

**21st. MARCH**:—Sir *Vithal Chandavarkar* referred to the political situation in the country and said if the British Government were serious they should forget what had happened in the past and without trying to apportion blame proceed to legislate on the lines of making India self-governing. There were bound to be irreconcilables but this should not distract the policy of HMG. Sir *Ziauddin Ahmed* referred to the sale of gold and said that the Reserve Bank was acting as a "black market" for the sale of gold to India on behalf of the USA and UK. The world parity rate of gold was about Rs. 42 per oz, while the Reserve Bank sold it for Rs. 71. Dealing with food administration, Sir Ziauddin suggested that the head of the department should be an ICS man or "an honest public man" who should have no business concerns himself. He urged that the maximum dividends to be declared should not be more than 9% and any excess over that should come into the Exchequer as excess dividends tax. Mr. *C. P. Lawson* ( European Group ) referred to the expenditure incurred on civil defence and said the time had come to concentrate on the danger of target bombing of industrial areas, ports, docks and railways. He thought a good deal of effort was being wasted in organizing ARP in areas where labour was not concentrated. Dealing with the requisitioning of accommodation for the military in Calcutta, Mr. Lawson said Government's building programme for Calcutta was just one year too late. He thought it was inconvenient and bad for the discipline of the troops to be quartered in private houses. Commenting on the driving of military vehicles, particularly in Calcutta, Mr. Lawson stated that the drivers of these vehicles seemed to divide the public into two classes—the "quick" and the "dead." The "quick" were definitely those who were quick enough to get out of the way. The Calcutta Tramways Co. suffered rather badly because tramcars were not quick enough to get out of the way. During the last six months, no less than Rs. 12,000 worth damage had been done to the Calcutta Tramways and the compensation so far paid was Rs. 45. Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta* pointed out three constitutional irregularities and improprieties which, he said, had been committed by Government and which, he urged, should be remedied even now. The first was the retention in the ways and means part of the Budget of Rs. 10 crores which, by its vote, the House had decided the Government should go without. The second was the retention of the contribution of Rs. 32 crores to general revenue from the railway surplus without a specific resolution of the House to that effect and the third was that the amount of money which had been reduced by the various cuts passed by the House both in the Railway and the General Budgets had not been treated as so reduced. Mr. Mehta had not concluded when the House adjourned.

**22nd. MARCH**:—Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta*, continuing his speech, argued that the rise in the cost of living compelled Government themselves to spend more than they would have had to spend if they had been careful about inflation. He stated that the country's indebtedness had increased by Rs. 800 crores during the war years, and declared that for this sum Government got goods and services worth no more than Rs. 226 crores, because the real value of the rupee now was no more than a third of its pre-war value. Sir *Sultan Ahmed* Member for information and Broadcasting, dealt with the apprehension that for a number of posts which had fallen vacant in his department and which had been advertised, experts from abroad would be imported. He assured that there was not the slightest idea of importing anybody from England or anywhere for any post for which the Indian taxpayer would have to pay, as far as his department was concerned. Sir *A. H. Ghuznavi* referring to price control said that it was working for the benefit of the USA and the UK. The price of gold sold by the UK and the USA in India was not controlled. A year ago the Finance Member threatened speculators in Bombay with dire conse-

quences. Yet what was he doing now about the profiteers of the UK and the USA ? He deprecated the agitation started by British newspapers about the accumulation of sterling balances. He thought that this agitation made it necessary to ask for an assurance from HMG that they would pay the entire debt without reopening the agreement. Referring to the export control scheme he said that India was now in a position to export a number of things. He asked that restrictions on exports should be withdrawn and the list of goods the export of which had been banned should be revised. He criticized the control of basic foodstuffs and said that they were contrary to the decision in the UK, where basic food such as bread, potatoes, and cereals were free. Speaking of Bengal he urged that what was needed was transport facilities for the carriage of foodstuffs.

23rd. MARCH :—A committee of the Assembly to revise the DI Rules and suggest amendments was advocated by Sir *Mohammed Yamin Khan* (Muslim League). Referring to remarks made by certain members about the union of the Congress and Muslim League parties in the House, Sir Mohammed said that the two parties had come so much nearer to each other as to demonstrate to the world that they had no confidence in the present Government. That, he said, was one step nearer to the wider unity. The present Government had by their actions and misdeeds brought home to many people that Government were not serious when they asked the parties to join hands and that Government were only exploiting their differences. Opposing the Finance Bill he said there was no necessity for new taxation. The money could be found easily from savings which could be effected. The War Secretary, Mr. *C. M. Trivedi*, replied to certain points relating to the defence services. He informed the House that the Government, with the approval of the Secretary of State, had now decided to set up independent tribunals in India to deal with appeals in pension cases and the necessary steps for the establishment of these tribunals were now under consideration. As regards the training of pilots for the ten squadrons of the IAF, Mr. Trivedi described the air training corps instituted at eight Universities and said that if the classes were filled to capacity about 1,400 students each year would be trained and the results, he hoped, would be reflected in improved recruitment. He promised to consider the question of married quarters for RIN ratings and increasing the number of long service awards. The driving on military vehicles was, he said, a question which received constant attention and military authorities in Calcutta had taken certain measures which would, he hoped, lead to an appreciable improvement. Continuous joint patrols of the Army RAF and U.L. provost had been established in Calcutta, additional traffic signs erected, and speed limit orders of the Army, the RAF and U.S. forces unified. The GOC-in-C. Eastern Command was taking a personal interest in the matter and the C-in-C. India, had directed that the question should be discussed in all its aspects at the next meeting of the Army Commanders' conference. The Bengal Government some time ago wrote that already there was an appreciable improvement in the situation and he hoped matters would improve still further. Mr. *Akhil Chandra Dutta*, referring to the food situation, said that the present controlled price of rice was more than four to five times the normal rate. He contended that there was no room for optimism regarding the food situation in Bengal and no even 25% of the aman crop surplus had been bought by Government. He was afraid that Government was under a false sense of security about the Bengal food problem. He urged that more land should be brought under cultivation. Mrs. *Subbarayan* (Congress) said the measures suggested to fight inflation would bewilder even experts but the Finance Member had simplified it by saying that "whatever brings money to Government is anti-inflationary." She was told there was only 10.5% Indian officers in the Army. Was this how Government were going to develop a national army in India, she asked. She also questioned the policy of sending out of the country Indian troops who had shown themselves capable of fighting successfully even on unfamiliar ground against a highly trained and well-equipped enemy, and bringing in foreign troops to defend India. Dr. *N. B. Khare*, Member for Indians Overseas, replied to the points raised by Congress speakers against Members, particularly Indian Members, of the Executive Council. He admitted that he and his colleagues were not responsible in the sense of responsibility to the legislature. They had come to the Government benches with open eyes, knowing full well all the limitations under which they had to function. He claimed that he and his colleagues had acted in response to promptings of the inner voice just as the members of the Congress party had done in coming back to the House in utter disregard of the mandate of their leaders. Speaking of the affairs of August, 1942, Dr. Khare expressed surprise that one of the Congress speakers in the House should

have stated that Congress workers probably acted on the sabotage programme which they had heard Mr. Amery state over the radio that the Congress Working Committee had laid down. If there were politicians who took their cue from their opponents and acted on words broadcast by their enemy, then how could they aspire to be in charge of a country's administration ?

24th. MARCH :—Sir *Cowasji Jehangir* said that price control measures were the sheet anchor of Government's remedy against inflation and they should impress on the Provincial Governments its importance. Mr. *Ghulam Bhik Nairang* referred to the propaganda that was being carried on for the establishment of a Supreme Court in India and expressed the fear that the existence of such a court might, later on, be used as an argument to support Lord Linlithgow's "discovery" of the geographical unity of India. If this was so, the Muslims took strong objection to the establishment of such a court. Sir *Mohamed Aziz-ul-Haque*, Industries and Civil Supplies Member, replying to criticisms of his department, contradicted the statement that 90% of export licences were given to Europeans and stated that export trade had been largely in Indian hands in Bombay, Calcutta and Karachi. As regards the UKCC's activities he mentioned that details had been given by him in answer to questions in the Assembly and an explanatory communique had been issued. He was sorry that suspicions still existed. In view of the dissatisfaction however, he had invited representatives of some chambers of commerce to address the department and later sit round a table with Government representatives to discuss the matter. Explaining the policy relating to import trade, the Industries Member said that Government's policy had been to issue licences on a generous scale and the Secretary of State had been asked, as soon as shipping conditions permitted, to see that more and more consumer goods were sent to this country. He stated that the constitution of a consumers' council to which all questions affecting consumers might be brought was being considered by Government On the import of plant and machinary, his department had already invited industrialists to inform Government of their requirements in the post-war period. He was not in a position to give actual figures but he would say that licences had been given for the import of paper, sugar, textile, jute and other machinery during the last six months. As regards chemicals, licences issued during July-December 1943, covered goods worth Rs. 7 crores. From January to date licences issued were for over Rs. 4½ crores. Referring to the Imperial Chemical Industies, he said, Government at present had two aims, importing commodities and distributing them. Distribution was a difficult task and it would not be possible for Government to perfect a machinery soon. The ICI were at present relieving Government from the responsibility of distribution, which, he said, Government proposed to take over afterwards. Explaining the price control policy he said that no such measure could be successful unless there was an effort on the part of everyone to eradicate black markets. Concluding the Industries Member said : "I shall not enter into political controversies. But let me say this. So long as an Indian feels that another Indian is not his brother but a traitor, other people will rule over this country. So long as every man outside a particular party is considered a traitor and not a good citizen, there can be no political solution of the problems that are facing us today. Even though we may not ally ourselves for the time being with political parties, the interests of India are as dear to us as to other Indians. The House at this stage adjourned till Monday.

27th. MARCH :—Sir *Henry Richardson*, leader of the European group, referred to the attitude of certain sections of the House which imputed to the British commercial community a wish to profit unduly by the circumstances of the war and a "fictitious ability" to influence Government so that they might legislate in a manner favourable to British interests. "Such charges as have been made have of necessity been vague since they have no foundation and are based upon political prejudice combined with industrial ignorance. "The taxation which during the past four years has been imposed upon commerce and industry has fallen upon the interests which I represent as heavily as it has fallen upon Indian interests. I do not deny the right of the latter to advance arguments which oppose taxation proposals but in all fairness I ask this House to cast its mind back to the attitude which we, on this side, have consistenly made clear in the matter of war taxation. I myself have on more than one occasion pointed to the moderate character of the burdens which we have been asked to bear especially in view of the vital issues at stake. We may try to be good businessmen but we also try to be good citizens who realize that the war must be won whatever the sacrifice.

Dr. *P. N. Banerjea*, leader of the Nationalist party, said that the additional

taxation which the Bill sought to impose was neither necessary nor justifiable. The burden of taxation had not been so adjusted that it would fall on those who were able to bear it. Dealing with the food problem, he said that the Bengal famine was due to the criminal negligence of the British Government and their subordinates here. He also charged the Bengal Government with incompetence. He suggested that in Bengal the procurement and distribution of rice should be left to ordinary trade channels. Hoarding and profiteering must be dealt with sternly. He welcomed the Bengal Government's rehabilitation scheme. He deplored the continuance of the political deadlock and made an appeal for unity. Lord Halifax's recent pronouncement that there could be no freedom for India until there was unity, he said, was a challenge to the Indian parties which the members of the Opposition should take up.

*Nawabzada Liaqut Ali Khan*, Deputy Leader, Muslim League party, opposing the Bill, said he had not intended to speak about the Executive Council after the vote of the House refusing supplies to it—a vote which, he said, was a true reflection of practically unanimous opinion in the country. But, since then, Dr. Khare had chosen to make what had been described as a political speech. He thought it would be discourteous not to notice Dr. Khare's observations. Dr. Khare had complained that members of the Opposition threw rose petals at European members of the Executive Council and flints at the Indian members. "Instead of complaining he should be thankful, because that shows his countrymen have not lost all hope in him and his colleagues. The flint when it strikes steel produces fire and if Hon. Members from this side threw any flints at him, it was in the hope that they might ignite a little spark of patriotism." Dr. Khare had taken credit for the blessing that had accrued to this country as a result of the war. He should have presented a true balance sheet of its blessings and miseries, for it was this war and the Government's incapacity to deal with the problems arising from it, that had cost lives due to starvation and want of medical relief, had brought economic depression, had left India in the same constitutional position as it was a 100 years ago and curtailed the liberties of the people in the name of the DI Rules. Replying to the Viceroy's speech and those made by the Home Member and the Leader of the House suggesting that the British Government had done everything conceivable to secure the honourable co operation of the people of India in the prosecution of the war and that it was really Indians who were guilty of failure to co-operate, the Nawabzada said that so far as the Muslim League was concerned, it had from the very beginning realized the necessity of doing its utmost to defend the country. The offers of co-operation, however, were made by Government intentionally in a manner which would not be acceptable to any honourable man. The British Government never really desired the co-operation of the people of this country. Referring to the Viceroy's recent address to the Central Legislature and the Muslim League Party's attitude to H. E.'s pronouncement, he said : "During the last three years the policy of the League consistently had been to oppose the Finance Bill not because we do not want to help in the prosecution of this war, not that we do not want to vote money for the defence of India but because we have no confidence in the present Government. We are not ready and willing to place the resources of our country in the hands of a Government which is not only irresponsible but irresponsive."

Mr. *Bhulabhai Desai*, leader of the Congress Party, said if the war was being fought for democracy, the first desideratum was that representatives of the Indian people, who had been elected on the widest franchise permitted under the 1935 Act, should form a national Government. It was not a mere majority Government that was intended. It was a Government composed of representatives of every element in the House. It was not even required that the constitution of the Government of India should be changed. The Congress was quite prepared to place its services at the disposal—not of HMG, but at the disposal of the country that the cause may be fought with clean hands and stout heart. He had every desire that India should be defended. But he was opposing the Finance Bill because he did not want to take the responsibility of finding the money without the privilege or responsibility of spending it. If Government continued to oust people's representatives from handling their own affairs, they could not expect their representatives to be their agents and servants in finding money or resources. "It is far better that we should find the money than that you should be able to extort it, which in present-day language is co-operation."

The Finance Member, Sir *Jeremy Raisman*, referring to the constitutional question, said the representatives of the two great parties had on the occasion arrived at a

measure of agreement as to what should be done about the Bill before the House. They had apparently agreed that they should register their disapproval of Government as at present constituted. "Can we hope to see that this combination will continue and go further. May I hope to be relieved of the difficulties in which I find myself of having to carry out my duties to get legislation passed in a House in which Government does not enjoy a majority ? May I hope to see that this combination will continue on fruitful lines, so that we may look forward to a speedy solution of the difficulties which give rise to all this trouble we are facing" ? Nobody would, he said, be happier than himself and his colleagues to see the Treasury Bench occupied by a Ministry which could command the support of the friends opposite. He would be only too glad if the union of the parties opposite would not be only a union of a day or a moment, not merely union on a negative policy, which surely was not a platform on which the problems of the country could be dealt with, but some more extensive and more fruitful combination between the great parties.

**28th. MARCH** :—The Assembly this morning by 56 votes to 45 rejected the Finance Bill in the form recommended by the Governor-General. The House also rejected by 55 votes to 45 the demand for a grant of Rs. 1,85,000 in respect of the Information and Broadcasting Department. Introducting the recommended Bill, the *Finance Member* explained that it incorporated four amendments. The first two related to deposits under the EPT provisions. They provide that in respect of any chargeable accounting period ending after Dec. 31. 1943, "in relation to any person who is a company," it shall be 19/64, and in relation to any other 17/64.' If, in respect of any chargeable accounting period ending after Dec. 31, 1943, a person who had deposited a further sum equal to 17/64 of the EPT payable showed that the amount of the income-tax and super-tax payable exceeded 15/64 of the amount of the EPT so much of the deposit shall be refunded, so that the total of the deposit made and the income-tax and super tax payable does not exceed one half of the EPT. The last amendment related to the schedule of rates of super-tax. It provided that a rebate of one anna in the rupee shall be allowed on the total income as reduced by the amount of any dividend declared in respect of the previous year's profits for the assessment for the ear ending March 31. 1945.

Mr. *Bhulabhai Desai*, Leader of the Congress Party, opposed the motion for reconsideration of the Bill in the recommended form. He said that the occasion which had brought back the Bill was not without precedent and but for the provision in the Government of India Act one would have thought that the Government would exercise its powers without asking this body, which had cast a deliberate vote yesterday against the Bill, to reconsider it again. Yesterday the House had rejected the Bill by a majority of one, which was, in fact, a vote of 56 against 18 so far as the elected members of the Assembly were concerned. Even out of this 18, if they took into account the consideration which the members of the European Group had extended to Government, it came to this that in so far as the real voice of this country was concerned, it was a vote of 56 against eight. It was an imputation of lack of commonsense to ask them to reconsider what the House had been considering for quite a long time. When the Bill was in the consideration stage for about seven days, when every Party had expressed opinion on it, they had made it quite plain that it would not be possible, on the ground of principle as well as owing to the deteriorating conditions in the country, that this Bill for supplies would ever be voted. Ever since the war and since India was declared a partner in the war, the country had been demanding that her affairs should—at least during the emergency—be managed on principles different to those under which they were being handled. It was then made clear that those who had the responsibility of finding the money and resources for the prosecution of the war should also have the privilege of carrying out policies for the purpose of disbursement. The question could only be solved if HMG began to realize that, however eminent or able the individual personnel of the Government might be, it was the confidence of the people which was the bedrock and foundation of government, during a period of war. Mr. Desai recalled that in 1939, soon after the war broke out, Government brought a supplementary budget asking for Rs. 2 crores for war purposes. It was intended merely for propaganda. As Britain was spending Rs. 14 crores every day, he had then pointed out that there was not much purpose in the Government of India coming before the House and saying "Give us Rs. 2 crores for the prosecution of the war" It was true that the situation at that time was different and the war was still far away from the E and W borders of the country. Today the country was in a different position. As he had pointed out yesterday,

while the Allies might be confident of winning the war, it was not merely military success that was going to solve the problem of the world. Indeed, those who had studied the situation thought, and the statesmen of different countries agreed with the view, that it was more the problem of the peace to follow. The duration and the quality of that peace was going to determine the future of the world.

### INCOME-TAX AMEND. BILL

**29th. MARCH** :—The Assembly today took up the Income-tax Act (Amendment) Bill. The "pay-as-you-earn" scheme proposed in the Bill was the main object of criticism by speakers on the Finance Member's motion for consideration of the Bill as reported upon by the Select Committee. Sir *Henry Richardson*, Leader of the European Group, supported the principle of advance payment of income-tax and super tax introduced in Sec. 18/A. He said he supported it as an anti-inflationary and purely temporary measure. His group, however, felt it would have been better to have embodied it in the Finance Bill so that it would come up for consideration year by year instead of being enshrined in a permanent measure such as the Income-tax Act itself. Mr. *Ramratan Gupta* pointed out that there were other methods than that proposed in sec. 18A to achieve the anti-inflationary effect. For instance, there were arrears of income-tax outstanding, mainly from big business men, which according to an estimate, amounted to Rs. 75 crores. The *Finance Member*, replying, warned British and Indian business men to remember that the Budget proposals were moderate only because of the provision for immobilisation of excess purchasing power. If no anti-inflationary action of this kind were to be taken at the present time, then the scale of new taxation would be entirely inadequate and income-tax and super-tax might have to be stepped up drastically. As regards duration, his own object was to deal with the present situation, and to that extent it might be said that the measure was temporary but not in the sense of being only for a single year. The House passed the motion for consideration and adjourned.

### POLITICAL REFORMS IN BALUCHISTAN

**30th. MARCH** :—The Assembly today passed *Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan's* resolution moved on March 1 recommending the appointment of a committee with a majority of elected members of the Central Legislature to recommend steps to be taken to introduce constitutional reforms in Baluchistan on lines similar to those in other Provinces of British India. The Congress, Nationalist and other parties supported the resolution and the Government did not challenge a division when it was put to the House.

Sir *Olaf Caroe*, Secretary, External Affairs Department, quoted from statements, made on behalf of the Muslim League declaring that the system of British parliamentary democracy or representative institutions of western democracy were totally unsuited to India and their imposition on India would be a disease. He asked the House to consider if the Pathans of Baluchistan had not got their own form of local autonomy, which echoed the ideas which Mr. Jinnah had in mind when he condemned the introduction of western constitutional system.

The NW Frontier, which included Baluchistan, would always be a matter of tremendous import of India and one which required treatment with the utmost gravity and understanding and not as an arena for political manouevrings of any kind. Only in so far as parties in this country could stand togther to deal with questions of defence and security that the picture which they saw of greater India would be set in a firm frame and that was a point on which he begged the House to meditate upon closely and carefully. He felt that there was a better chance of carving and setting that frame if the tribes came into India's orbit on the basis of local autonomy and not of being forced into the British-Indian mould.

### REPAIR OF DELHI MOSQUES

Sir *Mohammed Yamin Khan* moved a resolution recommending certain steps to be taken by Government for the repair and maintenance of mosques in New Delhi. He said that everybody, to whatever faith he belonged, had the right of worship in his temple, church or mosque. The Government should take the responsibility for safeguarding this right. He was glad to note that one of the houses of the executive Councillors, which has a mosque in its compound was always alloted to a Muslim Councillor so that any Muslim could come and say his prayers there. He wanted the same principle to be extended to all other houses which had mosques in their compounds. This could be done by alloting such houses to Muslim officers. The debate had not concluded when the House adjourned.

NON-OFFICIAL BILLS

**31st. MARCH** :—The Assembly discussing non-official bills to-day and rejected without division Mr. *M. A. Kazmi's* bill for the abolition of whipping.

Sir *Zia-ud-Din* Ahmed moved reference to a select committee of his bill to amend the Aligarh Muslim University Act so as to provide that the Central Government might on the recommendation of a provincial Government or the Government of an Indian State allow students of a school in that province or State to appear in the High School examination of the Aligarh University. Mr. *J. D. Tyson*, Education Secretary, moving circulation of the bill till July 31, 1944, referred to a number of points which would arise out of a bill of this kind on which the opinion of the provinces should be taken. Sir *Zia-ud-Din*, accepting the motion for circulation, declared that the University was not anxious to have authority for inspection. The House passed the motion for circulation.

The Assembly next passed Mr. *Abdul Ghani's* bill to amend the Delhi Muslim Wakfs Act. A number of bills were introduced by Mr. *Kazmi*, Mr. *Nairang* and Mr. *Krishnamachari*.

INCOME-TAX AMEND. BILL

**3rd. APRIL** :—The Assembly today concluded the debate on the Income-tax Amendment Bill and passed it. During the final reading, the Finance Member said that the House was right in supporting Government in resisting amendments which were calculated to relax the rigour of the provisions necessary to deal with those 'who did not play the game in the matter of paying taxes." Sir *Henry Richardson* thanked the Finance Member for giving the assurance that administrative instructions would be issued to give due consideration to cases of genuine hardship, and the other assurance that the "pay as-you-earn" scheme was temporary and would be retained only so long as it was necessary in the country's interests. The Finance Member's severe criticism of the European Group's attitude towards the advance payment system was unfair to a Group which had consistently supported Government's war taxation measures. The Bill was passed.

CODIFICATION OF HINDU MARRIAGE LAW

The House passed without division the Law Member's motion that the Bill to codify the Hindu Law relating to marriage be referred to a joint committee of both Houses. Mr. *Bajoria's* amendment, moved at an earlier sitting that the Bill be circulated to elicit public opinion, was lost without division. In today's debate, Mr. *Ananga Mohan Dam* supported the motion but opposed certain provisions of the Bill, particularly those relating to the introduction of monogamy and permitting "Sagotra" marriage. Monogamy, he said, was an unsocial institution, and Hindu society would commit race suicide if it adopted it as part of its law. *Bhai Parmanand*, opposing the Bill, declared that all reforms must be preceded by agitation by the people in general. In the present case, whatever agitation there had been, it was confined to one particular section. Mr. *Ramratan Gupta*, expressed sympathy with the object of the Bill but thought that this was hardly the time for bringing such far-reaching and controversial measures before the House. Many Hindu members were not present, and he doubted if the House was competent to discuss these vital social reforms. If the Bill went into select committee, he hoped it would be composed solely of Hindus and that Government would allow their members to vote as they liked. The Law Member, Sir *Asoka Roy*, replying, expressed gratification at the support which speakers generally had given to his motion. He had anticipated opposition from Mr. Bajoria, stalwart champion of Hindu orthodoxy as he was, but the only difference in regard to the motion was that while Mr. Bajoria wanted circulation before commitment to the select committee, Government intended to move circulation after the Bill had emerged from the committee. As regards the remarks made by other speakers, so far as they dealt with details, the joint committee would consider them and make improvement where necessary. Every effort would be made to see that no injustice was done to the Hindu community. Government did not intend to take precipitate action. He appealed to the House for assistance in codifying the Hindu Law. Mr. *Bajoria's* amendment was rejected without a division and the Law Member's motion passed.

APPROVING U. N. R. R. A. AGREEMENT

**4th. APRIL** :—The Assembly spent about four hours today discussing the *Commerce Member's* motion to approve the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration Agreement. Eleven speakers from the Muslim League, Nationalist and Independent parties expressed general approval of the Agreement with certain

reservations some of which were summarised in two amendments moved by the Muslim League and Nationalist members. Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari (Nationalist) sought to add a proviso that the name or names of representative or representatives who will serve on any body connected with the U.N.R.R.A. be submitted to the Legislature and their approval in the usual manner obtained, the voting being confined to non-official members of the two Houses. Mr. *Ghulam Bhik Nairang* (Muslim League) in expressing approval recommended that any area important to military operations of the United Nations, which is stricken by famine or disease, should be included in the benefits to be made available by U.N.R.R.A.

Urging approval of the U.N.R.R.A. Agreement, signed at Washington on November 9, 1943, Sir *Aziz-ul-Hague*, Industries and Civil Supplies Member, explained in the Assembly to-day the conditions of the Agreement and the extent of the obligations it entailed. The decision to participate in the Agreement, he made it clear, rested entirely with the Legislative bodies of the different countries. If the Assembly did not approve his motion, India would withdraw from the organisation. Sir *Azizul Huque* referred to the recommendation of the U.S. Congress to revise the terms of its Agreement to bring the distress in India within the scope of relief by the U.N.R.R.A. This recommendation would now go to the U.N.R.R.A. for final decision.

Mr. *T. T. Krishnamachari*, moving his amendment, said the House had been placed in a dilemma by being asked to consider a decision which had already been made. He asked the Commerce Member what would ultimately be the appropriate authority to vote funds on behalf of India. He asked for an assurance that in the matter of representation and further commitments, Government would consult the legislature in the only manner in which it could be ascertained. India's status in these international bodies was unreal ; but he did not wish to say that India should be unsympathetic to the sufferings of people outside her own borders.

Sir *Frederick James* supported the resolution because he believed it was good business, good international policy and, particularly in the Far East, a token of India's desire to be good neighbour to those countries with which she had had, and would continue to have, intimate relations. He reminded the House that India had a special interest in liberating Far Eastern countries, not only because of humanitarian considerations, but because there were large numbers of Indian settlers there.

Mr. *Neogy* expressed the hope that the scope of the U.N.R.R.A. in regard to its working would not be so extended as to affect our future international relationships with other parts of the world in regard to commerce.

Dr. Sir *Zia-ud-Din Ahmed* said Government should not enter into any commitments, financial or otherwise, on behalf of India without the vote of the House.

Mr. *Azhar Ali* did not want that the country should enter into an agreement today, only to find she was unable to meet her commitments later on.

Mr. *G. V. Deshmukh* thought that India would be well advised to participate in this laudable plan. The sacrifices which India was making at present would not go in vain and he hoped she would be able to advocate her cause—even as China had done in the political sphere.

5th. APRIL :—The Assembly concluded discussion to-day and passed the following motion :—

"This Assembly approves of the U.N.R.R.A. Agreement signed at Washington on November 9, 1943. In expressing its approval, this Assembly recommends that any area important to military operations of the United Nations which is stricken by famine or disease should be included in benefits to be made available by United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration."

In the course of his reply to the debate on the motion, the *Commerce Member* gave his own personal guess of India's contribution to the U.N.R.R.A. as about 8 or 10 crores of rupees but added that it was for the legislature to fix it.

*Prof. Banerjee*, leader of the Nationalist Party, welcomed India's participation in the U.N.R.R.A. but regretted that the Government of India had not consulted the legislature on this important question before signing the Agreement. He urged Government to accept Mr. Krishnamachari's amendment. He suggested that India should be represented not merely in the Council of the U.N.R.R.A. but on all committees with which she was directly or indirectly concerned. Her contribution must be fixed, he suggested, on the basis of one per cent of the Central Government's net revenue in the pre-war normal years. On the question of supplying materials he thought no foodgrains should be exported in view of the shortage in

the country. Mr. Banerjee urged that appropriate arrangements should be made for relief and rehabilitation of the people in Bengal.

*Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan*, Deputy Leader of the Muslim League Party, stated that Bengal had suffered much more than any country under enemy occupation. He did not see any reason why such areas should be deprived of relief which was to be given in the name of humanity. As regards India's contribution, he was glad to know that the Government of India had not accepted the principle of one per cent of the national income. He urged the Commerce Member to give an assurance that no money would be provided from Indian revenues without the Assembly's sanction.

Winding up the debate, the Commerce Member, Sir *Azizul Haque* answered the criticism that Government had not taken the House into confidence before signing the agreement. He pointed out that there was no time to do this after the revised draft was received by Government, but he emphasised that the signing of the agreement was subject to ratification by the legislature. Had India not signed the agreement, he stated, she would have been singled out from among the 44 nations and it would be said that she had not accepted the principle of international relief. On the question of contribution, the Commerce Member said India had from the very beginning taken up the attitude that her contribution must be on the basis of her capacity to pay, having regard to the economic distress prevailing in many parts of the country. It was mainly with reference to India, he pointed out, that the criterion of one per cent of a country's national income had been amended. The Commerce Member giving his own personal guess said he estimated India's contribution on the basis of her capacity at Rs. 8 to Rs. 10 crores. It was, however, purely his own personal estimate and the House would have the fullest opportunity to decide as to what should be India's contribution. As to whether she should pay in foreign credits or supplies, he would consult the trade and commercial interest on the subject. Government had, he added, taken up the question of the interests of Indians in occupied territories and were collecting data which would be necessary for purposes of relief. The Commerce Member regretted he could not accept Mr. Krishnamachari's amendment as it was impracticable but he would be prepared to consider the suggestion that India should have a non-official representative when questions of high policy were discussed. Mr. Nairang's amendment was in the nature of a recommendation to the U. N. R. R. A. and if the House decided to vote for it, he would not object.

The House rejected Mr. Krishnamachari's amendment and passed Mr. Ghulam Bhik Nairang's amendment. The resolution as amended was then passed.

### CODIFICATION OF HINDU LAW OF MARRIAGE

Earlier, the House elected the following members to serve on the Joint Committee to consider and report on the Bill to codify the Hindu Law relating to marriage :—

Messrs. Lalchand Navalrai, Govind Deshmukh, Baijnath Bajoria, Lakshmikanta Maitra, Nilkanta Das, Anangamohan Dam, Ghulam Bhik Nairang, Mrs. Renuka Ray and Sir Ashok Roy, Law Member.

After passing the motion on U. N. R. R. A., the Assembly adjourned for lunch and met again at 4 p.m. when the President announced that the Governor-General had disallowed Mr. Nauman's adjournment motion regarding alleged misbehaviour of troops near Jamshedpur on the ground that it could not be discussed without detriment to public interest. (cries of shame.)

The motion had been permitted to stand over till to-day and the Chair had fixed 4 p.m. for debate on it. The Assembly at this stage adjourned '*sine die*.'

# The Bengal Legislative Assembly

## Opening Day—Calcutta—the 1st. February 1944

### Ministry's Food Policy

A feeling reference to the death of Sir John Herbert, lately Governor of Bengal was made by the Speaker, Mr. *Syed Nausher Ali*, when the Bengal Legislative Assembly met for its budget session in Calcutta on the 1st. February 1944. He said that Sir John Herbert's death in India under very exceptional circumstances would be a memorable event.

Dr. *Nalinaksha Sanyal*, Chief Whip of the Official Congress Party, moved an adjournment motion to discuss "the distress and panic prevailing in many parts of Bengal due to continued rise in prices of rice and paddy from the beginning of December last following the announcement of the Bengal Government's 'aman' purchase scheme based upon the appointment of a limited number of big Calcutta merchants as their chief agents for procuration." Objecting to the motion Mr. *H. S. Suhrawardy*, Minister for Civil Supplies, said that the whole basis of the motion was wrong as there was neither any panic nor any rise in the prices throughout Bengal. "As a matter of fact," he continued, "any body who is in touch with the market will know that there is a fall in the price in many parts of Bengal ("Question, question" from the Opposition benches). There is also no question of any panic except that attempts are being made by certain persons to engineer such panic. There is, however, a large section of people who cannot afford to buy at these prices, but that is entirely a different matter."

Half a dozen speakers from the Opposition benches and only one from Government side, spoke on the motion. The Opposition speakers maintained that prices of rice and paddy were low at the beginning of the season, but as soon as Government's 'aman' procurement scheme was announced and sub-agents of Government agents began to operate in the market, prices began suddenly to rise. Dr. *S. P. Mookerjee* said that it was a matter of deep regret and anxiety that in spite of the assistance which had been offered by the Government of India and the bumper winter crop with which nature had blessed this province, there were no clear indications that the province had really turned the corner. One of the factors for the rise in prices of foodgrains, he remarked, was 'bankruptcy of Government policy and inefficiency of its administration." Replying to the debate, Mr. *H. S. Suhrawardy* said that the situation was indeed very difficult and required the co-operation of all parties and of all persons of good-will. Instead, he found that a deliberate attempt was being made by certain persons and parties to create panic in the minds of the people. He declared that in many places the prices of rice and paddy had fallen and in many other places these were falling, due to Government measures. He was prepared to admit that there were places in which prices had risen and were rising. He explained that until there were arrangements for better distribution and more transport facilities were available to them, it was quite clear that it would take some time before food-grains could be moved from the surplus to the deficit areas. Mr. Suhrawardy defended the appointment of Government agents instead of utilising the services of local traders. He hoped that if Government was allowed to go on with its policy without any interference from any political party, the prices must fall. He did not wish to see them fall to an unseemly level. They had to see that the prices fell to a level which was not unfair to the producer or the consumer.

The adjournment motion was talked out and the House adjourned.

### Sales Tax Amend. Bill

**2nd. FEBRUARY**:—Doubling of the present rate of sales tax of 3 pies in the rupee and exemption of 'poor men's cloth,' such as dhoties, lungis and sarees, whether handloom woven or mill-made upto a certain price limit, to be fixed by the Provincial Government, were proposed in the Bengal Finance (Sales Tax) Amendment Bill introduced to-day. Moving consideration of the Bill, Mr. *T. C. Goswami*, Finance Minister, recalled that the current year's budget estimates showed a deficit of Rs. 7,37,00,000. The deficit, however, was likely to be considerably larger. Hence the need for raising additional revenue. The proposed increased taxation, he was satisfied, would not impose any hardship on the people. The Opposition tabled several motions urging circulation of the Bill for eliciting public opinion. Their point of view was that the measure was "ill-timed" and would prove

* For list of Members See 1943 Vol. I.

a "crushing burden" on the people of the province in its present economic condition. The discussions had not concluded when the House adjourned till the next day, the **3rd. February**, when by 90 to 63 votes, an Opposition motion, urging the circulation of the Bill was lost. Speaking on the motion, Dr. *S. P. Mookerjee* referred to the catastrophic famine condition "through which the province had passed and said that Government would be earning the curse of the people if they imposed any further burden on them at the present time. He pleaded for approaching the Central Government for financial assistance. Replying to the debate, the Finance Minister, Mr. *T. C. Goswami*, said that the Bengal Government had already approached the Central Government for financial assistance. The whole matter was at present in a state of negotiation, and he was, therefore, not in a position to state what measure of assistance they were likely to receive from the Centre. He however assured the House that the Central Government were convinced upto a point of the justifiability of the Bengal Government's claim for financial assistance. The Bill as brought forward was passed by the House on the 7th. February by 97 to 54 votes.

### Slaughter of Cattle for Army

**4th. FEBRUARY** :—The question of slaughter of cattle to meet the requirements of the army was raised in a non-official resolution to-day. After discussion, the following agreed resolution, as moved by a member of the Opposition and as amended by a member of the Government Party, was passed unanimously :

"This Assembly is of the opinion that in view of the importance of cattle for all agricultural purposes and of milch cows for health, and in view of rapid decimation of cattle due to indiscriminate slaughter for abnormal food supply for military purposes, a representation be made by the Government of Bengal to the Government of India to stop the purchase of cattle in Bengal for the military."

Mr. *D. N. Sen* (Opposition), who moved the resolution, recalled that the Government of India had issued orders that no milch or pregnant cows and bullocks under 10 years of age should be slaughtered and instructions had also been issued to pass no animal which came under the protected category when presented at the military slaughter house. But these checks, according to the speaker, were not successful in their objects, and the situation had not improved. Mr. Sen suggested that to meet the requirements of the defence services meat should be imported from other Allied countries and proper checks should be instituted to regulate the slaughter of cattle. Mr. *W. E. Skipwith* (European Group) said that in case it was found that there was a shortage of supply, meat should be rationed and the Civil Supplies Minister must also examine the possibility of obtaining supplies of frozen meat from overseas. Intervening in the debate, the Chief Minister, Sir *Nazimuddin* told the House that even before the Government received notice of this resolution they had taken up the question vith the local military authorities and he had received a letter from Major-General Stuart who had forwarded a brief note on the army system of obtaining local fresh supplies without encroaching on civil supplies. In forwarding the note, Major-General Stuart said : "We are doing our very utmost to take the minimum amount of our requirements from within the province. We appreciate, however, that one cannot be at war and have so many troops in a province without affecting the normal every day life of the civilians. I think the situation regarding meat, eggs and milk is a universal one all over India. But you can see from the note that we are endeavouring to be self-contained and dependent on our own resources to the greatest possible extent." The Assembly at this stage adjourned.

### Agricultural Income-Tax Bill

**10th. FEBRUARY** :—The Bengal Agricultural Income Tax Bill, reported by the select committee, was placed for consideration to-day by Mr. *T. C. Goswami*, Financy Minister. For the first time agricultural income was sought to be taxed in Bengal by this measure, the taxable minimum being an annual income of Rs. 3,500. Mr. *S. N. Biswas* (Bose Group in opposition) moved an amendment urging the recommittal of the Bill to the Select Committee with the direction that the proceeds of this taxation should be ear-marked for the benefit of the agriculturists and that the measure should be a temporary one. The discussion was adjourned till the **14th. February** when by 92 to 54 votes, the Assembly rejected an amendment moved on behalf of the Bose Party in opposition urging for the recommittal of the Bill to the same Select Committee. The Government's motion for taking the Bill into consideration clause by clause was then passed without a division. During the discussion on the Bill clause by clause, the Finance Minister, Mr. *T. C. Goswami*, indicated that the Government's intention was to bring the

provisions of the Bill into operation from the beginning of the next financial year. On the next day, the 15th. February, during the second reading of the Bill the European Group voted with the Opposition on an amendment moved by the latter. The amendment, which was lost by 74 to 68 votes, sought to bring the Bill into line with the Indian Income-Tax Act by excluding agricultural income of a casual and non-recurring nature from the scope of the Bill. In another division on an Opposition amendment to the Bill, when the European group remained neutral, the Government won by a majority of 13 votes while in two other divisions, Government majority was 50, European group voting with them.

FOOD PRICES IN BENGAL

11th. FEBRUARY :—The fixation of minimum prices of rice, paddy and jute in parity with the prices of other commodities was urged in a non-official resolution moved by a member of the Sarat Bose group. The resolution, which was lost without a division, demanded that immediate steps should be taken by the Bengal Government in this respect and the Central Government should be moved in the matter if necessary. Replying to the debate, Mr. *H. S. Suhrawardy*, Minister for Civil Supplies, said that prices had fallen and were falling in certain areas. The position of Government was that they would keep a sharp look-out regarding prices. Government considered that prices at the present moment in Bengal as a whole, were above the level at which the Minister would like to see it fall. He hoped that by their procurement policy they would be able to lower prices still further. After Government had been able to move foodstuffs from the surplus to the deficit areas, they would consider the question of starting cheap grain shops where a large number of people were unable to buy even at a reduced rate. He stated that Government were still pursuing their relief measures and had kept gruel kitchens open in certain areas. He appealed to the members of the House to use their influence to induce the people to take bajra. So far as the question of fixation of minimum prices of rice and paddy was concerned, he said that the Bengal Government would have to take the consent of the Government of India before taking any such step. The Minister accepted the principle of the resolution, but he thought it was not a practical proposition now having regard to the present condition. The resolution was put to vote and was lost without a division.

RATIONING IN CALCUTTA

14th. FEBRUARY :—The *Speaker* ruled out an adjournment motion tabled by Dr. *S. P. Mookerjee* to-day to discuss "the situation arising out of the defects in the working of the rationing scheme for Calcutta which has become manifest after its operation for a fortnight, which, if not forthwith removed, will seriously endanger the health of the people." Stressing that the matter was of great importance, Dr. Mookerjee pointed out that the manner in which the scheme had been sought to be worked out had created a situation which threatened the life and health of the people of the city. He remarked that in view of the nature of the allegations which had been made in the statement appended to the motion and the physical demonstration of which he proposed to place before the House, he hoped that the motion would be allowed. Presenting before the House some packages of foodstuffs, Dr. Mookerjee remarked : "There are lots of insects in them." Objecting to leave being granted for the motion, Mr. *Fazlur Rahman*, Chief Whip of the Government Party, said that the matter was neither urgent nor of recent occurrence. He maintained that the nature of defects as alleged by Dr. Mookerjee had not been indicated, nor had it been shown how it affected the life and health of the people. It was based only on a presumption.

The *Chair* then ruled the motion out of order without assigning any reason.

GOVT. CALLOUSNESS TO STORM VICTIMS

An Opposition motion, which sought to discuss the "callousness and indifference shown by the authorities in not attending to the victims of a storm, which was the cause of sinking of the steamship 'Rudra' operating on the Hulaphat-Bagerhat line and many country boats in the river Kacha in the district of Barisal, in suppressing the news for 11 days so that relatives and the sympathetic public could not do their little bit in this matter, and in ordering the holding of only an official enquiry at a place far removed from the place of occurrence" was also ruled out of order.

MR. SARAT BOSE'S RELEASE

16th. FEBRUARY :—The Government of Bengal had officially no *locus standi* in the matter of release, or transfer to Bengal, of Mr. *Sarat Chandra Bose*, said the Chief Minister, Sir *Nazimuddin*, replying to a question in the Assembly to-day. Asked if the Chief Minister was aware that the allowance given to Mr. Bose's

family was inadequate and that it did not cover even his insurance premium, Sir Nazimuddin said : "I have got some official knowledge on the subject. But the matter is now under correspondence with the Government of India and I am not prepared to disclose that."

Asked whether the Government of Bengal or the Ministers had approached the Government of India for Mr. Bose's release, the Chief Minister said that officially the Government of Bengal had got no *locus standi* nor the Ministers as such. But in their individual capacity, they might have taken certain steps regarding the matter. Sir Nazimuddin denied knowledged of the materials on which the Government of India had taken action in the case of Mr. Bose.

After question-time, when the Agricultural Income tax Bill came up for consideration, the Minister-in-charge of the Bill, Mr. *T. C. Goswami*, sought postponement of consideration of the Bill on the next day, as Government wanted time to apply their mind to the large number of amendments, which had been tabled by members in connection with the Bill. The House then adjourned.

### Burning of Houses at Midnapur

**18th. FEBRUARY** :—One hundred and ninety-five Congess camps and houses and 81 houses, etc., belonging to Government, public bodies and private individuals were burnt by Government forces and Congress respectively during the last five months of 1942, in the sub-divisions of Tamluk and Contai (Midnapore district), according to a statement made by the Chief Minister, Sir *Nazimuddin* during question-time in the Assembly to-day.

Of these cases of incendiarism, all but 29 occurred, he stated, before the cyclone which passed over the district about the end of 1942.

The Chief Minister added that, in addition to these, villagers burnt three Congress camps and houses in the district.

Asked what was the authority of the Chief Minister for saying that houses were burnt by the Congress, Sir Nazimuddin said that it was the report of the local officers.

Replying to a supplementary question, whether "in view of the widespread incendiarism committed by Government's forces, Government was prepared to enquire into the matter," the Chief Minister said that he felt that it was the duty of the Government then in power to have dealt with this question. A Government that came into office after an interval of 18 months could not go and look into this question.

Asked what were the objects in burning houses of Congressmen and Congress offices by Government forces, the Chief Minister said that, as far as he could find out, it appeared that action in each case was taken in restoring law and order.

Asked whether the 'repression scheme' was still continuing in Midnapore district, Sir Nazimuddin said that his report from Tamluk area was rather bad. There had been cases of kidnapping and realisation of "fines" from those supporting Government forces. Recently in a case, a "fine" of Rs. 500 was realised from one person by some unknown persons.

The Chief Minister added that he had also received a representation that certain oppressions were committed by the police. He had called for report, and proposed to take action if it was found that there was any truth in it. "On the other hand, I would like to take this opportunity to bring to the notice of members of the House, that parts of Tamluk area are still very bad and there is every reason to believe that persons who are being kidnapped and murdered there, belong both to the Hindu and Muslim communities, and are those who have supported the forces of Government," he said.

Answering the question whether the present Government were considering the desirability of rehabilitating the destitute persons who had been thrown out of their homes and belongings as a result of incendiarism and arson committed by Government forces, Sir Nazimuddin said that they had got no other policy of rehabilitation apart from the policy adopted by the Revenue Department as relief measures.

### Financial Statement for 1944-45

The Bengal Budget estimates for 1944-45, introduced next, showed a defecit of Rs. 846 lakhs. The revenue is estimated at Rs. 2,197 lakhs and the expenditure at Rs. 3,043 lakhs. The corresponding figures for 1943-44 are revenne Rs. 2,134 lakhs, expenditure Rs. 3,254 lakhs and deficit Rs. 1,120 lakhs,

The year 1944-45 will close with a negative balance of Rs. 1,065 lakhs. Explaining why the closing balance was shown "unashamedly as a minus one" and he had adopted the unprecedented course of presenting a budget in which no steps

had been taken to make good the expected depletion of their balance, the Finance Minister, Mr. *T. C. Goswami*, said that in November last the Government of Bengal addressed the Government of India and asked for a subvention. So far no reply had been received from the Government of India, but he was hopeful that assistance would be forthcoming. "In seeking financial assistance from the Centre in our present difficulties, I do not consider it is charity for which we are asking" said the Finance Minister. "The financial settlement that governs the allocation of revenue between the Centre and the Provinces was designed for normal times and in the circumstances of to-day it would be as inequitable as it would be impracticable to suggest that Bengal must work out its own salvation within the limits of the Niemeyer Award.

The Finance Minister added that he had come to believe in the motto 'Heaven helps those who help themselves' and in the two years 1943-44 and 1944-45 he hoped to raise ten crores more revenue than was raised in the two preceding years, apart altogether from larger receipts under income-tax. He hoped, therefore, that it would be agreed that "we have bestirred ourselves to good purpose." At the same time he did not wish to convey the impression that "we have exhausted our own resources or that I shall not be called upon to make futher demands on the taxpayer before the end of the year."

### Cost Of Famine Relief Operations

No event in recent years had so stirred the public conscience as the Bengal famine, and it was no hyperbole to say that the history of the province during the two years 1943-44 and 1944-45 was the tale of that famine and the measures taken to combat it, to deal with its aftermath and to prevent a recurrence. The revised estimate of the cost of famine relief operations in the current financial year was Rs. 565 lakhs. The Finance Minister said that the people would ever remember the deep sympathy and understanding that prompted the Viceroy, Lord Wavell's visit. His decision to put the Army on the job was an outstanding decision, realistic and statesmanlike. The assistance given by the Army brought about an immediate improvement in the famine situation and when epidemics, the inevitable aftermath of famine, made their appearance, the Army again came to the rescue.

Famine relief expenditure in 1944-45 was estimated at Rs. 261 lakhs. "We are hoping that with sustained improvement in the economic situation it will be possible to effect considerable reduction in expenditure on test works and gratuitous relief', said the Finance Minister. "The budget accordingly provides for half a crore under test works and a crore under gratuitous relief. Special medical operations will however have to be continued for a good part of the coming year, and the estimate on this account has been put at Rs. 62 lakhs."

The cost of the Civil Supplies Department was one crore of rupees in 1943-44 and Rs. 148 lakhs in 1944-45. These figures did not include the loss on the Department's trading which had been placed at Rs. 3½ crores and Rs. 5 crores respectively.

No separate provision had been included in the estimate for rehabilitation of the people ruined as a result of the famine but it was certain that large sums would be required for the purpose. This was the great problem before them, the after-famine problem, said the Finance Minister. Short-term schemes had actively been taken in hand and would be dovetailed into long-term projects, involving legislation and large financial outlays which aimed at the permanent amelioration of the condition of the people.

The Finance Minister said that the total capital outlay involved in the current year in the large-scale trading transactions by the Government to promote healthier marketing conditions in respect of certain commodities, principally foodgrains, was Rs. 76 crores, of which Rs. 41 crores was derived from the sale proceeds and represented turnover of stocks. The loss involved in these transactions had been placed at Rs. 3½ crores. For 1944-45 a total outlay of Rs. 81 crores and a loss of Rs. 5 crores were estimated.

### Arrangements to Raise Funds

Indicating the means by which the funds for outgoings so greatly in excess of revenue receipts had been obtained, the Finance Minister said that in the early months of the current year they relied mainly on the Central Government for the necessary accommodation and between June and October last they received loans and advances totalling Rs. 12 crores. Later, the Government of India indicated that they desired the Provincial Government to make their own arrangements to

raise funds in the open market or through normal trade channels. Arrangements were, therefore, made with the Imperial Bank of India for the opening of cash credit accounts for the financing of various trading operations. For the cash procurement scheme, a cash credit account with a limit of Rs. 8 crores repayable not later than December 31, 1943, was arranged. The total amount drawn against this account was Rs. 221 lakhs and the account was repaid in full on December 31, 1943. For the "aman" procurement scheme and other cognate schemes they had arranged a cash credit account with a limit of Rs. 25 crores, repayable not later than December 31, 1944.

A special provision of Rs. 50 lakhs had been made for the Grow More Food campaign in 1944-45, said the Finance Minister. The provision in the current year was Rs. 135 lakhs. The reason why the allotment in the coming year was so much smaller was that the sinews for several of next year's schemes would be purchased during the current year.

The revised estimate for the current year under "Public Health" was placed at Rs. 82 lakhs against Rs. 36 lakhs in 1942-43. The "Equipments" for the next year were placed at Rs. 61 lakhs. In the two years the increase in public health expenditure over the normal of Rs. 36 lakhs amounted to Rs. 75 lakhs.

Nearly eleven crores of rupees have been spent in one form or other by the Bengal Government on the relief of distress connected with the famine in Bengal. This includes Rs. 350 lakhs on gratuitous relief, Rs. 125 lakhs on test relief, Rs. 53 lakhs on emergency medical relief, Rs. 46 lakhs being excess expenditure under Public Health, Rs. 350 lakhs being loss sustained due to sale of foodstuffs to the public below cost, or the deliberate depreciation of the value of Government stocks, Rs. 54.8 lakhs on larger expenditure for the Grow More Food schemes; and Rs. 82.81 lakhs on dearness allowance to low-paid employees.

### Bengal's Share Of Income-Tax.

Mr. T. C. Goswami, Finance Minister, in presenting the budget estimates, added the following to his printed budget statement:

"Since this statement was according to custom sent to the Press, I have received intimation from the Government of India that our share of the income-tax pool, both this year and next year, is likely to be a crore and ten lakhs more than was expected when the budget was framed. This extra recipt will reduce our revenue deficit to 10 crores, 18 lakhs this year and 7 crores, 36 lakhs in 1944-45". The Assembly at this stage adjourned.

### Death of Mrs. Gandhi Condoled

**24th. FEBRUARY** :—"She represented the best and noblest in Indian womanhood—quiet and unassuming and yet resolute and devoted to her duty", observed the Deputy Speaker, Mr. *Syed Jalaluddin Hashemy*, making a reference to the death of Mrs. Gandhi in the House this afternoon. Mr. Hashemy who presided in the absence of the Speaker, added : "She avoided the limelight, but never shirked responsibility and devoted her life whole-heartedly to the service of her country. In spite of many-sided activities, she was a good house-wife. Many feel that due to her personal attention, her illustrious husband was able to achieve success in his fields of activity. By her death, India has sustained an irreparable loss." The Assembly decided to send a message of condolence to Mahatma Gandhi, and adjourned for half an hour as a mark of respect to the memory of the deceased.

### General Discussion of Budget

**25th. to 28th. FEBRUARY** :—The need for the formation of an all-parties Government in Bengal was stressed by some speakers during the general discussion of the Budget on the 28th. evening. Mr. *Giasuddin Ahmed* (Krishak Proja) expressed the view that only an all parties' Government could hope to solve, to a certain extent, the problems with which Bengal was faced to-day. The present Governor had started discussion with the opposition party leaders. His past records showed that Mr. Casey was a realist and perhaps he had realised, the speaker added, that the problems with which the province was faced to-day could only be successfully tackled by the united efforts of all parties. Mr. *C. Griffiths* (Anglo-Indian) urged the formation of an all parties Government with a non-communal leader at its head. His other suggestion was that Section 93 should be brought into operation and the Governor should administer the affairs of the province with the help of an Advisory Board which should include representatives of all parties. The House adjourned till the next day, the 26th. February, when Mr. *Ahmed Ali Mirdha*, (Ministerialist Party) said that there was a cry for a National Government. They

did not believe in the deserters from the Congress or from the Muslim League; the country did not want them; they were not a disciplined body. Let the official Congress come forward and let there be a settlement between Hindus and Muslims and if in their wisdom they thought that there should be a National Government, let there be such a Government. The present Governor of Bengal had already held discussions with certain persons. Mr. Ali would like to warn His Excellency that these people did not enjoy the confidence of the people of the province. The Assembly adjourned till Monday, *the 28th. February*, when the general discussion on the budget concluded. Leaders of different parties in the House participated in to-day's debate which continued for nearly six hours. The proceedings were lively and full of incidents. Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Huq*, leader of the Opposition, rising to wind up the discussion on behalf of the Opposition, sought the permission of the Chair to allow one of the members of his party to read out his speech in view of the present state of his health.

Pointing out that there was no precedent for allowing such a procedure, the Deputy Speaker, Mr. *Sayed Jalaluddin Hashemy*, who was in the chair, however, allowed Mr. Huq to read out his speech, without rising in his chair. After Mr. Huq had read out a portion of his speech, one of the Opposition members stated that Mr. Huq's strength was failing and some member should be allowed to read out his speech. From the Government side the Chief Whip, Mr. *Fazlul Rahman* took objection to such a procedure being adopted as he thought it would create a bad precedent.

The *Chair*, after pointing out that the rules did not debar or allow such a procedure, in exercise of the prerogative vested in him allowed one of the Opposition members to read out Mr. Huq's speech.

Mr. *Huq*, however, said at this stage that although he was old and in week health, he did not ask for any privilege and he would himself read out his speech. After Mr. Huq had concluded his long speech and before the Finance Minister rose to wind up the discussion on behalf of the Government, Dr. *Nalinakshya Sanyal* (Official Congress) said that he had been directed to say on behalf of the Opposition parties that in view of the discourtesy shown to the Leader of the Opposition they would take no further part in the day's proceedings.

As the Opposition parties were withdrawing from the Chamber, the Chair remarked that courtesy demanded that they remained in the House. The Opposition parties then retired from the House and the Finance Minister in a short speech wound up the discussion on behalf of the Government before empty Opposition benches.

In his speech, Mr. *Huq* said that the bankruptcy of the Bengal Government as disclosed in the present budget was appalling and staggering. Referring to the present Ministry he said that here the Ministers were not responsible to the legislature at all, but were responsible to Mr. Jinnah as the head of the Muslim League. In others words the Ministers were working the machine of provincial autonomy not in accordance with the wishes of the people of even the guidance of the Governor, but according to the dictates of a dictator utterly ignorant of the real feelings of the people. The Muslim League Ministers had refused to co-operate with the Muslims who were not in the League and hence the idea of a National Government could not be carried out. He thought that by their irresponsible policy and reckless extravagance the Ministry had brought about one of the most devastating famines unknown in history.

On behalf of the European group its leader, Mr. *D. Hendry* said that no Ministry in Bengal had to take office at a more critical time nor to face more difficult problems and heavier responsibilities than the present Ministry. He thought that the Ministers, individually and collectively, had not shirked their responsibilities. They had tackled their very difficult problems with energy and determination and had worked well together as a team. Their actions hitherto entitled them, in their opinion, to full support in the House.

### BAN ON STATEMENT ON FOOD SITUATION

**2nd. MARCH**:—The banning by the Government of Bengal of the publication of a joint statement, issued by the leaders of the parties in Opposition, was the subject of an adjournment motion moved by Mr. *K. S. Roy*, Leader of the Bengal Congress (Official) Parliamentary Party in the Bengal Legislative Assembly, this evening. The motion was rejected by the House by 99 to 79 votes, members of the European group voting with the Government. The motion *inter alia* stated that the leaders' statement "criticised the observations of the Food Secretary of the

Government of India on the food situation in Bengal, as published recently in the local news-papers."

Asking for the leave of the House, Mr. *Roy*, in a short statement, said that it was reported in the newspapers in Calcutta on February 25 that the Food Secretary of the Government of India, Mr. R. H. Hutchings, made certain observations on the 22nd February at new Delhi, on the food situation in Bengal in which among other things, he deprecated all attempts at "taking Bengal into a second famine" and condemned defeatism. The leaders of the different parties in Opposition in the Bengal Legislative Assembly thereafter, issued a joint statement to the press in Calcutta criticising the approach made by Mr. Hutchings in dealing with the present food situation and warning the Government against complacency in high quarters and the expression of pious wishes which had been at the root of the deterioration in the food situation in this province last year. On Friday, February 25, Mr. J. A. Burder, President of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, made certain observations in the course of his Presidential address at the annual meeting of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce that among other things "injudicious articles in the press" on the present food situation, amounted to "fifth column activity." Shortly after this, it was learnt yesterday that the Government of Bengal had banned the publication of the joint statement issued by the party leaders and hence this adjournment motion."

The *Chief Minister* suggested that public galleries and the Press should be cleared during the discussion of the motion, as otherwise the object of banning the statement would be defeated.

The *Chair*, however, did not agree with the suggestion. The Opposition speakers characterised Mr. Hutchings' statement as "being incorrect and irresponsible." They also characterised Government action in banning the publication of the statement as "smacking of the Nazi method."

Moving the motion, Mr. *K. S. Roy* said that the issue raised by this motion was whether one had the right to differ from this Ministry and whether one had the right to give expression to that view. Dr. S. P. Mookerjee, describing the action taken by the Government as a "gangster method," said that what the leaders had stated in their statement was, firstly, that Mr. Hutchings had come and given his opinion without getting into touch with non-official public opinion ; secondly, there was a definite indication of a rise in prices of rice in different parts of the province, and thirdly, that a Ministry which was actuated by party considerations could not be expected to restore public confidence.

Replying to the debate, *Sir Nazimuddin* made it clear that the Government had passed no order but at the press conference some time ago Government gave an indication of their policy to the press and gave the general advice that nothing should be published regarding the food situation which was likely to undermine public confidence at the present time. As far as this particular matter was concerned the press asked for their advice and Government gave them the advice. No definite order was issued by the Government in this matter. "We have made it clear to the Press," the Premier observed, "that they have full liberty to criticise the Ministry as such and they have got full liberty to say what they like about the Ministry. The only condition made is with regard to the food policy of the Government. The whole field of administration is open to their criticism and attack and the press had attacked us very mercilessly and we have never taken action against it. But as regards the food question, it is absolutely on a different footing. Here, it is not the Ministry which is going to be injured by such an attack but it is the teeming millions of Bengal who would suffer from those attacks. It is a matter of surprise that of all persons, Dr. S. P. Mookerjee should be the one man to accuse us of gangster method. He forgets that my policy has always been to give him the widest latitude in attacking this Government throughout Bengal and outside. In spite of the advice that I should take action, I have always refrained from using the Defence of India Act towards a political opponent who is trying to attack me so far as my position as a Minister is concerned and have always endeavoured that this Ministry shall not abuse the Defence of India Rules as was done by the last Ministry." Sir Nazimuddin asked the members of the House to realise the effect which the statement issued by the leaders from time to time regarding the food situation had on the cultivators and agriculturists. In this connection, he referred to the message broadcast by the *News Chronicle* correspondent, which he said had a disastrous effect on agriculturists and cultivators who felt encouraged not to bring their stocks to the market as a result of that statement. The motion was rejected by 99 votes to 79.

ORPHANAGES & WIDOW'S HOMES BILL

3rd. MARCH :—The Assembly passed to-day *Begam Farhut Bano Khanam's* Bengal (Supervision) of Orphanages and Widows' Home Bill. The Bill aimed to provide for controlling the working of Orphanages, Widows' Homes and similar other institutions in Bengal. All such institutions, the Bill laid down, would have to take licence from Government for functioning. Explaining the reason for bringing forward this measure, the Begum Saheba said that there were a good number of institutions which carried on clandestine traffic in women and girls. They managed to evade detection as their nefarious activities were conducted under cover of institutions so camouflaged as to give an appearance of social or philanthropic organisations. The need for this legislation had become all the more necessary and urgent now in view of post-famine conditions prevailing in the province. For some time past, she went on to say, there had been public agitation regarding traffic in destitute women and girls as a result of famine. An expert survey which was conducted recently had disclosed that as a result of distress and destitution there had been more deaths among adult males than adult females. This meant that a very large number of women had lost their husbands, parents and guardians. It was therefore natural to apprehend that these women would fall easy prey to social vices and might therefore fall into the hands of designing persons who might trade in these homeless women. The House then disposed of a large number of non-officials bills and adjourned.

17th. MARCH :—Members came to blows in the Assembly to-night on the occasion of voting of the budget demand under 'General Administration'. The incident occurred before the *Chair* rose to put the cut motions to vote. Certain Government party members objected to two Opposition members sitting by the side of another member in the Ministerialist Party back benches. Thereupon the Chair requested the members to return to their respective blocs. In the meantime, three or four Government party members had rushed to that part of the House, where these two Opposition members were sitting and a melee ensued. Jostling, pushing and confusion prevailed in that part of the House for some time, in the midst of which the Chair suspended the business of the House for half-an-hour. Leaders of different parties intervened and separated the members involved.

After the House had re-assembled, Mr. *K. S. Roy*, Leader of the Official Congress Party, demanded on behalf of the Opposition an unqualified apology from the Government party member who, he alleged, had struck a blow at an Opposition party member. The Government party member concerned, explaining the situation, said that after the Chair's ruling to the effect that the two Opposition members should go to their respective blocs, he went to help the Government party members in that part of the House. When he arrived there the Opposition member in question pushed him and raised his hand, whereupon he also pushed him and struck a blow at him. He apologised to the Chair and to the House for the disturbance that had been created due to him. He was sure the Opposition member would also apologise.

Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Huq*, Leader of the Opposition, gave his version of the incident of the evening in the House.

Giving his version of the incident, Mr. *A. M. A. Zaman* (the Opposition member concerned) said that after the Chair's ruling he was trying to come out when he was obstructed by a Government party member sitting by his side. Mr. Zaman added that he was telling an Opposition member who was sitting in that bench to come to their side when some Government party members rushed to that place and struck blows at him.

On an appeal from the Chair, the incident, however, ended happily, both Mr. *K. Nooruddin* (the Government party member concerned) and Mr. *Zaman* coming to the centre of the House and shaking hands with each other amidst loud applause from all sections of the House. This incident took over an hour's time of the House.

# Government of the Punjab

## Budget for 1944-45

A realized surplus of Rs. 1,34 lakhs instead of the estimated deficit of Rs. 10 lakhs for 1942-43, a revised surplus of Rs. 2,79 lakhs instead of the estimated surplus of Rs. 50 lakhs for the current year and an estimated surplus of Rs. 3,86 lakhs for 1944-45—this is the happy position of the finances of the Punjab. Even this huge surplus, the Finance Minister, the Hon'ble Sir *Manohar Lal* stated, in introducing the budget in the Punjab Legislative Assembly at Lahore on the 3rd. March 1944, was to be realized after all the proposals for new expenditure on behalf of Administrative Departments had been accepted by the Government, for the first time in his experience, without the slightest alteration.

The new expenditure provided in the budget is Rs. 169 lakhs of which Rs. 54.62 lakhs go to the Beneficent Departments, the total budget provision for which stands at Rs. 464 lakhs.

The Finance Minister announced amongst other things a grant to the Punjab University for establishing a Department of Geography, a building grant for the Kinnaird College for Women, grant for the establishment of a Government High School for Girls at Khanewal, an additional provision of Rs. 17½ lakhs for Public Health, the Lahore Improvement Trust being one of the beneficiaries and an increased provision of Rs. 5 lakhs for Industries.

Introducing the Budget Estimates of the Punjab for the year 1944-45 in the Punjab Legislative Assembly, Sir Manohar Lal said :—

I rise to-day in the consciousness of further strength to the markedly successful financial record of the Punjab under Provincial Autonomy. We have been able to withstand without any detriment to our programme of advance the pressure of severe famine ; and the exigencies of the war, always difficult to estimate, have been hitherto boldly faced and successfully met. The war, however, raises fresh problems—the ensuring of food supplies particularly in deficit areas in the country as a whole, and in our own province relieving against the distress caused by inordinate rise in the price of the necessaries of life. The Punjab has played a strikingly successful part in regard to these problems. In both these vital matters real prudence guided our steps, and we can to-day justly hold our heads high. War brings in its train many social and economic problems. Your Government is watching these with the utmost of vigilance, keeping before it the guiding principle of the welfare of the masses. During the past year methods to place the well-being of the masses on a firm foundation have been further studied, and it hoped that Government's vigorous policy in this regard will begin to bear tangible and substantial fruit at an early date. The schemes of post-war reconstruction are as yet only at an initial stage and wholly uncertain in shape, but it is gratifying to feel that your finances to-day hold a fair promise to enable us to face them when they emerge in definite form from their present state of preliminary consideration.

I propose here to invite attention only to the more salient facts of our provincial finance. For a detailed account set forth with elaborate care reference must be made to the very lucid explanatory Memorandum by the Finance Secretary. In the earlier paragraphs of his Memorandum he has considered certain recent outstanding features of our economic life, such as the food situation, export of food grains from the province, the 'Grow More Food' campaign and measures of control against profiteering and hoarding. To these I have not been able to advert, as they lie largely beyond my strict purview. I must attempt a survey unencumbered by detail to help of three years during 1942-43, 1943-44 and 1944-45 would be about eight crores.

The Finance Minister's speech revealed that as against the budget estimates of the current year of Rs. 3,77 lakhs the budget for 1944-45 stood at Rs. 4,64 lakhs and there was an increase under nearly every head but were specially under "Education" (particularly women's education), 'Medical, Public Health and Industries.' The Punjab University has been given a substantial grant for the establishment of a Department of Geography and the institution of classes in Pharmacy. Liberal grants have been made for vernacular education and expansion of compulsory primary education and provision had been made for the grant of dearness allowance to teachers in schools conducted by Local Bodies. Two large cotton textile mills are likely to be established soon.

# Government of the N. W. Fr. Province

## Budget for 1944-45

The budget estimates presented on the 17th. March 1945 for the year 1944-45 in the Frontier Legislative Assembly at Peshawar, by *Sardar Addur Rab Khan*, Finance Minister, disclosed a deficit of Rs. 2,65 lakhs.

"Our estimate of revenue receipts is Rs. 226.82 lakhs," the Minister said, "against which an expenditure of Rs. 229.47 lakhs is anticipated, resulting in a deficit of Rs. 2,65 lakhs, A part of this deficit will be covered by additional revenue from the doubling of the Entertainment Tax, if the proposed measure in this respect, which will shortly be laid before the House, is adopted.

The Government entered the current year with a revenue balance of Rs. 44. 11 lakhs. The deficit on the current year's working is now forecast at Rs. 2.96 lakhs and the closing balance on the 31st of this month will, accordingly, be Rs. 41,15 lakhs.

Important items of new expenditure are the remodelling of the Takkarwah distributory on the Paharpur Canal, construction of Stage 1 of the Kabul river right bank lift irrigation scheme, conversion of the vernacular middle schools at Zaida and Sheikhan into Anglo-Urdu middle schools, revision of the pay of assistant surgeons, provision of two ambulances in the Lady Reading Hospital, Peshawar, extension of the sugar research scheme and the Marketing Department under Agriculture and Provincialisation of Veterinary Hospital, Peshawar.

Commenting generally on the financial position of the province, Sardar Abdur Rab Khan said: "The war has imposed on the provincial exchequer a heavy burden of temporary expenditure on account of additional police and other security measures, dearness allowance, rise in prices of stores and material, civil defence and expansion of the Secretariat, etc. It has been possible till now to meet this heavy expenditure from unexpected increases in revenue—principally from taxes on income under the Niemeyer Award and more intensive exploitation of our forests. From the former source our estimated share is Rs. 19.50 lakhs in 1943 44 and Rs. 26.69 lakhs in 1944-45. This, I may observe, is considerably more than the total sum which at the time of the Niemeyer Award this province expected to receive at the end of the ten-year devolution period or than ever appeared to be possible before the outbreak of the war. The present scale of our receipts under this head is abnormal and we cannot count this source of income to finance our growing recurring commitments, for it will shrink as reductions in taxes on income and the excess profits tax are made by the Government of India. We cannot afford to continue the exploitation of our forests at the rate we are doing. In fact, feelings have already gone too far. So far as revenue is concerned, lean years lie ahead of us. Our expenditure will continue at the present high rate for sometime after the war and may actually increase in volume when it is diverted into peaceful nation-building channels. I have studied the possibilities of tapping fresh sources of revenue and of increasing revenue from existing sources, but must confess that I have found our scope to be disappointingly meagre.

"I am convinced that, placed as we are, our sheet-anchor in the future is an increase in the amount of our subvention which is by far the largest single item in our revenue budget. The Subjects Committee of 1932 recommended a basic subvention of 117 lakhs and also remarked that if the schemes of new expenditure then under consideration were taken into account, the subvention would amount to Rs. 146 lakhs rising each year by Rs. 4 lakhs to a maximum of Rs. 162 lakhs. Those recommendations were not accepted by the Government of India because of the great financial stringency then prevalent. The expenditure of the province has, as I have already explained, increased considerably since then, but the subvention from the Centre has remained stationery, except for the indirect advantages derived by the province in common with the rest of India from the cancellation of the pre-autonomy debt and distribution of income tax revenue."

# The Government of Madras

## Budget for 1944-45

A net surplus of Rs. 644 lakhs is expected in 1944-45, according to the budget estimate published on the 20th. March 1944 by the Madras Government. Revenue is estimated at Rs. 30,20.38 lakhs and expenditure at Rs. 23,75.97 lakhs.

Out of the surplus provision has been made for a net expenditure of Rs. 89.64 lakhs on new schemes, including additional compensation to local bodies for loss of revenue from tolls and profession tax.

Among the new schemes for which provision is made in the budget are grants to the Madras University for new technological courses, opening of Honours courses in Islamic History and Culture and the Natural Science Group of the Intermediate course in the Government Muhammedan College, additional grants to aided elementary schools and panchayats for payment of increased dearness allowance ; extension of rice research stations ; a special provision of Rs. 2 lakhs for the extension to all Labour Department schools of free mid-day meals for pupils.

After providing for new schemes and transferring Rs. 554 lakhs to the Revenue Reserve Fund for post-war reconstruction and development schemes a small surplus of Rs. 77 lakh is left.

The Government hint at the possibility of the Madras Tobacco Act being repealed in view of the levy of an excise duty on tobacco by the Central Government.

Discouraging any hope that might be entertained of a possible reduction in taxation, the Government state that "it is essential to maintain substantially the existing level of taxation in Madras for the period of the war, so that this Province will have considerable funds in hand for undertaking large development schemes after the war."

# The Government of Bombay

## Budget for 1944-45

No fresh taxation, a small reduction in the Urban Immoveable Property Tax and a revenue surplus of Rs. 86 lakhs after providing Rs. 4,50.86,000 for post-war reconstruction and Rs. 123 lakhs to the Special Development Fund while continuing the nation-building activities of the Province, were the features of the Bombay Budget proposals for the year 1944-45 as published by the Government of Bombay on the 29th. March 1944.

The Governor of Bombay at a Press conference explained the proposals and said he had taken care to see that continuity was maintained in the policy governing the proposals.

Increased revenue was expected from the provincial share of the proceeds of income-tax reductions in expenditure of about Rs. 1 crore under famine relief and about Rs. 40 lakhs on account of curtailment of ARP measures made possible by favourable war developments. The taxation measures introduced during the current year in respect of betting and entertainment and stamps were expected to yield Rs. 130 lakhs.

# Government of the Central Provinces

## Budget for 1944-45

The C.P. Budget for 1944-45 revealed a surplus of Rs. 1 crore. The current year also according to revised estimates showed a surplus of over Rs. 1 crore.

Excise and forest revenues are by far the highest and excise alone will yield this year about Rs. 1 crore. The share of this Province in the income-tax will also be in the neighbourhood of Rs. 1 crore.

There are no proposals for fresh taxation but the existing taxations including those imposed by the Congress Ministry for financing prohibition will be continued. A surcharge on the present court and registration fees is expected. A proposal to increase the entertainment tax is under consideration.

The nucleus of the Post-war Reconstruction Fund is likely to be started with about Rs. 1 crore and will be doubled in 1944-45.

# The Government of Orissa

## Budget for 1944-45

The fourth wartime budget for the province of Orissa as presented by *Pandit Godavaris Misra*, Finance Minister, in the Orissa Assembly at Cuttack on the 1st. March 1944 revealed a deficit of Rs. 10.36 lakhs in the budget estimates for the year 1944-45. With the "unexpected and almost providential increase of Rs. 11.38 lakhs" on account of share of income-tax the deficit is expected to be wiped out in full, leaving a small surplus. The budget estimates a total revenue of Rs. 2,56,96,000, compared with the revised estimate of Rs. 2,48,69,000 for 1943-44, and expenditure charged to revenue Rs. 2,67,32,000 in 1944-45, compared with the revised estimate of Rs. 2,65,21,000 for the previous year. The year which opens with a balance of Rs. 87,000 will close with a balance of Rs. 65,000.

Prominent items of new expenditure, according to Pandit Godavaris Misra, would include schemes in the Education and Medical Departments with the ushering in of the Utkal University which has been functioning since November 27, 1943, and the proposed gradual conversion of the Orissa Medical School to a Medical College with effect from July next.

The Finance Minister said that Sir William Stampe, Irrigation Adviser to the Government of India, had recently surveyed almost all the 51 projects which are likely to irrigate 186,000 acres, the additional production of foodgrains from which is expected to be 25 lakhs maunds of rice.

Pandit Misra attributed the province's present poverty to want of attention in the past to development and to unsatisfactory financial adjustments in recent years and stressed the need for industrial development, for which there was little scope during the war. Immediately after the war the industrial needs of the province would urgently require attention.

# The Government of Assam

## Budget for 1944-45

A Revenue deficit of Rs. 10,40,000 was disclosed by the Finance Minister, Mr. *Abdul Matin Choudhury* when he presented the budget for the year 1944-45 in the Assam Legislature at Shillong on the 2nd. March 1944.

New schemes embodied in the Budget are more or less of a routine type and do not indicate any reorientation of policy or inauguration of new project.

The Assam Revenue Budget shows a deficit of Rs. 10,40,000 in spite of revenue increase because although the revenue receipts for the budget year are estimated at Rs. 4,51,71,000—an increase of about a crore of rupees over the estimated sanctioned receipts for the current year—it is more than counterbalanced by the increase in expenditure which is estimated at Rs. 4,62,11,000 during 1944-45.

The revenue budget would have shown surplus of Rs. 15,40,000 but for Rs. 25 lakhs being set apart from the Revenue to form the nucleus of the Post-War Reconstruction Fund and this is entirely responsible for the deficit of Rs. 10,40,000. Besides, the Govt. of Assam's share of the divisible pool of the Income-tax receipts is expected to be still further increased in the budget year by another 11 lakhs of rupees, according to the figures, very recently received from the Government of India so that on the whole there should be a small surplus of about half a lakh even taking consideration of 25 lakhs of rupees for the Post-War Reconstruction Fund, the most of which will be covered by the additional 22 lakhs of rupees expected to be recovered during this year and the next year from the income-tax pool.

The current year will close, according to the revised estimates, with a revenue

surplus of Rs. 7,53,000 against an estimated deficit of Rs. 8,09,000 in the original budget. The closing balance is estimated at Rs. 99,63,000 and is actually a deficit one if account is taken of Treasury Bills to the value of 2 crores which will be outstanding on the 31st March, 1944. The capital receipts for 1944-45 are estimated at Rs. 25,43,48,000 and capital expenditure at Rs. 25,58,60,000 thus leaving a closing surplus of Rs. 74,11,000.

The increase in revenue receipts as showed in the both, the revised for 1943-44 and the budget for 1944-45 is mainly responsible for the following among other things ; better collections of land revenue due to improved financial position of ryots and expansion of settlement as a result of Grow More Food Campaign and in the colonization areas ; increased receipt for forest produce to meet increased war demands ; increase in excise receipts due to larger consumption of hemp and other drugs ; increase in stamp receipts due to larger number of transfers of property as a result of the improvement in the financial condition of the population in general ; refund which the Assam Government will get from the Centre on being relieved from the share of the cost of Assam Rifles and to the recovery of the amount due from the Government of India for additional police employed on the protection of the railways, aerodromes, etc., anticipated receipts from the Cotton Cloth and Yarn Control Order, increased receipts under the provincial tax for the consumption of petrol by the military within the province ; increased receipts under the Agricultural Income-tax due to large profits made by the Tea Industry and the increase in the Assam Government's share of the Central Income-tax revenue.

Among the schemes connected with the war involving capital outlay, the Grain Storage Scheme is being continued during the budget year estimating an expenditure of Rs. 3,88,20,000 against which a sum of Rs. 3,49,12,000 is expected to be recovered from sale proceeds during the year thus leaving a lag of Rs. 1,71,43,000 at the end of 1944-45. Under Standard Cloth there will be an expenditure of Rs. 1,77,47,000 while recoveries will amount to Rs. 1,50,00.000 or a deficit of Rs. 27,47,000. The lag at the end of 1944-45 will be Rs. 74,17,000. The Motor Transport Organization according to the estimates of the Controller, is anticipated to yield a recovery during the budget year of Rs. 88,00,000 against the estimated expenditure of Rs. 63,06,000—thus showing a net profit of Rs. 19,94,000 in 1944-45. The Controller hopes that the entire capital outlay on the scheme will be recovered in a period of three years.

The new schemes included in the budget involve a total expenditure of Rs. 4,57,719 in non-excluded areas out of which the Department of Education has got the major slice, Rs. 1,42,891. The Industries Department has secured Rs. 83,513 ; Civil Works—Rs. 68,186 ; Agriculture Rs. 29,542 and Public Health Rs. 11,947.

# The Government of Sind

## Budget for 1944-45

Sind's present financial position was described by the Premier, *Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatulla*, at Karachi on the 23rd. February 1945. as one of unparalled prosperity when he presented the budget estimate for 1944-45 in the Sind Legislative Assembly.

The estimates gave "war time inflation" as the reason for the 75 per cent increase tn the revised estimates for 1944-45 and stated that the estimates for 1944-45 had been in the full realisation that such experience might not recur. Nevertheless, a surplus of Rs. 189 lakhs for 1944-45 was budgeted for, with receipts at Rs. 797 lakhs and expenditure at Rs. 608 lakhs. This surplus—which was also aided by a windfall of Rs. 2½ crores from Sind's trading-in-grains policy which had now been ended—would be utilised for the creation of two new funds, namely, a land Revenue Equalisation Fund and a Postwar Development Fund.

As regards the first fund, the budget memorandum pointed out that with the new sliding scales of assessment in operation, the revenue side of the budget was liable to the most violent fluctuations, varying by crores rather than by lakhs. Furthermore, in coming years the receipts from land sales are bound to fall very rapidly, even to the tune of a crore of rupees, and this would have a very serious effect on the revenue side. To expect permanency in the prosperity feature of the budget would therefore, be most illusory, and the need for caution was realised to be very great.

In the creation of the Equalisation Fund, the average land revenue receipt wa s estimated at Rs. 230 lakhs and the sum of Rs. 139 lakhs transferred to the Equalisation Fund represents this year'e excess over the average.

A sum of Rs. 50 lakhs will likewise be transferred to the Post-War Development Fund which will be utilised to finance a programme of capital works such as roads, buildings and canals "as soon as the war is over and circumstances allow."

ASTONISHING INFLATION"

The budet speaks of the "astonishing inflation" which was noticed during part of the period under review and which explains the great variations between the budgeted and the revised estimates for 1943-44. This period, says the memorandam, saw the largest expenditure on public works ever known in one year in Sind—on strategic roads, on aerodromes and other military works on the Karachi water supplies scheme; on civil defence; on irrigation and on bund works. It saw a considerable expansion of the armed forces, especially in Karachi, of our highly paid Allies; it saw the abandonment in other parts of India of limited attempts at price control and it saw, induced partly by the above factors; unbridled speculation affectlng all classes.

Speaking of the Government's plans for the industrial and economic development of Sind now and during the post-war period; the Premier said that everything possible would be done to ensure cheap power; plentiful water; social security in the widest sense and harmonious relations between employer and employed. Two new barrages—one in Upper Sind and the other in Lower Sind—would be constructed.

The Premier announced that the Government of India had accepted the Sind Government's proposal for the repayment of the Lloyd Barrage debt and the capitalisation of subvention in one transaction. The Government had accepted capitalisation at the rate of 4½ per cent which would mean a "present value" of the subvention on April 1; 1944; of approximately Rs 1,470 lakhs. The difference between this figure and the Lloyd Barrage debt which at present stands at Rs. 2,040 lakhs; namely. Rs 570 lakhs is proposed to be repaid in one lump sum as soon as the approval of his Majesty's Government is obtained. The Premier also stated that the free balance at the disposal of the Sind Government, namely Rs. 754 lakhs at the end of the current year; will be utilised to pay this sum of Rs. 570 lakhs leaving approximately Rs. 184 lakhs in the hands of the Sind Government.

# The Government of Bihar

## Budget for 1944-45

An expected surplus of Rs. 2,22 lakhs is shown in the budget estimates of the Government of Bihar for the year 1944-45. as issued from Patna on the 25th. March 1945. The estimates show total revenue receipts at 938 lakhs in the revised estimates for the current year (1943-44) and 978 lakhs in the budget estimates for 1944-45 and expenditure charged to revenue is estimated at 11,17 in the revised estimates and 7,56 lakhs in the budget estimates.

The budget as a whole indicates a healthy financial position but this does not necessarily mean an indication of financial prosperity, state a memorandum on the budget. The large expansion in revenue which has been a moral feature of the budget during the war period has become more marked partly due to expansion in the normal revenue and partly to the increased revenue arising on of Government's anti-inflationary measures. Excise with the abolition of Prohibition is the largest revenue head now with 197 lakhs in the revised estimates and 213 lakhs in the budget estimates.

A sparate fund for post-war reconstruction has been created to which has been credited a sum of Rs. 317 lakhs out of the accumulated surplus revenues.

The memorandum states that while restricting expenditure now, Government will continue to explore other sources of increasing the revenue and thereby further swelling up the fund earmarked for post-war reconstruction.

# The All India Hindu Mahasabha

**Working Committee—New Delhi—22nd. & 23rd. January 1944**

AMRITSAR LATHI CHARGE CONDEMNED

The Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha concluded its two-day session at New Delhi after adopting a resolution recording its protest against the Haripur incident and urging the Government to take prompt action against those responsible for it and to institute an inquiry into the conduct of the additional police sent to deal with the incident. The resolution also suggested that the proportion of Hindus and Sikhs in the provincial police should be raised to 50 per cent, and licences for arms should be granted liberally to the Hindu and Sikh residents of Haripur and other places in the province.

The Working Committee also passed a resolution relating to the Bengal food-situation, deploring and condemning the mishandling of the food-problem and urging stronger action by the Government of India in dealing with the problem.

The Committee decided to appoint five whole-time organisers for extensive organisation of the Hindu Mahasabha in five territorial zones and one organiser to be in charge of the volunteer organisations.

A sub-committee was appointed to prepare a draft amendment to the constitution of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha and the President, Dr. S. P. Mookerjee, was authorised to appoint a Vigilance Committee to safeguard the interests of the Hindus in the Punjab.

The Committee also passed a condolence resolution on the death of Mr. R. S. Pandit.

Among those who attended the meeting, were Dr. S. P. Mookerjee, Sir Gokul Chand Narang, Shri. B. G. Khaparde, Shri. Ashutosh Lahiri, Capt. Keshav Chandra, Shri. Chand Karan Sarda, Shri. Karandikar, Shri. Satish Singh, Shre. V. G. Deshpande, Rai Bahadur Harish Chandra and Lala Narain Dutt.

## Amritsar Mahasabha Lathi Charge by Police

**Tekchand Committee's Report**

The Tekchand Committee appointed by Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee to enquire into the Amritsar happenings of December 25, came to the conclusion that the terms of the licence for the procession had not been contravened in any way, that there was no justification for its cancellation, that the cancellation order was not properly announced to the processionists, nor was sufficient time given to them to disperse and that the use of force was unnecessary and uncalled-for.

The Committee's report, which was presented to the Mahasabha Working Committee at its meeting at New Delhi gave a detailed account of the happenings. The Committee state: "The supposed reason for the cancellation (of the licence) did not exist in fact and it seems that the order was passed upon wrong information conveyed to the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police presumably by some of their subordinates. The decision actually arrived at by the Reception Committee was in full compliance with the order of the District Magistrate. This was publicly announced on the microphone in the pandal by the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Dr. S. Gokul Chand Narang, and in pursuance of this announcement Mahabir Dal Volunteers had retired, taken off the objected uniforms and none of them had actually accompanied the procession. Nor did any volunteer or other person in the procession carry arms or conduct himself in any objectionable manner. There does not, therefore, seem to have been any justification for the cancellation of the licence.

When the city Magistrate, S. Hardayal Singh, conveyed to the President-Elect of the Conference and the Chairman of the Reception Committee who were on the elephant in the midst of the procession, that the licence had been cancelled and after he was told the true facts about Mahabir Dal Volunteers not having joined the procession in protest, he left saying that he would inform the District Magistrate and the impression created by his conversation on both Dr. Mookerjee and Dr. Narang was that the order having been passed under a misconception would be withdrawn.

This, however, was not done and a strong force of Police arrived and began to disperse the processions. All the witnesses are unanimous in saying that in no part

of the procession was the order to disperse announced nor any warning given before the lathi charge began. The number of persons in the procession at this stage is variously estimated to have been a lakh or more and the procession was spread over a fairly long distance. If the intention of the authorities was to disperse the procession, sufficient time should have been given to them to do so, but this was not done.

The procession had started legally under a properly granted license. It had gone on for about three quarters of an hour in an orderly and peaceful manner. It had not conducted itself in any way which might have indicated any inclination to do any illegal act.

If the cancellation order had been properly announced to the processionists there is not the slightest doubt that they would have departed peacefully.

The police, however, immediately after its arrival, began to shower blows right and left indiscriminately. It is significant that even then there was no resistance offered by any one.

The beating was not confined to the persons actually taking part in the procession, but many of the spectators were also injured and in some cases persons who were trying to escape were pursued in the bylanes and beaten. There is also unimpeachable evidence of lathi-charge on persons waiting to see the procession at places far away from the procession.

In the face of all these facts it is really surprising that the official communique made no mention of the use of force but merely stated that the procession "dispersed peacefully."

# A. I. States' Hindu Mahasabha Conference

## First Session—Shimoga—9th. to 11th. April 1944

The open Session of the All-India States' Hindu Mahasabha Conference began before a mammoth gathering of over 10,000, Mr. B. G. Khaparde presiding, at Yadunagar, Shimoga on the 9th. April 1944.

More than five hundred delegates from the States of Kashmir, Hyderabad, Gwalior, Indore, Baroda, Sangli, Miraj, Mandi, Kolhapur. Travancore and Kapurthala attended the Conference. Amongst the arrivals were Dr. B. S. Moonje, Dr. P. Varadarajulu Naidu and Diwan Bahadur K. S. Ramaswami Sastri.

Dr. V. D. Savarkar, President, All-India Hindu Mahasabha, and Mr. B. G. Khaparde, the President-Elect were accorded a rousing reception.

Dr. Shyamaprasad Mookherji, in a message to the Conference said :—"Veer Savarkar will inspire the people of the States with our cherished ideals so that they may fight abreast with their brethren in British territories in India for the liberation of the country. Only in a free and united India may we live peacefully."

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar and Mr. N. Madhava Rao also sent messages regretting their inability to be present.

Dr. Moonje and Dr. Varadarajulu Naidu unfurled the Mysore and the Hindu Mahasabha flag respectively.

### WELCOME SPEECH

Mr. *Bhoopalam Chandrasekharish*, welcoming the gathering, said that they must dismiss without even a second's consideration the view that States' peoples had nothing to do with the central question of Indian independence. No treaty or sanad could have the right to reduce vast populations to a state of slavery and shut out their natural aspirations for freedom. With equal force they must dismiss the other idea for the abolition of the princely order. Apart from its impracticability, advocates of this idea forget their historical moorings and try to build without foundations.

Proceeding, Mr. Chandrasekharaiah said that the effect of Pakistan would be to leave the fate of ten crores of States' peoples in a worse slave state. Apart from the harm it did to the nation in preventing one-third of India to rise to its full political stature, it contributed a great danger to India's defence. Salvation both for the princely order and the States' peoples, he added, lay undoubtedly in the immediate establishment of an all-India federation based on real democratic principles.

Unless questions like a constitution for the whole of India including the States and the preservation of the unity of India were satisfactorily solved, the question of responsible government in native states was very difficult of solution excepting perhaps in some of the liberal and advanced Hindu States. At the same time, it is equally true that the solution of the several problems of the States as a whole would be extremely difficult without democratising the States' constitutions.

The speaker here referred to the political awakening in Mysore and the general harmony existing between Hindus and non-Hindus. Intense faith in Hindu religion and sympathy with all non-Hindu religions has been the great ideal and practice of the Mysore Royal Hindu dynasty, he added. The attitude of the officials of Government of Mysore was impartial in regard to religious questions.

Referring to the war in the Manipur area, the speaker expressed the States' peoples' sympathy to Manipur subjects. He hoped that the Government of India would release Mahatma Gandhi and other national leaders. He appealed to Hindus in all the States to join their State armies in overwhelming numbers and be ever prepared for all sacrifices for the protection of the Crown and the State.

Touching upon the food question, the speaker said, it was time the States led the provinces in the matter of "Grow more food" campaign. Surplus profits earned within each State whether by individuals or companies must be compulsorily converted into shares of an agricultural company to grow more food and bring more lands under cultivation. This would be a better deflationary measure than compulsory deposits in the Government treasuries. He also pleaded for the protection of cows.

### THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

The following is a summary of the presidential address delivered by Sj. *B. G. Khaparde* :—

In common parlance to-day we speak of "Indian India" and "British India" That is a necessity—an ugly necessity—of the exigency of the moment. We all know that this is political and administrative division of Hindusthan. It is by no means natural or geographical division. People who live in "Indian India" are by no means different from those who live in "British India." They are not of different races as the Negroes and the Mongolians are. They are not utter strangers to one-another as the Eskimoes and Hotentots are. Hindus inhabiting these artificial administrative divisions—the States and the British India—have a common heritage, common culture, common traditions, common habits and customs, even common language in many instances, common religion and common loyalty to their Mother-land—their *Matri-Bhumi*. And these common ties are so ancient, so permanent and so fast that there is no power on Earth that may loosen them or cut them asunder. Inspite of these artificial divisions, therefore, of Indian India and British India, this holy land of Bharat is one and indivisible.

I shall not take your time in dealing in detail with Pakistan. Beyond mere assertions of wanting it, I have not seen any logical cogent reasoning establishing the necessity, possibility, its territorial extent or benefits of it to Hindsthan.

### ABSURDITY

Mr. Jinnah in his recent speech at Aligarh—the gadh of Alis—has, it seems, reached the last limits of absurdity, if such there be, when he threatens the Hindus, the Viceroy, the British Premier and President Roosevelt with "very serious consequences," "revolt." and the "whole Muslim world" being "ablaze". All this after an admission in his interview to the British Press that the gift of Pakistan lay in British hands. A strong central Government is called an "Obsession" of the Hindus. Bluff and bluster cannot go futher. A strong central Government for India has been the "obsession" of the British Government and not merely of the Hindus and it is going to persist there inspite of Jinnahs. Of the "very serious consequences" we know just a bit too much now. We know their seriousness and the extent of consequences. It perhaps means a few riots in Muslim-ruled provinces, a few elopements of the most criminal type both connived at by the local authorities and a few dastardly and most cowardly back-stabbings—the gift and contributions of Muslim culture—to the fine arts of the modern world. We have yet to know the sanctions behind these high-sounding threats unless they be the "Panch-namazi" Hoors, "God Loving" Pathans, the peace-loving Khaksars, and the "divide" policy of the British which seems to be the mainstay of Muslim-bluff. Mr. Jinnah has created and maintained the present deadlock by insisting that the Pakistan should be conceded in principle before it is even discussed as a scheme. This in itself is unreasonable. Having adopted this attitude he now reveals the

fact that he depends upon the British to compel the Congress and every body else to accept his Pakistan and he further offers to the British that after his Pakistan has thus been established he will "deal with and possibly reach an agreement with the British Government." The bait offered to the British for bringing Pakistan is this offer of being its slave in the future. And all this is to be done to spite the Hindus of Hindusthan. Th s betrays a mentality which is unworthy of any leader; and this is the man to whom Gandhiji is "with all sincerity" ready to surrender "the whole of India including the so-called Indian India." No words are too strong to condemn this intrigue to barter away Hindusthan's Hindutwa and her freedom. My brothers, have you found a parallel to this in history ?

A reference to the geographical unity of Hindusthan in a recent speech of the Viceroy delivered before the Indian "Parliament" is interpreted as the death-knell of Pakistan. Be it so ! and God be praised for it. But let us not forget that so long as the notorious Cripps' proposals remain the last word that the diplomats of England have to say to Hindusthan and so long as they contain the evil seeds of Pakistan, the lurking danger is there and we cannot afford to neglect it.

We have yet to see the scheme that reconciles Pakistan to the geographical unity.

### PECULIAR CONDITION

The position of the States is very peculiar. There is no parallel to it in the world. The Britishers feared or favoured the ruler or took sides with or condemned the subjects as the exigencies of times and their interest demanded. The only fixed goal has been the establishment of British raj and every thing else has been made subservient to it under the guise of ultruism, magnanimity, justice and fair play. You must, therefore, be cautious and not walk into the trap. One of the strings of this trap is tied to the apron of the British Premier and the other is tied to the apron of our Muslims' friend, Gandhiji. British Government has now no purpose to be served through the Princes except using them as outposts of their power in peace and sources of money and means in war though they feared and honoured the Princes in the early stages of the building of their Empire. Gandhiji has naturally, as a democrat, evinced fondness and regard for the welfare of the subjects at the cost of the ruling Princes. But in this, there is a system as there was a method in Hamlet's madness. Gandhiji developed solicitude only for the subjects of the Hindu Princes. The subjects of the so-called Muslim States does not seem to be any of his concern. The harrowing tales of misrule, tyranny, murders, riots and inequities that reach us from the Muslim States—Muslim because the ruler happens to be a Muslim and not because the majority of the subjects is Muslim—do not affect him. That does not move this great man of "faith." His only anxiety is to weaken the Hindu Princes. Now if Gandhiji weakens the Hindu Princes and breaks their power and the Britisher strengthens the Muslim sbjects and lends Muslim Princes their support, the trap will be complete; tragedy such as history never saw and the sun never witnessed. I have put this in a very brief form, perhaps at the expense of lucidity, but I have done so to enable you to grasp at a glance what I want to convey.

The relations of British with the Hindusthani States went through three distinct phases as historians record :

1. "Ring Fence"; which really meant security of the British Empire ( or acquisitions ) in its infancy. 1765-1800.
2. "Subordinate isolation"; which was another name of British ascendency. 1800-1857.
3. "Subordinate Union"; which meant taking the States in the Empire without annexing them formally but so completely digesting them as to make them a part of the Empire and making them helpless outside the Empire. 1858 up-to-date.

The present policy, therefore, comes to this; prevent a union or combination amongst the Princes: perpetuate their houses; keep them subordinate so as to serve the imperial interests; espouse the cause of the subjects whenever convenient; make the Princes feel that it is in the interest of the perpetuity of their houses that this was being done; let subjects alone, whatever happens to them, where the Prince concerned is amenable to the service and interest of the Empire.

### SETBACK

The Government of the Nizam had tried to negotiate with the British Government on equal footing and received a reply from Lord Reading that settled the question perhaps for all time to come. The Nizam was told in clear terms that "the sovereignty of the British Crown is supreme in India; and therefore, no Ruler

in an Indian State can justifiably claim to negotiate with the British Government on an equal footing." It further said: "Paramountcy must be paramount." This settles the Princes and we know their destiny is not in their own hands.

Now that Federation has been definitly rejected by the several political parties in Hindusthan, it has perhaps gone from us for ever. This is to be regretted because as Rt. Hon. Mr. Jayakar said whatever its defects it had one virtue, *viz.*, it gave a pronounced majority to the Hindus at the centre. Any way it was a majority rule, and therefore, a democracy whatever its other limitations. We do not know now what it is going to be replaced by. We have yet to see the reconciliation of the Cripps' proposals as they stand and the geographical unity as envisaged by the present Viceroy and his predecessor. Perhaps the proposal of 50:50 representation in provincial Governments and the Centre will get prominence and might be insisted upon. Our past experience shows that behind the "free choice" and "fair play" always talked of by the British diplomats and statesmen, there always works a compelling force which, like destiny, guides events into a predetermined channel and once Britain makes up her mind to take a certain course, all resistance whether from the princes or the people is mostly waste for want of sanction. People of States therefore, and especially Hindus, must wait till the picture of the future appears at least in its bold outlines before such internal authority, as the princes exercise, is touched.

You will be very wise in leaving them alone until a reasonable assurance comes forth from authoritative and reliable quarters that a uniform policy will be followed with respect to all of them by the new powers that be. If we land into times when centres of power might be more serviceable than diffused democracy, we will repent the destruction of the authority, such as we have it, centred in the Hindu Princes. This is not as much as to say that you should not seek redress for your grievances or seek justice or assert yourselves when occasions demanded. But in all Hindu States you will be wise to put a limit on these things for a while and not provoke tension and bitterness which may at any moment give a handle to the Britisher to intervene between the princes and their people and play the proverbial monkey of the fable.

### Judicious Advice

May I add a word for the Princes if it may not offend against the attitude of their Highnesses. If they have the privilege of being the masters of their people, to them also belong the proud privilege and honour of being the servants of the people. They have the coveted opportunity of being in a position of doing good to millions of humanity. This is an opportunity that comes to man after series of incarnations according to our Shastras and to waste it is a crime before God and man. Perhaps they will do well to realise the spirit of the times, the flow of the *Kal* that is flowing over them and enveloping them and not to wait till compulsion is applied by world-events and circumstances. We have 562 Princes and according to the information available from the Butler Committee Report only 56 of them have made any attempt to regulate their privy purse and fix the amount. Indian India covers 771,032 sq. miles of area and has the population of 101 per sq. mile while the density of the population of British India comes to 271 per sq. mile. This speaks for itself and unless the Princes make serious efforts, the future before them is discouraging. Surely, there is something higher and nobler beyond the narrow horizon of women and horses.

I do not believe that the Britisher is going to withdraw from Hindusthan for the asking of it; whether that asking be by the Congress or the League. But what we have to guard against is the introduction of a systematic controlled chaos as happened in Malabar, Kohat, Sind, Bengal and other places.

Ladies and gentlemen, let us prepare to enter into the future. A new hope is surging over the land. A new breath of life is blowing over the face of Bharat. New aspirations are filling our hearts. Let us respond to these and not cling to reeds tried and found broken. The new ideology is furnished by the Hindu Mahasabha with the veteran fighter Swatantra-veer Savarkar at its head. We do not believe in ahimsa in season and out of season. We believe in all means that bring freedom to Hindusthan. We do not disregard the minorities. They have their due place in the future constitution of Hindusthan, if they choose to take and make no preposterous claims and look up to the foreigner to support them. As our president put it pithily which admits of no improvement, we want the help of the Muslims on our way to our goal of Swarajya, but we will not give up our pursuit, if they refuse to come with us. If they choose to oppose us, we march on inspite of them. The formula runs, with you if you come: without you if

you do not, and inspite of you if you oppose. We sum up our politics in a short formula : Hinduise politics and militerise Hindusthan. Hindu Mahasabha has this to offer to you and those who have given it to the Mahasabha have gathered it from long drawn sacrifices and harrowing experiences to which nothing else compares. Those who live in the States have the most excellent opportunity to help the Mahasabha. I have observed that in places where arms are carried freely Muslims carry them but Hindus do not. I was unable to explain it to myself, In States you have the opportunity of taking military training which your brethren in British India have not. Demand a free and unbiassed press. The power of the press is now being increasingly felt and we must guard that it does not go in the hands of cliques which have their axes to grind. Press in the States has handicaps that should be removed in the interest of their own administration. Honoured and representative papers like *Kesari* and *Mahratta* and *Maharashtra* are even to-day prohibited in Hyderabad. This to my mind is entirely undefendable and similar instances are not wanting in other places.

### REPRESENTATION

You will do well also to press for a representation at such conferences as will precede the coming reforms. The Princes may not in all cases represent their subjects and in fairness and equity they should be represented by such agents as they may choose.

I am conversant with grievances of the Hindus in Hyderabad and Bhopal and similar States. Articles have of late appeared in papers about maladministration there and the injustice they are subjected to. But I consider it expedient to leave these matters to be dealt with by the representatives of the several States so that they speak with knowledge and authority.

Everybody of us, consciously or otherwise, is trying to probe into the future and guess what is going to happen to Hindusthan after the war. One thing is absolutely certain, viz. that the "sameness" of the world is not going to continue and Hindusthan cannot possibly prove an exception. The change is coming inspite of Mr. Churchill who declared that he was not presiding over the destinies of the Empire in order to liquidate it. The whole world is now getting so concise that the repercussions that will now follow any event will be far greater, deeper and permanent that would have been the case five year ago. The world arrangement is going to be a world affair and not the affair of Churchill's empire alone. World opinion is going to prove a far more effective factor than it hitherto had been and then will come in the economic interests not only of the British Empire but of everybody else, especially America, whose money and men are playing such an important role in shaping the world's future.

Hindusthan's agriculture, her main industry must get ample scope to develop and her industries must grow tremendously and increase her purchasing power if the success in this war is to be measured in terms of increased wealth which alone will recoup the exhaustion of the war which England and America will feel after its ends. Hindusthan's rise economically *i., e.* industrially and agriculturally, is therefore absolutely necessary in the interests of the winning nations. And this economic rise will not come about unless she is able to control her destiny in a large measure. To my mind, therefore, it is evident that Hindusthan's future is bright and glorious. I have always held that the world will not be restored either to peace or prosperity unless Hindusthan shares it herself. That is a belief in which I have been brought up, that is a faith deep down in my heart without which I cannot breathe.

Let us now march on towards the glorious future awaiting us and equip ourselves to enter it confidently and play our allotted part for the betterment of the world. We seek no Empires. We seek not to enslave any people or exploit them so that they may starve and we may thrive on their death. We seek our freedom and, God willing, we will find it inspite of those who spite us.

### MR. V. D. SAVARKAR'S APPEAL

Declaring open the first session of the All-India States Hindu Mahasabha Conference in Yadunagar, Mr. *V. D. Savarkar* made a passionate and spirited appeal for consolidating all Hindu States in India which were great sources of strength to the Hindus.

Many great empires had existed and vanished, Mr. Savarkar continued, and when the day came for Britishers to quit India, it would prove the doom of the Hindus if they had weakened in any way the Hindu States. The Muslims, he stated, had begun consolidating Muslim States. In Kashmir State, which was a

Muslim State with a Hindu ruler as its head, the Muslims were agitating that Urdu should be the State language, whereas, in the Nizam State, where the Hindus were in a majority but Urdu was the State language. Emphasising again the need for strengthening the Hindu States which, with their organised machinery and troops, were real strongholds of Hindus, Mr. Savarkar said he favoured efforts at reforms in those States but was against democracy if it meant their subversion.

Earlier in his speech, Mr. Savarkar expressed his appreciation of the enthusiastic response the big gathering gave to the conference. Explaining the object of the conference, he said that the States Hindus were now being organised, because the Muslims had already commenced organising the States Muslims also, though personally he was for taking initiative in such matters and not always for being in the defensive. The Muslims were openly threatening the use of even violent measures if they were obstructed in their efforts at the realisation of Pakistan. Under those circumstances, the Hindus should consolidate and strengthen themselves.

Prior to the conference, Mr. B. G. Khaparde, President, Mr. V. D. Savarkar, Dr. B. S. Moonje, Mr. B. Shankara Rao, new President of the Mysore State Hindu Mahasabha, Mr. Bhoopalam Chandrasekhara Setty and Dr. P. Varadarajulu Naidu were taken in procession through the main routes of the town in a decorated chariot drawn by six pairs of bulls. About two hundred volunteers formed the guard of honour and leaders were profusely garlanded by the public all along the route. More than 10,000 people, including about 1,000 ladies, attended the conference, which was held in a spacious pandal. Mr. Bhoopalam Chandrasekhara Setty welcomed the guests and delegates. Messages from Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, Mr. J. K. Birla and Mr. D. H. Chandrasekharaiah, President of the Mysore Legislative Council among others were read. After Mr. Savarkar's opening speech, Mr. B. G. Khaparde delivered the presidential address.

## Third Day—Shimoga—11th. April 1944

### Proceedings & Resolutions

The three-day session of the All-India States Hindu Mahasabha Conference concluded after passing several resolutions on the 11th. April 1944.

The first resolution expressed loyalty to the Mysore Throne and the second was about the Mahasabha attitude and policy regarding the demand for Responsible Government in Indian States.

By another resolution, the Conference approved the Viceroy's recent declaration as regards India being one indivisible unit geographically and economically and strongly opposed and condemned the proposal for vivisection of India. One resolution denounced the constant agitation carried on by Muslims in the States in favour of Urdu in preference to the provincial language and urged the Hindus to agitate for the adoption of ancient Sanskrit (Nishta Hindi) as the *lingua franca* of India and not Hindustani. The Conference adopted a resolution urging the States Hindus to seek repeal of the Arms Act and, wherever possible, form national defence corps with a view to protecting Hindudom against hostile forces both internal and external. An appeal was made to the Hindu Princes, by another resolution, to hold, organise and attend mass Hindu prayers in their respective States once a week with a view to instilling in the minds of their Hindu subjects a common bond and devotional cultural unity. The Conference also resolved to agitate for the introduction of compulsory military training for Hindus, because in view of the long historical traditions of Indian States, militarisation would go a long way for the practical attainment of Indian independence. Another resolution appealed to the Hindu women to preserve the pristine purity and greatness of Hindu culture and enjoined them to always carry on their person katari, kirpan or pistol for the purpose of self-defence.

Before concluding, the open session of the States Mahasabha adopted two more resolutions, one urging upon the Government of Jaipur immediately to introduce Hindi as promised by the Prime Minister and protect the religious rights of the Hindus of the State and stop the demolition of temples under the pretext of town improvement. The resolution also appealed to the Maharaja to put an end to the anti-Hindu policy, now subtly introduced by the Prime Minister. The second resolution requested the Nizam's Government to recruit loyal and able Hindus to 90 per cent of the States Services in all grades and also protested against the anti-Hindu policy of the Nizam's Government.

The Conference authorised the President to constitute in consultation with the States Sabhas an Executive Committee of not more than fifteen representatives as a temporary measure to settle the constitution and organise States Mahasabhas. For the present, the head office of the central organisation will be located in Bangalore with Mr. G. V. Ramachar as General Secretary. The Conference also appointed an enquiry committee with Dr. B. S. Moonje as Chairman and Dr. P. Varadarajulu Naidu and Mr. B. G. Khaparde as members to visit and enquire into the state of affairs concerning Hindus in various States and make a report to the executive committee as early as possible. The Chairman was authorised to co-opt two representative members for each State visited by the committee for purposes of enquiry.

## The Mysore State Hindu Mahasabha

**Mr. B. Shankar Rao's Address**

"Organise your lives, militarise your politics, establish your policy with Vedic Council, Arya Rajasabha, Arya Vidyasabha and Arya Dharmasabha", exhorted Mr. *B. Shankar Rao* in the course of his presidential address to the third session of the Mysore State Hindu Mahasabha held in 'Yadu Nagar', Shimoga on the 10th. April 1944. "Stand united," he added, "under the Hindu banner, assert the dignity and tradition of the agelong Hindu culture and stand firmly by the ancient Mysore Throne." It was sedition to preach Pakistan in Mysore State. Hindus should become aggressive and not permit their right to be ignored or belittled through sloth and indifference. They should not support the slogan that Muslims must be appeased even at the expense of Hindu taxpayers.

Mr. Shankar Rao deprecated separate electorates in Mysore. He finally exhorted the Hindus of Mysore State to pay loyal allegiance to the Mysore Throne, and said that the allegiance muso be based not only on the Ruler's possessing military and police to enforce his temporal authority, but on account of his being the protector and upholder of the ancient Hindu culture.

The Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcoming the President and delegates, urged the much-needed social reforms among the Hindus like the abolition of untouchability, and child-marriage and throwing open the temples to Depressed Classes.

DR. MOONJE ON DEMAND FOR RESPONSIBLE GOVT.

Referring to the question of Responsible Government in States, Dr. *B. S. Moonje*, in the course of a press interview, said democracy was a new thing being introduced into the administration of India. Democracy meant dispersion of power from the head of the State to various parts and as such Hindu Mahasabha approved and appreciated it. But it was to be looked at from a practical point of view. They had a Government in India which was British and therefore must see what kind of men were at the head of the Government of India. Responsible Government should be first introduced into the premier state of Hyderabad and then into other states. Dr. Moonje next referred to the controversy over flags in Mysore and questioned as to who won the battle of Seringapatam, where Tippo was killed and the Mysore State was reinstated as Hindu Raj. It was the Marathas representing the Hindus, he stated, who won the battle. Thus Mysore State had been built by the power, skill, intelligence and valour of Hindus under the leadership of Marathas.

# The Sikh-Hindu Milap Conference

## Opening Day—Lahore—18th. March 1944

**Presidential Address**

A joint effort is needed to-day to checkmate the designs of those interested persons who want to create a gulf between the two highly cultured communities—the Sikhs and the Hindus and to dispel the misunderstanding created during the last two years. I appeal to you to bring about consolidation in the two communities of the Punjab so that together they can exert powerful influence on the institutions of the province. There is a common menace to both from the direction

of aggressive overzeal of some of our Muslim friends in power. The political union of the two important minorities in the land of Five Rivers against a constitution that conceded protection to the majority community is the only method to restore the morale of non-Muslims everywhere. Let us—Sikhs and Hindus—be allies in politics for self-preservation," said *Sardar Sant Singh, M. L. A.* (Central) presiding at the Hindu-Sikh-Milap Conference held in the spacious lawns of the Gurudatta Bhavan, Lahore on the 18th. March 1944. A huge gathering representing the two communities was present. The Conference was inaugurated by Raja Narendra Nath. Many prominent citizens were present.

Referring to the Government of India Act of 1935 and the establishment of provincial autonomy in the Punjab, he said that safeguards provided for a majority community in the constitutional act of a country was left to the Mother of Parliaments to perpetuate such an absurdity.

### God-Sent Gift

The Sardar added, with the introduction of provincial autonomy power fell into the hands of those who were opposed to all sorts of political progress in the country and had actively sided with the bureaucracy to retain the hold of British imperialism. One might call it ill-luck for the Punjab but the fact remained that feudal ideals, tribal attachments and big landlordism proved to be a deciding factor in our Muslim constituencies.

When the Unionist Party was crumbling the war came to their rescue and the Defence of India Act was passed granting drastic powers to the provincial Governments, S. Sant Sing continued. Members of the Congress Party in the Punjab Assembly were put behind the bars. The opposition in the Assembly was broken. Those who had been backing the Akali Party, lost their nerve. The strong men in the party went behind the bars. The Akali Party lost their anchor. It swerved in the direction of co-operation with the Unionist Government and entered into a pact which came to be known as "Sikander-Baldev Singh Pact." "I am not against political bargaining. But in this pact there was no political bargaining at all. To me it appeared to be an unprecedented political surrender by the Akali Party to an administration which was virtually a Muslim administration. A political formula unknown to Parliamentary systems of Government was announced to the people of the Punjab. While S. Baldev Singh was to sit with the Government, the men of the Akali Party were allowed to sit with the opposition. No greater absurdity was ever perpetrated by any sensible political party in any country in the world," he said.

The Sikh politics thus began to crumble since 1942, he added. The Pact went a long way to strengthen the hands of the Unionist Party, while it considerably lowered the prestige of the community.

The second big blunder committed in the province, S. Singh said, was the launching of the movement known as "Azad Punjab Movement." The third big blunder that weakened the Akali Party's hold on the Sikh masses was their policy of flirtation with the Muslim League. S. Ajit Singh's inclusion in a purely Muslim League's Government in the N. W. F. P., was the fatal step.

### Sham Garb

These blunders, the Sardar said, cost the Akali Party tremendously in prestige and influence.

Reviewing the political situation in the country, S. Sant Singh said that today "we need a joint, common front against the opponents of our country's progress."

The present provincial administration had its run for seven years now, he said. Under the garb of coalition ministry, a purely Muslim administration was functioning. Under the garb of promoting harmony there was a plan attempted to replace non-Muslims by Muslims in the key posts of the province. The grievance was not that the Muslims were getting the higher jobs but the grievance was why they were getting them exclusively. The charge against the present administration in the province was that the power was being so manipulated that all places of power must go to the Muslims alone. "Our function to-day is to warn the provincial Government of the danger of complete breakdown of the administration if this policy of communal discrimination is persisted in for long. And on our part we should check the further deterioration in the morale of the members of Services belonging to communities other than Muslims." he added.

S. Sant Singh suggested: "In the first place a strong Secretariate be created. The history of Services of each employee with qualification of each be kept in the suitable section of the Secretariate. It should be the duty of the Secretariate to

fight out the case of a non-Muslim employee with his Department. And secondly, such monsters in Services, who take delight in using their power in injuring the interests of their coreligionists, must be exposed and it should be the second line action of the Secretariate. Such a scheme will stop intrigues and nepotism in services and enforce the rules of Services."

DEVELOP THE SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY

The Sardar did not think that the Ministers of the minorities had been able to protect their rights. As an alternative he suggested, that the minorities in the province should agree to allow the majority community to run the administration. "Let the Muslims assume complete responsibility for the government of the province. The minorities should constitute a strong combined opposition in the Legislature. And thus we will be developing the sense of responsibility in those who lack it at present and the time will arrive soon when the truth will dawn upon them that no administration purely on religious bases can successfully be carried on for long," he added.

In conclusion, Sardar Sant Singh said: "The best and most lasting foundation for the solidification of the two communities is an appeal to their political self-interest under the present constitution. The interest of the Hindus lies in making a common cause with the Sikhs to meet the common menace. Still larger interest of the Sikh community demands shaking of hands with the Hindu brothers and making them allies in politics for self-preservation."

**Raja Narendra Nath's Speech**

*Raja Narendra Nath*, inaugurating the Conference, said that it was useless and wrong to say that the Sikhs and the Hindus were separate and had no common interests. The principles of the Sikh religion were the same as those of the Hindu religion, and then the Sikhs were not only the protectors of the Hindus, they were also the protectors of the country's interests. Their heroic actions in the present war for the defence of their motherland had won admiration of one and all. There was inherent oneness when one saw the cultural or the historical background. Those who said the two communities were separate did not exhibit any sense. He advised the Sikhs to separate religion from politics.

*S. Atma Singh*, Rais of Rawalpindi, unfurling the "unity flag," said that he wanted not only unity between the Sikhs and the Hindus but the unity of the whole of India and to achieve that they were prepared to make all sacrifices.

*S. Mul Singh Chawinda*, Chairman of the Reception Committee, deplored the fact that there was Muslim 'raj' in the province. Their trade and business were ruined. Their religious processions were attacked. Their Gurudwaras were burnt. It would be their political death, if the Hindus and Sikhs did not join hands to protect themselves from the majority community's onslaughts.

## Second Day—Lahore—19th. March 1944

The Conference concluded on the 19th. March without adopting any resolution. Explaining why no resolution had been moved or adopted, the President of the Conference, *S. Sant Singh, M. L. A.* (Central) said that the Conference had been held in order to clarify the atmosphere which had been unfortunately surcharged with misunderstandings. At the Conference they had actually tilled the land and done the ploughing wherein the seed would be sown.

At to-day's sitting of the Conference, speeches were made, among others, by Raja Narendra Nath, Sir Gokul Chand Narang, Sant Nidhan Singh "Alam," General Secretary of the Namdhari Durbar, Atma Singh Namdhari, Pandit Thakur Dutt, Mr. Madan Lal Yatri, Gyani Gurdit Singh, Sardar Gopal Singh, Advocate and S. Mool Singh.

The main theme of the speeches made at the Conference was that Hindus and Sikhs were one and it was foolish to talk of their being enemies of each other. S. Nidhan Singh Alam said: "Hindus are Sikhs and Sikhs are Hindus."

*Raja Narendra Nath*, referring to the history of Sikhs, said that they were in fact protectors of the Hindus and he recalled the great sacrifices which the great Gurus had made. The Raja Sahib added: "Only he can say that the Hindus and Sikhs are not one who will not be willing to accept that two and two make four."

*Sardar Atma Singh Namdhari* pointed out that the Hindus were the recruiting ground of their martyrs.

The Sikh speakers attributed the present misundersandings to the selfish motives of a few who were exploiting the name of Sikhism for earning favours for themselves.

*Sir Gokul Chand Narang* thought that for unity among a class of persons or various classes either natural cohesion or pressure from outside was necessary. He was sorry to say that the Hindus had lost that natural cohesion and that was the reason why other people were treating them in so slighting a manner. The Hindus and Sikhs could not be separate. The Sikhs were the sword-arm of the Hindus. They were in fact their shield and the Guru had infused a spirit of suffering and sacrifice in them in order to protect the Hindus. The Hindus revered the Granth Sahib as much as the Sikhs did because the Granth Sahib mentioned the great names of Rama and Krishna. It was the Granth Sahib which provided strength and solace to the Hindus of the Punjab at the time of their distress just as the Ramayan helped the Hindus in the U. P. and other provinces to love and stand by their religion. Spiritually and culturally the Hindus and Sikhs were one and it was high time that they gave up all their misunderstandings and remained united as one man. He wished the Hindus would realise the heavy blows which were being given to them to wipe them out of existence. Having finished with the Hindus, said Sir Gokul Chand, those who were engaged in creating a gulf would teach the Sikhs a similar lesson and treat them in the like manner unless the Hindus and Sikhs were united. He warned the Sikhs against falling in the trap which had been laid for them. He was sorry that for a petty sum of Rs. 6,000 for the prachar of Gurmukhi, the Sikhs had surrendered themselves to the late Sir Sikander Hyat Khan. He asked them to remember that whereas they wanted to propagate Gurmukhi, the Government had made up their mind to teach Arabic along with Gurmukhi and for giving Jhatka to Sikhs they were allowing beef to the Muslims instead of allowing them Halal.

He asked the Hindus to realise the pressure from outside lest the dream of Mr. Jinnah to rule should be realised.

### Sikhs And Hindus Are One

*Sardar Sant Singh*, in the course of his concluding remarks, said that spiritually, historically, culturally and politically also the Sikhs and Hindus were one. Under the Unionist regime, the Punjab Hindus and Sikhs had been reduced to a position which if accepted would lead them nowhere in the political life of the province. The Montgomery by-election had left a lesson for them and it was that unless the Hindus and Sikhs were united now, in future only Unionists or their men would be returned to the legislature and it could well be imagined what it would mean. While pleading that the rights of the non-Muslims in the services should be protected to the utmost as also their political rights, S. Sant Singh warned the Hindus and Sikhs that in case they did not appreciate the realities of life and the significance of what was happening to them, they would be put out of existence soon.

# The Mahakoshal Hindu Sabha Conference

## Bilaspur—29th. & 30th. January 1944

### Presidential Address

**The following extracts are taken from Dr. *B. S. Moonje's* presidential address delivered on the occasion of the Mahakoshal Provincial Hindu Sabha Conference held at Bilaspur (C. P.) on 29th. and 30th. January 1944 :—**

**The *Christian Science Monitor* says : "It is now time for a religious revival, and for the progress of the spirit."**

**Speaking for the Hindus alone, as they are all thinking in terms of their own nationals and national concerns, it is however a bit difficult to understand what is meant by the 'religious revival." By its mention of religious revival, I hope, the *Christian Monitor* does not mean to say that there is only one religion and that is the Christian religion. If that be so, then the term "religious revival" as applied to India, must mean "Revival of Hinduism," that is, all day-to-day affairs in the Hindu world in Hindusthan, including even the formulation of a new constitution for India, should be based upon the religious revival, that is the revival of Hinduism. If the affairs of the Christian world have to be inspired by the spirit of revival of Christianity and similarly of the Moslem world by the spirit of Islam,**

then naturally the Hindus must thereby be made to feel that the affairs in the Hindu world must also be inspired by the spirit of Hinduism.

In the public administration of the country the Hindus have not yet begun to think in the spirit of the so-called "religious revival" as the Christians and the Moslems are doing. They are still in the orthodox stage of belief that the public administration of the country should not be poluted by considerations of communal controversies and fanaticism of religious revivals. The Hindus must therefore, now learn to go out into the world and develop the boldness and frankness in maintaining that the religious revival in respect of the Hindu world must be the revival of Hindu religion. Thus, in one word, it will be no sin if the Hindu Mahasabha were to say that the constitution of Hindusthan, the land of the Hindus, should be based upon the Vedas as the constitutions of the lands of the Christianity and Islam are to be based on the revival of these religions. Of course, for the protection of their religions and cultures, there are the formulas fortunately evolved by the League of Nations, though now defunct, which represents the combined wisdom and statesmanship of Europe including England and America.

## No Sin

I have read of some criticisms in respect of my suggestion that it will be no sin, if the Hindu Mahasabha were to say that the constitution of the Hindusthan should be based on the Vedas. It is said that India is not a homogeneous country. But then which country is there in the world which is homogeneous, so far as the religion is concerned? Are the Arab Nations or the Arab Union who aspire to base their constitution on Koran, are homogeneous? There are quarrelling Christians and Jews in those countries—what about them? In England itself, is not the constitution based on Christianity and is not the King in the constitution required to take the oath of being the 'Defender of the Faith," that is the Protestant Christianity and not of Roman Catholic Christianity, though there are several other religious communities in England? As for some people in India being violently disregardful of the authority of the Vedas, was there ever a civil war in India as it was in England between Roman Catholic Christianity and Protestant Christianity? As the Koran and the Bible are the sacred books of the Moslems and the Christians, so is the Vedas the sacred books of the Hindus. If the Koran and the Bible are not hopelessly inadequate for the material problems of their Nations, why should Vedas alone be considered as hopelessly inadequate for the material problems of India? It is foolish to talk of absurdity or harm accruing from following the dictates of one's own religion in one's own country.

The principles of post-war reconstruction so far as it concerns the Hindu world of Hindusthan must necessarily be briefly :—

(1) Revival of Hinduism, that is, the Vedas should be the basis of the new constitution.

(2) Provision of making education easily available to all, both men and women, without any exception so that all these instincts which are the natural attributes of mind together with the intellect and power of discrimination of right from wrong should be developed to their fullest possible extent.

(3) With a view to prevent bullies, covetous aggressors, or mischief mongers from committing breaches of public peace either by way of creating internal commotion or of inviting invasion by external enemies, the cult of the development of sciences, that is, the natural inexorable desire of probing into and solving and gaining mastery over the mysteries of the universe should be kept up and developed ; so that the modern methods of warfare may be assimilated and the nation be made strong and ready for self-defence and for punishing evil-doers.

(4) All industries, both major and minor, with their accompaniments of scientific investigations and developments should be established in India ; so that the dependency of India upon other nations for implements of self-defence and other necessities of daily life should be blotted out.

(5) Commerce and manufactories should be so developed as to be able to completely remove unemployment or to reduce it to the minimum and every person should be able to get adequate food in a system of balanced diet for the improvement of his health and vigour with a view to exorcise the evils of poverty.

## Solutions of Impasse

If you look to the origin of the deadlock, it will be noticed that it is entirely the result of the Congress policy and programme of non-cooperation in its attempt to evolve independence for India. It is said that this deadlock would be solved if Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress leaders would be released. But even sup-

posing that they are released, there are still two great hurdles in the way—one is the attitude of the British Government and its disinclination to part with real power, and the second is the uncompromising attitude of Mr. Jinnah and his Muslim League. As for the release of Mahatma Gandhi and Congress leaders, the Hindu Mahasabha has been incessantly asking for their release, but the point that worries is—even supposing that Mahatma Gandhi is released and even the British Government is prepared to part with power, say, even unconditionally,—will Mr. Jinnah and his Muslim League come round to shake hands with the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha on terms of equity and justice without insisting on their previous acceptance of Pakistan ?

Whatever that be, the Hindu Mahasabha in order to do its utmost to co-operate with all in securing National Government has been and is always prepared to put all controversial points in cold storage until the war is over and the time comes for the formulation of a constitution. It is also prepared to join hands with all political parties for forming an interim National Government on the basis of their proportion in the general population of the country.

### Prachar Of Pakistan

As for Pakistan, Mr. Jinnah may very well fling threats in the face of the British Government to 'seize,' Pakistan ; but we know the inherent strength of the Muslim League as of all other parties as compared with that of the British Government. The utmost that we can therefore say in the matter is that the Hindu Mahasabha will fight to the utmost and to the last to maintain the integrity and unity of India. Mr. Jinnah may go on saying that "there can be no compromise on the question of partition and division of India," but we have learnt to take his heroic words with always a grain of salt in the faith that, ultimately, finding Hindu Mahasabha too strong with its attitude of equity, justice, and fair-play, Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League will be convinced of the futility of their present intransigent attitude and then of the need of cultivating friendship with their elder brothers, the majority community of the Hindus.

But there is one pitfall and it will delay the dawn of sound sense and realistic comprehension in the Muslim League of the fundamental bar of justice and reason which is represented by the Hindu Mahasabha.

It is feared and even openly said that the Congress in its defeatist mentality in respect of the Muslim League, will yield to Mr. Jinnah and agree to its proposal of partition of India into Hindu India and Muslim India. But Mr. Jinnah is a shrewd politician and knows that the Congress has not any standing in the matter of giving away anything concerning communal adjustments, however powerful it may be, so far as the political matters are concerned. In this controversy the position of the Hindu Mahasabha is unassailable and Mr. Jinnah knows fully about it. Ultimately, he knows, he will have to negotiate with the Hindu Mahasabha and the duty of the Congress will then only be to bless what would have been settled between the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha.

### New Slogans

Coining of slogans is a method of propaganda which, in practice, has been found to be most effective. Slogans catch the imagination of the masses who are moved by its spirit and meaning, though they may not understand the responsibilities involved.

In India at present, there are two such slogans—one "Quit India" of the Congress and the other "Divide and Quit India" of the Moslem League. The mass followings shouting these slogans of the Congress as well as of the Muslim League are fired by the meanings conveyed by these slogans.

But they do not understand the responsibilities involved. That part of the business, they leave to their respective leaders.

The Hindu Mahasabha has not yet coined any such slogan ; it may therefore, be assumed to possess an open mind.

As for the Congress slogan of " Quit India," it means that the Britishers commencing with Lord Clive up to the Rt. Hon. Mr. Churchill and Mr. Amery who have established their empire over India during the last, say, 125 years, both by their diplomatic skill and by their swords, should give up their empire, simply because the Congress is pleased to ask for it and the Britishers should pack up and go back to their homeland some seven thousand miles away beyond the seas. This is what the Congress calls "Independence," and the Congress believes that it won't require any army, that is, any organised force, to maintain the Independence thus secured. Leaving aside the question of feasibility or otherwise of this slogan of the

Congress, I am here concerned with only one aspect of it. During the last 125 years the Britishers, having secured the overlordship in India, have been using Indian men and money without any consideration whatsoever for organising, strengthening and expanding their empire. It is because of India that the Britishers have secured and are enjoying the pre-eminent position among the nations in the world.

**Simpleton's Logic**

Now the question is—Will the Britishers, simply because they are so asked, leave India and go back to their home ? But then what about the announcement of Mr. Churchill that it is not for the purpose of liquidating the British Empire that he has accepted the first Ministership of His Imperial Majesty, the King Emperor ? And even supposing they, out of generosity and fairness, leave India, what will the Congress gain more than what it calls Independence ? What repayment will have been made over the purpose of spending blood and money by the Britishers for the expansion of their Empire ? Should it be allowed to go waste ? Can we not take up the idea started by Mr. Curtin, the present Prime Minister of Australia and appreciate its advantage from our point of view ? The Prime Minister of Australia advocates the establishment of a supreme body which should govern the affairs of the entire British Empire after the war. Of course, if this idea materialises—and it will be no wonder if it does after the war, then—how will this Supreme Council be formed, if not on the basis of freedom and democracy ? The British Government have already promised freedom and democracy to India and it is likely that the promise will be given more or less concrete shape after the war. Thus India will be as free in her domestic affairs as the several dominions—such as Australia, New Zealand and Canada are at present, not excluding even England, the mother country of the Empire. India having gained its freedom, if India were to choose to remain within the Empire, she will have the right to have her say in the formulation of this Supreme Empire Council to carry on the "Supreme United Government for the British Empire." Naturally and as a matter of course and of right, this Supreme Council of United Government on the basis of democracy will be composed of representatives from the different component parts of the British Fmpire enjoying freedom and their numbers will be fixed on the basis of the proportions of their populations in the general populations of the Empire. Here India will have a special advantage, being populated as it is by 40 crores of people as contrasted with hardly 5 crores being the population of England, and with the populations of other dominions which are measureable by mere lacs. Thus, this Supreme Council of the United Government of the British Empire will have representatives from India very far in excess over the combined representatives of the several dominions and England itself. This Council will then be dominated by India and the British Empire will then be automatically changed into the Indo-British Empire.

Is this not an advantage if India after getting her freedom chooses to remain in the British Empire ? Will this not be an adequate repayment for all the Indian money and blood spent by Britain like water during the last 125 years of its rule over India for the expansion of her empire ?

**Advantage**

If this is to be ridiculed as a day-dream, then what about the Congress slogan of "Quit India" ? It is most significant to not that ideas on this pattern are being cultivated in the United States of America.

The New York Magazine—"Fortune," in an editorial, "British Empire And United States" says : "In nine cases out of ten, arguments about the British Imperialism boil down to India.....And American intellectuals believed before the war that the only solution for India was immediate and complete Independence. Events have tampered the judgments of some." Mentioning later on, about the growing Volunteer Indian Army, now of 20 lacs, and of Indian steel production have been doubled and, what is more, of India being now Britain's creditor instead of a debtor as before to the extent of at most of over 2,000,000,000 dollars with her British Bank balance growing at the rate of about 700,000,000 dollars annually," the Magazine says : "In these circumstances, India may emerge from the war not as a kind of an annexe to the British Empire but as a huge power within it. ... ...India may choose to become peer of Australia, New Zealand and United Kingdom within the Commonwealth.....The bogey of the Imperialism will disappear and the Empire's creative achievement will endure." Such is the disinterested opinion of outsiders. Is it not worth our contemplating upon ?"

Hindu Mahasabha not having yet been committed to any slogan, either of the Congress or of the Muslime League will, I hope, introspect and may perhaps come to a decision, which may support my imaginative intuition.

# Baroda Hindu Sabha Conference

### Presidential Address

The following is a summary of the presidential speech of Dr. *B. S. Moonje* at the Hindu Sabha Conference of Baroda State, held at Baroda in the last week of April 1944 :—

So much has been said and written about the Hindu Mahasabha and its activities both by its supporters, as well as by its opponents that there is nothing left that could be said to be new in conception or that has not been previously said or written. I have, therefore, to ask the Hindus to be united and to be continuously on the alert. Because no Nation or no community can live or thrive which is not always on the alert to defend itself whenever attacked.

But of late two events have happened and it is but natural that the Hindu Mahasabha should assess the value of the reactions of these events on the part of the various organisations and on the life of the Hindus. The first of these two events is the speech of His Excellency the Viceroy which is the first of its kind since he assumed the Viceroyalty recently and second is the interview which Mr. Jinnah has given quite recently to a correspondent of a British newspaper. These are the important events and it will be worth our while to analyse their effects.

### Geographical Unity of India

As for the speech of the Viceroy, the first thing that is striking is that the language and the phraseology of the speech is entirely out of line with what we have been accustomed to as coming from Viceroys. The language is straight, clear, direct and to the point. There are no diplomatic ambiguities or involutions. We must congratulate him. Such language can only come from a true soldier, though even in him the innate and inveterate love of a Britisher for what may be described as inscrutable diplomacy has not left untouched. But whatever diplomacy there may be, one should not forget that there can be no effective diplomacy unless it is based on a living consciousness of a forceful sanction behind, which the Viceroy has in ample measure. One thing however is certain that there are no ambiguities so far as the language used is concerned. The present Viceroy has clearly and directly told both the Hindus and the Mussulmans that, "You cannot alter geography. From the point of view of defence, of relations with the outside world, of many internal and external problems, India is a natural unit." Though, of course, the indissoluble habit of being always on the alert, innate in the British blood, has eventually supervened and made him say, "You need not regard them as final views," still, at least for the present, it has been made clear to both the Hindus and the Mussulmans that whatever constitutional developments may take place in future, India, as the Viceroy says, will be "a united country", and therefore, there will be a Central Government which will be "a joint British and Indian affair with the ultimate responsibility still remaining with the British Parliament." Thus it may be said that, so far as the British Government is concerned, they have given a final reply, so far as finality can go in this world and also a dead quietus to the slogans "Quit India" and "Divide and Go." Thus from the British side, we know definitely, on the one hand, that they will not part with power, and therefore, there cannot be independence and, on the other, that there will not be vivisection, that is, division of India into Moslem India and Hindu India, so long as the present Viceroy can help it. We must be thankful because now we know where we are going to be definitely.

As for the transfer of power, if we scrutinise deeper, it is a sight for the Gods to see. Two Britishers of highest eminence and authority speak and though they speak in different language, their ultimate meaning is the same. One of them, the present Viceroy, says: "We are bound in justice, in honour.....to hand over India to Indian rule.....but until the two main Indian parties ( Hindus and Mussulmans ) at least can come to terms, I do not see any immediate hope of progress" and "Until they can agree on its ( future constitution ) form, the transfer of power cannot be made". The other, who is not less a person than Mr. Chur-

chill, the present Prime Minister of England, authoritatively says: "The penalties of Nazi's defeat are vital. After the blinding flash of catastrophic stunning blow and gaping wounds there comes the onset of the disease of defeat. The central principle of a nation's life is broken and all the healthy normal control vanishes. There are few societies that can withstand conditions of subjugation. Indomitable patriots take different parts; quislings and collaborationists of all kinds abound. Guerilla leaders (in India in peaceful times of subjugation) each with their personal followers quarrel and fight,.....animated by hatred more fierce than that which should be for the common foe.....Among all these varied forces the German oppressor (the conquerer) develops his intrigues with typical ruthlessness and merciless cruelty.... This is not the time for ideological preferences for one side or the other and certainly we, of His Majesty's Government, have not indulged ourselves in this way at all.

Is this not a vivid and detailed pen-picture of what is taking place in India since we were defeated and the Britishers were installed as Rulers? Are we not in the firm grip of the disease of defeat and subjugation, as Mr. Churchill describes? This is certainly not the situation for them to indulge in ideological preferences. Can we reasonably ever hope for Hindu-Moslem unity and for transfer of power by the Britishers to Indian hands? Thus there is rich food for thought to those who feel that independence could be gained by arguing or by appeasing Mr. Jinnah by granting him Pakistan.

### A Concrete Suggestion

However, I make a concrete suggestion. Let Mr. Jinnah, the representative of the Moslems, and Mahatma Gandhi, if he were to give up his claim of representing the Congress and were to admit to be a commual Representative of the Hindus as Mr. Jinnah is of the Moslems, or Mr. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, sit together and come to an understanding among themselves. Let them deposit the document of agreement, without disclosing the terms to the Government, with the Imperial Bank; and then go together to the Government declaring that the Hindus and the Moslems have come to an agreement and ask for the transfer of power. If the Government were to agree, all right so much the better; but if the Government were still not to agree to transfer, will Mr. Jinnah and his Moslems join hands with the Hindus in quarrelling and warring with the Government for the transfer of power?

Mr. Jinnah is a wise man, a worldly practical man. He knows that neither the Hindus nor the Moslems, either singly or combined, can coerce the powerful Government to surrender power.

Having so far discussed briefly the pressing problems in the politics of India as a whole, I should now say a few words about what is agitating the Hindu minds in the Hindu States.

In imitation of the politics of Britishers who are foreign to India, the politicians particularly the Hindus of the Hindu States are carrying on intensive propaganda for the establishment of what they call democracy and responsible Government in their respective States.

### Historical View Of The States

In contrast with British India, the Hindus of Hindu States should always keep in mind two points:—

(1) That the Prince who is ruling the States is a representative of the Hindu Raj of the past and as such incorporates in himself all traditions of dignity, and is suffering and fighting for maintaining the Hindu Raj against foreign opponents who were opposing them during the past 500 years or so. Thus the Hindu Prince holds in our hearts the same position of love and respect which any king of the nations in the world outside India inspires in the hearts of his own subjects. For example, the Britishers, who are at present ruling India, have love and respect for their own King for which there is no parallel in any nation in the world except, perhaps, in the case of Japan.

In India itself, in the Nizam Hyderabad, even an ordinary Moslem in the streets has such a pride for the Nizam whom he calls by the reverential name of Ala Hazrat, that he cannot brook any ill word spoken against the Nizam. In fact, he regards himself as a Nizam personified in miniature in his relations with the Hindus. He hates democracy aad responsible government.

The Hindu Mahasabha, therefore, calls upon all Hindus to respect and love their Hindu Princes as embodiments of Hindu pride and Hindu achievements in the political world of the past and as hopeful in the future.

(2) Democracy and what is called the Responsible Government on the lines of western Nations, are forms of administration which are quite new to India. Though we like to have them introduced in the administration of India, we must never forget that the largest community which is the Hindu Community has got a caste system which being peculiar to itself and not known anywhere else in the world, is not very conducive to the western type of democracy.

Taking these two points into consideration, my conclusion in the matter is that the system of democracy and Responsible Government which is mostly of the British conception should first be introduced in the Central Government of British India and in the Provincial Government. After that it should then be introduced in the premier state of the Nizam. The other states will automatically follow.

### Hyderabad And Kashmir

In this connection, I should like to warn my Hindu brethren. They should study and try to know what the real motive is which inspires Mussulmans in the Hyderabad State, on one side, to oppose the introduction of democracy and Responsible Government and the same Mussulmans in the Kashmir State, on the other, to agitate for democracy and Responsible Government. In the Hyderabad State the majority, that is, more than 90 per cent of the subjects, are Hindus, but the Prince is a Mussulman. The converse is the position in Kashmir State, that is, more than 90 per cent of the subjects are Mussulmans and the Prince is a Hindu. I hope my Hindu brethren will take lesson and warning conveyed in the two contrary positions of the Mussulmans in Kashmir and the Hyderabad State.

The Hindu Mahasabha, however, holds that whatever political developments may take place in the future, the Hindu Princes are pillars of strength for the establishment of Hindu Raj in Hindusthan. The Hindu Mahasabha at times, may criticise them or find faults with them; yet the limit of criticism or fault-finding should not be carried to the extent of weakening the position of the Hindu Prince in his State and in his relations with the Crown Representative of the British Government of India.

### A Practical View

Now I should like to touch on a very delicate matter which concerns only the Baroda State. The Ruling Prince in Baroda State is a Representative of the Hindu power which uprooted the foreign empire established and ruling in India for more than 500 years and re-established in its place Hindu Raj practically in the whole of India before the advent of the British hardly 125 years ago. In the zeal for social reform which is a peculiarity more of the Hindus than of the Mussulmans, a law of monogamy only for the Hindus was passed in Baroda. Without trying to discriminate on merits of monogamy versus polygamy, I believe, in the first place, it was wrong to pass a law of monogamy which is clearly an unwarranted interference with the Hindu sociology; and in the second place, it is a greate wrong, I have no hesitation to say, to ask a foreign Government for his dethronement. If the Prince has broken his own law he has made himself liable to criticism but criticism should not be carried to such an inordinate and suicidal extent.

Do the Hindus perceive the suicidal harm that they are doing though unwittingly, by insisting on monogamy for the Hindus, while leaving the Mussulmans free to have as many wives as they may like?

Have you got the confidence and sanction to make a similar law of monogamy compulsory for the Moslems?

The fact is that, in India having Mussulmans and Hindus living side by side and competing for domination, nothing can be taken as good or bad on merit alone until its effects are calculated by the reaction thereby caused on the Moslem Community which regards Hindus as its rivals.

The Maharani of Baroda, of course, has a unique position of respect and personal dignity which cannot be affected by the second marriage of the Prince. Her Highness, despite the second marriage, is all the same the Rajmata, the mother of the subjects of the State. It is a position of dignity comparable with that of the British King when he takes the oath of "The Defender of Faith" at the time of ascending the British throne. We bow in all humility, loyalty and reverence to Her Highness, the Rajmata, though we may say that there was no need for the Prince to marry again. God may bless the Royal House of Baroda, to which the Gujerat owes a special debt of gratitude in having been saved by it from Moslemisation during the Moghul rule of Aurangzeb.

# The All India Aryan Congress

## Open Session—New Delhi—20th. to 22nd. February 1944

The open session of the All India Aryan Congress commenced at New Delhi on the 20th. February 1944 under the presidency of Dr. *Shyama Prasad Mukherjee* and continued for three days.

Dr. Mukherjee, who arrived in Delhi in the morning, was given an enthusiastic reception at the railway station by Arya Samaj workers, volunteers and a large number of people. He was later seated on an elephant and was taken in a big procession to Aryanagar, where the conference was held.

Messages wishing success to the Congress were received from Mr. *M. R. Jayakar*, Sir *J. P. Srivastava*, Dr. *Moonje* and others.

### Dr. Mookherjee's Address

"A national opposition throughout India which will include all parties and sections who are agreed on the fundamental demands of Indian liberty", was advocated by Dr. *Shyama Prasad Mookherjee*, in his presidential address. "Let us not try to run after or cajole parties and persons who are not for Indian progress and freedom but act as subservient tools in the hands of their country", he went on. "There are other groups and sections, small and negligible by themselves, but strong and powerful if they combine, who may well constitute an All-India national opposition laying down the fundamental conditions of our struggle for liberty.

"It will be the duty of such a body to lay stress on the maximum points of agreement regarding national reconstruction, demand immediate settlement, plead for toleration and better understanding and fearlessly resist every encroachment on our civil, economic and political rights".

After referring to the Bengal famine, Dr. Mookherjee stressed the need for uniting Hindus. "We have to fight against a steady growth of fanatical zeal following the demand for India's vivisection, and we have to guard against the onslaughts of the ruling race itself which aims constantly at crippling Hindu strength and nationalist element in the public life of the country. Indian history gives us ample evidence that though there were giants among men in every generation who could easily be compared to the greatest men in any country or clime, the masses of the Indian people were not always swayed by a strong and vigorous impulse at any price. The great work that lies before political and other parties in India to-day, imbued with healthy ideas of national solidarity, is to spread far and wide this love for unity and liberty, this faith in India's inherent right to govern herself, this determination that unless freedon is achieved, life is not worth living at all. Our goal will be reached not by a mere appeal to the emotions of the people or by merely criticising our enemies but by carrying on an active programme of social and economic uplift and by making religion a true unifying factor for the uplift of human civilization".

### Act of arrogant Intolerance

Earlier, Dr. *Mookherjee* paid a tribute to work of the Arya Samaj and to its founder Maharshi Dayanand Saraswati and characterised as "an act of arrogant and mischievous intolerance" the demand for the suppression of some of the passages in 'Satyaratha-Prakash". He thought that the agitation might itself serve to popularise more and more the great words of truth, courage and wisdom with which he said this famous book abounded and which had brought strength and solace to millions, thus serving further to carry into effect the great ideal of liberation of the Indian mind for which the master lived and died. Dr. Mookherjee declared that an attack on the book would be accepted as a challenge by the entire Hindu race and indeed by all lovers of freedom of thought and of opinion, no matter what their religious persuasion might be.

### India Is one

Referring to the demand for Pakistan, Dr. *Mookherjee* expressed satisfaction that Lord Wavell had unequivocally recognised that politically, economically and culturally India was and must remain one single unit though Lord Wavell had no constructive plan to end the present deadlock.

"The Moslem League," said Dr. *Mookherjee*, "left to itself cannot divide India against the united opposition of the majority of her patriotic children nor can Britain with her sword vivisect India and guarantee peaceful possession to the

disruptionists but British policy to-day is encouraging Pakistan regime in action in provinces where Hindus are in a minority and their rights and interests are being systematically sacrificed at the altar of sordid communal opportunism. To test the 'bonafides' of the Moslem League as regards its anxiety for the welfare of the Indian people or even the Mussalmans, we have repeatedly offered proposals for closing our ranks, postponing all controversial points regarding the future constitution until after the war and of putting forward a united demand for immediate transfer of power specially for a vigorous and systematic preparation of national defence of India and utilisation of India's vast resources for her economic regeneration. That door of negotiation is still open though there is little chance of any such understanding being arrived at in view of the unconcealed manner in which all reactionary elements are encouraged by our rulers to put forth their unpatriotic and selfish demands".

**Proceedings and Resolutions**

A strong protest against what is termed as an organised move on the part of the Muslim League to interfere with the religious liberties of the Hindus was made at the Congress.

The main resolution of the Congress on the agitation against the "Satyartha Prakash" was moved by Pandit Ganga Prasad, President of the International Aryan League, and was seconded and supported by Pandit Indra, Goswami Ganesh Dutt of Lahore and Bawa Bachittar Singh respectively.

*Pandit Ganga Prasad* said that 'Satyratha Prakash" was a sacred religious book of the whole of the Arya world and, as far as he knew, over two and a half lakhs of its copies had already been published in Hindi, besides its translations in other languages.

*Pandit Indra* said that the agitation against the "Satyaratha Prakash" was a political move by the Muslim League and it must be nipped in the bud.

*Goswami Gonesh Dutt*, a Sanatanist leader, assured the Congress that all Hindus, irrespective of caste and creed, would stand shoulder to shoulder with the Arya Samaj in the defence of their sacred book.

The Congress concluded on the 22nd. February after passing a number of resolutions affecting the Aryans.

By one resolution, the session condemned Pakistan and opposed proposals for division of India.

It resolved to raise a fund of two lakhs of rupees for protection of the "Satyaratha Prakash". Promises and collections on the spot immediately after passing the resolution amounted to about Rs. 1,50,000.

By another resolution, the session resolved to organise an Aryan Veer Dal, consisting of one lakh persons within three years and to establish 3,000 Arya Samajes all over the country.

The fourth resolution drew the attention of the Hyderabad Government to the conditions following which the Aryan Satyagraha was called off in 1939 and requested them to honour those conditions.

By the last resolution, the session urged all Aryans to abolish the caste system and decided that anybody who happened to be a member of a caste organisation should not be allowed membership of the Arya Samaj.

The session appointed a sub-committee to see that due consideration was given to Vedic Culture in post war reconstruction.

**President's Concluding Speech**

A strong warning to the Muslim League to stop interfering with the religious matters of the Hindus and to withdraw their agitation against the "Satyarath Prakash" was given by Dr. *Shyama Prasad Mookherjee* in his concluding speech.

Dr. *Mookherjee* said that the "Satyarath Prakash" was a sacred and religious book of a large section of the Indian people in this country and if an attack came from either direction, it would not only be resisted by the Arya Samaj but all the Hindus throughout India. He warned the Muslim League not to throw stones on others while themselves living in glass houses.

The speaker blamed the Government for allowing the Muslim League to interfere with the religious rights of the Hindus.

The speaker, referring to the Bengal situation, apprehended a bigger famine in 1944 than that in 1943. He said that there was a complete black-out of news from Bengal and things were much different from what appeared to them. The present Ministry, which had been mostly responsible for the last famine, had no right to exist morally and physically.

# A. I. Scheduled Castes' Conference

## Second Session—Cawnpur—29th. & 30th. January 1944

The second session of the All-India Scheduled Castes' Conference was held at Cawnpur on the 29th. Jannary 1944 under the presidency of Rao Bahadur *N. Sivaraj*, M. L. A. ( Central ).

Opening the proceedings, Mr. *Piarelal Kureel*, M.L.A. (Central), Chairman of the Reception Committee, said that it was time they retaliated against any attempts to suppress them.

Mr. *P. N. Rajbhoj*, the General Secretary, after reviewing the progress of work, in each province, paid a warm tribute to Dr. Ambedkar for all that he had achieved for the advancement of the community, especially since he joined the Government of India. Appealing for strengthening the Scheduled Castes Federation, Mr. Rajbhoj said : "We are ten crores and it is our aim and hope that out membership must be greater than that of any political party in the country."

### Mr. Sivaraj's Address

Explaining the main demands of his community, Mr. Sivaraj said that for creating a sense of security among them the new constitution must contain provisions recognising that the Scheduled Casts were distinct and separate from the Hindus, constituting an important element in the national life of India. They must be guaranteed due representation in the Executive Government and in the public services in proportion to their needs and importance. They demanded representation in all legislatures and local bodies by statute by the method of separate electorates. Another vital point to which they attached the greatest importance was the establishment of separate Scheduled Castes villages away from and independent of Hindu villages. For the settlement of his community members in new villages, it was necessary to set up a Settlement Commission, whose task it would be to allot Government land that was cultivable on the new sites. The present divisions in villages must be wiped out if untouchability was to disappear once for all. He thought that this offered the only solution to the problem.

Appealing to young men in the community to take up public work, Mr. Sivaraj said that the Federation claimed to voice the feelings of the community. Their women must encourage youths to come forward to shoulder the burden and enlist support for the programme and policy of their organisation. Expressing his appreciation of the valuable work of Dr. Ambedkar as a member of the Government of India for the uplift of his community, Mr. Sivaraj remarked, that for the first time, Scheduled Caste men had been sent out on behalf of India to the meeting of the Institute of Pacific Relations Conference and to lecture on India's war effort in Great Britain and America. The significance of this event ought not to be lost sight of by them. It behoved them to support him and strengthen Dr. Ambedkar's hands in the Government of India.

### Resolutions

The Conference, at its second sitting on the next day, the 30th. January adopted without dissent all the seven resolutions passed earlier by the Subjects Committee last night. The discussion lasted two hours.

Mr. *Sivaraj*, the President, moved, at the outset, a resolution of condolence on the death of the late Diwan Bahadur M. C. Rajah, which was passed all standing.

A resolution on the Cripps proposals declared that they are a breach of the assurance given by the Viceroy in his declaration of August 1940, and stated that the scheduled castes will strongly oppose any implementation of the proposals in the interim period unless they are modified so as to promise adequate representation for scheduled castes in the Central and Provincial executives. The resolution opposed the Constituent Assembly proposed by the Congress and agreed to in the Cripps proposals on the ground that it will mean framing of the future constitution by caste Hindus.

The Conference by two other resolutions expressed itself emphatically against the system of *begar* and forced labour prevalent in India, asked the Government of India to set up a committee to investigate with a view to abolishing the system by law and asked the Sind Government to recognise Scheduled Castes in Sind as a minority and grant them political and educational privileges which a minority was entitled to.

Another resolution supported the resolutions passed at the Nagpur Conference

in 1941. The Conference called upon various Provincial Governments to follow the lead given by the Government of India and define the proportion which the scheduled castes are entitled to in the provincial public services and to fix the annual amount to be spent on University and higher education of scheduled caste students. Regarding the Government of India's post-war reconstruction plans, a resolution declared that reconstruction would be "a sham and a mockery" if it was not planned in a manner so as to elevate the economic condition of the scheduled castes in India.

While regretting that neither the Bengal Government nor the relief committees started by Hindus or by Muslims paid any attention to the provision of adequate relief to the scheduled caste people in Bengal, the Conference urged the need for special measures for their relief. Other resolutions related to the disability of scheduled castes in the matter of recruitment to combatant forces, especially in the Punjab, and the Punjab Government's refusal to treat scheduled castes as agriculturists, thereby depriving them of the benefit of the Land Alienation Act.

Speaking on the resolution about recruitment of scheduled castes to combatant forces, *Sardar Gopal Singh* (Punjab) in a vehement speech asserted that his community yielded to none in martial spirit and yet they suffered from disabilities in his province. Declaring that organised strength was their vital need, the speaker urged their leader, Dr. Ambedkar, to exert his influance with the authorities and have the restrictions removed.

Speakers on the various resolutions detailed their experiences from various provinces about the sufferings of scheduled castes members and were unanimous in asking them to join the Federation.

### Dr. Ambedkar's Plea

After the resolutions were disposed of, Dr. *Ambedkar* was presented with welcome addresses by three scheduled castes organisations, namely the U. P. Backward Classes, U. P. Scheduled Castes Students and members of the Reception Committee of the All-India Conference.

Speaking in reply to the vast gathering, which included about 500 women, for sixtyfive minutes, Dr. Ambedkar set out the role of his community in India of the future and appealed to youths to forge sanctions by developing organisational strength behind the Federation so that no party, not even the British Government, would dare refuse to recognise their importance in the future scheme of India's constitutional development.

He explained that he attended the Conference as a guest on special invitation and thought it would have been improper had he spoken earlier in the proceedings. He agreed to place his views, he added, before the audience only after all the resolutions were passed by the Conference.

Crowds of visitors swelled up towards the close of discussion on the resolutions and over 20,000 people listened clamly to Dr. Ambedkar.

"We must resolve that in the free India of the future, we will be a ruling race. We refuse to continue to play a role of subservience or accept a position in which we could be treated as servants, not masters", declared Dr. Ambedkar. If and when a Swaraj Government was established in India, he asserted, Hindus, Muslims and the scheduled castes, three parties in the country, would share the political power. The days of domination of one community over another were certainly over, and he wanted to make it known that the scheduled castes were determined to fight for their rights and claim their due share in the administration of the country.

Unless they had political power in their hands, they could not hope to bring about the desired improvement in the conditions of their poverty-stricken people. He visualised the day when it would be possible to guarantee a minimum wage of Rs. 30 a month, provide housing for labour and pensions as an insurance against old age to the poor.

### "Preferred His Community to Swaraj

His answer to those critics who asked him to join the Congress was simple, said Dr. Ambedkar. 'I regard as more important the freedom of the scheduled castes in India, the community which has been the victim of domination and oppression for over two thousand years." He preferred to work for the uplift of his community rather than for Swaraj for the country. If any leader assured him, he continued, that he was prepared to take over the responsibility of promoting and advancing the interests of the scheduled castes of which he was proud to be one, he would reconsider the position. He refused to recognise as a leader anyone who recognised caste distinctions or religious differences.

Dr. Ambedkar asked the people to ponder over the causes of their sufferings extending over a long period of two thousand years. The Hindu Dharma, he asserted, was the main cause. Of all religions in the world it was Hinduism that recognised caste distinctions and untouchability. This was the cover, the cloak for all injustices perpetrated on the scheduled castes by caste Hindus. The position even to-day, he regretted to say, was that in villages they could not live with self-respect. He, therefore, reiterated his conviction that they must discard Hinduism and refuse to submit to indignities any longer. What struck him most was that his community still continued to accept a position of humiliation only because caste Hindus persisted in dominating over them. He exhorted the people to rely on their own strength, shake off the notion that they were in any way inferior to any other community.

"BUILD UP ORGANISATIONAL STRENGTH"

Proceeding, Dr. Ambedkar emphasised the need for building up sanctions by organisational strength behind their political body, the Scheduled Castes' Federation. The British Government, he said, was ever ready to show consideration to the Muslims. If the Congress leaders, after their release, reached settlement with Muslims on Pakistan or a fifty-fifty basis agreement, what would be the position of the scheduled castes? If they were to share political power, they must be organised as one solid unit before they could successfully fight for their due rights in the future governance of the country. Dr. Ambedkar warned against the danger of having too many leaders who believed in paper bodies and paper parties.

Stressing the value of women's contribution, he observed that their movement could not succeed unless their women helped actively the work of intensification. He attached the greatest value to the formation of volunteer corps in each town and village to spread the message of the Conference and carry it to villages even 200 miles away from cities. He urged that they must realise their responsibility to wipe out internal divisions among the scheduled castes when they demanded of others' removal of untouchability.

Dr. Ambedkar concluded with an appeal to students and young men to inculcate a spirit of service to their community. The task of shouldering the future burden of welfare of the community would be theirs and at no stage whatever their station or position should they forget it.

Winding up the proceedings, Mr. *Sivaraj* hoped that workers would spare no effort to carry the message of the Conference to people in villages and educate them. He declared the two-day session closed, amidst shouts in appreciation of Dr. Ambedkar's services to his community.

# The Punjab Muslim Students' Federation

## Open Session—Lahore—18th- March 1944

### Mr. Jinnah's Opening Speech

Assuring the Muslim youth that they had a bright future if they would put forth courage and energy, glavanise the Muslim League and its programme, throw away fears and continue to be united and act under one discipline, Mr. *Mohd. Ali Jinnah* while inaugurating the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation at Lahore on the 18th. March 1944, asked the Muslim youth to change their mentality and their notions radically and begin to realise right from now that all of them could not depend or live upon Government jobs. He wanted them to take to industries and commerce in which they were nowhere and where wide avenues were thrown open to all. Mr. Jinnah received an ovation as he, accompanied by Mr. *Hussain Imam*, entered the Pandal, followed by Muslim student guards with naked swords amidst shouts of "Qaid-i-Azam Zindabad."

The Punjab Premier, Lt. Col. *Khizar Hyat Khan Tiwana, Mian Abdul Haye*, Minister of Education, Syed *Amjad Ali*, Private Parliamentary Secretary, Raja *Gazanfar Ali*, *Mian Allah Yar Khan Daultana*, Parliamentary Secretaries and Sir *Maratab Ali* were among those who were seated on the dais. After the recitation from the holy Quran and a poem, the League leader inaugurated the Conference and spoke for 75 minutes.

Mr. Jinnah began by explaining that on account of the heavy and important work he had in his hand at present, he was not able to go everywhere from where he received pressing and affectionate invitations. If someone would take over the work from him he would be glad to go everywhere and have big receptions.

Referring to the aims and objects of the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation one by one, Mr. Jinnah asked the Muslim students to do their utmost to arouse political consciousness among the Muslim students and do everything in their power to prepare them to partake in the struggle for the achievement of Pakistan and act as a corporate body in order to have the grievances of the students removed. He told them that they could contribute greatly to the social and economic uplift of the Mussalmans without in any manner prejudicing their studies. He was glad to say that the Punjab students had created a new life, at any rate, in the Punjab.

### Encourage Goodwill

They should encourage goodwill among the various nationalities in India as laid down in their constitution and here Mr. Jinnah claimed that even the worst enemies ot Muslim India and the Muslim League must acknowledge in their heart of hearts that "we want peace with God and peace with man. We do not wish to harm any non-Muslim or wrong any one. But we do wish also that no one should harm or wrong us."

The development of relationships of brotherhood and sympathy with their co-religionists in the independent Muslim countries had been enjoined upon them by their Prophet and by their religion. Those national feelings were the bedrock of Islam. He was sorry that even that relationship was regarded as a part of the Pan-Islamic movement and a danger to the whole world and Hindu India. Mr. Jinnah said that Muslim India wanted to maintain brotherhood and if any one of those countries would be in trouble, they would help them and expected that they would do the same if Muslim India was in trouble.

Mr. Jinnah asked the Muslim students to qualify and train themselves academically during the period of their studentship and pass what he called the preliminary examination to make themselves fit for handling bigger problems. He asked them to be true to their real mission—studies and not fritter away their time because if that time was worsted, it would never come again. He advised the students not to be swept off their feet and not to think that any one of them could become a leader of Musiim India at once, though it was a good thing to aspire for. None of them should pick up catch words and lose his head and think that there was no better person than him. If they would do that, they might get applause by shouting "Down with the Nawabs" and while saying that he was not there to defend any Nawabs he had no doubt that it would not help matters.

While asking the Muslim youths not to play with gallery he asked them to remember that politics was one of the most difficult subjects and they must go through the will for year together, 10 or 15 years, before becoming competent to tackle their social, economical and political problems.

### "Achievements" of League

Mr. Jinnah, while telling the Muslim students of his contribution towards the arousing of the Musalmans politically reported to them the activities of the League, which, he claimed, was now the only authoritative organisation of Muslim India. They had in spite of all the opposition they had to face, said Mr. Jinnah, given to the Muslims one platform unknown heretofore in the history of India and given Muslim India a flare under which 99 per cent Muslims were united. The League, he said, had taken out the Muslims out of darkness and to-day their clear cut and crystallised goal was Pakistan, which was now an article of faith with the Mussalmans, millions of whom were to-day prepared to fight and give up their lives for its achievement. "In Pakistan lies," said Mr. Jinnah, "our defence, our delivery and our destiny and it is something which will revive the past glory of Islam." Mr. Jinnah declared: "Without fear of being taunted, I say the plain truth is that we want to rule over our homeland and we shall rule."

The League, said Mr. Jinnah, was recognised everywhere and hardly a day passed when it was not mentioned by the Hindu papers and the British and American Press. Even if the League was criticised and vilified, it showed that its critics were conscious of its existence. The abuse, the misinterpretation and the vilification of the League and its programme were, however, said Mr. Jinnah, decreasing gradually, though there were still die hard. He was glad to say that the Muslim countries which treated them with contempt had come to understand their point of view which they appreciated.

Referring to the suggestion that the Hindus wanted only freedom of India and they would not mind if the Government of the country was handed over to the League and Mr. Jinnah was made the first Premier, Mr. Jinnah said that not long ago no one cared to listen to them. To day the voice of Muslim India was not only being heard and respected, but actually feared. He, however, added, "If Mr. Jinnah becomes the first Premier of India with the Muslim India at his back, India will be happier than it has ever been before."

### JINNAH'S TESTAMENTS

Commending his Delhi, Karachi and Aligarh speeches as "testaments" and asking the students to read them, he said that having established unity of thought and ideology and demonstrated their love for Pakistan, they had to take the next step. The League, he said, had appointed the "Committee of Action" to unify and galvanize the activities of the League and the Parliamentary Board to guide and control their parliamentary activities.

One thing which yet remained to be done and which he wanted to do but would not do until real capable men were available, was the appointment of the Planning Committee, for which, he said, he required not lawyers or doctors but financiers, economists, technicians and men with practical knowledge, all of whom he described as 'commercial scientists'. There was a dearth of commercial scientists in their community. But the appointment of such a committee was of the utmost necessity because the conditions of Muslim India in economic life were most deplorable and whatever position they had in the economic life had been washed away by the avalanche of the new scientific methods which had swept away the crude methods on which the Muslims worked.

Mr. *Jinnah,* however, added that his Planning Committee would not plan out schemes of hundred thousands crores depending upon the release of Mr. Gandhi and the establishment of a National Government in India. But it would be a practical body to see what could be done under the present circumstances and what future prospects there were. He asked the Muslims, however, to let him know of any Muslim "commercial scientists" to be appointed to the Committee.

He advised the young Muslim students to give up thinking in terms of merely being Government servants, even though he said they must fight tooth and nail for their share in the services, which they were not getting. "But a B.A. can get only Rs. 50 at the most and if one can put on his tie and collar neatly he may get Rs. 80". He asked them to remember that vast avenues were open to them in business. He reminded the Muslim youths how the Hindus and others were dominating business. He advised Muslim students to become stenographers.

Concluding, he suggested to those in power in the Punjab that it was high time that they diverted their educational policy and had more and more commercial and technical schools. He felt sorry that the Muslims had forgotten mathematics which was their own subject and to-day generally a Muslim could not even add or subtract correctly.

### Mr. Daulatana's Address

Mr. *Mumtaz Daulatana,* in the course of his address as Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Conference, said the Muslims were eager and willing to come to any reasonable agreement with the Sikhs to satisfy their aspirations. He analysed the three fronts on which the Muslims had to face a struggle, namely, the Hindus, the British and the Muslims who attempted to disrupt the organised unity of their nation. He warned Muslim students not to fix their eyes too intently, in hope or in despair, on their legislatures and not to be dismayed if their "Pakistan Ministry" acted too often in a "non-Pakistan" way.

### Mashriqi's Letter to Jinnah

In the course of a letter to Mr. *Jinnah, Allama Mashriqi* says : "Events of the past months have made you cause a breach between the Khaksars and the Muslim League and I have yet to know if I am to blame for that. My conviction is that Mussalmans and Hindus must come to an understanding at this critical moment in order to gain Pakistan as well as independence for India, but you in your fury are losing these precious moments amidst despair and inaction. I am open to conviction if you can convince me otherwise. You told Khaksars at Quetta that I should have written to you or met you if I thought you were mistaken. I have persistently written and now write again. I shall be pleased to meet you if you come to Ichhra but if my humble invitation does not suit you I do not feel at all small if I come over to you. I think we must come to an agreement."

## Second Day—Lahore—19th. March 1944

### Mr. Jinnah's Concluding Speech

Mr. *Mohd. Ali Jinnah* gave a "boot" to all the flattery which the Indian communists had indulged in with a view to "bringing round". Speaking at the concluding session of the Conference on the next day, the 19th. March, he spoke for 55 minutes and concluded his speech at 1 a.m.

"The Communists," he said, "think we are fools. There is some justification in their thinking like that. But they are mistaken now because the Mussalman of the last 5 or 7 or 10 years has changed and the Communists will not now succeed in fooling us. Hands off ! Hands off !! I say, Communists, Hands off !!! If you try the same game, it will hit back like a boomerang. We do not want any flag excepting the League flag of Crescent and Star. Islam is our guide and a complete code for our life. We don't want any red or yellow flag. We don't want any isms, socialism, communism or national socialism." All this was received with loud cheers from the Muslim students.

### League Party in Punjab Assembly

Referring to the "complaints he had heard and received about the Ministry," Mr. *Jinnah* recalled the days when, in spite of his efforts and having come to Lahore four times in 1936, he succeeded in getting only two members returned on the Muslim League ticket to the Provincial Assembly. To-day he claimed that 90 to 95 per cent Muslim members of the Punjab Assembly had signed the Muslim League pledge and formed a Muslim League Party which was under the control and discipline of the All-India Muslim League. The Ministries, said Mr. Jinnah, were their laboratories and they were experimenting with them. If their laboratory in the Punjab did not work well, said Mr. Jinnah, "we shall have to find another laboratory". The Ministers, the League Parliamentary Parties, the Provincial League and the All-India League were referred to by Mr. Jinnah as 'parts' and if they moved in harmony, there was no power on earth which could force upon them any constitution which they did not want. Muslim League, he said, was certainly at their service and they in the League would be prepared to give up their lives, if necessary, for opposing any constitution being foisted upon them which they would not accept.

The Muslim League Party in the Punjab Assembly, he said, could render service not only to the Punjab but to the whole of India also, because it was in their power to pass measures, by which they could render service to the Mussalmans who were not getting a fair deal even in the Punjab. Their conscience must demand of them, said Mr. Jinnah, (referring to the Leader of the League Party in the Assembly) to do their duty as men of their word which they had given and to which they were pledged.

They could render service to the League and if they were to take off their coats, the organisation of the League could be revolutionised in the Punjab.

Replying to the question whether they would do it, Mr. Jinnah said: "They ought to do it. Make them understand that they should do it. They must do it."

### Sinister Move

Mr. Jinnah described the movement in the Punjab to organise the Jats and Rajputs separately in different organisations as a "sinister move" and said: "We do not recognise any kind of distinction or any classification of castes or tribes. The Muslim League is not going to tolerate or allow anyone to create disruption among the Mussalmans by asking them to organise themselves separately into castes or tribes. We recognise no one as a Jat or a Pathan or even as a Shia or a Sunni. We can't tolerate any such caste being created and encouraged because it will not be possible to retain Pakistan if those distinctions were allowed. These castes are responsible for the slavery of India."

Mr. Jinnah added: "It is extraordinary that in the Punjab this movement should be started by a Jat who claims that Hindu Jats and Muslim Jats were one. I warn those who are trying these sinister methods. Let them know these won't do."

With regard to the constitution of Pakistan, Mr. Jinnah, while asking his followers among the Mussalmans not to be misled, maintained that they must acquire the territory first before they could frame any constitution for that territory. Quoting the example of Afghanistan, Mr. Jinnah said that as Nadir Khan came after Amanullah and ended the reign of Bachha Saqa, he got possession of the land and then asked the "Milat" (people) to elect representatives to what was called the constitution-making body, which sat to frame the constitution of Afghanistan. Mr. Jinnah said that the form of Government in Pakistan and its constitution

could only be decided upon by a constitution making body appointed by the people —and he called it a constituent Assembly—that body being a sovereign body to frame the constitution.

AUGUST RESOLUTION OF CONGRESS

Regarding the August resolution of the Congress the League leader, after explaining the resolution briefly said that the resolution completely ignored the Mussalmans and the League which was bypassed by the Congress. If the Congress had succeeded or the British Government had conceded their demand, said Mr. Jinnah, "not only Pakistan would have been dead, but the 100 million of Mussalmans of India would have been under the Raj of Hindu Imperialists and Akhand Hindustan would have been established."

The Musalmans therefore could not sit quietly and do nothing. The danger was there. The British did not want to part with power and the Hindus did not want them to go because they thought the Muslims were not sufficiently crushed.

Mr. Jinnah added, "We thought that the British, who is a white Bania, may come to have a compromise with the Hindu Bania and if the two came to an agreement we will be let down. It was against this that we wanted to guard."

Alluding to Lord Wavell's speech, the League leader, while pointing out that there had been geographical changes, asked what about the Suez and Panama canals, Spain and Portugal, Sweden and Norway; Ulster and Eire, Sudan and Egypt: and then added: But tell us by what rule of geography are you in this country."

Mr. Jinnah felt relieved and happy to say that the Hindu leaders and the Hindu press had seen through the game which Lord Wavell had tried to play.

He knew that such speeches were feelers and they meant much. But the British Government, he said, was making a great mistake and as the Muslims and Hindus began to understand more and more that sort of game by Lord Wavell or Amery, it would cease to be played and if the Hindus and Muslims could understand still more, their own settlement would be quicker.

The solution of the problem was that if the British Government wanted to give freedom, let it be to Pakistan and Hindustan.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Mr. *Hussain Imam*, President-elect of the Conference, in the course of his extempore address repeated what the Qaid-i-Azam had said last night and exhorted the Muslim youth to do whatever they could to achieve the goal of Pakistan.

Mr. Hussain Imam said that the Muslims wanted that before any details were worked out the principle of Pakistan should be accepted. If the Hindus had an alternative for Pakistan it was for them to suggest it to the Mussalmans.

Mr. Hussain Imam said that the Hindu Rishis of the old had enjoined the division of property among brothers in case there was a quarrel. The Mussalmans, he said, wanted nothing more than to have the joint property divided among the two brothers, the Hindus and the Muslims, as they had after most thoughtful consideration arrived at the conclusion that they must have and be the owners of their own share. He thought that division of the property would not jeopardise anybody's interests but would improve matters.

Referring to the grievances of the Hindus and the Sikhs against the Punjab Ministry, Mr. Hussain Imam maintained that if any one could have any grievance against the Ministry it were the Mussalmans because 50 per cent share in everything had been given to the non-Muslims. A ministry which included a gentleman like Sir Chhotu Ram could not be called a Muslim Ministry.

**Resolutions**

A suggestion to the Punjab Government to levy a cess on Mussalmans for their industrial education was made at the concluding session of the Conference. The resolution, which contained the above suggestion, demanded from the Punjab Government to constitute a Muslim Education Board, enjoying the confidence of the Mussalmans, to be entrusted with the work of arranging for the industrial education of the Mussalmans.

It was further demanded that scholarships to the students and grants-in-aid to Muslim institutions be distributed through that Board.

A resolution of even greater significance was the one which related to the condemnation of what were described as the clannish organisations like the Rajput Sabha and the Jat Mahasabha, which were characterised as un-Islamic. Sir Chhotu Ram, who had been claiming to have the full support of the Jats, including the Muslim Jats, came in for scathing criticism by the young Muslim Jat students,

who said that Sir Chhotu Ram did not represent the Muslim Jats and he was challenged to put up a candidate in a by-election anywhere on the Jat Mahasabha ticket and look for the result.

"To say that the Jat Mahasabha represented Muslim Jats also," said a Muslim student, "is dishonesty." The Provincial League was castigated for having watched those un-Islamic activities quietly.

Some other resolutions were also adopted. By one of them confidence was reiterated in Mr. Jinnah.

*Qazi Isa* asked the students to be ready to respond to the call of their leader when the time came for action. Referring to Lord Wavell's speech he said that the geography of countries was changing every day. Did not the geography in Burma change when it was separated from India.

**Mashriqi-Jinnah Correspondence**

Mr. *Jinnah* in his reply to *Allama Mashriqi's* letter said :—

"I am in receipt of your letter of the 18th of March late last night and I regret very much, indeed, to note that you have thought fit to accuse me for having caused the breath between the Khaksars and the Muslim League and further, you convey and insinuate that I am, to use your own expression, 'in my fury' opposed to Hindu-Muslim understanding under any circumstances. There is no truth whatsoever in these allegations that you make against me and you should know that there is no justification for it. I have repeatedly made my position clear by my statements and speeches that have been broadcast in the press.

"However, as you say, you are open to conviction, may I draw your attention to the fact that now the All-India Muslim League has appointed a committee of action, in whom are vested all the powers of organising the Muslim League and request you to get in touch with the chairman, *Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan*, whose address is, Mustafa Castle, Meerut, U. P., or the convener, Nawabzada Liaqatali Khan, whose address is 8B, Hardinge Avenue, New Delhi, as they are free from accusations and reflections that you have cast on me, both in his letter under reply and by your previous writing and statements that you have issued to the press heretofore. I hope that in that atmosphere they may be able to convince you that the policy and the principles and the programme of the League are in the best interest of Muslim India. I am informed that the full Committee of Action is going to meet at Delhi on the 25th instant. I am releasing this letter to the press, as I notice that you have already published yours without waiting for my reply."

**Allama Mashriqi's Letter**

*Allama Mashriqi* sent the following reply to Mr. Jinnah's letter :—

"Your reply to my letter of last night, received after much persuasion after sixteen hours, settles that I am not to blame for not meeting you for an understanding between the Mussalmans and the Hindus, or even between the Mussalmans themselves. My assertion, therefore, that you made an attempt to cause the breach between the Khaksars and the Muslim League stands true. Please reconsider the position in which you have involved yourself by this refusal. I can assure you that the Khaksar is not against the Muslim League in spite of everything that has happened.

"Your reference to the "Committee of Action" as having been given powers to organise the Muslim League, is most amusing as this means that you consider the Muslim League to be a disorganised body so far. I assure you that the disorganisation is solely due to your inaction and despair, also, if I may add, to the expectant sentiments you arouse at the shows you make in public and the high words you give to them. I can respectfully assure that the Mussalman public is tired of all this.

"I have asked you to reconsider you decision not to meet me, but I confess here that I shall be one of your lieutenants if you show real action. As regards your Committee of Action, I shall certainly give my best attention to it if it shows any action.

"As a last word I can only say that if you, as the Quaid-i-Azam of the Mussamans of India, do not show any real action in the matter of Hindu-Muslim understanding or in getting Pakistan for the Mussalmans, I shall be compelled to the conclusion that the Mussalmans of India must leave you alone and try their luck elsewhere.

With best expectations that I shall get a more prompt reply.

# The Assam Muslim League Conference

## Barpeta—8th. and 9th. April 1944

### Presidential Address

Presiding over the Assam Provincial Muslim League Conference held at Barpeta on the 8th. April 1944, *Chaudhury Khaliq-uz-Zaman* declared that Pakistan was the only effective safeguard for the protection of political, cultural, economic and religious rights of Muslims against the vagaries of the majority. Pakistan, he thought, would ensure the healthy progress of this sub-continent towards real and lasting democracy, since majorities in Pakistan and Hindustan zones would have to behave in a more responsible way towards the minorities.

Referring to the Viceroy's recent reference to the geographical unity of India, Chaudhury Khaliq-uz-Zaman said that it was strange that the British Government which conceded separate electorates to Muslims on grounds of their historical importance, should be found stressing the geographical unity of India to resist the Muslim claim. Geographical unity had often been torn into pieces through all ages and times but there had been no one so great or powerful as to be able to change hiatory, for history alone was unchangeable and adamant.

The President said that it was a matter of some satisfaction that some Congressmen had started realising that Muslim India could not be disposed of by merely keeping up an air of superiority under the cloak of guardianship of independence and persisting in hollow propaganda both inside India through the Hindu press and outside by securing their doutful sympathies of opposition benches in England and America. If the report in the press that the attitude of some Congressmen who informally assembled at Allahabad towards the Muslim demand was true, then there was little dout that a healthy change was taking place in the outlook and the realities of the situation had begun to be appreciated.

Continuing the President said that some Muslim young men were anxious to define now the form of Pakistan Government. "Hasty steps in politics are most dangerous and I would advise my young friends to leave the matter to the people of Pakistan areas with the sincere belief that those on whom the task of framing the constitution will fall, will not be found wanting in their love for Islam and sense of responsibility towards the minorities. It is only by pinning our faith in the future generation of Muslims that we can work with real energy for the realisat on of Muslim ideals. Let us remember that definition impose limitations and any premature elaboration of constitutional niceties may seriously injure the cause of Pakistan."

Referring to Palestine, the President said that it appeared that for the time being at least the British Government had shelved the question, but nobody knew what it would do when pressed by America and world Jewry. He wanted the British Government to understand that any change in the policy evisaged in the White Paper of 1939 would not only be followed with grave consequences in India but outside in the whole Muslim world which was learning the value of unity of purpose under the wise and able leadership of Nahas Pasha.

### Second Day—Resolutions—Barpeta—9th. April 1944

The Conference adopted a resolution affirming its faith in Pakistan as its political objective and goal and expressing determination to spare no effort or sacrifice for its achievement. The Conference further resolved that it was "definitely of opinion that the provinces of Bengal and Assam should be formed into an independent sovereign state to be known as Eastern Pakistan."

In an address to the conference, Sir Muhammad Saadullah, the Chief Minister, explained the position of the Government in regard to what was known, as the line system for the abolition of which a resolution was passed. *Quazi Muhammad Isa* and the *Nawab of Mamdot* also addressed the Conference on the importance of members of the Leauge undergoing training and learning discipline.

# The Gaya Pakistan Conference

## First Session—Gaya—9th. April 1944

### Presidential Address

Presiding over the first Pakistan Conference held at Gaya on the 9th. April 1944, *Kwaja Sir Nazimuddin*, Chief Minister of Bengal, said that Great Britain, which had accepted and conceded the principle of Pakistan for India, would be forced to concede the Muslim demand in full, in view of having to recognise similar demands from other parts of the world.

"To the Muslims my advice is: Do not take any notice of the pronouncements of retiring Viceroys and arm-chair politicians in England," said Sir Nazimuddin. "We have the commitment of the British Cabinet and it is our duty to see that we do not allow the British Government to go back on their pledge.

"I also believe in the theory that it is the duty of the Muslim Ministry in the majority provinces to so govern and administer that non-Muslim minorities will have no reason to oppose the scheme of Pakistan." He continued, "As long as we do not come to terms on the Pakistan issue and present a united front the trump card will remain in the hands of the British Government and we shall be fighting a losing battle. Pakistan has become an article of faith with the Muslims, and even if Mr. Jinnah were to try to persuade us to give it up he will not succeed. An agreed and an amicable settlement is, therefore, the only alternative with which to confront the British Government. And in that case, they will find it impossible to reject our demands."

Sir Nazimuddin said that he remembered the "terrific struggle that the Bihar Muslims had to put up during the Congress regime" and asserted that during the Congress regime Muslim rights were trampled upon by the then Government and referred specifically to the enactments made by the Congress Ministry in introducing joint electorate and single voting in local bodies against the unanimous opposition of the Muslim minorities

Sir Nazimuddin thought that there was no doubt that public opinion was gradually veering towards the ideal of Pakistan. The main objections to Pakistan were under (1) geographical unity. (2) economic and financial considerations and (3) defence. Dealing with these, he said: "It must be remembered that this vast sub-continent of India includes within it an area of 13 lakhs square miles, which is 20 times the area of Great Britain and contains a population of 400 millions which is equal to one-fifth of the population of the whole world. In British India alone, excluding the Indian States, there are two and a half times as many people as in the United States of America. Of its Provinces, Bombay and Madras are both larger than Italy and even the smallest of the Provinces—Assam is bigger than England. In short any two major provinces in India will be greater in area and population than most of the States of Europe.

"In the past there had never been a united India with one Central Government. Even now theoretically some of the major Indian States enjoy sovereign powers and only because there is a foreign rule, it is possible to keep the semblance of a central united Government. If Independent Republics are possible in South America, where the question of geographical unity was never raised, I see no reason why this issue should be raised in the case of India. From the points of view of finance, economics and defence, Pakistan Government in India will be in a far stronger position than a number of independent sovereign States in Europe, Asia and South America. If Transjordania, Iraq, Persia, Belgium, Holland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Greece could be independent States, there was no reason why they could not have more than one independent State in India. Last of all, we have the latest example of the declaration of Soviet Russia which is going to be one of the many such examples in support of the demand for more than one independent State in India."

In conclusion, Sir Nazimuddin appealed to them to organise themselves and to rally round the banner of the Muslim League, which alone could lead them to their goal and restore them to their rightful dignity and greatness.

## Second Day—Gaya—10th. April 1944

### Proceeding & Resolutions

"Pakistan is our birthright, and we have once for all decided to achieve it and thereby ertablish a Government, wherein Islam would be free and its tenets would

reign supreme. We will not consider any sacrifice great for achieving our cherished political goal which also implies and assures a free and independent India", declared *Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan*, General Secretary of the All-India Muslim League addressing the second day's sitting of the Conference.

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali maintained that the spirit of Pakistan was manifest even in the Congress-League Pact of 1916 and in the subsequent demand of the Mussalmans for effective safeguard and protection in any constitution that might be framed for India. He was glad that an influential section of Hindu leadership had begun to realise that in the absence of any other suitable alternative plan, Pakistan was the only feasible solution of the Hindu-Muslim problem.

Reference to criticisms why Muslims in the minority provinces should support the demand for Pakistan, the Nawabzada said that Pakistan meant "free Islam and a free India" and it was because these ideals were cherished by every Muslim that Muslims even in minority provinces strongly and consistently supported the Pakistan demand.

*Begum Aizaz Rasul*, addressing the Conference, urged women to muster strong under the League flag and work shoulder to shoulder with the men to ameliorate the educational, economic and political conditions of the Muslims.

Maulana Hamid Badayuni, Syed Zakir Ali, Secretary of the All-India Muslim League Defence Committee, Mr. Latifur Rahman, member of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, and Khan Bahadur S. M. Ismail addressed the Conference.

Resolutions were passed reiterating the demand of Pakistan and acceptance of the Lahore Resolution and requesting the Provincial Muslim League and the All-India Muslim League Committee of Action to impress upon the respective Governments the necessity of appointing communal ratio officers to watch and safeguard the interest of Muslims and other minorities in the matter of services and promotions and to publish six monthly lists of all appointments and promotions made in the province. By another resolution the conference expressed concern and anxiety at the situation in Palestine and requested the British Government to adhere to the pledges given to Muslim India by His Majesty's Government through the Viceroy of India.

# Ministerial Developments in Punjab

## Break-down of Jinnah—Khizr Hyat Khan talks

The *Jinnah-Khizr Hyat Khan* talks finally broke down at Lahore on the 27th. April 1944. The Punjab Premier's afternoon interview with Mr. M. A. Jinnah lasted eighty minutes.

Immediately after the Premier left, Mr. Jinnah went into a conference with nearly twenty Muslim members of the Punjab Assembly, including *Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan*. Others present at the conference were Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, General Secretary of the All-India Muslim League, Mian Bashir Ahmed and Kazi Mohd. Isa, members of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League.

### Mr. Jinnah's Statement

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in a statement to the Press issued from Lahore on the 28th. April 1944 says :—

We (Mr Jinnah and Malik Khizr Hyat Khan) have had prolonged discussions and since my arrival here a second time in continuation of our previous discussions which started as far back as March 19, I met Malik Khizr Hyat Khan on April 20 and he has discussed the matter with me during half a dozen interviews lasting over two hours or three hours on each occasion and he had promised to give me his final reply to-day. He arrived at my house this afternoon when I asked him what was his final attitude and that of Sir Chhotu Ram and Sardar Baldev Singh regarding the proposals which I had placed before him and them. He then verbally told me many things and I suggested that in fairness to him and me it is better that he should give me the final reply in writing so that there should be no room for any misunderstanding. Accordingly when he was here I dictated a a letter to my private secretary. It was typed and handed over to him on the understanding that he will let me have a final reply in writing by 9 o'clock to-

night, as I made it clear to him that we had discussed the whole question threadbare and that it was not possible for me to wait any longer, especially as I was booked to leave for Sialkot to-morrow. He promised to let me have his reply by 9 o'clock to-night. I waited for the reply and at 9-20 p.m. I rang him up saying that I had not received from him the promised reply in writing. Much to my surprise, on the telephone he informed me that he had no reply to give except what he had told me verbally. Thereupon I sent him a letter, same date, after this telephonic conversation between him and me at about 9-30 p.m. I sent this letter with a responsible person to make sure that it was delivered to him. When he went there Malik Khizr Hyat Khan declined to acknowledge even the receipt of the letter on a slip of paper which was sent along with the letter. I had again to send the Nawab of Mamdot, President of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League and Mumtaz Daulatana, M. L. A., with the letter and the slip on which he was requested to acknowledge the receipt, but he again declined to sign the receipt and receive the letter. I had to send them a second time to deliver the letter personally to Malik Khizr Hyat Khan and endorse upon that acknowledgment slip that they had, in fact, delivered the letter personally to him. This was on April 27 at 11 p.m. and their endorsement runs as follows: "We have personally delivered this letter to Malik Khizr Hyat Khan on April 27. 1944 at 11 p.m. and he refuses to acknowledge receipt of it. Therefore, we hereby state that we have, in fact, delivered the letter to him personally and certify to that effect. (Sd.) Iftikhar Hussain Khan and Mumtaz Daulatana."

Malik Khizr Hyat Khan has neither answered my first letter of April 27, which was delivered to him personally to-day nor my second letter of which he refused to acknowledge the receipt giving the final reply in writing as to what Sir Chhotu Ram, Sardar Baldev Singh and he himself had to say with regard to the proposals of ours which now had been the subject matter of discussion since my arrival in Lahore and had been discussed threadbare. As Malik Khizr Hyat has not replied to me yet—00-30 hours—it is now for the Muslim League to decide what course of action they should take.

### Mr. Jinnah's Letters to the Premier

The following is the text of the letter delivered personally by Mr. Jinnah to Malik Khizr Hyat Khan:

"We have had prolonged discussions and I shall feel obliged if you will be good enough to let me know your final decision with regard to the three points which are as follows: (1) That every member of the Muslim League Party in the Punjab Assembly should declare that he owes his allegiance solely to the Muslim League Party in the Assembly and not to the Unionist Party or any other political party. (2) That the present label of the coalition should be dropped, namely, the "Unionist Party". (3) That the name of the proposed coalition Party should be the Muslim League Coalition Party.

"Please let me know to what extent Sir Chottu Ram and Sardar Baldev Singh agree with all these three proposals or any of them and also whether you agree with all these three proposals or any of them. I hope that you will let me have your reply by this evening, as it is not possible to wait any longer."

The following is the text of the second letter addressed by Mr. Jinnah to Malik Khizr Hyat Khan which the Nawab of Mamdot and Mr. Mumtaz Daulatana went to deliver to the Premier:

"You promised to send me your reply to my letter dated April 27, which was given to you this afternoon, by 9 o'clock the latest to-night and I waited for it and rang you up that I was waiting for a reply because it was nearly 9-20 p.m. I received an answer from you that you have no reply to give, except what you told me verbally. That is going back on the promise to give me your reply in writing. You said so many things verbally that it was impossible to know what your position was. I once more request you to give me your reply in writing and if I do not hear from you immediately in reply to this letter I shall conclude that you do not accept the three proposals or any of them that were made in my letter and in view of this the Muslim League now will have to decide as to what course of action they should adopt."

### Premier Explains Stand

*Malik Khizr Hyat Khan*, Premier of the Punjab in a lengthy statement, explains the reasons for his inability to accept Mr. *Jinnah's* proposals. He says:

The Unionist Party was founded by the late *Mian Sir Fazli Hussain* in December 1923. The object was to have an Assembly Party on a non-communal

basis with a programme which would rectify the lop-sided development of the Punjab in the educational, economic and political spheres of life. Speaking generally, the prominent features of this lop-sidedness were the glaring inequalities of development both between the agricultural and commercial classes and between the rural and urban areas. With this broad distinction, the late *Mian Sahib* sought to give an agricultural and rural bias to the Legislative and administrative policy of the Government. But he perceived further that the under-dog was not confined either to agricultural classes or to rural areas. Therefore, he described the distinction as one between "haves" and "have-nots." He stated the objective of his policy as being the special care of backward classes, irrespective of caste or creed and of backward areas irrespective of location. It so happened that among backward classes the Muslims predominated. This supplied the political opponents of Mian Sir Fazli Hussain with a loop-hole to suggest that the Unionist Party was a communal party and was designed specifically to promote the interests of the Muslim community. But there were many classes among Hindus as well as among Sikhs who were equally backward and to whom Mian Sir Fazli Hussain's policy and programme made a very strong natural appeal. Thus the Unionist Party was founded on sound principles and worked for the benefit of Muslims as a whole and for the backward among all communities.

After having completed his term in the Government of India, Mian Sir Fazli Hussain returned to the Punjab in April, 1935. He was pressed by his lifelong friends and associates, including Sir Shahabuddin, Sir Firoz Khan Noon, the late Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, the late Nawab of Mamdot and the late Mian Ahmad Yar Khan Daultana to re-enter politics and reorganise the Unionist Party and set in train the necessary arrangements for the coming elections. He agreed strictly on the condition that individual members would not allow their personal jealousies to impair their loyalty towards the Party and their province. Though pressed in some quarters to start a purely communal organisation he was unwilling to accept this suggestion.

In the spring of 1936 Mr. Jinnah spent a considerable time at Lahore trying to persuade the late Sir Fazli Hussain to run candidates on the Muslim League ticket and to enter into an alliance with non-Muslim groups as soon as the results of the general elections were known. The late Mian Sahib declined to accept the suggestion on the ground that a natural alliance fitted to the peculiar economic and social conditions of the Punjab was already in existence for the benefit of Muslims in the shape of the Unionist Party. Sir Fazli Hussain undertook to render all possible help to the Muslim League in all-India affairs but declined to have purely communal parties in the Punjab and the Muslims of the Punjab decided to follow the lead of Sir Fazli Hussain and stood by the Unionist Party. Mr. Jinnah ran some candidates on the Muslim League ticket but only two succeeded and subsequently one joined the Unionist Party.

Exactly the same question is raised again to-day some seven years later in the form of Mr. Jinnah's demand, originated on the initiative of a few interested persons and like Sir Fazli Hussain and for the same reasons I am unable to accept this demand which is contrary to the best interests of the Muslims of this province, who should refuse to be divided among themselves or to accept outside interference to their detriment.

### SIKANDER—JINNAH PACT

The first general elections under the Government of India Act, 1935, resulted in no Muslim League Ministry being formed, which severely handicapped the Muslim League and its leader, Mr. Jinnah, in all discussions and negotiations of an all-India character. In October, 1937, to meet the criticism questioning Mr. Jinnah's status as the accredited Muslim leader and to enable him to represent the whole Muslim community and settle terms with other parties in All-India matters, Sir *Sikander Hyat Khan* concluded the Sikander-Jinnah Pact. The Pact was announced to the Council of the All-India Muslim League and references have been made to it repeatedly in responsible League quarters since 1937, without any repudiation from Mr. Jinnah or the League itself. The Pact provided that on his return to the Punjab, Sir Sikander Hyat Khan would convene a special meeting of his Party and advise all Muslim members of the Party, who were not members of the Muslim League already, to sign its creed and join it. The Ministry continued to function according to the terms of the Sikander-Jinnah Pact.

In March 1943, after the unfortunate death of Sir *Sikander Hyat Khan*, Mr. Jinnah at the session of the All-India Council of the Muslim League at Delhi,

while recalling the Sikander-Jinnah Pact, said that constitutionally the Muslim League Party was in existence, though it did not function properly as it ought to. I assured the Council that I would put life into the Party and consolidate it and bring it up to a standard worthy of the great organisation of the Muslim League and the Muslims of the Punjab and serve the true interests of the Muslims. The Qaide-Azam, in return, assured me that he would stand by the Sikander-Jinnah Pact and the name and the programme of the Unionist Party, and also agreed not to interfere in provincial affairs. On my return to the Punjab in a full Cabinet meeting, I placed the facts before my colleagues and conveyed to them the assurances given to me by Mr. Jinnah. Thereafter I forthwith implemented my assurances to Mr. Jinnah by constituting the Muslim League Assembly Party and at its first meeting the understanding arrived at between me and Mr. Jinnah was unanimously approved by the Party. At the next meeting of the Muslim League Party when the rules and regulations were being framed the Sikander-Jinnah Pact was unanimously approved as binding on all concerned.

### Mr. Jinnah's "Totalitarian" Methods

The question whether the Sikander-Jinnah Pact should be made a part of the rules and regulations was put to vote in the Muslim League Party meeting and carried by a majority of 52 against 7. Mr. Jinnah now proposes to repudiate the Pact and wishes that I should convey to my non-Muslim colleagues a message that the pledged word of the Muslim community, pledged through the League Council, approved by the Qaide-Azam and conveyed through me should no longer be respected. I as a true Muslim and a follower of the Prophet of Islam will not be guilty of a breach of faith. Mr. Jinnah now wishes to interfere in provincial affairs and disturb the inner working of the Ministerial Party. This attitude has no justification and savours of dictatorship and totalitarian methods. I have reiterated on several occasions that I am prepared to extend my whole-hearted and fullest support to the Qaide-Azam and the League in all questions which relate to the welfare of the Muslim community and to strengthen and to enliven the organisation of the Muslim League in the Punjab. It is not possible for me to accept a demand involving interference in provincial affairs and the inner working of the Ministerial Party formed under the Sikander-Jinnah Pact. This would be contrary to the accepted democratic principle that the wishes of the electorate and the Legislature should prevail.

During the course of my recent talks with Mr. Jinnah, I have very faithfully endeavoured to preserve and promote the best interests of my community and my province with the concurrence of my non-Muslim colleagues. I have tried my best to come to a settlement fair to all concerned, but I regret to say that Mr. Jinnah has refused to agree and as his refusal was not in the best interests of the Muslims of this province, I have no option but to continue to serve the Punjab Muslims as before to the best of my ability.

### Breach of Faith to Change Party's Name

Under the Sikander-Jinnah Pact it was clearly understood that the formation of the Muslim League Assembly Party "will not affect the continuance of the present coalition of the Unionist Party" and also that "the existing combination shall maintain its present name—the 'Unionist Party.' Mr. Jinnah now desires that the name should be changed to "the Muslim League Coalition." This is violation of the Sikander-Jinnah Pact and contrary to all commitments made to my non-Muslim colleagues by my revered predecessor, the late Sir Sikander Hyat Khan and by myself for a period of well over six years. The only material point is that the Muslim League rather than the Unionist Party should be regarded as the primary and the only political party of the Muslims in the Punjab. My non-Muslim colleagues agreed to this and it stands to the credit of their earnest desire for co-operation with the Muslims of this province that they agreed to co-operate with the Muslim League as the only Muslim Party in the Punjab and to co-operate with it in running the Government of this province for the duration of the war. It is highly regrettable that no use should be made of this achievement and that instead I should be invited to be guilty of a breach of promise to the other communities of the Punjab by forming a Muslim League Coalition Ministry.

The proposed agreement would have secured the wishes of the Muslim League and its greatest merit would have been to maintain complete unity within the Muslim community, which has been the most significant feature of the political life of the Punjab. Ever since 1923, the Muslims have been united under one banner and have marched from strength to strength. It is entirely due to the

agrarian legislation of the Unionist Party, spread over a period of twenty-one years' that the backward Muslim community of the Punjab can now compare favourably with any in India or even elsewhere and the fact that Muslims are the predominant community has been freely recognised.

MOVE TO DISRUPT EXISTING UNITY

As a recent instance, when at the end of 1942, calamity befell the province in the death of the late Premier it was the most senior member of the Cabinet (Sir Chhotu Ram) who should have filled the place, but it was a Muslim who succeeded a Muslim. It is this unity and strength of the Punjab Muslims that it is now proposed to disrupt. Within the existing combination on the golden principle of helping backward classes and backward areas the Muslims have secured the enactment of countless measures which have proved to be of the greatest benefit to them while this would not be possible with an unstable and weak League coalition, which necessity must place greater reliance on non-representative non-Muslims required to form a Ministry with the normal Muslim majority in the Legislature.

The fact that I have found it impossible to accept Mr. *Jinnah's* demand does not mean that our ultimate objective namely, the cultural protection and economic betterment of the Muslim masses, is different. There is no conflict between the Muslim League Party (as governed by the Pact) and the League itself on any question of principle but disaffected persons with the League are trying to use the name of Qaide-Azam for their own ends. We differ in our methods of implementing the League programme. The All-India Muslim League resolution of 1940, popularly known at the Pakistan Resolution, is the sheet anchor of Muslims in the Punjab as elsewhere. I have on countless occasions declared my faith in it and I propose to stand by it. The Muslims of the Punjab must have the right of self-determination. Mr. Jinnah has refused categorically to agree to any possible solution and has insisted on a "League Coalition Ministry" rejecting my offer, made with the concurrence of my non-Muslim colleages, to name the existing combination as "Unionist Coalition Ministry." I asked for alternatives to be put to my colleagues but in vain.

APPEAL TO MUSLIMS

I appeal, therefore, to the sturdy commonsense of the Muslims of the Punjab to continue to support the Muslim League Party which forms the bulk of the Ministerial Party constituted under the Pact, as they have always done and must do now with re-doubled vigour in order that the war effort of the Punjab, which has been the outstanding feature of that Party, since the outbreak of the war, should in no way be relaxed. This is in full accordance with the traditions which have made the Punjab famous in the past. The Japanese aggressor is on the soil of India and if at this stage all of us Punjabis do not co-operate to continue our glorious contribution to the war effort, there would be dark days ahead not only for this province but for the whole of India. The disunity of different communities can only spell disaster; the embitterment of non-Muslims and the intensification of communal hatred leading, as past history has amply shown, to bloodshed and disorder. Men's minds will be turned not to fighting the enemy but to fighting their neighbours. The peace of mind of Punjab soldiers serving in the army will be destroyed. Instead of growing harmony there will be chaos. And how will it be of help to Muslims elsewhere in India if Punjab Muslims now forsake their non-Muslim friends and prejudice the peace of this province? Will this incline the leaders of the other communities predominating elsewhere to treat their Muslim neighbours with forbearance and respect? This is no time for petty squabbles and rivalries but for making a sincere and united effort to do our duty to our country at this critical stage of the war and to consolidate the Muslims for the constitutional struggle ahead for which we are all united.

# The Punjab Muslim League Conference

## Resolutions—Sialkot—30th. April 1944

**The open session of the Punjab Muslim League Conference held at Sialkot on the 30th. April 1944 passed two resolutions. The first resolution deplored the whole attitude and action of Mailik Khizr Hyat Khan and the second called upon every member of the Punjab Assembly to declare that he owed allegiance solely to the Muslim League Party in the Assembly and not to the Unionist Party or any other political party, that the present label of coalition should be dropped namely**

the "Unionist Party" and that the name of the proposed Coalition shall be "Muslim League Party.'

The Conference requested Malik Khizr Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab to afford all facilities to Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan to clear up his position and in the event of the Governor's declining to do so the Conference called upon Malik Khizr Hyat and Mian Abdul Haye, the remaining two Muslim League Ministers in the Punjab Cabinet, to resign their offices.

The Conference commenced at 11 a.m., Mr. *A. R. Nishtar* presiding.

*Syed Ghulam Bhik Narang*, M.L.A., (Central), moved the third resolution relating to the Premier's statement. He referred to the talks between Mr. *Jinnah* and *Malik Khizr Hyat Khan* and deplored that the Punjab Premier had defied the Muslim League and the Quaide-Azam. He should have come before this Conference and obtained the verdict of the Muslim community, he added.

*Syed Ghulam Mustafa Ilahi*, seconding the resolution, reminded Malik Khizr Hyat Khan of the fate of Mr. *Fazlul Huq* and requested that he was playing into the hands of Sir Chhoturam. He said that they had assembled to give a burial to the Unionist Party.

The resolution when put the House was passed unanimously.

Mr. *Jinnah* arrived at this stage and received an ovation from the audience. As soon as he had taken his seat *Quazi Mohammad Isa* of Baluchistan moved a resolution on Palestine appreciating the friendly reply of the Prime Minister of Great Britain, Mr. *Churchill*, to the telegram sent to him recently by the President of the All-India Muslim League and asking the British Government to make a definite pronouncement of completely adhering to the White Paper regarding Palestine.

The conference also adopted half a dozen other resolutions, among other things calling upon Mussalmans not to join the Jat Mahasabha or any other tribal organisation in the province, and condemning the policy of the Government of India in withdrawing facilities in connection with Haj pilgrimage, and requested them to give effect to the recommendations of the special Haj Enquiry Committee.

### PRESIDENT'S ADVICE TO MUSLIMS

An advice to the Muslims not to join any political Anjuman or Sabha other than the Muslim League which was the only representative organisation of the Muslims was given by Mr. *Abdul Rab Nishtar*, Finance Minister, Frontier Province, in the course of his Presidential address to the Conference.

He said that organisations such as the Jat Mahasabha or the Momins Conference had been formed to disrupt Muslim solidarity, but he was sure that the Muslims would not fall into any such trap and would continue to march on towards their goal of Pakistan. They were passing through critical times and it was therefore, imperative that the Muslims should unite under the banner of the Muslim League.

Earlier, *Mr. B. Abdul Rab Nishtar* said that the Conference was concerned with three questions, viz., Pakistan, Palestine and the Punjab Ministry. He left the Punjab question to Mr. Jinnnah and asserted that Pakistan was the only solution of the Indian problem. He declared that the Muslims could not tolerate Hindu domination nor did they wish to dominate over the Hindus. They only wished to be allowed to have their own Governments in Muslim majority provinces.

As regards Palestine, he reiterated Mr. Jinnh's warning to the British Government against the consequences if, influenced by the capitalist American Jewry, they injured the interests of the Arabs.

### MR. JINNAH DENIES PACT WITH SIR SIKANDAR

Addressing the open session of the Conference, Mr. *M. A. Jinnah* referred to the Punjab Premier's statement regarding his talks with the League President. Mr. Jinnah categorically and publicly denied that any secret commitment was made or any assurance about non-interference in the internal affairs of the Punjab given under the so-called Jinnah-Sikandar Pact. According to that document it was open to the League Party in the Assembly to terminate this coalition or any other coalition. A coalition could not be premanent. Coalitions were always at will. It was open to the League Party to enter into coalition or alliance even before or after elections. He completely denied that it was a pact and asserted that a pact could only be between two parties. This was only a record of what Sir Sikandar had said he would carry out. How could there be a pact between a lender and a follower or prospective follower ?

### NAME OF "UNIONIST" MUST BE BURIED

Characterising the attitude of *Malik Khizr Hyat Khan* as childish, Mr. Jinnah said that he (Mr. Jinnah) wanted to kill the very name "Unionist" and see its funeral.

He exhorted the Muslims to unite and organise themselves. The more they were organised and united, the less would be the efforts made to destroy them.

Mr. Jinnah reiterated that the League attitude towards the war effort was that of non-embarrassment. It was a lie and an insinuation to say that the League wanted to interfere in or obstruct the war effort or put difficulties in the prosecution of the war. It could only be intended to poison public opinion in England, America and this country. The defence of their country, he said, was of far greater interest to the Indians than to America or any other foreign country.

Mr. Jinnah then recalled the change of Government in England amidst the war when Mr. Churchill became the Prime Minister, and asked whether there were not controversies in England, Canada and America. Whenever any constitutional controversy arose in this country, it was imputed to wicked intentions. If that was so, why not close down this constitution altogether? He then referred to the formation of League Ministries in Bengal, Sind and Frontier Province, and said that, on the one hand, they were told that there should be no fresh elections and on the other hand, they were told that this constitution was at their disposal, if they wanted to work it, but the constitutional right of working it on honourable lines was taken away.

Referring to the recent statements of Mr. Savarkar and Dr. Moonjee, he said that it was clearly indicated that some leaders of the Punjab Hindu Mahasabha had sought their advice regarding the formation of a coalition with the League but the matter had been left to the discretion of the Provincial Hindu Mahasabha leaders, as the policy had already been laid down that whenever it was found inevitable they could join the League.

## Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan's Dismissal

### Mr. Jinnah on the Implications

The open session of the Punjab Muslim League Conference adopted the resolution about the dismissal of *Capt. Shaukat Hyat Khan.* The resolution was moved by *Malik Barkat Ali* and seconded by *Sheikh Sadiq Hassan.*

Intervening in the debate on the resolution, Mr. *Jinnah* said that the first question that arose was whether the Governor, as he had purported to dismiss Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan under Section 51, had the power to dismiss a single individual Minister composing his Council of Ministers. The constitution had a basic principle which imposed joint and collective responsibility on the Cabinet. "This raises," said Mr. Jinnah, "a very serious constitutional issue, and we shall have to examine it in the light of the correct interpretation of the constitution. It raises an all-India issue."

Proceeding Mr. Jinnah said without prejudice to this joint responsibility, there is the second question that arises. Is the Governor not bound to furnish all the allegations and charges that are made against Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan? In the communique one can only read that Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan was, in the opinion of the Governor, guilty of gross misconduct in the discharge of his responsibility and duty as Minister and had thereby forfeited the confidence of the Governor. Even the meanest subject of his Majesty is entitled to know the particulars of the charges and allegations or accusations against him and is entitled to a hearing and full facilities for his defence must be afforded to him. The rule of natural jurisprudence is that the Governor is bound to give Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan full particulars of the allegations and charges and his reasons and the fullest opportunity should be afforded to Sardar Shaukat Khan to give his explanation and offer defence, as it is obvious that otherwise he remains condemned unheard. Apart from the public issue involved, unless Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan clears his character and an opportunity is given to him his future career will be blasted and reflections will remain unanswered.

Continuing Mr. *Jinnah* said: The third question that arises is what is the duty of the Premier as Chief Minister, with regard to the dismissal of his colleague. He cannot be relieved of his responsibility as the chief and Malik Khizr Hyat Khan owes it to the public to explain his position in this matter. The general public impression is that Sardar Shaukat Khan has been dismissed and victimised because of certain political views that he holds, under cover of some plausible wrong which is attributed to him. If this be the case, then it destroys the very foundation of democracy and if revenge can be taken against a person in this manner through the instrumentality of the Governor by his exceptional powers then this constitution becomes a farce. If the Governor is proved guilty of having victimi-

sed him then the Governor should be dismissed forthwith for marring the career of a man who has great family tradition and great status in life. He held the King's Commission, fought on the battle-field and was a Minister. That is the general public view. But, I am a very peculiary constituted person. I am guided by cold-blooded reason, logic and judicial training and I want, therefore, to hold our judgment in abeyance as an impartial judge would, until we are in possession of the complete and full facts of the case. If, unfortunately, it is found beyond reasonable doubt on fact and evidence, that Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan has been guilty of gross misconduct, then we shall not hesitate to give our judgment accordingly irrespective of personality.

The resolution was carried unanimously amidst shouts of 'Alla-ho-Akbar' and 'Shaukat-i-Punjab Zindabad.'

PARTY ALLEGIANCE OF MUSLIM LEGISLATORS

*Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan*, ex-Parliamentary Secretary, moved the second resolution about the allegiance of the Muslim members of the Punjab Assembly to the Muslim League Party and not to the Unionist or any other political Party. He said that after remaining a member of the Unionist Party for seven years it was still doubtful whether the Unionist Party was in existence at all. Except that a few members mostly representing rural constituencies, met together and did not object to being called as Unionist, the Party had no organisation outside the Legislature. They had never held any annual elections of office-bearers, had no office-bearers, no constitution and had never held any constitution and had never held any conference. Before the advent of Provincial Autonomy there used to be a strong official block in the Assembly and they wanted some people to help them in getting through some measures which the Government wanted to pass and in return sometimes in small matters the official lent their suport to this zamindari group. The Party as such never had, nor now had, any influence in the Province. During the last general elections all the contesting candidates were given Unionist tickets and any one of them who succeeded at the elections through his own personal influence was patted on the back and given the *nom de plume* of Unionist. To tell the plain truth, concluded Raja Ghazanfar Ali, it is only an instrument to lower the prestige and influence of the Muslim League in the Province.

The resolution was seconded by *Maulvi Ghulam Mohiuddin* who said that the hour of trial for the Mussalmans had arrived. He asked the Premier to give up his dual policy as there could never be an alliance between the League and the Unionist Party.

The resolution was carried unanimously and the Conference adjourned.

## Premier Contradicts Shaukat Khan's Statement

*Malik Khizr Hyat Khan*, Premier of the Punjab, in a press statement, issued from Lahore on the 30th. April 1944, contradicting Captain *Shaukat Hyat Khan's* statement that he had given to the Premier his resignation a week before his dismissal, says :

"I have seen the statement published by Captain Shaukat Hyat Khan on the subject of his dismissal and regret to say that he has confused the issue by associating politics with the action taken by H. E. the Governor in the discharges of his official duties. In it he has made certain misleading and incorrect statements of fact.

"To the best of my recollection I never received from Captain Shaukat Hyat Khan in July 1943 any such letter as that which he says he then wrote to me. But his views at that time and till recently may be judged from the following facts : When Captain Shaukat Hyat Khan was appointed a Minister in the Unionist Government, he had difficulties in obtaining the Muslim League ticket for his election to the Punjab Legislative Assembly. For this reason he was disgruntled with the League and after his election was responsible for a news item in *The Tribune* of June 8, 1943, in which it was said that his success was not due to the help of the League since no statement was issued by the Qaid-i-Azam or the Provincial President but to the personal factor and to the great influence of his father's name in the area. I am assured by *The Tribune's* special representative that this news item was published as a result of information given by Captain Shaukat Hyat Khan. Although there was no indication of the authorship of this article, it was likely to lead to difficulties with the League and at my instance the following statement was issued by Captain Shaukat Hyat Khan on June 11, 1943. 'My attention has been invited to the note in *The Tribune* of June 9th regarding

my election. I strongly condemn the mischievous references made therein to the Qaid-i-Azam for whom I have the greatest feeling of respect and gratitude. I contested the election on the Muslim League ticket under the Sikander-Jinnah Pact. As such the credit for my success is due to that ticket and to the programme hitherto followed by the party. At the same time I am grateful, in particular, to my constituents, to the Premier and to my other colleagues, to those workers of the Muslim League and other friends, including the Press who generously lent their active support to my candidature.' It is significant that he states that he obtained the League ticket under the Sikander-Jinnah Pact. It is well known that in July 1943, there was some criticism of certain speeches made by Captain Shaukat Hyat Khan. To clear his position he issued the following statement on July 20, 1943. 'My attention has been drawn to the comments which appeared in a certain section of the Press with reference to certain passages contained in the speeches delivered by me in the course of my recent tour. These comments are erroneous and based on a misunderstanding of my position. I would remind my critics and commentators that on each occasion, my observations were strictly subject to the Jinnah-Sikander Pact and to the statement made by the hon. Khizr Hyat Khan Tiwana at Delhi on March 7 on the occasion of the meeting of the Muslim League Council. My regret is that I did not explicitly refer to the background furnished by the aforesaid Pact and the statement against which I was speaking I took it for granted that the Punjabi audience, whom I was addressing, would interpret my speeches in the light of this background. That I was wrong in my assumption, is apparent from the fact that the people read into my speeches things which bear no resemblance to my real intentions. I need hardly emphasise that I will faithfully abide by the policy pursued by my late lamented father and continued by his worthy successor.'

"Coming to more recent events in the Muslim League Party meeting on November 8, 1943, he voted for the inclusion of the terms of the Sikander-Jinnah Pact in the rules of the party.

### No Resignation Received

"I come now to his statement that he had given me his resignation a week before his dismissal. It is totally incorrect and is clearly an after-thought in a statement made on the third day after the event. There was no reason why he should give me his resignation at a time when negotiations were still proceeding, for, at that stage, there was no issue on which he could be expected to resign. Nor is it creditable that if Captain Shaukat Hyat Khan's resignation had been in my possession at the time when the matter, which resulted in his dismissal, was under consideration, he should have failed to bring this fact to notice before the order of dismissal was finally passed. He made no mention whatever of this alleged resignation at the time in question, nor did he mention it when making a statement to the Press immediately after his dismissal, when he only said that he had been dismissed. I have no wish to comment in detail on the statement made by Captain Shaukat Hyat Khan, I only wish to lay the facts before the public."

## The Ministers' Statement

The position taken up by the three non-Muslim Ministers during the recent negotiations between Mr. *Jinnah* and *Malik Khizr Hyat Khan* is revealed in a joint statement issued from Lahore on the 1st. May 1944 by *Choudhari Sir Chhaturam*, Revenue Minister, *Sir Monoharlal*, Finance Minister, and *Sardar Baldev Singh*, Minister for Development. The statement says :—

In Mr. Jinnah's letter of the 27th April to the Premier there is reference to certain proposals on which Mr. Jinnah wished to ascertain the views of the non-Muslim members of the Cabinet. In this connection the whole background of the situation is explained below.

Mr. *Jinnah* requested the Premier to ascertain the grounds of our objection to the formation of a Muslim League or Muslim League Coalition Ministry in the Punjab. The written statement which we handed to the Premier on the subject runs as follows :

"There are many cogent grounds on which we consider the formation of a Muslim League or Muslim League Coalition Ministry or any Ministry bearing a communal name in the Punjab or any other province to be wrong morally, constitutionally and politically. Without entering into a discussion of these grounds we propose to answer the question put us by the hon Premier in the following words : "We can consider the question of our joining a Muslim League or Muslim

League Coalition Ministry as an emergency measure only if the formation of such a Ministry in the Punjab is a part of an all-India understanding and the idea of Pakistan is abandoned for the period of the war, and in order to enable all concerned to judge the merits of the scheme, its precise political and constitutional implications are fully explained and the geographical boundaries of the Punjab under the scheme of Pakistan as well as the principles to be adopted for the fixation of such boundaries are indicated as clearly as practicable and an unequivocal assurance is given in a resolution formally adopted by the League that the League will unconditionally support all forms of war effort until final victory is won."

MR. JINNAH'S COMMENTS ON POSITION OF NON-MUSLIM MINISTERS

The following comments reduced to writing by the Premier to the dictation of Mr. *Jinnah* were received by us : (a) The proposed coalition is confined only to the Punjab and under the present constitution, therefore, the question raised is irrelevent and the League cannot form an All-India understanding merely with two groups that are willing to come into the Muslim League Coalition Party, (b) This also is an All-India question and irrelevant for the present purpose of forming the present proposed coalition. The question raised in this clause (b) cannot be settled only with two groups in the local legislature, as this is an All-India question ; (c) the policies of the League have been made quite clear with regard to the war effort and that question cannot be discussed with groups in the Punjab Assembly and is therefore, outside our present purpose. We are, however, willing to make it clear if it is necessary although it is obvious, that by the entry of any group or groups into the Muslim League Coalition Party, it is clearly understood that the groups that enter this proposed Coalition would be in any way prejudiced or bound not to follow their respective creeds and general policy and programme. Coalition is always a provisional arrangement which may be understood between the respective groups and within arrangement they would be carrying on the Government of the Province and such administrative and legislative measures as would be within the main principles of the arrangement and understanding which would bring certain groups within the proposed coalition.

REPLY TO MR. JINNAH'S COMMENTS

The reply in writing which we handed to the Premier on receipt of these comments runs as follows : We note with great regret and surprise that these comments are not indicative of any desire to come to terms. We drew attention to certain conditions which would make it easy to form a Muslim League coalition ministry in the Punjab with prospects of smooth and successful working. The definition of Pakistan and other relevant consequences which would follow upon the establishment of Pakistan is absolutely essential, particularly in the Punjab which is, according to Mr. Jinnah himself, the corner-stone of any scheme of Pakistan. The non-Muslim minorities of the Punjab are vitally interested in an elucidation of the problems so closely associated with Pakistan. Mr. Jinnah's comments can offer no comfort or satisfaction to anybody. In fact, they seem to be visibly evasive and suggest a complete reluctance to face the issues inherent in Pakistan. To bring in the plea of the All-India character of Pakistan as a bar to an answer to a question put by the representatives of the Punjab minorities is to forget the fundamental principles recognised by All-India parties that a settlement affecting one or more constituent parts of India shall not be arrived at on an All-India basis without the previous full and free consent of the minorities concerned. The attitude of any political organisation towards war effort is of immeasurably greater importance to the Punjab than perhaps to the whole of the rest of India put together. The Punjab is committed to whole-hearted and unconditional support of war effort. To enter into a coalition with a political organisation, the attitude of which towards the war effort remains hedged in by so many conditions and permits or withdrawal from war effort at any moment, will be courting disruption within a very short time. The Punjab, which has sent approximately one million men to the army, cannot view with indifference or complacency any attitude which is characterised by such elements of vagueness and uncertainty. We send these statements of our views along with Mr. Jinnah's comments to the Press for publication without any comment from ourselves.

## Sikh Minister Denounces Jinnah's Proposals

"To divide the people of this province by aggravating communal bitterness at this time, would be a positive danger to all concerned", says *Sardar Baldev Singh*,

Development Minister, Punjab in the course of a statement to the Press commenting on the Ministerial developments in the Punjab.

*Sarder Baldev Singh* says that on its surface the controversy raised by Mr. *Jinnah* related to the Unionist Party, which, according to him, did not exist in fact. He demanded, instead, a formal recognition of a change in party alignments in the Punjab Legislature with the implied sequel that the Ministry would be a League Coalition Ministry. This meant that we were in effect to commit ourselves to a vague Pakistan scheme. I am not a member of the Unionist Party. But it is impossible to ignore the consequence if, as Mr. Jinnah holds, the Unionist Party were dissolved. My reason is simple. It was in earnest of a desire I shared with the late Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan that I entered into a pact with him primarily for removing the besetting curse of inter-communal bitterness in the Punjab. This pact was signed by me with the late Premier as the leader of the Unionist Party, a non-communal organisation. Sir Sikandar always maintained that the Party of which he was the Leader and the Government of which he was the head were both non-communal in outlook and character. Attempts were made during his life time within and without the province to assign a communal—Muslim League—character to his Ministry. Sir Sikandar resolutely resisted these attempts. His successor, our present Premier, has maintained the *status quo*. After attending a session of the All-India Muslim League in Delhi in March last year, he conveyed to me and to his other colleagues in the Ministry an assurance that Mr. Jinnah adhered unequivocally to the Sikandar-Jinnah Pact and would honour its commitment so far as the Punjab was concerned. The statement of the Premier was made with the full blessings of Mr. Jinnah and was received with applause by the Council of the All-India Muslim League.

"It is admitted that, as a direct result of my pact aforesaid with the Punjab Premier, a number of misunderstandings between the Muslims and the Sikhs were removed. The communal atmosphere in the Punjab improved materially. Not all had been done. Admittedly many grievances remained unresolved. The *sine qua non* of continued improvement, however, was a determined effort to maintain the improvement noticed in inter-communal relationship. This in its turn implied an honest and straightforward respect for mutually agreed understandings and pacts.

I must say that Mr. Jinnah's present activities in Lahore, his attack on the Unionist Party and his insistence on the Punjab Ministry being recognised as the Muslim League Coalition Ministry have caused wide-spread alarm in the province. In the first place, the attempt to destroy the Unionist Party apart from anything else, mounts also to a unilateral repudiation of the pacts arrived at by Mr. Jinnah and the League with the Unionists and by the Unionist Party with me. If the leaders of the Muslim League encourage Muslims who are a majority in the Unionist Party to treat their plighted word so lightly, the Sikhs will greatly hesitate to rely on any future promises made by them. I ask Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim members of the Ministerial type in all sincerity to take due note of this and to avoid sowing seeds of suspicion.

"Secondly, it is no more a secret that the acts of indiscipline by a few members of the Unionist Party are the result of internal intrigue by interested persons. Whatever their own designs, I have no hesitation in saying that an encouragement of such acts for communal domination would destroy for all time confidence in the integrity and working of political parties. Differences in opinion are no new phenomenon. But to achieve the object of such differences by internal surreptitious intrigues is against all canons of public conduct.

SIKHS' FAITH IN UNITY OF INDIA

"I would say here that as an earnest of our desire to live peacefully with our Muslim brethren, I with the concurrence of my friends in the community made every effort to come to terms with Mr. Jinnah. I repeatedly and pointedly asked him for a clarification of the Pakistan scheme. There was no response. I must here make it clear that it is not offices, posts or even exclusive communal advantages that we seek. The right of self-determination is now an admitted principle recognised all the world over. The Sikhs hold that this right of self-determination can and should be exercised to the fullest extent without violating India's integrity and unity by Muslims and in the same measure by non-Muslims. Mr. Jinnah has so far shown no inclination to accept this clear principle. Nor does he explain what his own scheme of Pakistan is. We have at one time been assigned the status of a subnationality and at another offered lavish promises of generous privileges. The time has come to end this purposeless manoeuvring. But why this drift into fratricidal disruption ?

"Sikh history is my witness that we stand for justice and equality. To treat us with condescension or dub us as sub-nationals is to expect us the denial of our proud lineage. No Sikh may fall so low, whatever his preferences. We have lived in peace as equal neighbours, with our sister communities. We are resolved to stand by and will, if necessary, die with those who keep their troth in pursuit after our common aspirations. The Sikhs have never faltered. They shall not do so now.

"Finally I cannot help observing that as as a direct result of the recent aggressive turn in the attitude of a few Muslims, the general communal atmosphere in the Punjab has already had a severe setback. Doubts in the sanctity of pacts and weakening of confidence in the operations of political groups must, in the nature of things, create serious communal misgivings. I do not suggest that the Muslim League is conscious of it but if aggressive communalism were to spread in the countryside, its repercussions on our war effort are bound to be grave and no comparable calamity could befall us at this time.

"To divide the people of this province by aggravating communal bitterness at this time would be a positive danger to all concerned."

## Jinnah's Reply to Minority Ministers

The stand taken up by him during the talks with the Punjab Premier in connection with his proposal to form a League-Coalition Ministry in the Punjab was explained in a statement issued by Mr. Jinnah on the 2nd. May in reply to the statement issued by the non-Muslim Ministers in this connection. He says :—

So now at last, the statement issued by the non-Muslim Ministers makes it clear that it is not the sanctity claimed by Malik Khizr Hyat Khan for the so-called Sikander-Jinnah Pact nor anything over and above it, by way of secret commitments, that may have been made as alleged and stated by Malik Khizr Hyat Khan recently, by his revered predecessor, Sir *Sikandar Hyat Khan* and himself, the nature of which has not up to the present moment been disclosed, which prevents them from entering into a coalition with the Muslim League, but that the non-Muslim Punjab Ministers are ready and willing to agree to the formation of a League Coalition Ministry provided they are satisfied with regard to the points raised in their statement published in this morning's papers.

With regard to the first point mentioned, it is obvious to any intelligent man that an all-India understanding or settlement cannot be accomplished when dealing only with three non-Muslim Ministers in the Punjab, whose position is as follows :

Sir *Chhotu Ram* does not represent more than nine Jat Hindu members of the Punjab Assembly, and this is the only section behind him.

Sardar *Baldev Singh* does not represent more than ten members, as his group consists of only ten Sikh members out of a total number of 28 Sikhs, and Sir *Monohar Lal* has no following of any kind whatsoever. In other words, these three gentlemen, together, do not represent more than 20 members out of the total number of 175 members of the Punjab Assembly. The demand that we should come to an all-India settlement or understanding with them is on the face of it preposterous.

Similarly, as regards the second point, how can we come to any settlement with regard to Pakistan which is an all-India question with these individuals ? If such a course was adopted, the settlement or arrangement would be, on the one hand, binding on the Muslim League which is undoubtedly the authoritative organisation of the Mussalmans of India but nobody else or no other organisation outside these three non-Muslim Ministers of the Punjab would be bound by any settlement that might be arrived at on this question. It is really surprising that this patent absurdity is not present to their mind. Our proposal to form a League Coalition Ministry is under and within the limits of the present constitution and the Government of India Act 1935, as it is applied and worked in the province of the Punjab. I regret, I have failed to make them understand the elementary principles on which coalitions are formed or dissolved in any legislature.

### League and War Effort

As regards the third point mentioned, this I can only characterise as insidious tactics intended to poison the mind of the public in England, America, India and elsewhere as it contains insinuations that the Muslim League is opposed to war efforts and the successful prosecution of the war. They arrogate to themselves the claim that they are the only champions and defenders of India. Our attitude has been made clear from the very commencement of the war and we have never put any difficulties or obstructions in the way of war effort or embarrassed the Briti

Government in any way whatsoever. That has been made clear as an actual fact by the co-operation of the Muslim League Ministries in Bengal, Assam, the North-West Frontier Province and Sind, and the same position will be continued in the Punjab, if we are able to form a Muslim League Ministry in the province of the Punjab. If the Government of India is misled and the present Punjab Ministry, under the false pretext that the Muslim League is opposed to war efforts, is allowed to resort to repressive or oppressive measures or if they stifle the constitutional liberty on the people of the Punjab and the free and independent working of the constitution, they will be making a very great mistake. In England, in the midst of the war, the Chamberlain Cabinet went and Mr. Churchill formed a new Cabinet and many changes have occurred since in his Cabinet. In Canada, elections were held in the midst of the war and Cabinets have been formed. In Australia the Menzies Cabinet went and another Cabinet was formed in the midst of the war, and thereafter the legislature was dissolved and fresh elections were held. In India itself, Mr. *Fazlul Huq's* Ministry went and the Muslim League Ministry was formed. In Sind the Allah Bux Ministry went and the Muslim League Ministry was formed. In the North-West Frontier Province Section 93 went and the Muslim League Ministry was formed. Therefore the question is: Is the present constitution under which we are working, to function fully and freely? The present legislature is now seven years old. We have repeatedly urged that fresh elections should be held, but the Government have turned a deaf ear so far. Are we not entitled to make every legitimate effort to put our House in order and work the constitution under the present Government of India Act 1935? Either we should be allowed full freedom to work it or we must be definitely told to close down our shutters. But it would be a great plunder to interfere with constitutional liberties under the pretext that they might interfere with the war efforts. As we have already been threatened and informed in some sections of the Press that the Government have got ample and extraordinary powers which they can use, I hope that the Government will not abuse these powers and be stampeded into any hasty action.

### READY TO COME TO UNDERSTANDING WITH SIKHS

As regards *Sardar Baldev Singh's* fear, as reported in the Press, that his joining the Muslim League Coalition Party would amount to his acceptance of Pakistan, he is entirely wrong. No party that enters a coalition ever forswears its creed *ipso facto* or is compelled by merely joining a coalition to accept the creed and ideals of the other party. As regards the Sikh demand, I have repeatedly requested the Sikh leaders, including Sardar Baldev Singh, and in my recent interviews with him last month, repeated my request personally, to make their proposals as to what they want and, once again, I publicly request the Sikh leaders to acquaint me with their proposals to what the Sikh community desires. As this is not an all-India question and is confined only to the Punjab, we are ready and willing to come to any fair and equitable adjustment with them on behalf of the All-India Muslim League.

# Muslim League Committee of Action

## Lahore—27th. May 1944

### Expulsion of the Punjab Premier

The Committee of Action of the All-India Muslim League decided that *Malik Khizr Hyat Khan Tiwana* shall be forthwith expelled from the membership of the All-India Muslim League and shall be ineligible to become a member in future till the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League remove this ban against him. The Committee issued the following statement from Lahore at midnight, the 27th. May 1944 :—

The hon. Malik Khizr Hyat Khan Tiwana, the Premier of the Punjab, and a member of the All-India Muslim League, issued a lengthy statement on April 28 immediately after the breakdown of his conversations with Mr. M. A. Jinnah, the President of the All-India Muslim League. In the course of this statement, Malik Khizr Hyat Khan Sahib gave expression to his views and made assertions which were not only diametrically opposed to the declared policy and programme of the All-India Muslim League, but constituted a grave violation of the fundamen-

tal principle of its constitution and rules and thus rendered himself liable to disciplinary action. The Committee of Action, when they met at Lahore on May 2, examined this statement with great care and picked out passages from it which, in their opinion, offended against the basic principles of the constitution and the rules of the All-India Muslim League. They authorised Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan, the convener of the Committee, to draw Malik Khizr Hyat Khan's attention to these objectionable passages by means of a communication which was sent to him on May 3 and called for his explanation. It may be mentioned here that in this letter of the convener not only those passages were reproduced *in extenso*, but it was also pointed out to him how they contravened the aims, objects and rules of the Muslim League.

Malik Sahib sent his reply to Nawabzada Sahib on May 8, in which he *inter alia* says: (1) That the passages to which exception is taken had been isolated from the context; (2) That the Committee had not taken into account the background and the circumstances in which his statement of April 28 was made; (3) That he had joined the Muslim League in pursuance of and subject to what he calls "Sikandar-Jinnah Pact"; (4) That the Committee had not defined their attitude towards this so-called Pact and requested them to do so in order to enable him to offer further explanation.

These were, in short, the salient points on which he laid stress in his letter. The Committee will deal with these points at some length later. All that need be said here is that he neither told the Committee what other meanings besides the obvious ones could be attached to the passages, alleged by him to have been torn from their context, nor has he taken the trouble to describe the back ground and the circumstances in which he gave expression to these heterodox opinions which challenged the very existence of the Muslim League organisation. It may further be mentioned that he did not favour the Committee with a copy of the so-called Sikander-Jinnah Pact on which he asked the Committee to pronounce their opinion and that he failed to point out any section or clause from the constitution and rules of the Muslim League which could justify a member of the League to assent that he can join the League with some mental reservations or self-imposed condition, which would exempt him from the obligations imposed upon a member by the constitution and rules. The Committee of Action in their meeting in Delhi on May 14, after giving their earnest consideration to Malik Sahib's contentions, passed a resolution in which they explicitly asked him to confine himself to answering the specific charges formulated against him, based on the passages from his statement of April 28 and not to confound the issues by dragging in extraneous matters having little or no bearing on them.

ATTITUDE TO SIKANDER-JINNAH PACT

This resolution was forwarded to Malik *Khizr Hyat Khan* under a covering letter from Nawabzada Sahib on May 14, to which Malik Sahib sent his reply on May 20. In this letter also Malik Sahib reiterates his previous allegations and persists in his request to the Committee to define their attitude to the so-called Sikander-Jinnah Pact. He further claims that the position he took up in issuing his aforesaid statement was strictly in conformity with the Pact and if the Committee are of the contrary opinion, they should enlighten him as to what provisions and terms of the Pact he is supposed to have infringed and then he will give further explanation if necessary. In fact, he bases his whole defence in the so-called Pact.

The Committee of Action never had any hesitation in defining their attitude towards this Pact, but at the time the request was made, the Committee considered it inadvisable to give their decisions piece-meal. Now that the Committee are in full possession of Malik Sahib's pleas, which he urges in his defence, the Committee proceed to record their decision on this as well as on other points on which he relies for his defence.

It has been observed in a previous paragraph that no copy of the so-called Pact has been supplied to the Committee by Malik Sahib. The Committee have, however, in their possession a copy of the rules of the Punjab Muslim League Assembly Party in which this Pact is reproduced as an appendix. In the Appendix, its appellation is given as Sikander-Jinnah Pact, while the inscription immediately below reads as follows: "Sir Sikander Hyat Khan had consultation with Mr. Jinnah to-day, after which he attended the meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League by special invitation. At the meeting the following statement was made:....."

It will thus be seen that the so-called Pact is nothing more than a statement

which the late Sir *Sikander Hyat Khan* made at a meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League held at Lucknow in October 1937, in which he undertook to do certain things on his return to the Punjab. How this simple statement became magnified into a Pact and how this high-sounding title was bestowed upon this one-sided statement has not been made clear. Although Malik Khizr Hyat Khan does not state whether any resolution was passed by the Council approving or sanctioning this pact, yet in fairness to Malik Sahib, the Committee took the trouble of examining all the resolutions of the All-India Muslim League since 1937 without coming across any resolution which would throw any light on it.

The Committee have, therefore, no hesitation in holding that the statement of Sir *Sikander Hyat Khan* is not in the nature of a Pact. It is at the most an undertaking or an assurance given by him to the All-India Muslim League Council that he will himself become a member and also induce other Muslim members of his Party to sign the Muslim League creed and join it. As soon as the Muslim members of the Unionist Party joined the League, the Unionist Party as such ceased to exist because of the defection of the vast majority of its members who had thenceforth made themselves subject to the rules and regulations of the Central and Provincial Muslim League Parliamentary Boards and had thrown off the yoke of the Unionist Party. This did not mean, however, that there was any bar to the continuance of a coalition with the then existing Hindu and Sikh groups, provided this was acceptable to the majority of the Muslim League members.

### The Premier's Defence

Having disposed of this issue, which is the main prop of his case, the Committee will now briefly deal with other points raised by Malik Sahib in his defence. His first contention is that the passages quoted by the Committee have been removed from their context.

The very first passages from his statement to which the Committee objected was reproduced in full and had not been isolated in any way. Malik Saheb, in tracing the history of the Unionist Party, says that the late Sir *Fazli Hussain* was opposed to communal parties and would not brook outside interference in provincial matters and then he goes on to say that he is in complete agreement with these views and appeals to the Mussalmans of the Punjab not to tolerate outside interference and refuse to be divided among themselves. This statement amounts to an open defiance by Malik Saheb of all the aims and objects of the organisation to which, he says, he still belongs and with whose creed he professes to be in full acord. He forgets that the All-India Muslim League by its constitution is purely a communal organisation, having its branches all over India both inside and outside the Legislature and having the authority to direct and control their activities. It is most unbecoming of a member owing allegiance to such an organisation to violate its basic principle in such a flagrant manner as has been done by Malik Saheb, who not satisfied with his own open defiance, goes further and invites the Mussalmans of the Punjab to revolt against their national organisation. The Committee are constrained to observe that it would have been more honourable on his part to have resigned the membership of the organisation if he did not agree with its aims and objects than to try to disrupt it from within. He has committed a clear breach of discipline and no self-respecting organisation can tolerate this. It must take effective steps to vindicate its authority by putting a stop to such disruptive tendencies.

The second point on which Malik Saheb lays stress is that the Committee have not fully appreciated the background and the circumstances under which his statement of April 28 was made, but beyond making this vague assertion, he has not thought fit to mention them in any detail. He declined to take advantage of the suggestion of the convener to come to Delhi and discuss the whole matter with the Committee face to face. In his second reply also, he says that no useful purpose would be served by an oral discussion. The Committee are, therefore, unable to understand how any circumstances could have justified Malik Saheb in taking up the stand that he did.

His third point is that he joined the League in pursuance of and subject to the Sikander-Jinnah Pact, with which the Committee has already dealt. The Committee do not understand the significance of this claim, for the constitution and rules of the All-India Muslim League apply equally to all its members and no individual can join it with conditions and self-imposed terms. There are no two categories of membership *vide* Rule V of the constitution and Rules of the All-India Muslim League which runs as follows:

"Every candidate shall become a member of a primary League on payment of

an annual subscription of annas two in advance, provided it is declared in writing that the candidate will abide by the objects and rules of the League mentioned herein"

This plea has no force and only demonstrates his subservience to the Unionist ideals.

LEAGUE AND UNIONIST PARTY IDEALS

The Committee have also examined the constitution of the erstwhile Unionist Party. Its creed is wholly different from that of the All-India Muslim League. It is, therefore, quite impossible for any honest man to own allegiance at one and the same time to two parties with such differing creeds. Malik Saheb's lip service, therefore, to the Pakistan ideal sound hollow, particularly when reviewed in the light of his statement and will not deceive any one who has been blessed with some understanding from the passages from his statement of April 28. which were quoted in *extenso* in the first communication sent to Malik Saheb on behalf of the Committee. It is quite evident that like the late Sir Fazli Hussain he dose not believe in communal parties or organisations and is opposed to outside interference in the affairs of his province. He calls upon the Mussalmans of the Punjab to resist such interference and refuse to be divided among themselves at the instance of any one. This statement, it must be remembered, was issued soon after his talks with Mr. Jinnah had ceased, who, on behalf of the Muslim League, was exhorting the Mussalmans to stand by their organisation and owe their sole allegiance to it, in order to have an effective voice in the decisions of the Coalition Government in the Punjab. The Unionist label in the Punjab was a pretence for keeping down the Mussalmans and making them subservient to the dominant Hindu group, which in and out of season exploited it for its own selfish purposes. It was this background which Malik Saheb would probably like the Committee to ponder over. How such a stand at this crucial moment could justify Malik Saheb in making these mischievous assertions is wholly incomprehensible. Then again his emphasis on the fact that he joined the Muslim League subject to the term of the so-called Pact indicates that his allegiance to the League is only a secondary affair and he does not regard his membership of the League as imposing any obligations upon him which he is in duty bound to carry out.

His defiance of the advice tendered to him on behalf of the Central Muslim League organisation is indicative of his recalcitrant attitude on the subject. The Committee have in the previous paragraph shown that Malik Sahib has made no serious attempt to explain or rebut the charge formulated against him. On the contrary, he has been trying to sidetrack the issue by asking the Committee to define their attitude to a matter which is not relevant in any degree to the present inquiry. The Committee have, therefore, reached the conclusion that Malik Saheb in issuing the statement, containing the objectionable passages referred to above, has contravened the policy and programme of the Muslim League and violated its constitution, rules, aims and objects and has therefore, proved himsely unfit to be a member of this sole national organisation of the Musalmans of India. The Hyat Khan Saheb Tiwana shall be forthwith expelled from the membership of the All-India Muslim League and shall be ineligible to become a member in future till the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League is pleased to remove this ban against him.

## Expulsion of Malik Khizr Hyat Khan

### Punjab Muslim League Council

The Council of the Punjab Muslim League, which met at Lahore on the 28th. May 1944 under the presidentship of *Nawab Iftikhar Hussain Khan* of Mamdot, adopted a resolution endorsing the action taken against *Malik Khizr Hyat Khan Tiwana* by the Committee of Action. The resolution, which was moved by Khan Bahadur *Maulvi Ghulam Mohiyuddin. M. L. A.*, and supported among others by *Malik Barkat Ali, M. L. A.*, and Khan Bahadur *Karmat Ali, M. L. A.*, says :

"This meeting of the Council of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League, views with satisfaction the action taken against the Hon. Malik Khizr Hyat Khan Tiwana by the Committee of Action for his open defiance of the aims and objects and rules of the All-India Muslim League and creating disruption in the Muslim nation. This meeting calls upon the Muslims of the Punjab to demonstrate, beyond all doubt, that they stand solidly behind their national organisation."

The Council also approved the programme for strengthening the Muslim League organisation in the province, recently framed by the Working Committee of the Punjab League, and in pursuance thereof elected five organising secretaries, one for each of the five divisions of the province.

The meeting was attended among others by twelve members of the Punjab Assembly.

*Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan*, General Secretary of the All-India Muslim League, in the course of a brief speech, said that it was a matter of great satisfaction that the purge in the Muslim League had ended the seven years of comouflage in the Punjab. He exhorted the Muslims to strengthen the Muslim League, so that they might assert themselves as a majority community in the province, and declared that the League had no secret or destructive programme.

*Qazi Mohammad Isa*, who also addressed the Council, said that the Sword-Arm of India would be utilised to protect the legitimate interests of Muslims and other minorities in the Punjab.

## Punjab Premier And The League

### Reply To Committee's Allegations

"Specious reasons have been advanced for my expulsion, but it is obvious that I have been expelled because I refused to accept Mr. Jinnah's demands which sought to end a state of affairs accepted by Mr. Jinnah and the League for more than six years," said *Malik Khizr Hyat Khan*, Premier of the Punjab, in a statement to the Press from Simla on the 5th. June 1944.

He added: My fears have been realised and the Committee of Action has decided to expel me from the Muslim League without giving me an opportunity to clear my position. I cannot say that I am surprised. When Mr. Jinnah had his last conversation with me on the telephone on the night of April 27-28, he informed me angrily that he would expel me from the League. This threat was made before I had issued my statement. Later, he thought better of this and referred the matter to the Committee of Action. It was, however, hardly to be expected that the Committee of Action, which, after all, consists of his nominees, would fail to carry out his orders.

My case was prejudged and decided before the Committee of Action ever professed to give me an opportunity to explain certain passages in my statement on April 28. While striving to maintain an appearance of judicial impartiality, the Committee soon showed that, in fact, the matter had been prejudged. In its resolution dated May 14th. 1944, there occurs the following passage: "The Committee once again desire to draw Malik Sahib's attention to the passages quoted in the previous communication from his statement of April the 28th which, in their opinion, constitutes deliberate and grave violation of the basic principles, rules, policy and programme of the All-India Muslim League."

I feared from this explicit expression of opinion that the Committee had already decided on its course of action, but, in my anxiety to preserve Muslim solidarity and to avoid precipitating a breach, I deliberately refrained in my letter dated May 20th from protesting against the Committee's attitude and merely repeated my request for a reply to my questions. The Committee saw that I would not fall into the trap laid for me and announced its intention of making known its pre-determined decision on May 27 in Lahore. Then and then only did I protest against the inequity of condemning me unheard.

The Committee of Action has made much of my alleged refusal to go to Delhi and discuss the matter face to face with it. It has misquoted my second reply (dated May 20th). I said: "No useful purpose would be served by my going to Delhi in the present circumstances." In referring to this sentence, the Committee has omitted the words "in the present circumstances", and so has altered its sense. I was prepared to discuss the matter with the Committee, but my doing so was useless until the Committee had clarified its attitude to the Sikandar-Jinnah Pact. Had it done so, I would have been glad to meet it.

Although the Committee of Action previously refused to answer my questions about its attitude to the Sikandar-Jinnah Pact, it has now made its attitude clear. The amount of space which the committee has devoted to the Pact in its statement shows how little truth there was in the allegation that I had introduced an irrelevant and confusing issue by referring to the Pact.

The Committee of Action holds that there was no pact and that there was,

at the most, an understanding or assurance given by "him (Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan) to the All-India Muslim League Council that he will himself become a member and also induce other Muslim members of his party to sign the Muslim League creed and join it." It goes on to say "that, when the Muslim members of Unionist Party joined the Muslim League, the Unionist Party ceased to exist, though there was no bar to the continuation of the coalition between the Hindu and Sikh groups and the Muslim League Party." The Committee of Action says that the Muslim League never adopted a resolution accepting the Pact, that no person can join the League subject to mental reservations and self-imposed conditions, "and that the committee has examined the constitution of the Unionist Party" and found it so different from that of the League that no honest man could belong to both.

PACT ACCEPTED BY LEAGUE

It may be that there was no formal resolution of the Muslim League accepting the Pact, but there is no doubt that it was regarded by Sir Sikandar as a gentleman's agreement between him and Mr. *Jinnah* equally binding upon Sir Sikandar's followers and the Muslim League of which Mr. Jinnah was the leader. That the Pact was accepted by the All-India Muslim League is shown by a statement issued to the Press on October 20, 1937 by the Secretary of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League. After referring to Sir Sikandar's statement at the meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League held on October 14, the Secretary says: "After Sir Sikandar had made the statement, the drafting of the agreement was entrusted to Sir Sikandar and Malik Barkat Ali, M. L. A. The agreement so drafted was adopted by the Council of the All-India Muslim League."

It is quite untrue that there was no Pact. Its existence can be proved from Mr. Jinnah's introduction to the publication by Sheikh Mohammad Ashraf of Allama Iqbal's letters to Mr. Jinnah. Mr. Jinnah says: ".....Sir Mohammad Iqbal played a very conspicuous part, though at the time not revealed to the public, in bringing about this consummation. He had his own doubts about the Sikander-Jinnah Pact being arrived at and he was anxious to see it translated into some tangible results without delay so as to dispel popular misapprehension about it.

Moreover. Sir Mohammad Iqbal himself refers to this Pact in his letter to Mr. Jinnah. In a letter dated November 1, 1937, he says: "Statements have been issued to the press by both sides, each side putting its own interpretation on the terms of the Jinnah Sikander agreement.....This, as far as I know, does not appear in the Jinnah-Sikandar agreement."

In another letter dated November 10, 1937, the following passage occurs: ".....In your Pact with his (Sir Sikandar), it is mentioned that the Parliamentary Board will be reconstituted and that the Unionists will have a majority in the Board. Sir Sikandar tells me that you agreed to their majority in the Board..... It is noteworthy that Mr. Jinnah did not then declare that there was no Pact, but only a unilateral declaration made by Sir Sikandar. How could Sir Sikandar re-constitute the Muslim League Parliamentary Board ? This was to be done by Mr. Jinnah and the League, so clearly there were two parties to the agreement.

Even if as the Committee of Action contends, there was only a statement made by Sir Sikandar before the Council of the All-India Muslim League, is it not also true that for nearly seven years that statement has been acted upon and is not this sufficient to establish the existence of a Pact ?

The Committee of Action has not denied that the membership-forms signed by the Muslim members of the Unionist Party when joining the League, specifically declared that they joined it in pursuance of the Sikandar-Jinnah Pact. If the League never recognised the Pact, why did it accept as members Muslims, who specifically said that they joined in pursuance of it ? If there was no Pact, the Committee of Action has no jurisdiction over me.

It is incomprehensible how the Committee of Action has now discovered that it is quite impossible for any honest man to owe allegiance at one and the same time to two parties with such differing creeds. If, however, members of the Punjab Muslim League Assembly Party are to be described as dishonest because of their allegiance to these two parties under the Jinnah-Sikandar Pact, I am afraid the description will also apply to those who accepted this arrangement for over six years.

After answering the other criticisms of the Committee, the Premier says:

In my statement of April 28, I said clearly and explicitly that I was a firm believer in and a supporter of the aims and objects of the Muslim League. I stood

loyally by its creed and policy subject only to my insistence on the following two points: (1) In general the Muslim League Party in the Punjab Assembly should be free to choose its own allies, determine the basis of its alliance and conduct its Parliamentary work in accordance with the terms of the Sikandar-Jinnah Pact. (2) In particular it should not be compelled to commit a breach of faith with its non-Muslim co-workers in the Assembly in respect of the undertakings formally embodied in the Jinnah-Sikandar Pact.

ACTED WITHIN MY RIGHTS AND IN BEST INTERESTS OF MUSLIMS

I maintain that I was within my rights and acting in the best interests of the Punjab Muslims in declining to yield on these two points. Every Province has its own peculiar problems and its own back-ground of economic and social conditions and party politics. It is only right and proper that within the general framework of All-India policies every Province should be free to conduct its affairs in the light of its own condition and experience. There is no doubt that in the Punjab the parliamentary alliance and the parliamentary programme represented by the Unionist Party are best suited to the interests of the Muslims and the best guarantee from their point of view to a stable Ministry under the present constitution Nobody has yet been able to suggest to us a better or in fact any practical alternative to this alliance or this programme. Nobody has shown us how they offended against any All-India policy of the Muslim League. In the circumstances, I could see no force whatever in the demand for a change in the arrangements that were working so well from the Muslim point of view and the fact that the acceptance of the demand would have amounted to a breach of faith with our non-Muslim allies and co-workers in the legislature left me no choice but to resist it firmly. I have little doubt that the Muslims of the Punjab and their elected representatives in the Legislature will understand the issues involved and support me in the stand which I have taken for the vindication of their pledged word and their constitutional rights and for the protection of their best interests which would be seriously affected if the stability of their Ministry were allowed to be undermined by unjustified outside interference.

In conclusion, I should like to make it clear that as far as the Muslim ideal of self-determination, as embodied in the Lahore resolution popularly known as Pakistan, is concerned, the Committee of Action's present decision does not affect in any way my wholehearted support to it. Whether I remain in the Muslim League or not, I shall do all I can to help my community's efforts to realize this ideal.

## The Sind Muslim League

The jealousies of power politics and the struggle for seats and offices should give place to a simple ideal of service for its own sake; otherwise there is danger of friction and disintegration setting in within the organisation, said Mr. *G. M. Syed*, speaking at the annual meeting of the Sind Muslim League held at Karachi on the 14th. May, 1944. He criticised the attitude of the Hindu minority in Sind and said that the methods adopted by them to encourage the disruptive forces in the Muslim community betrayed their evil intentions.

Mr. Syed also referred to the Khaksars, the Ahrars, Jamait-ul-Ulema and the Socialists whom he described as disintegration forces in the Muslim Community and said that being frightened at the increasing power of the League they were trying to organise themselves in order to present a united front against it.

The League appointed a committee of five persons to organise and strengthen the Muslim League in the province. The meeting which was attended by the Premier and other Muslim Ministers passed a number of resolutions, by one of which it condemned the action of the Governor of the Punjab in dismissing Captain Shaukat Hyat Khan "without assigning proper reasons".

The meeting requested the Government of India to convey to His Majesty's Government that it was the desire of the Muslims of India that the promises given to the Arabs of Palestine should be kept by His Majesty's Government.

The Sind Government was urged to abolish the system of joint electorates in the borough municipalities of the province as the system of joint electorates was against the League creed. The meeting appointed a Parliamentary Board of five members including the Premier, Sir Ghulam Hussain, for the new year and a vigilance committee to secure the proper ratio for the Muslims in the public services.

# The Baroda State Muslim Conference

## Seventh session—Kholwad—20th May 1944

### Mr. R. K. Pathan's Address

"Pakistan is the symbol of Indian independence. It is very strange that after five years of explanation some people are yet asking for its clarification. Self-determination and distribution of provinces on a national basis is Pakistan," said Mr. *Rasoolkhan Pathan*, presiding over the seventh session of the Baroda State Muslim Conference held at Kholwad (Baroda) on 20th. May 1944. He added: "The principle of self-determination is accepted by the British Government, the principle of redistribution of provinces on a national basis is accepted by the Congress. The position is not impossible of solution if the League, the British Government and the Congress place their heads together."

Continuing, Mr. *Rasoolkhan* said that Muslim bodies other than the League like the Ahrars, the Khaksars and the Jamiat Ulema accepted Pakistan in some form or other as their creed. The Cripps' proposals contained the germ of acceptance in principle of Pakistan. If all the parties concerned frankly considered the problem, its solution was not difficult. The State people were not directly concerned with Pakistan but they had their sympathies with the demand just as their Hindu brethren were in accord with the Akhand Hindustan demand.

Referring to the food problem, Mr. Rasoolkhan said that this question of the day called for the immediate attention of the national leaders. He welcomed the release of Mahatma Gandhi and while wishing him early and complete recovery, he appealed to him to join hands with Mr. Jinnah and other great leaders to beat down profiteering and the black market. A National Government was suggested as the panacea for these problems, he went on ; what was immediately wanted was not a "responsible government" but a "responsible market." Countering the profiteering stalking the land and enabling the poor to get their daily necessities at reasonable price—should become the first and immediate concern of our leaders, he said.

The President welcomed the merger scheme by which Baroda had acquired during the last year about 5,400 square miles of land with a population of about 520,000. The State had decided to spend about Rs. 100,000 a year for the improvement of these areas. He believed that by joining a progressive State like Baroda these backward areas got the benefit of its social and political reforms and as such the scheme would be a blessing in disguise for other areas which should merge themselves into the State.

Mr. Rasoolkhan dwelt at length upon the separate electorate campaign in Baroda State and expressed dissatisfaction of the panel system of representation which, though it was temporarily useful to tide over a crisis, could not for ever do. He complained that the Praja Mandal members frequently opposed Muslim social reforms and educational advances. Muslims remained backward in education and proper facilities had not been accorded to them. Their redemption, he said, lay in uniting under the banner of the Muslim Conference and presenting a single front. He exhorted the Muslim youth to take to education seriously.

# The Punjab Muslim Students' Federation

## Rawalpindi—19th. June 1944

### League Leaders' Criticism

The action of the Punjab Premier in not coming to an agreement with Mr. Jinnah was criticised by several speakers at the open session of the Muslim Students' Federation Conference held at Rawalpindi on the 19th. June 1944 under the presidentship of *Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan*, an ex-Minister of the Punjab. Prominent League leaders from various provinces were present.

Inaugurating the conference, *Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan* referred to the political ideal of the Muslim League which, he said, was the only representative body of ten crores of Muslims, having one platform, one leader and one ideal.

He envisaged the complete independence of India in the real sense as one in which the ten crores of Muslims would be absolutely free from the domination of the Britishers and the Hindus.

Referring to Punjab politics, he criticised the Punjab Premier's stand regarding the Jinnah-Sikander Pact. Malik Khizr Hayat who had promised to infuse fresh life in the Muslim League Party in the Punjab Assembly, was in fact responsible for strangling the party which was yet hanging between life and death. He added that the only fault of the League Council was that they had trusted Premier Tiwana and his associates.

Dwelling on the League-Unionist Party controversy and the statement of the Punjab Premier, the speaker stated that it was absolutely wrong to state that the only bone of contention between the Qaid-e-Azam and the Punjab Premier related to the Punjab Ministry and added that the real trouble arose over the demand by Mr. Jinnah that Muslim members in the Punjab Assembly could owe allegiance only to one political party as the Muslim League could no longer tolerate divided loyalties of the Muslim members to two masters. Referring to the criticism that the war effort in the Punjab was likely to be handicapped by the coming into power of a Muslim League Ministry in the province, the speaker pointed out that this was another Unionist stunt to mislead the people and to discredit the League in America and England. In conclusion, he appealed to the Muslims to unite under the Muslim League banner and strive hard to reach their goal of Pakistan.

*Sirdar Abdur Rab Khan Nishtar*, Finance Minister, Frontier Province, characterised the action of the Punjab Premier as an affront to the ten crores of Muslims. The object of establishing Muslim League ministries, according to him, was to strengthen the hands of the League for the attainment of Pakistan.

*Wazi Mohd Isa*, President of the Baluchistan Muslim League, in the course of his speech, reiterated that they had neither declared war against the British nor against the Hindus but they had only decided to organise themselves. Justifying the decision of the Muslim League Council of Action expelling the Punjab Premier from the League, the speaker refuted the allegation that the Committee in their decision was influenced by Mr. Jinnah.

*Sardar Aurangzeb Khan*, Frontier Premier, in the course of his speech, referred to his meeting with the Punjab Premier with the approval of Mr. Jinnah and the Nawab of Mamdot and regretted that his persuasions had had no effect. Accepting the Jinnah-Sikandar Pact as a reality for the sake of argument, he said it could not be binding for generations. He assured the audience they would quit the Frontier Cabinet within a minute of receipt of instructions from Mr. Jinnah or the League High Command if their continuance in office was detrimental to the interests of the Muslim community or the attainment of Pakistan. Alluding to the question of outside interference in internal administration, raised in the Punjab, he stated that there had never been a single occasion during his tenure of office when Mr. Jinnah or the League High Command had interfered in the internal administration of the province.

# The Jammu & Kashmir National Conference

## Sheikh Abdulla's Rejoinder to Jinnah's Attack

*Sheikh Mohamad Abdullah*, President of the All-Jammu and Kashmir National Conference, issued the following statement from Srinagar dated the **26th. June 1944** :—

Mr. *M. A. Jinnah*, addressing the session of the Muslim Conference in Srinagar on the 17th June thought fit to open an attack on the All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference. He questioned the correctness of its objectives as an organisation, aiming at uniting the entire people of Kashmir under one national banner.

This abrupt utterance was surprising since Mr. Jinnah had declared on his arrival that he had not come to Kashmir for any political propaganda. This, he said, first at Jammu replying to the Muslim Conference address, and he repeated it on his arrival at Srinagar.

It was in deference to his standing in the public life of India that we gave him

a civic reception in Srinagar, on behalf of the National Conference and all the communities combined.

Again Mr. *Jinnah* at the Press Conference on the 23rd May, while answering a question whether it would not be best for people of all communities to unite under one banner, said that in the State there existed various organisations, e.g., the National Conference, the Muslim Conference, the Hindu Rajya Sabha, the Yuvak Sabha and the Sikh Party. It was for the people of the State themselves to decide what course would best strengthen their forces.

Up to that day, Mr. *Jinnah* appears to have maintained his "let alone" attitude towards our Kashmir politics.

MR. JINNAH BREAKS HIS ASSURANCE

But in his last speech at the session of the Muslim Conference on the 17th of June, Mr. Jinnah—our honoured guest—not merely identified himsels completely with the politics of the Muslim Conference, but went further and attacked the National Conference. By so doing, Mr. Jinnah broke his repeated assurance to the people of Kashmir that he was not on a propaganda tour and, I regret to say, thus violated the sprit in which he was received by us all.

Now, as to the National Conference, we certainly owe no apologies to Mr. Jinnah for our existence.

Starting the Muslim Conference as a sectional organisation in 1932 we passed on to a higher stage of political evolution in 1939. It that year by a democratic decision of the overwhelming majority of our works, we transformed ourselves into the one national organisation of the people of Kashmir calling this body the All-Jammu and Kashmir National Conference. This change enabled us to handle the new tasks arising out of the developing political situation.

Thus we passed Mr. *Jinnah's* milestone of to-day over five years ago.

To-day the All-Jammu and Kashmir National Conference is the national organisation of the Kashmiri people, not only because its membership is open to all communities, but because it has got a truly national programme and a national vision.

Mr. *Jinnah* has attacked the Kashmir National Conference with the same weapon with which he attacks the Indian National Congress. According to him the National Congress is a Hindu attempt to cheat the Indian minorities, and the National Conference is a Muslim attempt to cheat the Kashmir minorities.

The programme of the National Conference is before our Kashmiri people in the form of our recently published "New Kashmir." That programme is a sign-post of our future struggle towards freedom, supported by the strength and co-operation of the minority communities whose rights are fully guaranteed and safeguarded.

Viewing the position from an all-India perspective, we find that Mr. Jinnah has repeatedly declared that he does not extend his plans of Pakistan to the Indian States. Thus his conception of Islamic sovereignty conveniently halts at the customs barrier which divides our State from British India. Yet, when it comes to giving advice, Mr. Jinnah trespasses over his own boundaries.

Reiterating our position, I say that the National Conference does not stand for the splitting of the people's forces in Kashmir by diverting them into the channels of mere communal organisations. Such a division can never be conducive to the growth of our own united strength, and would also belie the history of progress the world over. This does not however mean that the rights and demands of the backward sections of the community do not receive our attention and support. In point of fact, we fight for their rights ourselves, and unite with those striving towards the same end.

But while disavowing communal separatism, the programme of the National Conference envisages the free and full development of cultural units, and the principle of self-determination on the basis of nationality, as a solution of problems which are not only our own, but those of India as a whole.

We, of the National Conference, are conscious of the work that lies ahead. In spite of outsiders who misunderstand our problems and are hardly capable of helping us we shall carry on our work. With traditions of struggle at our back, and the heritage of the sacrifices of our martyrs and workers to strengthen us, we shall march forward to new Kashmir, our free homeland.

# All India Majlis-i-Ahrar Conference

## Open Session—Rawalpindi—11th. June 1944

### Maulana Sarhadi's Presidential Address

The spacious pandal in the Ahrar Park, Rawalpindi was packed to capacity on the 11th. June 1944 when the All-India Majlis-i-Ahrar Conference commenced its open session. Prominent All-India Ahrar leaders, including Maulana Ghulam Ghaus Hazarvi, Mr. Abdul Rehman Mianawi, Mr. Mohd. Ali Jullundhari, Sardar Ahmed Shah, Salar-Azam Ahrar, Mr. Mazhar Ali Azhar, M.L.A., Qazi Ahsan Ahmed Shujabadi, Hakim Abdul Islam Hazaroi, Comrade Ghulam Mohd. Hashami, and Mr. Mohd. Hussain, Naib Salar, participated in the conference, while more than 10,000 visitors attended the session.

Mr. *Anayat Shafi Mohd, Pasruri*, Chairman on the Reception Committee, in the course of his welcome address made a touching appeal to all Ahrar leaders present to concentrate their undivided attention, infusing the Ahrar spirit amongst the Muslim population of Pindi Division.

The chairman referred to the murder of Maulana Shergul, vice-president of the Punjab Provincial Majlis Ahrar in his village home in Attock district and paid a tribute to the departed leader.

On account of unavoidable absence, due to illness, of *Maulana Attaullah Shah Bokhari*, President-elect of t e conference, *Maulana Ghulam Ghaus Sarhadi* was voted to the chair. The Maulana delivered an extempore address and referred at considerable length to the international and Indian political situation with special reference to the present war and asserted that the programme chalked out by the Majlis-i-Ahrar was a panacea for all maladies from which the world, and India in particular, was suffering.

Several other speakers then referred to the saintly character and patriotism of the late lamented Maulana Ghulsher, the prominent Ahrar leader who was recently murdered.

*Qazi Ahsan Ahmed Shujahabadi*, in the course of his speech, referring to the claim of Qaide-Azam, Mr. Jinnah, president of the All-India Muslim League, that Pakistan had already been established in five provinces in India, said that all these assertions of the Qaide-Azam were nothing but building castles in the air and had no reality behind them. The Punjab Premier had already exposed the claims of Mr. Jinnah in unequivocal terms pointing out that no Muslim League Government functioned in the Punjab.

The Qazi Saheb asserted that no Islamic Government functioned anywhere either in British India or in any Indian State and added that he did not recognise Turkey, Iraq, Iran and other Muslim powers as Islamic rulers. His ideal was the rule according to the laws of the Quran.

A resolution expressing condolence on the death of Mufti Sarhad Maulana Abdul Rahim Popalzai and offering sympathy with his brother, Maulana Abdul Qayyum Popalzai, was adopted at the conference.

## Working Committee—Sialkot—19th. June 1944

### Mr. Jinnah's Appeal for Merger Turned Down

The Ahrars' attitude towards the Muslim League was clearly brought out in a resolution adopted at a meeting of the Working Committee of the All-India Majlis-i-Ahrar held at Sialkot on the 19th. June 1944. The resolution which was moved by *Maulana Mazhar Ali Azhar*, M. L. A., expressed its inability to comply with Mr. Jinnah's appeal to the Majlis-i-Ahrar to merge with the Muslim League.

The resolution stated: "The attitude of Mr. Jinnah in regard to his demand for Pakistan will not lead him towards that ideal. The non-Muslim and most of the Muslims are fed up with the vision of Pakistan presented by him.

"Mr. Jinnah," the resolution pointed out, "has never asked the Majlis-i-Ahrar for co-operation in any matter, but on the contrary, he is desirous of its obliteration by asking it to merge itself in the Muslim League. The Majlis-i-Ahrar would have been prepared even to lose its identity, had the Muslim League and Mr. Jinnah given any evidence of self-sacrifice and suffering. Mr. Jinnah had stated in unmistakable terms at Lucknow that civil disobedience could never be of any avail. But the Majlis-i-Ahrar can never fall in with such a policy because its very superstructure stands on self-sacrifice and suffering.

The resolution added: "Mr. Jinnah is in favour of a constitutional struggle which can never set a slave nation free. On the contrary, it strengthens the shackles of slavery, because by following it no effective step can be taken against the Government."

*Maulana Atta Ullah Shah Bokhari* who presided over the meeting condemned the cold-blooded murder of Maulana Sher Gul, a prominent Ahrar leader.

## The Amritsar Ahrar Conference

### Ahrars Severely Criticise Jinnah

The attitude of Ahrars towards the Muslim League was defined on the 24th. June 1944 in the Ahrar Conference held in the Golbagh, Amritsar under the presidentship of Mr. *Mazhar Ali Azhar*. The conference was very well attended.

Severely criticising the policy of Mr. Jinnah, the President, in the course of his address, expressed the Ahrars' inability to accede to the appeal of Mr. Jinnah to the Majlis-i-Ahrar to merge itself into the Muslim League. He was of the opinion that the policy of Mr. Jinnah would not lead him towards the attainment of Pakistan. The President further remarked that Mr. Jinnah never asked for the co-operation of the Ahrars in any matter. On the other hand, he always desired the extinction of the Majlis-i-Ahrar as a separate organisation. The Ahrars, the President said, would have responded to his appeal if the Muslim League and Mr. Jinnah had ever given evidence of self-sacrifice and suffering.

Maulana Mazhar Ali Azhar said that not a little finger had been raised by the Muslim League when Mr. Allah Bux and Mr. Fazl-ul-Huq had been removed from ministries while supporting popular feelings, whereas a storm was raised in the Punjab over the dismissal of Sardar Shaukat Hyat. He said that Mr. Jinnah only wanted to fight for obtaining ministries for the League. He referred to the Congress ministers, who had preferred jail life to ministries and said that Mr. Jinnah did not want to court imprisonment. He criticised the Muslim League resolution about help in war.

He said that Malik Khizar Hyat Khan should be credited with consistency, since he had declared that after the war, he would ask for rights for his community, in view of their active help in war, whereas Mr. Jinnah pursued a double policy. He thought that Mr. Jinnah wanted to create a split among the Muslims.

Continuing, he said that Mr. Jinnah's mentality was clear from his readiness to approach the Viceroy with requests for Pakistan but was not prepared to write a letter of sympathy to Mahatma Gandhi on the death of his wife. Nor would he care to inquire after his health.

Maulana Atta Ullah Shah Bukhari criticised Mr. Jinnah and the policy of the Government.

## The Bengal Majlis-i-Ahrar Conference

### Majlis-i-Ahrar and Mr. Jinnah

A resolution calling upon Mr. Jinnah to state categorically and unequivocally his attitude towards such political hooliganism as has been directed against the Majlis-i-Ahrar recently and warning him that his continued silence in this respect had already led to grave misunderstanding in responsible political circles, was adopted by the Bengal Provincial Committee of the Majlis-i-Ahrar held at Calcutta on the 13th. June 1944. The Nawab Bahadur of Dacca presided over the meeting, and the President of the All-India Majlis-i-Ahrar, Mr. Sheikh Hisamuddin, who was present, made a statement about the general position of the Majlis-i-Ahrar all over India.

The resolution said : "This meeting of the Bengal Provincial Committee of the Majlis-i-Ahrar Islam condemns the cowardly and stealthy attack, during the absence of the members of the Majlis-i-Ahrar on its office and on one young volunteer by a band of hooligans who shouted slogans of the Muslim League. This meeting recalls that in the last few years there have been several occasions when members or supporters of the League have resorted to hooliganism and violence in the attempt to impose their opinion on the public and to suppress by force all other political parties. The Majlis-i-Ahrar notes with regret that the leader of the League has never condemned such political hooliganism, and has maintained a strange silence even when Mr. Allah Baksh and Mr. Gulsher Ali Khan were murdered in a most brutal and cowardly manner. The Majlis-i-Ahrar

has always condemned such methods of violence and terrorism and has allowed perfect freedom of propaganda to its opponents even in areas where it has complete control. It points out that the recent League Conference at Sialkot would never have been held if the Majlis-i-Ahrar had chosen to prevent or oppose it. This meeting of the Majlis-i-Ahrar, therefore, calls upon Mr. Jinnah to state categorically and unequivocally his attitude towards such political hooliganism and murder and warns him that his continued silence in this respect has already led to grave misunderstanding in responsible political circles. This meeting requests the All-India Working Committee of the Majlis-i-Ahrar to survey the whole situation and issue clear directions for safeguarding its own members and guaranteeing the peaceful prosecution of its principles and programme."

# The Azad Muslim Conference

## Syed Abdullah Brelvi's Statement

Dr. *Shaukatullah Ansari*, Secretary of the Azad Muslim Board, announced that a meeting of Nationalist Muslims will be held in Delhi on the 6th, 7th and 8th of May. Invitations have been sent to prominent leaders of the Ahrar Party, Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind, Momin Conference, Krishak Praja Party of Bengal, All-India Shiah Conference, Muslim Majlis, Khudai Khidmatgars of N. W. Province, Anjuman-i-Watan of Baluchistan and Independent Muslims. The meeting has been summoned to discuss the present political situation in the country and to decide upon what lead to give to Indian Muslims. If the meeting should decide to call a large Conference, its dates and venue would be announced immediately. The Azad Muslim Board will meet on the 4th and 5th of May and will, obviously, formulate definite proposals for the consideration of the meeting which will be held on the 6th of this month. The Board is the Executive of the Azad Muslim Conference, which is itself a federation of the various parties mentioned above.

The present political deadlock cannot be resolved until Government take the initial step of releasing Gandhiji and other Congress leaders and, in consultation with the major political parties, transfer complete power to the people and establish a provisional Coalition Government. The Azad Muslim Board, when it met in November 1942 under the chairmanship of the late Mr. *Allah Bux*, suggested this solution, because it was convinced that the establishment of a provisional Coalition Government would alone enable the people of India to undertake the defence of the country with success and make all necessary sacrifices for the purpose. The existing war situation on the eastern frontier of India does not make the establishment of a provisional Coalition Government less urgent to-day than it was in November 1942. The Azad Muslim Board realized that the solution of the deadlock required a spirit of unity and trust among the major political parties and a determination to take concerted action for the maintenance of internal security and the defence of the country against aggression. But it also made it clear that this was feasible only if the parties were convinced that their sacrifices would be for the good of the country and not for strengthening of the bonds of imperialism.

### STAND FOR DEMOCRACY

The forthcoming meeting of Nationalist Muslims in Delhi is being held none too soon. No body of men have worked with greater sincerity, devotion and persistence than have the Nationalist Muslim leaders to bring about unity and trust among the major political parties. In the most disheartening circumstances they have persevered in their efforts to help the attainment of a permanent and honourable understanding between Hindus and Muslims. Though the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha mentality seems at the moment to dominate the country, they have not lost their faith that there are enough resources of patriotism and statesmanship in the country for the communal differences to be amicably adjusted. Nor have they outlived their own usefulness in the role of peace-makers that they are anxious to fill. Ever since the first Non-co-operation Movement was started, a majority of them have made no small sacrifices in the cause of the country's freedom. They are all passionate seekers of independence. They have no fear of Hindu majority in an independent India. For such a feeling of fear to them is un-Islamic. Islam teaches fearlessnes, Islam also teaches

brotherhood. The Nationalist Muslims do not countenance any policy or programme which is based on fear or is opposed to the idea of brotherhood. They stand for democracy, not a democracy which means nothing more and nothing less than enforcing the will of the majority but a democracy which means a rule of liberty, equality and fraternity, a rule in which the smallest minority has an equal opportunity of being heard and has never any fear of its right being heard and has never any fear of its rights being trampled upon and in which the majority identifies itself with the needs, fears and hopes of the minority. They strive for Hindu-Muslim unity for its own sake and not merely as a means to any other end, because they aspire to build a new India which will neither be a Hindu India nor a Muslim India but an India in which every Hindu, every Muslim, in fact every citizen, will find the highest satisfaction, in political, economic, cultural and religious spheres, that is available to a citizen in any other State in the world. They are no friends of capitalism or feudalism. They are champions of the "Have Nots" and the underdogs. The Nationalist Muslims can thus justifiably claim the right to ask their coreligionists to realize their responsibilities to the country. Similarly they can claim the right to appeal to their Hindu fellow-country-men to consider the rights of the Muslim minority in a spirit of broad-minded patriotism.

CONGRESS-LEAGUE SETTLEMENT

In spite of seemingly formidable obstacles, a settlement between the Congress and the Muslim League—and the Nationalist Muslims desire to help and not to hinder such a settlement—is not as difficult as many suppose provided the Congress leaders are released. The Muslim League demands self-determination. The Congress has agreed to self-determination. The difference between the two is that while the Muslim League demands self-determination in regions where the Muslims are in a majority, the Congress has accepted the principle of self-determination of territorial units. In the resolution which the Working Committee of the Congress passed about the Cripps proposal it declared that it was wedded to Indian freedom and unity. "Nevertheless," it added, "the Committee cannot think in terms of compelling the people in any Indian Union against their declared and established will." This position of the Congress was not affected when the A.I C.C. at its meeting in Allahabad in the following month passed Babu Jagat Narayanlal's resolution rejecting the principle of division of the country. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the President of the Congress, in his reply to Dr. Abdul Latiff's letter and in his statement at the A.I.C.C. meeting in Bombay made this clear beyond any doubt. The resolution passed at an informal meeting of Congress workers of the United Provinces held last month, expressing adherence to the principle of self-determination of territorial units shows the unmistakable trend of opinion in the Congress. The Congress and the League were, in fact, never so near each other as they are to-day and there is sufficient justification for the optimistic view of the Azad Muslim Board that the steps taken by the Congress towards the settlement of the communal problem are so substantial that further negotiations with its leaders offer the basis of a provisional Coalition Government for the duration of the war without prejudice to the rights and interests of any community in the post-war constitutional settlement. It is well-known that, immediately after the meeting of the A.I.C.C. in August 1942, Gandhiji had intended to strive for a communal settlement through negotiation with the League. The letter that he wrote from the place of his detention to Mr. Jinnah, which was not delivered to the latter, expressing his desire to meet him, showed his keenness for a settlement. The present writer had the privilege of seeing and talking with Gandhiji during his fast. Referring to the communal question Gandhiji told him that that question was uppermost in his mind on the eve of his arrest and that, if he had not been arrested, he would have gone to Mr. Jinnah even if the latter had not invited him. On the part of Gandhiji, thus, not only is there the will for a settlement but it is also most insistent and pressing. The way, as has been indicated above, is also there. Mr. Jinnah missed a great opportunity of serving his community no less than his country when he misunderstood and misrepresented Gandhiji's desire to meet him. However, where great causes are concerned, failures and lost opportunities are to those who serve these causes merely spurs goading them to redoubled efforts. In the midst of encircling gloom the Nationlist Muslims have never lost hope of a satisfactory and enduring communal settlement. Their meeting in Delhi will be helpful in clarifying the issues facing the country in emphasizing how the release of Congress leaders is essential for a communal settlement and in mobilizing public opinion effectively to press the demand for an immediate transfer of power to the people and the establishment of a provisional Coalition Government.

# Preceedings of the Conference

## New Delhi—6th. May to 8th. May 1944

### Dr. Latif's Suggestions

An appeal to Nationalist Muslims to enter the League with a firm determination to put it on better foundations is made by Dr. *Syed Abdul Latif* of Hyderabad (Deccan), who by special invitation attended the Conference of Nationalist Muslims.

Dr. *Latif* says: In mv three days' association with the leading members of the Nationalist group, I found that they were deeply dissatisfied with the present policy of the League. Some of the more earnest among them were prepared to work with the League, but they felt strongly that, under its present leadership, it was not possible for them to do so. That was the primary consideration which induced them to bring forward a proposal to establish a separate and parallel organisation under the name of "The All-India Muslim Majlis". I was opposed to this move. My plea with the members of the Conference both in my personal conversations with individual members, and in my speech at the open session, was that such a step would prove suicidal to the interests of the Muslims. I tried to bring home to them that if they really believed that the policy and demeanour of the League's High Command was disagreeable to them, the best way to alter that was to get into the League and seriously work for a change.

"In fact, I suggested to them and to the representatives of the other groups present there, that they should all join the League in a body and gain the opportunity to lift up their voice from within. The need of the moment, I pointed out, was to sink all differences, however acute, and consolidate all our energies and resources under a single organisation in order that we might possess the necessary strength to help resolving the present deadlock.

"I sincerely hope and trust that whatever be their immediate feeling, my friends of the Nationalist and other groups will reflect over the humble opinion I have offered and see if they cannot get over that feeling and resolve to enter the League with a firm determination to put it on better foundations. At the same time, may I hope that the League Executive will give a new turn to its outlook and come forward to claim back to the fold of the League all those groups who have till now stood aloof from it? The time is not far off when the Muslims of India will be called upon as a body to join hands with other leading elements in the land in shaping India's future on lines of mutual agreement. The earlier the much-needed solidarity for this purpose among us is attained, the better. The Muslim Nationalists have now, even as some other groups, resolved to support the right of self-determination to territorial units, and have thus come closer to the League. It is true that their methods of approach is somewhat different from that of the League; but it affords all the same, a common ground between the two. Similar common factors might emerge if the League and these groups come together in a spirit of mutual regard, and contribute to the consolidation of the Muslims under a single banner and an honourable settlement of the Muslim problem in India."

### Resolutions

#### A National Government Essential

The Conference passed a resolution, expressing relief at *Gandhiji's* unconditional release and praying for his early recovery, "so that he may once again resume his service to the cause of India's freedom." The Conference also adopted two resolutions, one asking for the formation of a National Government and the other setting out "fundamental considerations" on which the communal problem could in their view, be solved.

The first resolution ran:—

"This meeting of Nationalist Muslims views with great concern the hardships to which India has been subjected in the present phase of the war and the sufferings borne by the Indian people under the existing system of Government, the evidence of which is to be found in the intolerable rise in prices, burden of taxation, scarcity of certain essential commodities and the total absence of others.

"In the opinion of this meeting experience has shown that the present Government is not capable of saving the people from this distress and that no satisfactory solution is possible until a real National Government exercising full authority is formed at the Centre.

"This meeting further declares that all Indians, irrespective of creed or

community, and all patriotic organisations without exception are deeply interested in the defence of India. They are inspired with a real patriotic urge and a true spirit of sacrifice which can be directed most effectively, under a National Government, for the protection of the country against foreign invasion and aggreseion by Fascist powers.

"This meeting deplores the fact that the British Government in spite of its knowledge that the Indian people are opposed to Fascism, is still unwilling on account of its short-sighted policy to transfer power to them through a National Government.

"This meeting now declares that the formation of a National Government is no longer a political issue but has become a first-rate military question in view of the exigencies of the present phase of the war. The victory of the democratic forces, the Defence of India and resistance of Japanese aggression, all these considerations demands the immediate establishment of a National Government and the transfer of power to the Indian people.

"This meeting, therefore, urges the British Government to start negotiations with the leaders of India without any further loss of time so that a real National Government wielding effective authority should be established in the country."

### Resolution on Hindu-Muslim Settlement

The second resolution stated :

"This meeting of Nationalist Muslims considers, in the best interests of the country, that a Hindu-Muslim settlement should be brought about without any delay. It appeals to both Hindus and Muslims that having regard to the urgent need of such a settlement, they should take necessary steps towards this end and considers that the release of Gandhiji offers an excellent opportunity of which advantage should be taken. In the opinion of this meeting a solution of the communal problem satisfactory to all parties concerned can be secured on the following fundamental considerations and such a solution will satisfy the needs and aspirations of Indian Muslims : (1) India should continue to remain a united country. (2) The constitution of India should be framed by its own people. (3) There should be an All-India Federation. (4) The units of Federation should be completely autonomous and all residuary powers should be vested in them. (5) Every unit of the Federation should be free to secede from it as a result of a plebiscite of all its adult inhabitants. (6) The religious, economic and cultural rights of minorities should be fully and effectively safeguarded by reciprocal agreement.

### Pakistan Opposed

Messrs. *S. A. Brelvi*, *Hafiz Mohamed Ibrahim* and Dr. *Shaukatullah Ansari* explained to the press correspondents on the 8th. May, the background of the meeting and said that the second resolution set out the immediate programme with which Nationalist Muslims proposed to go before the country. Nationalist Muslims, they said, realised that the Congress took steps which would hasten a Hindu-Muslim settlement but unfortunately those steps were interrupted by the arrest of Congress leaders. With Mahatma Gandhi's release, the process of attempting a settlement would be resumed and Nationalist Muslims suggested in the resolution means by which that settlement could be hastened.

As Muslims they asserted they believed in the unity of India but they also conceded the right of each territorial unit to secede if it so chose. They also contemplated redistribution of these units. What was proposed was not Pakistan but a plan that should let India remain a united country for all time to come. That is the fundamental difference between them and the League. There was however, in the mind of certain people the fear of a federation by compulsion and in order to allay that fear, Nationalist Muslims conceded the right of secession but advised the units not to exercise that right.

The meeting, they said, would devise methods to implement the resolution : and in the pursuit of their ideal they contemplated replacement of the Muslim League. They were considering the reorganisation of Nationalist Muslims into a party and the revival of the branches which once existed of that party in every province. Those who attended the meeting did so as individual Nationalist Muslims and were a larger body than the Azad Muslim Board.

The meeting also passed a resolution "welcoming" Mahatma Gandhi's unconditional release and praying for his early recovery so that he might once again resume his services to the cause of India's freedom.

ARABS IN PALESTINE

In another resolution the meeting drew attention to "the common and unbreakable bonds of faith and affection which unite the Muslims of India to their Arab brethren in Palestine" and warned the British Government that "if it once again breaks its promises clearly given in the White Paper and surrenders to the financial pressure of the Jews and the dictates of plutocratic America, it will unleash the boundless indignation and hostility not only of the Muslims of India but of the entire world." The meeting declared that if the attempts to change the status of the Arabs and Jews of Palestine succeeded, the meeting would hold the British Government entirely responsible for the "consequent hostility of Muslims and the crime of ignoring democratic principles by forcing a majority to submit to a minority."

The meeting expressed grief at the death of Mr. Allah Bux, Begum Azad and Kasturba Gandhi.

ALL INDIA MUSLIM MAJLIS

The Conference passed the following resolution :

"In view of the present political situation in the country and the interests of the Muslims, as also for implementing the resolutions on Hindu-Muslim settlement and other resolutions passed at this session, it is resolved that the Nationalist Muslims should reorganise themselves under the name of the All-India Muslim Majlis with its headquarters at Delhi and branches throughout India."

"This organisation shall seek to guide and lead the Muslims unitedly for the achievement of complete National Independence and other correct objectives and shall also strive to bring about a Hindu-Muslim settlement in their own interest and in that of the country as a whole."

"This meeting therefore emphatically appeals to the Muslims of India to join and support this organisation so that its aims may be realised and it may become a popular and powerful organ of Indian Muslims."

# Released Congress Leaders' Conference

## Resolutions—Lucknow—15th. & 16th. April 1944

The meeting of the Congress leaders and workers recently released from jail commenced on the 15th. April 1944 and was resumed on the next day, the 16th. April in the *Trilok Nath Hall*, Lucknow with Babu *Sampurnanand*, ex-Education Minister, U. P. in the chair.

FAITH IN GANDHIJI'S LEADERSHIP

The meeting adopted resolutions reiterating its faith in the leadership of Mahtma *Gandhi* and the Congress Working Committee, expressing condolence on the death of *Kasturba Gandhi*, Begum *Azad*, Mr. *Mahadev Desai*, Mr. *R. S. Pandit*, Mr. *Allah Bux* and Mr. *Chandrabhal Johri*, sympathising with the sufferers in Bengal, appealing to the public to contribute ty the detenus' families relief fund and urging Congressmen to intensify the production of Khadi.

JAPANESE INROADS INTO ASSAM

Dr. *K. N. Katju* moved the resolution relating to Japanese inroads into Assam. The resolution was seconded by Mr. *A. G. Kher* and was accepted in an amended form. Following is the text of the resolution :

"This meeting views the inroads made by the Japanese troops into Assam with great concern. It expresses its sympathies for the people of Assam who already afflicted by famine have now to suffer the hardships and ordeal of invasion.

"The renewed Japanese offensive once again underlines the danger of Fascist aggression to which the country is still exposed. While reiterating the Congress attitude towards imperialism, this meeting expresses confidence that despite all difficulties and impediments the people of Assam will resist the Japanese attack with all the strength at their command. The Congress has always stood against all aggression and is committed to the defence of the country under all circumstances."

Dr. *Katju* at the outset referred to the resignation of the Congress Ministries and said that the main reason behind their resignation was that Indians were not consulted by the British Government on the question of India's active participation in the war against the aggressors in Europe. There was no danger to India at that time, but still the Congress High Command made it clear that they had no sympathy for the aggressors, be they Japanese, Germans or Italians. That had always been their view and that view prevailed to-day.

Dr. Katju added that at the time Sir *Stafford Cripps* came out to India, the country was pregnant with various rumours. The Japanese had even raided certain parts of India, *Mahatma Gandhi* and the Congress Working Committee had even then made it absolutely clear that it was their firm determination to defend their country and oppose any sort of aggression. The position of the Congress, continued Dr. *Katju*, had always been clear.

Dr. Katju further said their position to-day was the same as it was when the war began. They were determined to defend their soil and would not look to any outside nation to come and win freedom for them. Indians had themselves to defend their country.

Concluding, Dr. Katju said that they all sympathised with the people of Assam in their present ordeal and it was the duty of every Indian to oppose outside aggression.

Seconding the resolution, Mr. *A. G. Kher*, ex-Parliamentary Secretary, U. P., expressed deep concern over the situation in Assam. The Congress, he said, had envisaged that the defence of the country was only possible with the co-operation of the people. It had always been the view of the Congress that the aggressors in Europe—Germans and Italians—should be fought against. When the Japanese invaded China, the Congress raised its voice against the aggressive nation and lodged a strong protest. It had always been a principle with the Congress to oppose foreign aggression and they would adhere to it to the last.

Babu *Sampurnanand*, speaking on the resolution, said that the Congress had always been anti-Fascist. It even raised its voice of protest against the action of the British Government when the latter supplied petrol to Italy in the Italo-Abyssinian war and closed the Burma Road when Japan invaded China. There was, therefore, no truth in the allegation that the Congress was pro-Japanese.

The resolution was put to vote and carried.

### Congress to Contest Municipal Elections

Mr. *Sri Prakasa*, M.L.A. (Central), then moved the following resolution : "The meeting feels that it will be desirable to contest the forthcoming Municipal elections as a preliminary step. This meeting calls upon Congressmen in all urban areas to form local committees and make arrangements for the proper enrolment of all persons entitled to the franchise so that the elections may be held on as fair a basis as possible."

At the outset, the mover referred to *Mahatma Gandhi's* illness and expressed the hope that the Mahatma would soon recover.

Dealing with the resolution, Mr. Sri Prakasa said, no election had been held for the last eight or nine years. Since the Congress went out of office, it had been repeatedly emphasised that they had lost the confidence of the people. It would, therefore, be in the fitness of things to contest the forthcoming Municipal elections in December 1944, in order to show that the masses had not deserted the Congress. The elections, he felt, would also afford them an opportunity to form a correct estimate of their present position.

Concluding, Mr. Sri Prakasa said that it was a pity that Government had decided to hold Municipal elections only and not elections to district boards as well. He suggested that district election boards be formed to conduct elections in various districts of the United Provinces under the direction of the Central Election Board.

Seconding the resolution, Mr. *Khurshad Lal* said that it was imperative for Congressmen to fight the elections. It would help them counter their opponents' attempt to keep them aloof from the masses. They should go back to the masses and establish that they still enjoyed their confidence.

The resolution was carried after authorising the President to nominate a committee of five to the Provincial Election Board. It was also decided that no member of the Board would seek election to any local body.

By another resolution, the meeting protested against the treatment meted out to political prisoners in jail.

Winding up the proceedings, *Babu Sampurnanand* referred to the money raised for the distress relief fund and said that all expenses would be sanctioned by the Provincial Relief Committee of which Mr. *Firoz Gandhi* was the Secretary. The money collected for the relief fund would not be devoted to any other cause or work.

Concluding, the President amounced that a central office for the co-operation of work of the various committees would be set up at Lucknow.

# The All India Kisan Conference

## Resolutions—Bezwada—12th. March 1944

### Proceedings of the Subjects Committee

The Central Committee of the All-India Kisan Sabha met at Bezwada on the 12th. March 1944 and converted itself into a subjects committee of the session.

Formally inviting the President-elect, *Swami Sahajananda Saraswati*, to take the chair, Mr. *Bankim Mukherjee*, the outgoing President, said that Swami Sahajanand was the most militant and experienced leader of the Kisans. In spite of the detention of various Kisan leaders, the Kisan Sabha was stronger than ever and was India's biggest class organisation to-day. It would grow stronger under the new President's guidance.

Swami Sahajanand, who took the chair amidst cheers, said his one idea from the early days of his life was liberty and from 1927 onwards had devoted himself to the service of the Kisans. The political deadlock in the country at times dejected him, but he knew that nothing could check India's march to liberty. The people of the Soviet Union and China was advancing, and this must have its effect on contiguous areas. Our liberty could not be denied to us long. The service of Kisans was his mission and he was not going to leave the field until the goal was reached.

Resolutions of condolence touching the deaths of Mrs. *Kasturbai Gandhi*, Mr. *R. S. Pandit* and several Kisan leaders were moved from the chair and passed.

Mr. *Bankim Mukherjee* moved a resolution conveying greetings to the Soviet people and the Red Army. The mover said the Soviet peoples had increased production of food and machine to outmatch Fascist Germany and the Red Army, an army of Kisans and workers, had at Stalingrad indirectly saved India from Fascist attack. The Red Army was an army of liberation for the oppressed peoples of Europe and the world.

Mr. *Nidhan Singh*, who returned from the Soviet Union in 1943, seconded the resolution which was passed unanimously.

Another resolution was passed, protesting against restrictions put by the Governments of Madras and Hyderabad State on travelling to Bezwada by the delegates and Kisans for this session and declaring that such obstructions placed before the session "are not only an infringement on the freedom of association of the Kisans of India, but must seriously hamper the work of mobilising the people against fascism, against food crisis and epidemic. The resolution also referred to the spirited fight put up by the members of the Central Legislature belonging to all parties and hoped that the patriots inside and outside the legislature would follow this example and fight such restrictions put by the bureaucracy and bring relief to the people by ending the deadlock.

#### Taxation Proposals Criticised

Regarding the new taxation proposals, the Subjects Committee adopted a resolution protesting against the proposals of the Government of India to impose tax on betelnuts, tea and coffee and to increase the tax on tobacco and the rates of third class railway fare for increasing their revenue. "The burden of these taxation, the resolution stated, will mainly fall on the Kisans and the poor sections of the population in the country since the articles on which Government proposed to levy and increase the tax are daily necessaries for the life of the vast masses of the people. The Government proposals of levying indirect taxation on the necessaries of life of the barest strata of the population is opposed to the recognised canons of just taxation."

The Committee similarly condemned the government's attitude of persisting and imposing these additional burdens on people who were in no position to bear them in defiance of unanimous opinion of public bodies as well as the elected representatives of people of the Central Legislature.

By another resolution the Committee protested against the proposed reassessment of revenue by the North-West Frontier Government and pleaded that it should be suspended till the war ended and stability of price was eased. The Committee further pointed out that the Frontier tenants suffered from numerous privations as they have no Tenancy Act to protect their rights. The Sabha, therefore, demanded that a Frontier Tenancy Act must immediately be passed to give

the necessary rights to the Frontier Kisans, their lands and the produce of the lands.

The Committee condemned in another resolution, the most reactionary move of the Jagirdars and the Myre of the province of Sind to get the Jagirdari Act either repealed or amended in such a way as to deprive Kisans and Mukadim of their rights by paying rent in cash—a right which they enjoyed under the provision of the Act. The Committee, therefore, appealed to the members of the Muslim League and all other progressive sections in the Sind Legislature to fight for the just cause of the Haris and Mukadims and defeat the nefarious move of Jagirdars and the Myre the object of which was to secure unlimited power in their hands for exploiting the Haris and Mukadims ruthlessly, The Committee also called on the Haris to strengthen their unity solidarity and organisation for defeating the move of the Jagirdars. They urged on the Government of Sind to pass immediately tenancy legislation giving occupancy rights to all the Haris who were cultivating the lands at the time of the appointment of the Tenancy Committee.

By another resolution, the Committee decided to appoint a committee to go into the grievances of the agricultural labourers and report to the Central Kisan Committee its recommendations. By a further resolution moved, it was suggested an enquiry to be made by the Government for adequate supply of essential commodities and reduction in price.

## Resolutions—2nd. Day—Bezwada—13th. March 1944

### Release of National Leaders Urged

The Subjects Committee resumed discussion on the next day, the 13th. March, with *Swami Sahajanand* in the chair. The proceedings commenced with National songs by lady volunteers. The pandal was packed to capacity.

The committee passed the following resolution on land transference and eviction :—The All-Kisan Sabha considers that relief should be given to the Kisan to enable and encourage him to produce more food crop for the benefit of the entire nation and demand that measures be taken forthwith by the Governments concerned for the immediate restoration to the Kisan of land transferred by him or the land from which he was evicted in 1943 and such other reliefs as are called for under the circumstances, and urges the Government to modify the ordinance promulgated in Bengal, in connection with the transference of land which does not in any way improve the present position and that measures be immediately taken in all provinces to stop enhancement of rent and eviction of Kisans from land.

The Sabha further urges the Kisans to set up settlement Boards of villages for setting all such cases of transference of land and eviction through mutual understanding of the parties concerned.

A second Resolution passed by the Committee warns the Government that its policy of refusal to release the national leaders and enable them to solve the deadlock, will only result in further worsening the situation, thus delaying and weakening the common cause of the Chinese, American, British, and the Indian people. The Sabha therefore demands the immediate and unconditional release of *Mahatma Gandhi, Maulana Azad, Pandit Jawharlal Nehru* and other members of the Working Committee.

The Sabha is convinced that release of the leaders would create an atmosphere favourable to the achievement of national unity and for the setting up of a National Composite Government enjoying the confidence of the people and that this is the only way to effectively fight famine and ensure success of the Central Food Plan so that everybody gets his food through effective control of prices and rationing. This would also ensure economic stability and political freedom and enable the people to lead a counter-offensive against Japanese aggression. The Sabha calls upon all its provincial units and all Kisans to start a campaign for the release of national leaders for ending the deadlock and for achieving all-round national unity based on an understanding as a result of mass urge between the major parties and communities.

Resolutions on aid to Bengal and on the policy of the Kisan Sabha were also adopted by the Subjects Committee.

The Subjects Committee adopted on the motion of Mr. *Bankim Mukherjee* a comprehensive resolution explaining the policy of the Kisan Sabha. The resolution stated that a National Coalition Government, responsible to the Legislature and to the people of India, based on the "unequivocal declaration of India's right to freedom and to frame her own constitution after the war" and functioning both at

the Centre and in the Provinces was essential. It added that the present war can effectively be converted into a people's war only when it is fought under the leadership of a National Government and with the willing and hearty co-operation of the people of India. The resolution also pleaded for Hindu-Muslim unity and called upon the Kisans to organise a united campaign to promote unity between Hindu and Muslim masses and to create the urge for Congress-League unity with a view to forging all in national unity.

# The Open Session of the Kisan Conference

## Eighth Session—Bezwada—14th. March 1944

### The Welcome Address

The opening session of the eighth All-India Kisan Sabha commenced at Bezwada on the 14th. March 1944 amid scenes of great enthusiasm. There were over 50,000 people including more than 5,000 women. The President was taken to the rostrum to the accompaniment of band played by Kisan volunteers.

After the recital of some Kisan songs by lady volunteers, the Secretary to the Reception Committee introduced prominent delegates from various provinces to the audience.

Welcoming the President and the delegates, Mr. *C. Vasudeva Rao*, Chairman of the Reception Committee, said: "Ours is mainly a food-growing province and it is our duty to produce more; but mere increased production will not result in any good unless we see the prices are fair and within the reach of the masses; or else the unspeakable tragedy of Bengal will be repeated here."

After narrating at considerable length the work done by the A. I. K. S. towards the relief of famine-stricken places, viz. Bengal, Rayalaseema and Malabar, the Chairman recounted the various achievements of the Kisan Sabha, by the "grow more food" campaign, such as the Madras Government's law, making it obligatory on the Zamindars to repair all the irrigation works under their charge; the building up by Government of a number of projects in Kistna West Godavari and Rayalaseema districts. He said that when these were completed, lakhs of acres would be freshly brought under cultivation.

Stressing the necessity of Kisan-agricultural labour unity to fight for equitable Wages for agricultural labourers, he said such unity could do a lot in the way of securing grain loans at low prices and settling disputes among agricultural labour and the peasants by mutual discussion and co-operation. He condemned the Rangaites who, he said, were nothing but disruptionists who are neither striving for protecting the interest of the peasantry nor for national Defence, but continuing in their activity of disruption against the people and against National Defence.

Concluding, Mr. Vasudeva Rao hoped that this session, in the present nat onal and international events, would unify the entire Indian peasantry and fulfil its historic role The country was looking to them for guidance, he said, and he firmly believed that this Conference would show a correct way out of the so many difficult problems facing the country to-day.

Amid shouts of "Kisan Sabha Zindabad" and "Inquilab Zindabad", *Swami Sahajanand* then delivered his presidential address. The address lasted an hour and a half and was translated in Telugu by Mr. *J. Ramalingayya*, as most of the audience were from Andhradesa.

Condolence resolutions on the death of Mrs. *Gandhi* and Mr. *R. S. Pandit* were then put from the chair and passed.

Messages wishing the Conference success were read. Prominent among those who sent the messages were Babu *Sohan Singh* and *Sohansingh Bhakana* (Punjab), Dr. *Subbaroyan*, Mr. *Sri Prakash*, M.L.A (Central). *Mahakavi Vallathol*, Mr. *G. M. Sved*, President, Sind Muslim League and member of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, Mr. *Mrinalkanti Bose* (*Amrita Bazar Patrika*,) Mr. *Bhupendranath Dutt* and Mr *M. S. M. Sharma*, Editor, *Daily Gazette*, Karachi.

### President's Address

A demand for the release of Congress leaders and the establishment of a national government was put forward by Swami *Sahajanand Saraswathi* in his presidential address to the All-India Kisan Sabha Conference held at Bezwada on the 14th. March 1944. The President expressed his opposition to the Pakistan scheme and dealt with the economic problems of the Kisans.

Scenes, reminiscent of the visit of *Mahatma Gandhi* and other national lead-

ers some years back when the constructive programme of the Congress to collect one crore of rupees for the Tilak Swaraj Nidhi and enlist ten lakhs members was formulated, were again witnessed here to-day when the All-India Kisan Conference opened its session. Despite the restrictions imposed on railway and bus travel, thousands made their way to Bezwada.

The President-elect *Swami Sahajanand* and other Kisan leaders were taken in procession in country carts drawn by sturdy Andhra bulls. The procession which was two miles long was composed of nearly 20,000 people and was very colourful, with thousands of red flags fluttering. Slogans such as "Release Congress leaders" and "Down with Fascist Aggression" were frequently uttered with enthusiasm.

After the procession, Mr. *Bankim Mukerjee* unfurled the Kisan flag. In doing so, Mr. Mukerjee said that the flag was a sign of victory and unity. The Red Flag gave hopes to the people of the country who were ravaged by famine and pestilence and dis-spirited by disunion. The flag also promised the release of national leaders and the establishment of a responsible National Government.

The Conference was held in an open maidan. About 400 delegates and 30,000 visitors had arrived by last evening. Various exhibition stalls were opened. A cattle show was also held.

After Mr *P. C. Joshi's* opening speech, *Swami Sahajanand* delivered the presidential address.

The Kisans, the President in the course of his address said, represented 80 per cent of the people residing in villages and played an important part in the life of the country. They knew very little of politics, but understood well their day-to-day needs and economic problems and were devoid generally of the idea of collective bargaining and assertion of their rights. "The Kisan Sabha," he said, "judges the soundness or otherwise of politics to the extent it effectively solves the bread and butter problem of the producing masses, while others judge economics in the light of its serving their politics or being an end in itself. In my opinion they cannot constitute the executive of the Sabha. It is our duty to clear once for all the cobwebs and mists that surround it, declare its position in unequivocal terms and adopt measures on the basis of its distinct political entity."

Dealing with the economic problems of the Kisans, the President said that the growers of jute and cane and the manufacturers of *gur* were the hardest hit of the Kisans during these days of high prices for all other commodities. The Kisan Sabha had been demanding a fair price for both of these. The enquiry committees set up by the Government from time to time, had in their own way arrived at charges of cultivation. Many important items of expenditure like interest charges on capital investment, which had changed hands almost cent per cent, had not been taken into account by those committees. The All-India Kisan Sabha must appoint an enquiry committee to make a detailed survey of the cultivation costs for jute and cane, and submit a report on the basis of which they could demand fair and minimum prices for both jute and cane. "There is a wide disparity in the prices of sugar prevailing in the various parts of the country. As regards *gur*, the U. P. and Bihar Governments fixed a very low price and later, to add insult to the injury, the authorities have totally stopped the export of *gur* outside these provinces by any private agency and they themselves have so far exported, if at all, very little *gur* from U. P. and perhaps nothing from Bihar. The one distinct effect of the policy is that while in Bihar and U. P. *gur* is simply rotting and wasting for want of consumers and purchasers, in the consuming provinces of Maharashtra and others it is selling between Rs. 20 to 30 a maund. The authorities have also banned the manufacture of *gur* in the areas of the sugar factories in the Punjab, Bengal and Andhra, and the Gwalior State too has not lagged behind in the matter. Cannot we force the unwilling hands of the rulers to concede our demand in respect of at least sugarcane and gur ?"

"The more food we produce," the President continued, "the more scarce it becomes. In the forms of our food committees and other kindred activities we want indeed very much, by setting examples, to force the Government to adopt our method and suggestion to solve all these knotty problems. But even our well-thought-out plans to meet the most threatening situation have no place in the minds and workings of our rulers. Politics lies at the root of all this. I am afraid, and without the political solution, no amount of such committees and the apparent popular unity behind them all will do as that unity is like a body without the soul."

The President protested strongly against the increase in railway fare in the

face of unanimous opposition in the country and criticised the present method of drives for investments.

MYTH OF PEASANTS' PROSPERITY

Proceeding, *Swami Sahajanand* said : "It has become almost a fashion with the officials and others to repeat that the Kisans have become wealthy and prosperous due to the high prices they are getting now. But it is an established fact that more than 80 per cent of the peasant-holdings are un-economic and almost 90 per cent of the Kisans are consequently under-fed and under-clothed as they cannot produce enough to feed and clothe themselves and their dependents. So the 90 per cent of the Kisans have no surplus to sell and thus get themselves enriched." The President appealed to the Madras Government to take up immediately the construction of canal projects in Rayalaseema in order to root out famine which was often prevalent there.

RELEASE CONGRESS LEADERS

*Swami Sahajanand,* dealing next with the political situation, said : "Indian politics is allowed to drift and the political stalemate betrays not even the remotest sign of solution. The more the country endeavours to find a way out of the impasse, the more baffling and complicated form it assumes. Almost all the elements in the country are persistently demanding the release of the Congress leaders and an understanding between the Congress and the Government. But the Government turns a deaf ear to all this and the Government's consistent reply is an emphatic "No." This shows the comparative weakness and strength of the country and the Government respectively."

Referring to the success of the Congress in the recent bye-elections, the President observed that they did not indicate any rising strength of the country politically. "Real political power lies in foreign hands that are becoming increasingly determined and emboldened not to part with it. So far, the people have not been able to wrest this power from the unwilling hands. No doubt, the general political consciousness in the country has increased manifold, but it has taken no definite form and bereft of the fighting mood in the public, it counts little in concrete politics."

PAKISTAN AND RUSSIAN ANALOGY

"I am no believer," Swami *Sahajanand* declared, "in either Pakistan or Akhand Hindustan. An indivisible India in the sense of unstinted and unwavering loyalty to it and the intact preservation of all the communities, sects and religions that inhabit this great and ancient land of ours is the thing to be conceived of, achieved and aspired after, and it is this India that really matters with me. But indeed we cannot see such an India an accomplished fact by means of the Hindus, the Muslims, the Depressed Classes and others constantly sparring at each other. This can be achieved only as a result either of the prolonged deliberations in a spirit of give-and-take by cool-headed spokesmen of all the communities and sects possessed of broad outlook or of an economic programme comprehensively prepared and boldly undertaken, executed and translated into action by those who really mean business.

"At this stage there come forward some, despairing perhaps of the quick result of the latter and believing in the former. They seriously suggest a formula as a basis for the former. They interpret Pakistan as the right of self-determination for the Muslim nationalities, and taking their cue from Soviet Russia they press for its acceptance by the Hindus and the Congress leadership. The Kisan Sabha has so far chosen to remain neutral in the matter in its own interest and I am convinced that this has been the right choice.

"But so far as I am personally concerned, I have serious fears and doubts about the success of the national self-determination policy as applied to India in the present state of her political development. I fear that that policy will be dangerously misplaced here. Firstly, the military and economic union between the nationalities and the rest of the country, and as its basis the complete emancipation of the peasants which can be nothing short of the absolute liquidation of all sorts of landlordism, and the handling over of the entire political power to the Kisans and the Mazdoors—these three are the basic elements and factors which constitute together the national self-determination policy. How is Mr. *Jinnah* to subscribe without reservation to these three fundamentals of that policy ? I think not. Secondly, in the circumstances, the moment the principle of self-determination is granted, the question of a corridor between the Eastern and Western Pakistan zones is bound to crop up immediately and assume a serious political form too. Thirdly, the Pakistan movement cannot be identified with the national movement

of the Muslims, because the Muslim peasants as such have never identified themselves with Pakistan movement and if ever they have done so at all they have done as Muslims and not as peasants. And if and when they do so, I am afraid, all the Nawabs and Zamindars of the Muslim League, who are so vociferous regarding Pakistan now, will either drop this thing totally or slip out of the League in a body, Lastly, M. Stalin opposed vehemently the secession of the border regions during the civil-war days and after, with all his might on the plea that to demand separation then was a counter revolution. Now supposing the right of self determination is granted to the Muslims and they demand immediately their separation, without waiting for an indefinite period till the Muslim masses have become economically and politically class-conscious what will be our position then? Will we then oppose it on the same ground as M. Stalin? Will it not then look ridiculous and fighting for the impossible at that? I am, therefore, definitely of opinion that until a congenial atmosphere for mutual understanding is created, we must concentrate on a well-thought-out economic programme.

CONGRESS TO REMAIN AS NATIONAL BODY

Referring to the Congress and attempts to set up an anti-Congress bloc, the President said: "Our differences with the Congress and its leadership are fundamental in many respects. But they are matters between ourselves *vis-a-vis* one another and surely not when the country's freedom is at stake. Secondly, they are not such as to make us forget our slavery for a moment and strengthen the hands that tighten our chains. We do realise in our hearts that the Congress is a mere concrete form of the national revolt against foreign domination, and as long as that domination is there, the necessity of the Congress or a similar organisation will ever remain, and we will not be a party to its extinction It is why we have always demanded and continue to demand its legalisation and unconditional release of its leadership. This we do despite the stern fact that we have never approved the Congress attitude and policy as regards the war and war efforts. We are convinced that such opposition will not in the least accelerate our fight for freedom, nor will it bring that freedom any nearer. We further hold that opposition will only embolden the Axis to attack India and as we can in no way reconcile ourselves to prefer the fresh slavery of the Axis, we have adopted that attitude. But so far as co-operation with these efforts is concerned, the same cannot and must not be expected from us in the absence of the congenial atmosphere, which it is the duty of our rulers to create as an outcome of the National Government deserving a hearty and willing co-operation of the people and masses of India."

## Fourth Day—Bezwada—15th. March 1944

### Resolutions

The fourth day session of the All-India Kisan Sabha was resumed at five this afternoon before a record crowd of 60,000. All the resolutions which were earlier passed by the Subjects Committee were again moved and passed unanimously. Resolutions on "grievances of the States' peoples," "defence fund and savings certificates" and "food procurement policy" were also moved and passed.

Mr. *Bulusu Sambamurthi*, ex-Speaker of the Madras Legislative Assembly, was present do-day. He made a short speech in Telugu. Addressing the conference, Mr. B. Sambamurthi said that the food problem could only be solved by the establishment of a National Government. He added that the formation of a National Government and the transfer of power to India would lead to real freedom in the world. Mr. Sambamurti said that the present famine and other difficulties were due to the fact that the present India Government was manned by persons who were not the representatives of the people. There was no mutual trust between the people and the Government. He exhorted the people to gather strength and get their leaders released.

Speaking on the resolution on "release of political leaders," Mr. *Bankim Mukherjee* made a spirited speech lasting an hour and said that the growth of strength of the Kisan Sabha had dismayed its opponents in the country. This growth in its strength was due to its firm stand against Fascism. The people of India were becoming consciously anti-fascist, he added. more and more they had come to realise that the freedom and progress of India lay in aligning itself with the progressive forces of the world, especially Russia and China.

Mr. Mukherjee proceeding said, the Government did not allow the Congress leaders to negotiate with the League to bring about national unity envisaged in the Bombay A. I. C. C. resolution; instead they put them in jail. And the people,

leaderless, in their fury, in their ignorance, in their confusion thought the best course for salvation lay in the way of sabotage. It was on that question that the All-India Kisan Sabha took a firm stand. It showed to the world and went to the masses to declare that the path of salvation did not lie through sabotage which would hamper their progress and efforts towards freedom and liberty.

Concluding, Mr. Mukherjee hoped that the All-India Kisan Sabha would draw to its banner the millions of Kisans of India to work for the freedom of the country.

Dr. *Adhikary* (People's War), who spoke next, refuted the charge that the Communist Party dominated the Kisan Sabha and emphasised the need for complete unity among the various parties.

Many other prominent delegates also spoke stressing the need for national unity and co-operation towards achieving liberty and the release of leaders.

*Swami Sahajanand Saraswathi*, winding up the conference, thanked the audience for turning up in larger numbers and adjourned the session amidst shouts of Kisan Sabha Zindabad, Hindu-Muslim Unity, etc."

COMMUNISTS' ATTITUDE TO GOVT.

Cultural demostrations were held last night in connection with the All-India Kisan Sabha. These included a Zamin ryot ballet, tea-estate dances, chen-chetha technique of Bombay, burrakatha narration and Stalingrad and Moscow reconquest songs.

Mr. *P. C. Joshi* formally opening the show said that culture was something more vital than mere politics.

He denied the charge that Communists were strong supporters of the British Government. The Communists all over India, specially in Andhra and Bengal, were working for famine-relief and also protesting against hoarders demanding fair price for Kisans. Was this helping the Government, he asked.

Concluding, he appealed to all to join hands and work for people's food, release of National leaders and national freedom.

NEXT SESSION IN KERALA

The Central Kisan Council met this morning for an hour *in camera* after which the Subjects Committee resumed general discussion and passed four new resolutions on "Sugarcane problem," "greetings to the Chinese people," "grow more food" and "prevention of famine in Rayalaseema."

The resolution on China expressed confidence that the two peoples of China and India would soon be liberated to take an honourable part in the rebuilding of the world and the regeneration of Asia. Mr. *Kasher Singh China* (Punjab,) who recently returned from a tour of China and moved the resolution gave a vivid picture of conditions in wartime China.

In regard to sugar, the Sabha called upon the U. P. and Bihar Government to set up a committee with representatives of canegrowers, Kisan and millowners to go into the problem of sugarcane cultivation in detail.

For giving relief to the people in Rayalaseema the Sabha urged the speedy execution of the Tungabhadra and other projects.

The fourth resolution on the "Grow More Food" campaign, demanded the removal of obstacles in the way of the Kisans and suggested the supply of tested seeds and cheap manure, greater irrigational facilities and the declaration of a moratorium on all agricultural loans and debts advanced to Kisans by Government during the pendency of the war, the passing of legislation for reducing the burden of rent and taxes of the cultivator and the restoration to Kisans of their lands which were transferred or from which they were evicted owing to famine conditions.

Delegates from Bengal and Kerala invited the Sabha to hold the next session in their respective provinces but after some discussion on the subject it was finally decided to hold the same in Kerala next year.

This morning a cattle show was held. Buffaloes, stud-bulls, etc., of the rarest and finest type were exhibited before a large gathering.

The Reception Committee had made splendid arrangements for boarding and lodging of the delegates The session was orderly and the huge gathering maintained wonderful discipline. The only incident was the removal of the red flag hoisted on the Mogalrajapuram Hill and the hoisting of a black flag in its stead.

## Fifth Day—Bezwada—16th. March 1944

**The All-India Kisan Committee met this evening and elected the Centra-Kisan Council for the forthcoming year, which consisted of sixteen members, includ**

ing Mr. Muzafar Ahmed (Bengal), Mr. J Bokhari (Sind), Mr. Harshade Malaviya and Ramesh Chandar (U.P.), Keraliyan (Malabar), Mr. T. Sundarayya, and Mr. N Prasad Rao (Andhra), Mr. Karunasindhu Roy (Surma valley), Mr. Jhahanio (Punjab), Mr. Jamuna Karji (Behar) and Bhairav Bharati (Gwalior State.)

Besides these, Mr. Kariananda Sharma (Behar) and Mr. Akshar Singh Chinnah (Punjab) were elected as Vice-Presidents. The Committee also elected the following four Joint Secretaries : Mr. Abdullah Rasool (Bengal), Mr. Jadunandan Sharma (Behar), Mr. Jagit Singh (Punjab) and Mr. E. M. S. Namboodripad (Kerala).

Further, it was decided by the Committee that Mr. Khos-hal Khan of the North West Frontier Province be invited to attend the Central Kisan Council meetings.

# The Non-Party Leaders' Conference

## Opening Day—Lucknow—7th. April 1944

### Presidential Address

The need for restoring constitutional Government in the provinces and the establishment of a National Government at the Centre was stressed by *Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru* in his presidential address at the Non-Party Leaders' Conference which met at Lucknow on the 7th. April 1944.

He urged the release of Mr Gandhi and other Congress leaders and the convening of a National Conference for settling the communal problem, and appealed for Government's co-operation in achieving unity in India.

Sir Tej Bahadur appealed to his countrymen to close their ranks to fight Japan and show the enemy that "our best safeguard and shield against foreign interference is that true and genuine spirit of nationalism which will brook no interference on the part of any foreign nation even though it may profess to justify its conduct in the name of liberty and freedom."

Reviewing the political events since the meeting of the Conference in Delhi in February 1942, Sir Tej Bahadur referred to the Cripps Mission and said : "It was to me a matter of supreme regret that the negotiations which at one time held out the promise of solving the constitutional deadlock came to an abrupt end. If each party had adopted a more accommodating attitude, if a less legalistic view had been taken by each party and if all concerned worked in a different spirit, it seemed to me at that time not only possible but also probable that the situation might have been saved and much of the unpleasantness and bitterness that followed the failure of the Cripps Mission might have been spared."

Referring to the Congress resolution of August 1942, he said : So far as I am aware Congressmen deny the interpretation which has been put on their resolution and hold very strongly that the lawlessness and violence which followed cannot fairly and reasonably be attributed to them. How all that came about, has yet to be investigated by an independent tribunal. I have no doubt that not only do leading Congressmen sincerely regret the acts of lawlessness and violence which happened in August 1942, and subsequent months, but that there also is a very large body of opinion outside Congress circles which has always deeply regretted that things should have happened as they did. It has not hesitated to publicly denounce those acts of violence though it has never accepted in its entirety the official view as to the causes which led to the outbreaks nor has it entirely approved of the action taken by the Government in some places on some occasions and in some instancee. It is permissible to ask what steps Government took between May 1942 and August 1942 to prevent or stop the growing deterioration of the situation. Was it wholly impossible for Government to establish contacts with leaders which might have led to a betterment of the situation ?

It is to my mind most regrettable that the rebellion of 1942 should have been advertised far and wide as if it meant a rebellion on the part of the bulk of the population. It will not do for any wise Government to dwell upon it day in and day out and to refuse for that reason to make a move on in the political field. Today the internal situation has materially changed but it is more than obvious

that there is a keen desire on the part of a large section of the public that not only the ordinary constitutional form of Government should be restored but that prompt and genuine steps should be taken to accelerate the establishment of fully self-governing institutions and that Government should be active participants in the solution of our internal difficulties. It is a matter of deep regret that HMG and the Government in India have adopted a short-sighted attitude of immobility even though it is abundantly plain that an overwhelmingly large section of the country is and always has been opposed to all ideas of Fascism and Nazism and is anxious for the ultimate vindication of the principles of democracy.

"Even though there may be considerable doubt in the minds of many of us as to whether many of the rhetorical phrases and statements of those in power either in India or in England are going to be implemented in their entirety and in a true spirit of broad-minded statesmanship, there is undoubtedly a very large body of opinion in India which has always favoured the Allies in the hope and belief that their success may lead to the establishment of a true democratic government in the country. It is not that I am overlooking our internal differences, but maintain very strongly that those differences will not be solved until there is a genuine conviction produced in the minds of the people that India can reasonably expect a fair and square deal. That conviction, I am bound to say, is lacking. The key lies in the removal of the spirit of mutual distrust which is the dominant feature of the situation.

"You must have noticed that the Allied Council or the War Cabinet has been established. Technically, India may be said to be represented on such councils, but I ask you whether the representatives who have been sent to such councils or the War Cabinet or the delegations which have been sent abroad would have been sent if a truly national government had been in power.

### VICEROY'S COUNCIL

"Leaving aside these bigger questions I ask you to consider what exactly is the position at the Centre today. There were some among us who until the other day thought or hoped that the Home and Finance portfolios would be placed in Indian hands. That hope has now been defeated. As a debating point however, it may be urged against us that ten members of the Executive Council of the Governor-General are Indians, but I venture to say that there has not been during the last quarter of a century or more an Executive Council with less hold on the public mind or with less moral prestige in the country than the Council functioning at present at Delhi.

"Howsoever much it may be claimed that the Executive Council works as an autonomous body, I think it will require much hardihood to deny that its strings are pulled from across the seas by a Secretary of State, who is constitutionally responsible to the British electorate which has neither direct or adequate knowledge of India nor sufficiently active interest in our affairs. The whole arrangement is unnatural and in the altered situation of India I feel confident that there is no party howsoever moderate or sober, which is prepared to support a system like the existing one.

"From the Centre let us pass on to the Provinces. In Bengal, Assam, Orissa, N-W Frontier Provinces and Sind you have Ministers functioning under the Government of India Act. But remember, even in some of these provinces Prime Ministers who commanded the confidence of legislatures were turned out not because their followers had deserted them or their legislatures had expressed by any constitutional method their disapproval of their conduct but because they did not fit in with the policy of their Governors. It is possible to support their dismissal on administrative or even political grounds, but I maintain very strongly that it would be putting too much strain on the true constitutional theory to maintain that their resignations or to use the correct phrase, their dismissals were warranted by any one of those circumstances which would warrant the dismissal of Prime Ministers either in England or in the Dominions.

"In other provinces such as Madras, Bombay, the Central Provinces, the U. P. and Bihar you have got the autocratic rule of Governors who raise taxes and spend public money without the support of Ministers or the duly elected representatives of the people and who carry on the day-to-day administration not on the advice of or in consultation with the representatives of the people, but according to their unaided lights. I am aware that the one answer which is usually given to criticism of this character is that it is not the fault of the British Government that the position should be what it is but that it is the fault of Congressmen who unwisely

decided to tender their resignations and refused to bear the burden of their responsibilities.

"I have always regretted this decision of the Congress. It was neither wise nor fair on their part to have resigned their office without reference to their electors, but the question is whether the mistake committed by Congressmen nearly five years ago can be a sufficient justification for penalizing and punishing the electorates from year's end to year's end.

"The question which arises now is whether the present position can be perpetuated indefinitely and people allowed to brood over the situation for a much longer time and whether it is wise or expedient to allow the sense of frustration to dominate men's minds still longer? That there is deep resentment and a keen sense of frustration at large, I have not the least doubt. It is unwise in the abiding interest of India and England to allow the present state of things to continue in provinces any longer. It is absurd to mortgage the future of this country by planning post-war reconstruction and development schemes without giving the duly elected legislature a fair and free chance of expressing themselves on the expediency or desirability or feasibility of these plans, howsoever well meant they may be.

PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURES

"The more important question, however, is what should be done now. Frankly I think the time has come when constitutional governments and legislatures should be restored in the provinces. If the legislatures have lost the force of their mandates or have become jaded there is no reason why there should not be a general election in the provinces and at the Centre, when there have been during the war elections in Australia, S. Africa and elsewhere.

"Assuming that the result of the general election is going to be—and I am not making any vain or exaggerated assumption—that the majority of the members returned to the legislature are Congressmen or Muslim Leaguers, why should we shrink from a situation like that? I do very strongly hope that they will be prepared to undertake responsibility and if there is a change in the spirit all round I have no doubt that their attitude towards the war effort will also be quite helpful. But assuming that these expectations are defeated I believe that they will not stand in the way of minorities forming governments as they realize that people will ardently prefer a change from Sec. 93 rule. We can if necessary ourselves provide some safeguards.

"I very strongly believe that the best safeguard that we can provide is the establishment of coalition ministries in the provinces. And once coalition ministries are established the task of breaking them will not by any means be easy. It can further be provided that a mere vote of no-confidence moved on behalf of a party, if carried, shall not have the effect of terminating the life of the party in power unless the party moving and supporting that vote is prepared to form an alternative government. Minority governments are temporary expedients dictated by political necessity, but they are not unknown to constitutional history and practice. They need not be so unstable or so devoid of moral influence as to justify the present holders of power in refusing to make a move forward.

"I should not however, be understood to suggest that I shall be content with changes such as those indicated above in the provinces. It is my firm conviction that democratic and responsible Provincial Governments cannot be yoked without considerable risks of friction to a Central Government which is neither democratic nor responsible. It is for this reason that I suggest that a change at the Centre should also be simultaneously brought about. It must be a national government representing different political parties and communities. What limitations of a temporary character on its powers may be considered necessary or expedient in view of the existing situation is a matter for careful consideration.

COMMUNAL QUESTION

"I do not wish to ignore or by-pass communal differences but communal differences can be removed by trying, and not by refusing to try to remove them. The time has come when the well-being of India as a whole should find a first place in our programme, but this does not mean that the interests of minorities or "different nations"—if that phrase must please some of my friends—should be ignored or that perfect freedom of opinion should not be granted to those who differ from the majority community. But these are matters which can be settled by negotiations and mutual discussion and not by ex-cathedra judgments nor by demanding surrender to pre-conceived notions however honestly cherished.

"It is in my opinion the duty of Government not merely to preach to us

from day to day the importance of unity, or communal harmony but to actively help us in achieving that end. I cannot however see how this end can be achieved without the active co-operation of the Congress and the Muslim League and other parties including the Government. So long as the leaders of the Congress or any particular party are denied the freedom to approach other parties for purposes of settlement we need expect no change in the situation.

"It is for this reason in particular that I would urge that Mr. Gandhi and other leaders should be released and then a National Conference convened. The one ground which is now urged against the release is that they have not so far repudiated the Resolution of 1942. I venture to submit that no settlement of big political issues can be brought about in this spirit. It was not brought about in this spirit in the case of S Africa, Ireland or Egypt.

"Speaking for myself I say that however much I may differ from or deplore the Resolution of 1942 the demand that the leaders who have not even been tried by any independent tribunal should from their places of confinement admit their error and repudiate the conduct attributed to them strikes me as being in the nature of a coercive process which is not likely to yield any salutary results. The occasion demand a different spirit all round. It it by no means an extravagant belief or hope that once free they will exercise their judgment freely in the largest interests of the country and try to restore conditions favourable to an abiding settlement of outstanding issues between Hindus and Muslims and England and India.

"Grave as have been the events of the last few days, when the enemy has ventured to tread the soil of our country in a remote part of India, I think the occasion demands that we should close our ranks. This in my opinion is pre-eminently an occasion when not only Indians of different schools of thought but Indians and Englishmen should come together to offer united resistance to the enemy in the firm hope, belief and conviction that the new spirit of co-operation and goodwill for which I plead may furnish a permanent basis of settlement of our mutual differences and release our energies from fruitless activities and enable us to lay the foundation of our future freedom and prosperity by applying our minds to the building up of a Constitution which will be fair and just to all and which may fulfil the cherished ambitions of every community and every party in the common service of the Motherland."

### The Welcome Address

*Raja Maheswar Dayal Seth*, Chairman of the Reception Committee welcoming the delegates said: "The first step towards settlement in India has to be taken by Britain and that should constitute a different policy from any so far announced. It involves the release of Congress leaders, removal of control by the India Office and a declaration transferring real power to a representative National Government at the Centre and formation of popular and representative governments in the provinces.

"Sec 93 rule must go. India must be made a free country so that she may fight along with other free nations for the liberation of humanity against the onslaughts of Axis Powers not under the censorious or indulgent eyes of a pompous Secretary of State and his brother imperialists thousands of miles away, who seem incapable of making a right approach to the Indian problem. The vaunted British statesmanship is dead so far as India is concerned. All that we can do is to mobilize public opinion against the continuance of the present system and try to put so much presure that even the present irresponsible Government may not be able to ignore and Britain may be forced to reconcile India in her own interest."

The *Raja Sahib* referred to what he called "the vexed political problems of our unhappy country" and added: "We are living in an age which will be branded as the blackest chapter in Indian history. We are condemned to a 'police government' for the duration of the war at least. Lawless laws in the guise of ordinances are being clamped on the country to such an extent that more than one High Court has cried in despair 'Judiciary is paralysed.' Still the juggernaut of repression moves on with inexorable fury, crushing the life and liberty of our countrymen under its wheels."

Lord Wavell claimed that his first duty was to win the war. In order to gain that objective in the speediest possible time the Raja felt that His Excellency must revise his attitude towards the Congress and make it possible for all political parties to assist him in the formation of a truly National Government. Lord Wavell wanted Congress to repent before he condescended to enlist the organi-

sation's support in his administration on his own terms. What was there for the Congress to repent? He failed to see why the Congress should be penalised for demanding Independence in view of what was offered in the Cripps proposals. The "Quit India" phrase had been deliberately twisted by the bureaucracy to damn the Congress. All that Mahatma Gandhi meant by that phrase was that Britain should transfer real power to Indian hands. A stage had now been reached, when "politically conscious India"—and that included all political parties in the country—wanted the substance of freedom here and now and not at some unspecified future date. To treat India as a dependency was to foster the very evils which Britain seemed so anxious to remove.

Concluding, he said: "Instead of clinging to the discredited and craven policy of *non possumus*, Government should revive the provincial legislatures. The war should not be used as a pretext for withholding general elections. It was imperative that there should be representative Government in the provinces." The Raja hoped the conference would be a prelude to a final settlement of our differences so that all parties and interests might join hands not only to bring honour to India but contribute worthily to the maintenance of peace and making the world safe for freedom and democracy.

After the President's address, messages wishing the conference success were read among others from Mr. *M. S. Aney*, *Sir J. P. Srivastava*, Dr. *M. R. Jayakar*, *Maharaj Kumar Sir Vijaya* of Vizianagram, *Sir Gokul Chand Narang*, *Rai Bahadur Mehr Chand Khanna*, *Sir Shantidas*, and *Sir Raghunath Paranjpye*.

### Tribute to Kasturba Gandhi

The first resolution moved by *Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru*, on the death of Mrs. *Kasturba Gandhi*, was passed all standing. It ran thus: "This conference places on record its sense of profound sorrow at the death of Srimati Kasturba Gandhi, who has set a great example of service to the country and offers its deep sympathy to Mahatma Gandhi."

### Restore Provincial Legislatures

*Sir Jagdish Prasad* next moved: Having regard to the extreme and general dissatisfaction which prevails in the country, this conference is firmly of the view that it is necessary in the vital interests of almost 200 million people that the legislatures should be restored in the five provinces of Madras, Bombay, the United Provinces, Bihar and the Central Provinces in which they have been suspended for four and a half years and that, in such provinces, official Advisers should be replaced by Coalitions or as far as possible, other representative Ministries."

*Sir Jagadish Prasad* said that Section 93 had been so applied as to concentrate all legislative, administrative and financial powers in the hands of the Governors who had assumed functions hitherto exercised by the Ministers. In each of these provinces, added Sir Jagadish Prasad, there were official Advisers appointed by the Governor and chosen from the Indian Civil Service. The latest figures showed that out of 18 Advisers, only three were Indians. Finance, General Administration, Law and Order were all in the hands of Advisers drawn from the British section of the Indian Civil Service, which also provided three of the Governors, the other two being drawn from English public life.

Continuing, Kunwar Sir Jagadish Prasad said that Government in those provinces was an autocracy under a British Governor such as had never been before. We were entitled, added the speaker, to ask whether such a state of affairs, which had now continued for so many years, should be prolonged till the end of the war or even longer. What was the justification for placing the major portion of British India under a dictatorship?

### "Unwise to Continue Suspension of Legislatures"

If the Congress Party, by virtue of its majority, was unwilling to work parliamentary government in accordance with the present needs, Sir Jagdish Prasad observed, and if fresh elections were not likely to disturb its numerical strength, why had this waywardness of the majority been allowed to stop the working of parliamentary institutions altogether? Why had whole communities and classes been virtually disfranchised by the suspension of the legislatures, thus depriving the elected representatives of non-Congress Hindus, of Muslims, of Indian Christians and of special constituencies of the opportunity of discharging their duties to their electorates?

### Feeling of Frustration in the Country

Seconding the resolution, Sir *Maharaj Singh* said that, for over four years,

the legislatures had been suspended, with the result that there was a great sense of frustration in the country.

"Is there any country," asked Sir Maharaj Singh, "even among those involved in the war, where there are no legislatures functioning ?" It was all very well, said Sir Maharaj Singh, to refer to past mistakes, but they had to think of the future. There was nothing in the Government of India Act 1935 to prevent the restoration of the legislatures even if Ministries not responsible to the legislature—as at the Centre to-day—were set up in the provinces. That would be better than Section 93 Rule. Any change from the present rule would be welcome to Indians.

The present regime, continued Sir Maharaj Singh, was full of danger for the future. "Just think of the possible reaction and bad feelings that would be created between Indians and the British people when, sooner or later, popular Ministries come back." The result would be very deplorable.

The speaker said that millions of the people of India—Congressmen, Muslims, Hindu Mahasabhaites and others—were with them and sympathised with them, when they said that they did not want the present system of Government to continue. Every party in the country would welcome a change in the administration.

Concluding, Sir Maharaj Singh said that much of the trouble could have been solved, if Coalition Ministries had been set up in the provinces four years ago. He appealed to his audience to help the conference to secure for the U. P. and other provinces responsible Ministries.

PEOPLE'S REPRESENTATIVES MUST BE IN POWER

Supporting the resolution, Mr. *Mohammad Yunus*, ex-Premier of Bihar, said that he believed that the steps suggested were not only in the best interests of the Indian people ; in their wider application, they were as much in the interest of Britain herself. He thought it was the duty of every patriotic Indian to impress on the authorities, with all the force at his command, to take steps to remove the extreme and general dissatisfaction that prevailed in the country due to the present system of government in provinces where Section 93 had been enforced.

Mr. Yunus said that the two majority parties in the country were the Congress and the Muslim League. The Congress did not pretend to represent the whole of India. The Muslim League, whether willingly or unwillingly, would have to admit that though it represented a large population of Muslims, it did not represent the whole population of India. The Hindu Mahasabha would have to admit that it did not represent the entire Hindu population. It, therefore, followed that there were other organisations and parties and individuals, who represented those whom the three parties did not represent. Why did not the authorities, he asked, take steps to put the Government in the hands of such parties, if the major parties were not willing to shoulder the responsibility of office ?

*Raja Jagannath Bux Singh*, Mr. *Kalbe Abbas* and *Sardar Sant Singh* of Lucknow also supported the resolution. The resolution was unanimously passed.

## Resolutions—Second Day—Lucknow—8th. April 1944

ESTABLISHMENT OF NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

The final session of the Conference was held on the 8th. April 1944 in the Kaisarbagh Baradari, Lucknow, under the presidentship of Sir *Tej Bahadur Sapru*.

Dr. *Hriday Nath Kunzru*, moving the resolution on the "reconstruction of the Governor-General's Executive Council without delay as a true National Government with a Prime Minister", said that although repeated demands had been made for a change in the character of the Executive Council, no steps had been taken by the Government in that direction. They had appointed ten Indians to the Executive Council, but their demand was quite different. They wanted people who enjoyed the confidence of the country to be at the head of the administration. Dr. Kunzru described the present Executive Council as "a museum of spineless men from all parts of the country", and added that it was regrettable that at the present time the progress of the country was being retarded by the present Executive Councillors who had made a laughing stock of themselves at the hands of the bureaucracy.

BRITISH GOVT.'S UNWILLINGNESS TO PART WITH POWER

Continuing, Dr. *Kunzru* said that they were asked by the British Government to settle their differences themselves. The speaker referred to the happenings in Canada and said that Government there had themselves played an indispensable part and assisted in the solution of the people's differences and formulated a constitution

which was acceptable to all. The conditions holding in the Dominions and Colonies did not apply to India. The component parts there, he said, were all free. In the present state of things, it was both an insult and an injury to say that they could achieve their freedom without the assistance of the Central Government. The example of the Colonies showed that if the Government kept apart no progress could be achieved. It only showed the British Government's unwillingness to part with power. The refusal of the British Government to implement any agreement that might be arrived at between the various parties in India, said Dr. *Kunzru*, was a serious matter. It was still more serious for the Government to refuse to release *Mahatma Gandhi*, who represented the interest of the country, in a manner in which no one else did. The Government justified their action on the ground that the Congress leaders were responsible for the acts of violence in August 1942 and that they had not yet given any indication of a change on their part. There was a time, said Dr. Kunzru, when Government carried on their suggestive propaganda both in India and in the U. S. A. to the effect that Mahatma Gandhi was pro-Japanese at heart and hence refused to co-operate in the war effort. Things had changed during the last year and a half and in spite of their past progaganda, Mr. *Amery* said in the House of Commons recently that Government never accused Mahatma Gandhi of being pro-Japanese. It was good, however, that Government, notwithstanding what they did and said in the past, were now willing, though indirectly, not to maintain their charge against Mahatma Gandhi. If the Mahatma were set free now, there was no doubt that he would approach the present problems in an unbiassed manner which he had always shown in the past.

It was a tragedy, added Dr. Kunzru, that the authorities even at this time wanted to keep the people at arm's length and to govern the country in isolation. They thought that they alone had the wisdom and responsibility to settle the problems of this country.

What had the mighty Government done during the last three or four years to resolve the deadlock, asked Pandit Kunzru. They had isolated themselves from public opinion and refused to budge an inch from the position they obstinately took up some years ago.

### "Gap Between People and Govt."

Referring to Bengal, Dr. *Kunzru* said that the situation required the adoption of proper administrative measures so that food reached everyone. Had a National Government been at the Centre, it would never have allowed the situation to deteriorate. The failure of the Government of India to obtain loans that they wanted showed that there was a gap between the people and the Government. The prices of articles were going up by leaps and bounds and when Indian economists pointed out that the rise was due to the monetary policy of the Government, the Finance Member refuted that argument. They wanted a Council like a Cabinet, with a Prime Minister at the head of it.

Continuing, Dr. Kunzru said that Indians should be enabled to achieve complete freedom so that they might take part in any conference or council that might be set up after the war. It would do incalculable harm to India, he observed, if she were represented at any peace conferences as she was at the League of Nations. Concluding, *Pandit Hridaya Nath* advanced a plea for a national army and said that their freedom was worth nothing unless they had the power to defend themselves.

Seconding the resolution Dr. *Radha Kumud Mukherjee*, ex-M. L. A., Bengal and Head of the Department of History, Lucknow University, said that the resignation of the Congress Ministries had been made much of by some people. There was a substantial reason which made the Congress make its exit from office and take that drastic step. It was that India was not consulted when war broke out. The Congress thought that India had thus been greatly humiliated by that action of the Government of India. The present situation was only a consequence of the 1945 Act. The immediate purpose of the Conference, said Dr. Mukherjee, was very practical. The present character of the Government must be changed and a Prime Minister appointed who would select his own colleagues.

Mr. *H. G. Walford*, a leading Advocate of Lucknow and Mrs. *Mohini Das* also supported the resolution, which was unanimously passed.

### Release Gandhiji

The hon Mr. *P. N. Sapru*, Member, Council of State, moving the fourth resolution, demanding the release of *Mahatma Gandhi* and other leaders said that

the British Government had failed to do anything towards resolving the constitutional deadlock. It was no use accusing the Congress leaders, he added, of being pro-Japanese or pro-Axis. They were avowedly anti-Japanese even at the time when Sir *Reginald Maxwell* and others were flirting with and courting Japan. Thay had a clear record even then. Indians were now demanding the release of Mahatma Gandhi, because he was not a negligible factor in the country's politics.

Mr. Sapru said that the country at the moment was faced with grave dangers and one of them was the danger of India being excluded from any international organisation, that might come into being in the post-war world. It was, therefore, of fundamental importance that the principle of equality of races should be recognised and India be given its rightful place on any such organisation.

The speaker severely criticised the Government for asking Indians to solve their internal differences and at the same time keeping the Congress leaders in jail, and deny them facilities even to make contacts among themselves. He said the British Government insisted on the complete surrender by the Congress. That was not, said Mr. Sapru, the spirit in which statesmanship should approach such a big problem. Without the Mahatma's release it was not possible for Indians to approach the task in a constructive mood. Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders, he added, should be given an opportunity to approach the problem and should not be coerced. Then also could an atmosphere be created to bring about a settlement of outstanding issues between Hindus and Muslims and England and India.

The resolution which was seconded by Mr. *S. N. Jha* of Bihar, was unanimously passed.

### Fresh Elections to Legislative Bodies

The Conference passed another resolution demanding fresh elections to all legislative bodies without delay and by the last resolution authorised the President, the Rt. Hon. Sir *Tej Bahadur Sapru,* to forward the terms of the resolutions to H. E. the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India and take such other steps as he thought necessary for the achievement of the desired objects.

### President's Concluding Remarks

Winding up the proceedings of the Conference, Sir *Tej Bahadur Sapru* vehemently attacked Mr. *Churchill,* the British Premier, for his "die-hardism" and said that the proceedings of the Conference would have no effect on the Prime Minister's mind. Even in 1932, said Sir Tej, Mr. Churchill was an uncompromising opponent of India's advancement and progress. "Sometimes I ask myself the question, 'Has the Prime Minister now changed from a die-hard into a Liberal politician ?'" added Sir Tej. He had heard his countrymen say, "The Prime Minister has changed". If that was true and if Mr. Churchill had changed, would Mr. *Amery* have stayed on as Secretary of State for India and would Lord Linlithgow continued as Viceroy of India during the last two years of his office ?

The President strongly felt that the Government by their actions had alienated their best friends. The social relations between Indians and the British, which at one time seemed to be improving, were now a thing of the past.

"They ask us", said Sir Tej, "what following we have in the country. We have no following, and my answer to them is : You shut up people with following behind the bars and ignore the rest. What are we to do ?" They have befooled the Muslim League, observed Sir Tej. They should have at least asked the Muslim League to form a Government, after Congressmen had been interned. But they did not. That sort of policy would not do any longer. India was not in that state of mind in which it was ten years ago.

Referring to those who sympathised with Indian aspirations in England, Sir Tej said that it was not that section that counted in actual life in England. It was the die-hard who counted there. Our fight is against a set of die-hards in England and die-hards in India. There are enough die-hards in India.

### Give Wavell Every Chance to Solve Deadlock

Continuing, Sir Tej observed that at no time had the British alienated Indian sympathies more than at the present moment. He was glad, he said, when Lord Wavell came out to India as Viceroy. He was not prejudiced simply because Lord Wavell was a soldier. Some soldiers had better brains than civilians. He would, therefore, advice his countrymen, added Sir Tej, to give Lord Wavell every chance to solve the deadlock. But he did not feel happy over the company which the Viceroy was keeping. He hoped that Lord Wavell would be able to assert himself and would have the courage to tell Mr. Amery that he was the man on

the spot and therefore, the right man to appreciate local conditions and formulate his policy accordingly. He could not think of the biographer of Lord Allenby (Lord Wavell) adopting a different course in India, added Sir Tej, and if he did, it would be his misfortune as well as India's.

Concluding, Sir Tej said that although he himself had never believed in the doctrine of civil disobedience, yet as an Indian he knew that Mahatma Gandhi had a hold on the imagination of the people as no other man has. To keep the Mahatma shut up indefinitely without trial by a Tribunal was nothing short of coercion. There was no doubt, added Sir Tej, that if Mahatma Gandhi was released he would throw all his weight in bringing about a settlement. It was no matter for shame, he said, if non-party leaders had thus far failed to achieve that object. May be Mahatma Gandhi himself might also fail in his attempt. But that was no reason why he should not be allowed a chance to bring about a settlement. He felt that Mahatma Gandhi was the one man who could examine the situation fairly and squarely. The Mahatma had the humility to approach others even though others might not like to approach him.

# The A. I. Newspaper Editors' Conference

## Plenary Session—Madras—10th. January 1944

The Plenary Session of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference began on the 10th. January 1944 at Gemini Studios, Madras, Mr. *S. A. Brelvi*, President of the Conference, presiding. Editors of newspapers from all over India were present besides a large gathering of visitors.

### Mr. G. A. Natesan's Welcome Address

Mr. *G. A. Natesan* Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcoming the members, said :

I must at the outset express my grateful thanks to my fellow journalists of Madras for the honour they have done me in electing me to this office. I value the honour greatly particularly in view of the fact that I am a comparatively new member of this great organization though I can claim to have followed your discussions and deliberations with great interest and appreciation. *The Indian Review* which I have been editing for forty-three years is a monthly periodical and not exactly a newspaper ; but the Press in India, British or Indian-owned, daily or weekly or monthly is one and indivisible, and suffers and rejoices together in its pursuit of freedom and service as is amply evidenced by the struggles and achievements of this Conference since its inception in 1940.

Friends, Madras has played by no means an insignificant part in the history of the Press in India, and you have doubtless come in intimate contact with Madras journalists all over the country. It is now my privilege to welcome you to our beautiful City. We trust you will enjoy your visit to this historic City and carry with you happy recollections of your stay and experiences.

This Conference, as you are aware, came into being to meet an extraordinary situation created by the Government of India's panicky order of October 26, 1940, imposing severe and altogether unwarranted restrictions on the Press of India.

### Restrictions on the Press

The action of the Government was all the more puzzling, as it was common knowledge that Press in India, irrespective of party affiliations of politics, veered to the cause of democracy and the Allies, and condemned in no uncertain terms the aims of the Axis powers. There could therefore be no justification for the plea that any section of the Press was consciously or unconsciously hindering war effort. In fact, so far as war effort is concerned, our relations with the Government in India have been characterised by a spirit of unstinted co-operation from almost every responsible newspaper belonging to every shade of political opinion. Apart from this, the Press has been doing war service of no mean value both in its appeal to the people and in its criticism of Government policies and methods. They are not the less helpful because they are critical sometimes. If in the summer of 1940 when an invasion of England seemed imminent after the French collapse, Major Attlee thought fit to declare in the House of Commons that under all circumstances the Press would be free to express its views without official

interference, how much more necesary is that freedom for India where no National Government responsible to a popular legislature functions to defend the rights of the people ? We repeat that it is far from our intention to create difficulties for the Government or impede their war effort. But we insist that a free Press, with a full sense of responsibilities, must be allowed to function freely and unhampered by constant pin-pricks which, as in the case of certain newspapers we all know, have led to grievous misunderstanding. Who does not know the injury to the cause of liberty and freedom of the Press sustained by the precipitate action of the Government in regard to the *Aj*, *Janmobhoomi* and the *Tribune*, the pre-censorship on the *Patrika*, the strange order on the *Hitavada* to disclose the name of its correspondent, the raid on the *Hindustan Times*, and similar action which could certainly have been avoided with a little patience and consideration on the part of the all-powerful executive ? Thanks to the efforts of this Conference, not once or twice but many times over has the cause of liberty been served and awkward situations averted by judicious intervention. Mr. *Scott* of the *Manchester Guardian* used to say that comment is free but facts are sacred. But the suppression of factual reports and expression of opinion based on such reports, is a positive injury to truth, and certainly not helpful to war effort. The suppression of unpalatable news or views either from this country or from abroad is by no means justifiable. Indeed, such suppression has become impracticable and therefore useless. Dr. *Shyama Prasad Mukherjee's* statement on Food and Louis Fischer's views on the deadlock, in spite of censorship, have not escaped public attention. Government's ban only created a positive thirst in the people to get at the banned articles. Government could have spared themselves this trouble. Their action in regard to some papers has proved to be politically inexpedient, legally invalid and morally wrong. The highest judicial authorities in the country have more than once condemned hasty executive assaults on the Press. It is under such trying conditions that the Press in India is called upon to shoulder its responsibility and function with freedom integrity and dignity. Need I say how onerous and responsible is the task this Conference has imposed on itself ?

### PRESS ADVISORY SYSTEM

The Press advisory system which is now in operation in the Provinces and at the Centre is the result of an agreement between the All-India Editors' Conference and the Government of India and it functions through a Central Press Advisory Committee in consultation with the Home Department of the Government of India and Provincial Committees in each of the Provinces. The Conference, through its Standing Committee, has tried time and again to smoothen difficulties and evolve methods of adjusting differences. Conceived purely as a war-time measure, it has tackled many a ticklish problem to mutual satisfaction. But much remains yet to be done, and we cannot be resting on our oars, if it has done nothing else, the Conference has evolved a system, whereby pressmen of all shades of opinion, irrespective of their politics or creeds, could sit together and plead for the priceless gift of freedom.

It only remains for me to convey to Mr. *K. Srinivasan*, the retiring President, our grateful thanks for the valuable help he has rendered to this Conference from its very inception, and our appreciation of the patriotism, tact and wisdom he has brought to bear on the exceedingly difficult and delicate task of asserting the rights of the Press and at the same time avoiding needless clashes with the Government. In our new President my old friend, Mr. *Brelvi*, we have a shining example of one whose staunch nationalism and robust independence have won for him a unique place in Indian journalism. With his rich experiences and wise counsel, this Conference should have as good and successful a future as it has had in the past.

Before resuming my seat I should like to give expression to our deep sorrow at the passing of Mr. *Ramanand Chatterjee*, the talented Editor of the *Modern Review*, and *Prabhasi*. Not only Bengal, but the whole country is the poorer for the loss of one whose versatile gifts and robust nationalism were as transparent in his writings as in his life.

### Mr. K. Srinivasan's Speech

Mr. *K. Srinivasan*, Editor, "The Hindu" and the retiring President, inviting Mr. *S. A. Brelvi* to take the presidential chair, wished him godspeed in the task ahead. He said : I feel great satisfaction in handing over charge to Mr. Brelvi. I am certain that I am voicing the unanimous feeling of this Conference in affirming that a worthier choice could not have been made. It is unnecessary for

me to detail the many excellent qualities of head and heart with which he is endowed. Gentle and charming in manner, Mr. Brelvi is equipped with a full knowledge of current day problems. His long period of service on the *Bombay Chronicle* has brought him into contact with almost all persons who really matter in the political field. I am personally grateful to him for the immense help he has rendered to me in the discharge of my duties as president during these three years. There have been occasions in the life of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference when, on account of serious differences among the members of the Standing Committee, a split seemed imminent. Mr. Brelvi's co-operation on such occasions proved invaluable in tiding over difficult situations and preventing the breakdown of an orgaisation which, to the extent it is posible in these days, has been able to afford protection to the Press in India against hasty and ill-considered actions on the part of the executive.

The circumstances under which the Conference was brought into being are well-known, though one fact, namely, that it was to the members of the Indian and Eastern Newspapers Society that the credit of inaugurating this organisation belongs, has not received sufficient publicity. My friend Mr. *Devadas Gandhi*, who was then the officiating Chairman of the Society, will recollect that on the discussions that took place in October 1940 between a deputation of which he was the leader and the Home Member of the Government of India in regard to the relations between Government and the Press, with particular reference to the statements of *Mahatma Gandhi* on the individual civil disobedience movement, that the foundations of this conference were laid.

I do not propose here to take up your time with a narration of the details of the progress which we have made as a corporate body, composed as we are of all important elements in the field of Indian journalism. We represent in this Conference every shade of opinion and we are bound by a spirit of comradeship and earnestness. Our one guiding factor during these three years has been an anxiety to develop and preserve the highest traditions of journalism. For the first time in the history of the Press in India, the principle that editors of newspapers could be depended upon to act in concert for discharging the responsibilities as well as safeguarding the rights of the Press as a whole found a measure of practical recognition at the hands of the Government.

### Linlithgow's Tribute Recalled

The establishment of Press Advisory Committees in Delhi and in most of the provincial centres was at our suggestion and, as you all know, they have been functioning on right lines. I am not unmindful of the lukewarm attitude of some provincial administrations and the scarcely veiled hostility of one or two, who have either not set up these committees at all, or who have suffered them only as an unavoidable nuisance. But the Government of India, with Lord Linlithgow at the head, have striven to co-operate with the Conference, though their intentions were often frustrated by a too ready deference to the wishes or whims of the Provincial Administrations. In his farewell address to the Central Legislature, Lord Linlithgow paid a handsome tribute to the integrity and public spirit of the Indian Press, which I recall here with pleasure, since we have been vigorous critics to many of His Lordship's policies and administrative acts. He observed: "Occasions there may have been when there were differences of view on matters connected with the Press; misunderstandings there may have been from ful to this great institution for its fairness; its eager anxiety to serve the public; its concern to observe, and if possible to improve, the best traditions of journalism, and I would not like to leave India without paying this public tribute to it, and to that hard working body of intelligent and able men by whom India is so well served in the Press."

His successor, the present Viceroy, has already given welcome evidence of his interest in the deliberations of this organisation by inviting the members of the Standing Committee to the Viceroy's House in New Delhi after its last meeting. May I express the hope that through such contacts will grow a better understanding of the difficulties of the Press leading to a removal of the restrictions under which we are labouring?

To the members of the general public in India I would express our gratitude for the great interest they have shown in our proceedings and for the helpful criticisms that have been made about our organisation. When we have to our credit the approbation of the Rt. Hon. *Sastri* on the one side and Mr. *C. Rajagopalachari* on the other, and Mr. *B. G. Horniman*, the veteran journalist, there can hardly be room for any misgiving about the value of our Conference.

So far as I am concerned, and I would add without hesitation, on behalf of the entire Conference, I can assure Mr. Brelvi of our hearty co-operation in the discharge of the responsibilities he is undertaking as our new President.

**Presidential Address**

Mr. *Syed Abdullah Brelvi* then delivered the presidential address. He said :

"I tender to you my heart-felt gratitude for electing me President of this Conference. To any individual no honour can be greater than that conferred on him by his own peers. I am, therefore, overwhelmed by the honour that you have done me. This Conference has, during the very brief period of its existence, secured an important place in the public life of the country and has rendered invaluable service to the cause of the freedom of the Press and, through it, to that of the country and no limit can be placed to the service that it can render to both in future. The responsibility of presiding over the deliberations of this Conference is thus both great and onerous. I cannot discharge that responsibility with any success without your help and co-operation. I give you this assurance, however, that I shall always try my best to deserve them. May I take this opportunity of offering to Mr. *K. Srinivasan* on your behalf as well as my own our deep gratitude for the invaluable contribution that he has made towards building up this Conference and making it the power that it has become to-day ? As our President for three years he has achieved a remarkable record of success and efficiency. I do not know what has contributed most to his success his amiable personality, his infectious spirit of accommodation, his uncompromising loyalty to principles or his selfless devotion to duty. I can, however, say this with certainty that he has during this period won the love and esteem of all of us."

Since we met last the Indian Press has lost one of its outstanding figures. The late *Ramanand Chatterjee* was a veteran journalist who waged many a valiant fight on behalf of the Press and contributed much to the growth of its power and influence. *Babu Kali Nath Roy* retired from the editorship of the "Tribune" during the year. Though Babu Kali Nath Roy did not take active part in our deliberations the association of a journalist of his eminence and experience was an asset of immense value to us.

We are all proud that three members of our Conference have courageously and at considerable trouble and risk to themselves vindicated the liberty of the Press. Mr. *Devadas Gandhi*, editor of the "Hindustan Times", was acquitted by the Privy Council in the Contempt of Court Case filed against him and others in the Allahabad High Court after he had undergone a term of imprisonment in that connection. Mr. *B. G. Horniman*, editor of the "Bombay Sentinel", added one more to his many and distinguished services to the Press by successfully questioning the validity of the warrant of arrest issued by the Allahabad High Court in the contempt of Court Case against him. He has secured a ruling from the Bombay High Court that no case for Contempt of Court can be filed by a High Court against a journalist who does not reside within its jurisdiction. How far this ruling will bind other High Courts is to be seen. But let us hope the judgments in both these cases will bring home to the judiciary the need for the exercise of the utmost care before hauling up editors for Contempt of Court. The Press is as keen as the judiciary to see that there is no interference with the fair and proper administration of justice. But the Press cannot and will not tolerate interference with the exercise of its own legitimate function merely for satisfying the *amour-propre* or upholding the personal prestige of any judge or judges. The law of Contempt of Court requires drastic revision. We demand that it should have the sole object of ensuring proper administration of justice. We also demand that it should be administered by disinterested judges. Judges, however learned, are human beings and cannot, ordinarily, be expected to dispense justice and nothing but justice in cases in which they are both prosecutors and judges.

Mr. *A. D. Mani*, editor of the "Hitavada," had the rare experience of being asked, on pain of prosecution, to violate the professional code of honour by betraying confidence and disclosing the source of his information in regard to the publication of a news item concerning the resignation of the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal. The Defence of India Rules have been abused in various ways for various purposes. But it was left to the Government of the Central Provinces to use them to coerce an Editor to be guilty of unprofessional conduct. It is however gratifying that the Government, as a result of the protest of the Press and of the Standing Committee of the Conference, subsequently withdrew the Order against Mr. Mani. The Government of India, justifying the Order of the C. P. Government, had issued a Communique in which they recognised the conven-

tion that the relations between an Editor and his correspondents were confidential, but they were prepared to concede it only to this extent that in all ordinary circumstances it should not be disturbed. To the journalistic profession, however, the matter is one of conscience and admits of no exceptional circumstances warranting a breach of the convention.

Mr. *Devadas Gandhi*, Mr. *B. G. Horniman* and Mr. *A. D. Mani* deserve our congratulations on the courage with which they have vindicated the rights and upheld the traditions of the Press.

### Objects of the Conference

The principal objects of our Conference are (1) to preserve the high traditions and standards of journalism, (2) to safeguard the rights of the Press in general and in particular the freedom of publication of news and comments and (3) to represent the Press in India in its relations with the public and public institutions and particularly in its relations with Government and to set up Committees which would act as liaison bodies between the Government and the Press as a whole. Have our efforts in carrying out these objects attained any success ? Speaking for myself, I have no hesitation in saying that the success so far achieved has exceeded my own expectations. This is not to suggest that the success is very satisfying. It only means that my own forebodings about the experiment of representatives of the Press working with officials to preserve as much of the freedom of the Press as possible have not all happily come true. It is idle to pretend that the Press in India is free or can hope to be free so long as our country is not free. To the fetters that have come to us as a legacy of decades of bureaucratic rule have been added more galling and stifling ones in the shape of Defence of India Rules and the Press Instructions issued under these Rules. The Press in India has never been free, but it has always been struggling to be free. The consultative machinery, to the establishing of which Government were compelled to agree in 1940 as a result of the united front presented by the Press, irrespective of political differences, offered an opportunity, such as the Press had never had of carrying on that struggle with greater hope of success than ever before. Whatever success has been, so far, achieved in that struggle has been a negative one. We have not secured positive gains in the shape of enlargement of our freedom, but we have been able to prevent much harm being done to the Press by bureaucrats many of whom are prone to act arbitrarily and ruthlessly and, not seldom, vindictively. Even this negative gain has not been secured to the same extent in all provinces where the advisory system has been given a fair trial. Some provinces, for instance, have not been as fortunate as Bombay and Madras while in others the consultative machinery has not functioned at all or, has functioned most unsatisfactorily.

### Team Spirit of Editors

"Mr. *Srinivasan*, in his address to the last session of the Conference, claimed that, in spite of many handicaps, he and his colleagues of the Standing Committee had secured protection against hasty and ill-considered action by the Executive against members of the Press generally. The claim was a bold one, but it was fully justified. In fact, the principal cause of whatever success the Conference has achieved has been the team spirit displayed by the members of the Standing Committee in all their deliberations and especially in resisting all attempts to restrict the liberty of the Press. The same team spirit has characterized the work of the Provincial Press Advisory Committees wherever they have worked satisfactorily. In my opinion the greatest good that the Conference and its various Committees have done is the feeling of comradeship which they have fostered among editors throughout the country. The growth of this feeling is an asset of incalculable value as much to the public life of the country as to the Press. It is thus, no less in the interests of the country than of those of the Press that this Conference should grow in strength. The progress, prosperity and efficiency of the Press largely depend on the success of this Conference. May I appeal to those editors, who have, for some reasons, not yet joined this Conference, to do so and thus help to make it an increasingly potent instrument for securing and enlarging the liberties of the Press and preserving its traditions and standards ? I have referred to the feeling of comradeship which this Conference has fostered among its members. It has also engendered a feeling of comparative security among them inasmuch the advisory system has served as a check, not always an effective one, it is true, against hasty, ill-considered and sometimes, vindictive action by the Executive against individual newspapers. I may also claim that the work of this Conference has not been without some effect on officials themselves some of whom,

at any rate, have now a better appreciation than they had before of the difficulties as well as the power of the Press."

### CONSULTATIVE MACHINERY IN PROVINCES

Thus surveying the work of our Conference since its inception, we may justifiably feel some satisfaction. Much work, however, still remains to be done. First and foremost we have to see that the consultative machinery functions in all provinces effectively. That it does not so function in some provinces is due not to any lack or desire on the part of editors concerned to utilise it to the utmost, but either to the indifference or ill-concealed hostility of the Provincial Governments who continue to regard it as a nuisance to themselves. The Government of India cannot avoid the responsibility for the failure of these Provincial Governments to give a fair trial to the advisory system. They are a party to a gentleman's agreement with this Conference and must carry out their part of the bargain by securing, through the means that are open to them, the desired improvement in the attitude of the Provincial Governments. They cannot, as they often do, make provincial autonomy a convenient excuse for inaction. For, whenever, it is convenient to themselves they find means, effective and expeditious to make the provincial Governments carry out their wishes and instructions. We have seen this being done not only in regard to the present food situation and other matters but even in respect of restrictions on the Press. Thus a series of uncalled for and drastic restrictions were imposed at the dictation of the Central Government on the Press in all parts of the country regarding news and comments about *Gandhiji's* fast. In fact the conduct of the Government of India themselves has not always been in strict accord with the spirit of the gentleman's agreement. The occasions have not been few when, as a result of the measures taken or contemplated by Government, the agreement would have been wrecked but for the firm manner in which the Standing Committee handled the situation. Even more numerous have been the occasions when the powers of censorship have been abused to suppress political news and views unpalatable and inconvenient to the Executive. It is not surprising, therefore, that some Provincial Governments have been encouraged to be recalcitrant in their attitude and have all but destroyed the consultative machinery and that, even where it has functioned, the Provincial Governments, on many occasions, have ignored the Provincial Press Advisory Committees' unanimous recommendations and have not seldom taken action against newspapers without even consulting the Committees.

### ABUSES OF CENSORSHIP

The most flagrant misuse of censorsoip is the ban on the publication, without press advice, of the writings and speeches of Mr. *Louis Fischer* which, despite the many explanations put forward is only a clumsy and unworthy attempt to suppress the views of a man who has been a trenchant critic of the policy of the Government regarding the political demands of the people. Censorship was, again, glaringly misused during Gandhiji's fast to prevent the public in India and outside from having a true picture of the situation as it developed in the country. Even the resolution of your Standing Committee regarding Gandhiji's fast did not escape mutilation when it was submitted for press advice by a news agency. A resolution of the Azad Muslim Board on the political situation and statements issued by Mr. *C. Rajagopalachari* and Sir *Tej Bahadur Sapru* met a similar fate. In all these instances, the action of the Government was indefensible, inspired as it was by a desire to gain political advantage against the people of India. The action taken against the *Hindustan Time* and the order of pre-censorship served on the *Sind Observer* early last year and a similar order recently served on the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* are some of the glaring instances in which the unanimous recommendations of Provincial Advisory Committees were completely ignored. The *Jugantar* and *Star of India* of Calcutta and the *Janmabhumi* of Bombay were suppressed for a few days without consulting the Provincial Advisory Committees concerned. It is evident, therefore, that liberty of writing in India will continue to be in constant jeopardy so long as the Government of India do not radically revise their policy towards the Press and such revision will also remain an idle dream so long as the structure of government remains what it is.

Recognising the limitations arising out of the existing system of government under which the Press in India has to work, this Conference on its part has always displayed a rare spirit of accommodation which however, has seldom evoked the right response from Governments. The outstanding proof of this attitude of the Conference is the resolution passed by it at its last memorable session in Bombay,

You are all familiar with the circumstances which necessitated the passing of the resolution. The Press in India was confronted with a great crisis when the Government sought to control, muzzle and humiliate in a manner familiarized to us by the Nazis and the Fascists. The Conference met the crisis with courage and wisdom. The resolution which it passed embodied, I feel happy to say, a formula which had been previously settled between the Bombay Provincial Press Advisory Committee and the Government of Bombay. The devising of this formula gave proof of the good work that could be done by Government and the Press Advisory Committees working together in a spirit of sincere loyalty to the Delhi Agreement. Through its resolution the Conference declared its uncompromising rejection of pre-censorship of any kind, demanded freedom for newspapers to publish, without previous scrutiny, objective accounts of incidents connected with the 'mass movement' or the disturbances. The Conference, however, considered it necessary that Editors should exercise reasonable restraint in the publication of such accounts and should avoid the publication of anything which might incite the public to subversive activity, convey suggestions or instructions for illegal acts or which was an exaggerated report or unfounded allegation regarding excessive use or misuse of their powers by the Police, the troops and other Government servants or the treatment of and condition of detenus and prisoners or which retarded the restoration of the public sense of security. The Conference also gave proof of its loyalty to the Delhi Agreement by suggesting that the restrictions imposed by Government should be withdrawn and replaced by a ban on the publication unless released to the Press by Government, of reports, as were of military value to the enemy, of interruptions to roads and railway communications, acts of sabotage, strikes or interruptions of work in factories chiefly engaged in producing war materials.

### The Bombay Conference

Before the Bombay Conference was held a number of newspapers had been suppressed or had suspended publication as a result of the new restrictions or the manner in which they were applied. The most harmful use made of these restrictions was to deny publicity to statements and reports supporting the Indian demand for freedom and legitimate political activity. The Conference made it plain that even in war time the Press could not abdicate its responsibility as the guardian of public interest and of the rights of citizens. It contended that it could not do so specially at a time when the legislatures did not function in most provinces and owing to penal restrictions public opinion could not express itself. The decision of the Conference was thus actuated by a genuine spirit of compromise. The Conference felt confident, that it would effectively help to remove the bitterness and resentment that executive high-handedness had caused and lead to the republication of the newspapers that had been suppressed or had suspended publication. Unfortunately the response of the Government to the statesmanlike gesture of the Conference was neither prompt nor adequate, Not only did the Government of India take an unconscionable long time in communicating the Bombay resolution to the Provincial Governments but they also failed to give a lead to these Governments by themselves readily accepting it and implementing it in Delhi province. Thus precious time was wasted and several newspapers did not resume publication until the resolution had been accepted by the Provincial Governments concerned. To the credit of the Sind Government, it may be mentioned that they were the first Government to announce their acceptance of the resolution. When Provincial Governments with the exception of the Punjab Government did accept the Bombay resolution the acceptance was not whole-hearted and in some cases, was qualified by restrictions and conditions alien to its spirit. Nor were the subsequent actions of both the Central and Provincial Governments always in accord with the spirit of the new arrangement or of the Delhi Agreement. I need not mention how some Provincial Governments took unfair advantage of the Bombay resolution by depriving newspapers of the little liberty they had before the Bombay session of the Conference of ventilating legitimate grievances regarding the treatment of prisoners or the use of excessive force by the police.

### The Bhansali's Episode

Government, however, were guilty of the most flagrant breach of the Bombay Agreement when they suppressed all news regarding Prof. *Bhansali's* fast and imposed draconian restrictions on the publication of news and comments about *Gandhiji's* fast. Prof. Bhansali was neither a detenu nor a prisoner. As a free citizen he was entitled to undertake a fast. Whatever view one might hold about the wisdom or desirability of such a fast, no civilized Government would be justified

in preventing publication of news or comments about it in the Press—especially in a Press with which Government had entered into a solemn agreement and which, in publishing such news or comments, did not violate that agreement. The most obnoxious feature of the executive high-handedness was that the pains and penalties of the Defence of India Rules were requisitioned to prevent the Press even from informing the public that it had been gagged. This double outrage was naturally resented by the Press and the Standing Committee decided that the situation demanded an effective protest. On its recommendation newspapers throughout the country, with very few exceptions, suspended publication for one day and refrained from publishing the New Year's Honours List, all circulars from Government Houses, all speeches of the members of the British Government, the Government of India and of the Provincial Governments except portions thereof which contained decisions and announcements. The demonstration of solidarity was unprecedented in the history of the Indian Press. It had its effect and the Government Orders were soon withdrawn.

### GANDHIJI'S FAST AND AFTER

The Delhi Agreement and the Bombay resolutions were both, again, unceremoniously jettisoned when on February 10, *Gandhiji* began his twenty-one days' fast. On the eve of the fast drastic restrictions were imposed on the Press, those issued by the Government of Bombay being particularly irritating. The Government of Bombay also imposed precensorship on all statements emanating from Gandhiji or reports of or reference to such statement, whether direct or indirect, and all reports of interviews or conversations with him or persons detained with him or having access to him. As a result of discussions at an informal meeting of the Standing Committee, the President addressed a letter to the Government of India asking for the withdrawal of the restrictions. He pointed out that, quite apart from the issues raised by the fast, the fact that Gandhiji had undertaken it at an advanced age had raised world-wide interest and in India, among millions of his countrymen, the utmost anxiety let alone sympathy and, that in the circumstances, it was not fair to impose any special restrictions on the liberty of the Editors to handle the subject according to their discretion. Government, however, paid no heed to this representation as well as to the resolution of the Standing Committee urging the release of Gandhiji to enable him, as a free man, to help in the restoration of peaceful conditions. Stringent censorship was imposed on news and comments, both internal and foreign, regarding Gandhiji's fast. This could only mean that Government did not want that the public in India and outside should know the truth about the situation in this country.

### RESTRICTIONS MUST GO

The Prese as a whole had remained loyal to the Conference and to the agreements with the Government made by it and the Standing Committee. Provincial committees and the Central Advisory Committee had not hesitated to take erring newspapers to task and even to argee to the imposition of drastic penalties in proved cases of default. This is a record of which we may well be proud. Does the other party to the Gentlemen's Agreement present such a record? In fairness to some Provincial Governments, I must admit that they have on the whole, given an honest trial to the advisory system. Nevertheless, it is also true of these and other Provincial Governments and also of the Government of India that agreements have been made by them only to be violated whenever it suited them. Unanimous recommendations of a provincial committee have not seldom been rejected. On the untenable plea of provincial autonomy, the Government of India have permitted certain Provincial Governments to go counter to policies accepted by themselves. Powers of censorship have been issued to suppress legitimate expression of political opinion, in defiance of the Delhi Agreement. However, we are not dispirited by our bitter experience and we shall not be deterred by it from carrying on our struggle for broadening the basis of our freedom. Since we held our last session in Bombay the situation has changed considerably. The Bombay Resolution was passed to meet special circumstances created by the disturbances. The special circumstances having ceased to exist, a revision of our existing arrangements with the Government is essential. The Press has no desire to impede War efforts. That is the basis of the Delhi Agreement. It is also the basis of the Delhi Agreement tha the Press will not be a party to the suppression of legitimate political activities. There is nothing in the present political situation in the country to warrant any restrictions on the Press except those necessitated by purely military considerations. On the contrary, the situation demands that the Press should be absolutely unfet-

tered to ventilate legitimate grievances regarding, for instance, the treatment of prisoners and detenus, especially as unfair advantage has been taken of the Bombay Resolution by some Provincial Governments to prevent this being done. Sir *Sultan Ahmed*, Information Member of the Government of India, addressing a meeting of the Standing Committee in July last year, claimed that the restrictions on the Press in the country were not greater than, indeed, in his opinion, were much less, than, in some countries, at any rate, during the time of war. The history of the struggle that this Conference had carried on during the last three years and more with the Government is a sufficient commentary on this claim. That history is the history of reiterated and not seldom unsuccessful demands that the consultative machinery should be given an honest trial in every province, that the spirit of the Delhi Agreement should always be scrupulously adhered to by the Central and Provincial Governments and that the powers under the Defence of India Rules should not be misused to suppress news and views unpalatable to them.

The year that has just ended witnessed a food crisis of unprecedented character in many parts of India, particularly in Bengal. The tragedy of Bengal has had few parallels in the history of human suffering. It is unfortunate that in the beginning, under the convenient plea of war necessity, attempts were made to prevent the Press in India from publishing the whole truth about Bengal and the world outside India from getting true and objective accounts of the situation in this country. The Press, however, did its duty courageously by successfully appealing to the heart and conscience of India and helped to bring home to the people and Government of India the extent of the havoc wrought by starvation and to secure prompt relief and was thus instrumental in saving thousands of human lives.

### A Charter for Working Journalists

The first object of our Conference is to preserve the high traditions and standards of journalism. We cannot secure this object without maintaining our freedom and, naturally, in the present condition of our country, our efforts have hitherto chiefly been directed towards removing the obstacles in our path. But there are also other equally important things to be done if we wish to succeed in preserving the high traditions and standards of journalism. These traditions and standards are created and maintained by the men who work to make the Press efficient as well as free. It is these men who have in their power to raise or to lower them. It is clear that if our traditions and standards are to be preserved at the highest levels, the Press must continually attract to its service men who, in their mental and moral equipment, represent the best that our country produces. The Press cannot attract such men to its service unless it makes it worth their while to work for it. At present, with few exceptions, newspapers in India cannot be said to offer such attraction either in salaries or conditions of work. The average working journalist is paid a very meagre salary and this, added to the absence of any scheme of pension or Provident Fund, makes his life one of perpetual anxiety. If, in spite of all this, journalism attracts a number of men whose peers it is difficult to find in any other profession, it is because they consider it not as a career but as a mission in life or find that newspaper work offers them the satisfaction of heart and mind which they cannot find elsewhere. In the interests of journalism the need for the enforcement of minimum standards of payment and conditions of work for journalists, thus, becomes paramount. The question arises as who is to enforce these standards. Primarily the journalists themselves must help themselves and, by organising a powerful trade union of their own as in Britain, effectively protect their rights and interests. Final decisions, naturally, rest with proprietors who hold the purse-strings. The Indian and Eastern Newspapers' Society and the Indian Languages Newspapers' Association can and should give a helpful lead to proprietors in this connection. But Editors, to whom journalists working under them look for guidance and protection, cannot shirk their responsibility. Ours is a powerful and influential organisation of Editors and we are in a happy and advantageous position in so far as we count among ourselves a considerable number of editor-proprietors and managing-editors. Any recommendations that we may make about improving the economic status and working conditions of journalists will have the merit of being constructive and well-balanced and I have no doubt will be treated with respect by the proprietors. These are the days of Charters. Why should not there be a Journalists' Charter? Who can be in a better position to formulate it than a Conference of Editors and what can be a more propitious time than the present when the newspaper industry is financially in a stronger position than ever before to give a new and fair deal to the working journalists who constitute its backbone?

Concluding Mr. *Brelvi* said :

"There cannot be freedom of the Press under a totalitarian regime. If to-day the Press in India is not free as is the Press in Britain or America, the reason must be found in the totalitarian character of the present Government of India. No organisation could be more vitally interested in the establishment of true democracy in this country than is this Conference. For we realise that only in the atmosphere of tolerance, fairplay and compromise which democracy creates can a Free Press exist. Free Press means free discussion which is like breath of life to democracy. Thus a Free Press is as essential to true democracy as true democracy is to a Free Press. I submit, therefore, that the ending of the present political deadlock and the establishment of a truly popular Government is as urgent from our point of view as it may be from any other. I may, however, be allowed to add that political freedom in India will not necessarily mean the establishment of true democracy. We have therefore, to guard against the danger of a totalitarian regime taking root in a Free India. Vitally interested as the Press will always be in asserting and preserving its freedom, it will have a great part of play in the shaping of the future constitution of India. And as the representative organisation of the Press, this Conference, I feel confident, will grow from strength to strength and will have increasing opportunities of serving the cause of democracy in this country as well as of the freedom of the Press."

## PRESIDENT'S TRIBUTE TO LORD LINLITHGOW

I have no desire to be unfair to the Government of India and the Provincial Governments, nor can I let this opportunity pass without referring to the special contribution made by the ex-Viceroy, *Lord Linlithgow*, to the establishment of the consultative machinery and to the tribute, wholly deserved, which he paid to the Press in one of his speeches before leaving this country. The present Viceroy too, in one of the interviews he gave to the Press in London before arriving in this country, emphasised the important part which the Press plays in the public life of the country. I have also not the slightest hesitation in acknowledging that some officials of the Government of India and certain provincial governments have endeavoured to keep alive the consultative machinery for ordinary purposes. Our grievance, however, is that whenever it has suited them they have shown scant respect to the spirit of the Delhi Agreement. Some of them, again, have contended that there are no statutory restrictions against the Press and that editorial comment has been free. The question, however, is not so much as to how many statutory restrictions there are. The fact is that whenever Government want under the convenient Defence of India Rules, they promulgate restrictions of the Press, which though of a temporary character, are no less indefensible encroachments on our liberty. As regards freedom of comment the order served by the Government of Bombay regarding comments on Gandhiji's fast and the recent action taken against the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* are an eloquent proof of the fact that comment is free only during the pleasure of the Government. If the spirit of the Delhi Agreement is to be kept alive, our right to consultation in regard to any restrictions that may be contemplated must be recognised in practice. In cases of special emergency, it may not always be possible for Government to do so. But in such cases, Government must, at the earliest possible opportunity, place the restrictions imposed for consideration before us and amend or rescind them as may be recommended.

## FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

The Chairman of the Associated Press of America recently proposed that the peace conference, when it meets, should guarantee freedom of the Press throughout the world, that it should also guarantee freedom of agencies to make international exchange of news, equal accessibility to all official news and transmission facilities and the prohibition of biassed propaganda in any news service. These are excellent proposals and made none too soon. Mr. Sumner Welles, former Under-Secretary of State of the U. S. A. Government writing on them in the *New York Herald Tribune*, says :

"When there is born a popular conviction that any nation which refuses its people the right freely to worship, freely to express themselves—within the limits which public security requires—and freedom to obtain accurate knowledge of what transpires both within and without their boundaries, is a cause of danger to all other people, just so soon will these three freedoms be for all time established as a mighty bulwark to the future peace of the human race.

"For that reason," Mr. Welles concludes, "the editors and publishers of the United States are performing an all-important service for their country and for all

countries in this task". It is not necessary for me to add anything to what Mr. Sumner Welles says. I have no doubt there is not one amongst you who will not wholeheartedly endorse the proposal of the Chairman of the Associated Press of America. May I on your behalf say that we Editors of India fully associate ourselves with the Editors and Publishers of the United States in the move they have made—with this addendum that when the peace conference guarantees freedom of the Press and other freedoms to all nations of the world, the guarantee for India should not be on paper alone.

## Resolutions

### Late Mr. Ramanand Chatterjea

Mr. *Brelvi* then moved from the Chair the following resolution :

The A. I. N. E. Conference is deeply grieved over the death of Mr. Ramanand Chatterjea who devoted his whole life to the maintenance of high standards of journalism and whose services in this connection provided an inspiration and guidance to the profession. The Conference places on record its appreciation of his invaluable services for the cultural upliftment of the country.

The resolution was adopted unanimously all standing.

### Tributes to Mr. K. Srinivasan

Mr. *Devadas Gandhi* moved a resolution thanking the outgoing President and expressing appreciation of his services. The resolution was as follows :

The A. I. N. E. Conference places on record its warm appreciation of the work of Mr. K. Srinivasan, the outgoing President, during his tenure of office for over two years. It is largely due to Mr. Srinivasan's untiring and pioneering zeal that the Conference has been placed on strong foundations. By his diligence and example, Mr. Srinivasan successfully brought about harmony and a sense of unity in the journalistic profession. The Press of India is grateful to Mr. Srinivasan for the invaluable services rendered by him to the journalistic profession in the country and for maintaining its dignity and rights in these difficult times.

The resolution, Mr. Devadas Gandhi said, did not contain a single idle word ; if anything, it understated the position. The resolution as it stood expressed what the Standing Committee of the Conference felt on the point and it had been adopted unanimously. It was at a critical moment in the journalistic world that Mr. Srinivasan was invited to take up the leadership of the Press and he was glad to say that they had no difficulty in persuading Mr. Srinivasan to realise that it was an occasion when he had to take up virtually the Managing Editorship of the entire Press in India. (Cheers) Never for a single moment had they the occasion to regret the choice they then made. There was every possibility at the time—it was in 1941—of the Press as a body being completely wiped out of existence. Thanks to Mr. Srinivasan's protecting wings, the Press had not only not been wiped out of existence but the whole conspiracy to wipe it out of existence had been shattered once for all. On the occasion he had referred to, they retired to bed in the night expecting that the next morning newspapers were all going to be suppressed ; Mr. Srinivasan was up and toiling all the time, and the next morning instead of the news of the disaster that was expected, he was in a position to convey to the Conference the happy news of a very favourable compromise.

Continuing, Mr. *Devadas Gandhi* said that the Press had had to compromise with the Government on many an occasion. Many of the compromises for which Mr. *Srinivasan* stood and was mainly responsible for but in which every member of the Standing Committee unhesitatingly associated himself with Mr. Srinivasan, were forced upon them by circumstances. Mr. Srinivasan had been able to prove that the Press possessed strength of character much more perhaps than any other person in that position in those difficult times could have done.

The Press, the speaker continued, should make it clear to Mr. Srinivasan that, in adopting the resolution, it was in no sense saying good-bye to him. Without his guidance and his protecting wings and all that these meant, the Press in India would have a very poor chance indeed. He hoped fervently that Mr. Srinivasan would never flag in his interest in the welfare of the Press. To call him merely a great leader of the Press was not doing him justice. He was, quite apart from his connection with the Press, "a very great personality." The speaker had learnt to be a very great admirer of Mr. Srinivasan. The great charm of his personality was that he was not "a creature too good for human nature's daily food." Many of them, therefore, liked to be associated with a person who was 'pre-eminently human.' In that small frame of his, he enclosed the personality of a giant. The same great personality was evident in every line of his well-chiselled face and the speaker

was impressed with the magic of that personality. If he were an artist confident of his powers of delineation he would like straightway to enter into a close survey of Mr Srinivasan's virtues and defects. But so near was Mr. Srinivasan to the speaker's own idea of the perfect man, that he felt that if anyone was qualified to discuss or consider his weaknesses, it was Mr. Srinivasan himself and certainly not he (Mr. Devadas).

One thing he would like to refer to on the occasion, and that was that if one was a colleague of Mr. Srinivasan, one should always be prepared, at some stage or other, of incurring some little suspicion from Mr. Srinivasan. But what happened ? Mr. Srinivasan was "an extraordinary man" and when he suspected anyone, the latter came closer to him feeling instinctively "here is a man who is only trying to impose a higher standard of conduct." "Once a colleague of Mr. Srinivasan, always a colleague of Mr. Srinivasan"—that certainly was the speaker's feeling and his declaration of allegiance.

Speaking for "the vast army of competent men, young and old, who worked under Mr. Srinivasan", Mr. Devadas Gandhi said that it was true to say : "once an employee of Mr. Srinivasan, always his employee." That was because the protection Mr. Srinivasan gave was not only in the matter of pay—and it was certainly very substantial pay—but in the way in which he treated his employee, the confidence which he placed in him, and the way in which he dealt with each person's difficulties and tried to sympathise with him and remove difficulties. The speaker had learnt of this from many an employee oi Mr. Srinivasan and always admired him for the success he had attained in that rather narrow sphere of being "a boss". Some of them knew—he wished more of them knew it—that Mr. Srinivasan was described by a large circle of people both with awe and affection as a boss ; he was in truth "a great boss". Age rested lightly on Mr. Srinivasan, and he had no doubt that in the normal way Mr. Srinivasan was destined to live long and in his hundredth year would be as devoted to the cause of Indian journalism as he was to-day. (Cheers). There was no interest nearer to his heart than the progress of journalism in India.

"If there is one exhortation, I would make to you, Mr. Srinivasan," Mr. Devadas Gandhi continued, "it is this. THE HINDU is the great monument you have created. I am not unmindful of the fact that a good part of it was a heritage from your great father. You do not perhaps know that, in the innermost recesses of my heart, I have felt a brother to you, because I looked upon your father as my own father. Those feelings I learnt to cherish when I visited him in your office in 1919 and those scenes came back to my mind when I saw his picture in THE HINDU Office the other day. THE HINDU, as we know it to-day, is the creation, I say again, of Mr. Srinivasan. Now I want you, Mr. Srinivasan, to spread yourself out, devote yourself to creating the same urge of a perfect newspaper in all newspapers of India, to forget the individual interest of your own monument and to try to bring the virtues of THE HINDU to other newspapers of India also. I am sure Mr. Srinivasan can succeed in doing that."

Mr. Devadas Gandhi wished to make an exhortation to the incoming President also and that was not to hesitate—he was merely voicing his personal opinion—to enlarge the scope of the Conference. "If we tie ourselves down to mere editorial matters," the speaker said, "and to a too narrow definition of what we regard as editorial matters, we shall not be doing our duty by our country. There are very few organised bodies in this country who are able to do full service to the country and it is in need of every ounce of service it can get from every quarter. Here is this organised body which can, perhaps, do a lot and, therefore, I would it tried to find out avenues of rendering greater service to the nation as a whole. I would not go into details, but this is a matter which we can consider in our Conference. Mr. Srinivasan, I am sure, would not only be eminently qualified to, but would be successful, if he tried to enlarge the scope of the Conference. Let me conclude with the prayer that Mr. Srinivasan be endowed with long life and that he should live many long years to serve as a living inspiration to the world of journalism in India." (Loud applause).

Sir *Francis Low*, Editor of the *Times of India*, seconding the resolution, said it gave him very great pleasure to be able to pay his tribute to Mr. Srinivasan who had guided the Conference during the "three initial years of very great difficulty." It was significant, although it might not come to them here as a surprise, that when the Editors of India looked for a stalwart to uphold their rights against those who would encroach upon them, they looked to South India. Anybody who knew anything about journalism in India knew also that this was precisely

what newspapermen in India would do; because, the fame of South Indians in the world of journalism was one which none could question or doubt. Speaking on the occasion, therefore, he felt he was in a very familiar atmosphere, because it was exactly the same atmosphere that he felt every time he entered his sub-Editors' Room in Bombay (cheers) Mr. *Srinivasan* presided in 1940 over a meeting "the like of which had never been seen before". It was a gathering of journalists, he was almost going to say "outraged journalists," who came to protest against the Ordinances of the Government of India. There was an old saying in the Bible. "If the trumpet give forth an uncertain sound, who can prepare himself for the battle?" There was no uncertain sound about Mr. Srinivasans's trumpet on that occasion (cheers). So great a noise did this gathering make that if the walls of Jericho did not exactly collapse, at least those within thought discretion the better part of valour and instead of telling the bumptious newspaper editors to go back where they had come from, they thought it better to compromise. (Cheers). So, there was the compromise which had gone on from that day to this—one of the most valuable things that had happened in the history of newspapers in India. Mr. Srinivasan had presided over "a heterogeneous collection of people'; but, they had all one interest—and it was here that their success lay—to protect their own rights and interests against encroachments from whatever quarters such encroachments came. They stood by their rights. If one knew someth ng of the differences that cropped up in a body of so many widely divergent interests, one would have some idea of the skill and ability with which the retiring President handled, he would not say a refractory but a pretty mulish team" (laughter) It was difficult indeed to get them all to see alike, but despite divergences, they did find unity—unity in diversity. That he considered to be one of the greatest tributes he could pay to Mr. Srinivasan. That, at any rate, was one of the things which the Conference could show as an example to the rest of India. If the rest of India would get together like the Newspaper Editors, then "we will go a long way towards our goal". He did not wish to embarrass Mr. Srinivasan by further tributes. He felt that what had so ably been said by Mr. *Devadas Gandhi* was entirely deserved. Somewhat of a late-comer as he was to the Editors' Conference and a convert to the cause, he wished to heartily endorse everything said as to the qualities of Mr. Srinivasan.

In their difficulties with the Government of India, Sir *Francis* said. the Press had often come up against serious opposition, so that sometimes things looked very black and the prospect of coming to a satisfactory settlement on matters at issue very gloomy indeed. Even at the most critical and depressing times Mr. *Srinivasan* never lost his sense of humour. His ready smile and the way in which he could laugh at trouble had many a time won over doubting Thomases. As one of Mr. Srinivasan's devoted disciples in the great work of his Conference, he felt the tribute paid by the body to Mr. Srinivasan well deserved. He hoped that as time progressed, the Conference would continue in the path which Mr. Srinivasan so earnestly and successfully put its feet on.

Mr. *Amrithlal Seth*, supporting the resolution, said he belonged to a school different from that Mr. *Srinivasan* belonged to and he was not himself very confident of results when the Conference started on its work. Mr. Srinivasan revealed a beautiful blend of independence, moderation and diplomatic skill and a capacity to conduct business tactfully and thus help the Conference to tide over difficulties. The nature of the difficult time gave them the man to lead them through and during the three years of his presidentship Mr. Srinivasan rose equal to the duties he undertook and the trust reposed in him.

Mr. *J. K. Karandikar* said that whenever he thought of the outgoing President, he was reminded of *G. K. Gokhale* whom he resembled, in that he always tried to see his opponent's point of view and while never yielding his fundamental principles, bring the opponent round. So successful was Mr. Srinivasan in effecting compromises that many a paper that had suspended publication before the Conference was started, found it possible and honourable to resume publication.

Mr. *Ramanath Goenka* said that he had known "our chief, Mr. Srinivasan, and could therefore, speak with authority derived from personal experience both as member of the Cabinet and of the Opposition." Although they had differed on several occasions, he could say without fear of contradiction that Mr. Srinivasan never bore ill-will. Mr. Srinivasan could not hate or dislike anyone; it pained him to do so. Mr. Srinivasan might not seem to possess the quality of a fighter; but when it became inevitable, one could rarely find a fighter of the type of Mr. Srinivasan. (Cheers). But for his great ability and tact, the Conference would not have been there to meet in Madras. Mr. Srinivasan loved harmony and unity. To know

him was to love him. He was human to the core and a gentleman first to last. The outstanding qualities which would strike anyone about Mr. Srinivasan were his civility of temper, sweet affability and innate gentleness. One might accuse him of being right or wrong, but nobody could accuse him of taking sides with wrong. Mr. Srinivasan had been a staunch and consistent nationalist, never compromising on fundamental loyalty to the country. He had successfully steered the Press through "waters infested with several U-boats." Although he might not be President in the coming year the speaker was sure Mr. Srinivasan would be a guiding factor of the organisation which he has built, nourished and brought up to this position. (Cheers).

Mr. *Brelvi* associated himself whole-heartedly with the previous speakers and said that no tributes could be juster or greater than those paid. In 1940, the Press in India was confronted with a crisis such as had never before faced it, and for it the question was whether it should exist or not. The crisis called for a leader who would take the Press forward and in Mr. Srinivasan they found the leader. "He has led us on a path." Mr. Brelvi said, "which has shown to us that we shall be able to broaden the basis of our freedom as time goes on. I have no doubt that Mr. Srinivasan will be always with us to guide us and help us and we shall always have his co-operation."

The resolution was then adopted by the Conference unanimously.

Mr. Brelvi then garlanded Mr. Srinivasan amidst loud cheers.

Mr. *Srinivasan*, replying, said he was utterly overwhelmed by the generous tributes paid to him and his work. He felt too embarrassed to express in adequate terms what he felt on the occasion and he would therefore content himself with saying that he would strive his best to deserve them.

The Conference then adjourned for tea.

After an hour's adjournment the Conference met again for the evening session, Mr. Brelvi presiding. It appointed a Subjects Committee, consisting of 23 members to draft resolutions to be placed before the Conference. Nominations for the new Standing Committee were also called for. The Conference then adjourned.

## Resolutions—2nd. Day—Madras—11th. January 1944

### NEW STANDING COMMITTEE FORMED

The Conference resumed its sitting at 9-30 p.m. on the next day, the 11th. January, when the results of the election to the Standing Committee of the A. I. N. E. C. for 1944 were announced.

The following 21 members were declared elected to the Standing Committee; Mr. K. Srinivasan (*The Hindu*). Sir Francis Low (*Times of India*), Mr. Devadas Gandhi (*Hindustan Times*, New Delhi), Mr. J. N. Sahni (*National Call*, New Delhi), Mr. I. M. Stephens (*Statesman*, Calcutta), Mr. A. S. Bharathan (Associated Press of India), Mr. Tushar Kanti Ghosh (*A. B. Patrika*), Mr. Ramanath Goenka (*Indian Express*), Mr. D. Amrilal Sheth (*Janmabhoomi*, Bombay). Mr. Samaldas Gandhi (*Vandemataram*, Bombay), Mr. M. Harris (*Ajmal*, Bombay), Mr C. R. Srinivasan (*Swadesamitram*), Mr. R. D. Maheswari (*Nav Bharat*. Nagpur). Mr. A. D. Mani (*Hitavada*, Nagpur). Mr. S S. Vasan (*Ananda Vikatan*. Madras), Mr. H. R. Mohary (*Samyukta Karnataka*, Hubli), Mr. K. Punniah (*Sind Observer*), Mr. K. Srinivasan (*Free Press Journal*, Bombay). Mr. B. Shiva Rao (*Sunday Hindu*, Madras), Mr. S. V. Swami (*Free Press*, Madras) and Mr. Vidyabasker (*Aj*, Benares).

### PASSPORT FACILITIES FOR A. I. N. E. C. MEMBERS

The Conference passed two more resolutions before concluding its session.

The first resolution which was moved from the chair and passed read as follows: "This Conference requests the Government to provide passports and transport facilities to such members of the A. I. N. E. C. as may wish to visit England, America and other countries at their own expense at the present juncture with full liberty to meet people of their choice and to express their views freely."

### ECONOMIC CONDITION OF WORKING JOURNALISTS

Mr. *J. N. Sahni* moved and Mr. *K. Srinivasan* of Bombay supported the second resolution which ran as follows:

"This Conference directs the Standing Committee to appoint three members to confer with the proprietorial organisations and formulate proposals for the improvement of the economic condition of working journalists."

### MR. BRELVI'S APPEAL

Winding up the proceedings, Mr. *S. A. Brelvi*, the President, thanked the

delegates for the co-operation and spirit of accommodation they had shown which enabled him to conduct the proceedings smoothly and make the Conference a success. He hoped the same harmonious spirit would continue to mark the proceedings of the Conference in the months ahead, so that the organisation might grow from strength to strength. Referring to a remark by one of the delegates that the Conference was a war-time baby and that it might not survive it, Mr. Brelvi averred that it was not a war-time baby. The Conference was a fully representative gathering of the Press of India. In fact, there was no organisation in India which could claim a greater representative character than the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference. It belonged to no party and it was open to every newspaper in the country, irrespective of its editorial policy, to join the Conference. Mr. Brelvi appealed to such of the newspapers as had not yet joined the Conference to join it and thus make it stronger. The object of the Conference, as he had explained in the course of his presidential address, was to preserve the high traditions and standard of journalism in India. It would be the object of the Conference to secure to its members the right of expression of their views freely and fearlessly.

Mr. *Brelvi* thanked the Reception Committee for the elaborate arrangements it had made to make the Conference a success and to make the members' stay in Madras very comfortable.

Mr. *Brelvi*, in conclusion, thanked Mr. *K. Srinivasan*, the former President, for his help and guidance in conducting the proceedings.

Mr. *C. R. Srinivasan*, Editor of the *Swadesamitram*, then proposed a vote of thanks to the chair, which was carried unanimously.

Mr. *J. N. Sahni* (*National Call*) paid a tribute to South India which, he said, was the seat of journalism in this country and said that their visit to Madras was more in the nature of a pilgrimage. Recalling that the previous sessions of the Conference were held first at Delhi, right amidst the smell of melting lead and zinc, and secondly at Bombay in an atmosphere which reminded them of business and advertisements. Mr. *Sahni* said the third session of the Conference had aptly been held in the artistic Gemini Studios. He thanked Mr. *S. S. Vasan* on whose shoulders had fallen the brunt of making these elaborate arrangements.

Mr. *Nrimal Ghosh* and Mr. *B. Sen Gupta*, on behalf of the Bengal journalists, invited the next session of the Conference to Calcutta. Mr. Brelvi, the President, stated that the Standing Committee would bear in mind their invitation at the time of fixing up the venue for the next session.

The Conference then concluded.

# The All India Women's Conference

## 17th. Session—Bombay—7th. to 10th. April 1944.

### Proceedings of the Session

For the second time in its short life of 18 years the Annual Session of the All-India Women's Conference was held in Bombay. This Session was held after a gap of 2 years. Unfortunately, owing to the unsettled political condition of the country and the imprisonment of both President and President-elect no Session could be held in 1943. The enthusiasm with which this Session was received and acclaimed all over India proves without a doubt the hold the Women's Conference has on the hearts of women throughout the country and its influence and importance as a lead-giving organisation.

The arrangements made by the Reception Committee, the grandeur of the pandal and the abnormal crowds of visitors that attended all the four days' sessions did full justice to Bombay's reputation as the premier city of India. Not only was the material arrangements for the comfort of the delegates on a good scale but the whole spirit both intellectual and emotional of the Session was on a scale and of character not known hitherto. The delegates were in wonderful form, their arguments cogent. A spirit of go-aheadness pervaded the discussions. There were many new-comers. The younger section of educated women seemed to have woken to the potentialities of the Women's Conference and made a determined bid to utilise it to its fullest extent. The old system of Subjects' Committee and Plenary Session was reverted to as the Group System had been tried and found wanting.

A departure from the usual procedure was made in that, men of repute were invited during the Session to give their specialised views and findings on subjects involved in the resolutions. e.g. Dr. *Anjaria* spoke on "Food and Inflation," and Mr. *Motilal Setalvad*, one of the leaders of the Bombay Bar and an authority on Hindu Law, on "Hindu Women's Position under Hindu Law."

The Seventeenth Session will ever remain a historic one because of the address presented to *Srimati Sarojini Naidu*, the Bulbul-i-Hind by the A. I. W. C., the National Council of Women in India, the Bombay Presidency Women's Council, the Reception Committee, the Constituents Branches of the A. I. W. C., in Bombay and its Suburbs, and 75 other social service organisations belonging to the city of Bombay, for her life-long services to the cause of the country in general and women in particular. Sarojini Devi was buried twice over in garlands and the surge of emotion rose to an indescribable climax. The anti-climax lay in the fact that Sarojini Devi could reply to this overwhelming expression of love and affection only by a Namaste, the Government of India having sealed her lips in speech.

A Civic Reception was accorded by the Mayor and the Municipal Corporation of Bombay to welcome the President and the other members of the Standing Committee to the hospitable city of Bombay.

The Delegates who had come to Bombay prepared to rough things, having heard all about the rationing scheme and the food saving, were pleasurably surprised at the lavish arrangements of the Reception Committee. The At Homes and Dinners given by institutions and individuals and Her Highness Maharani Bhakti Devi of Nepal's Banquet also came as a welcome surprise, and also her magnificent donation of Rs. 20,000 towards the Kasturba Memorial Fund.

The artistic excellence of the Variety Entertainment and the Handicraft and Swadeshi Exhibition which have become customary features of every session, were in keeping with the general scheme of things, and the mammoth crowds of the public meeting of women organised by the Dadar-Matunga and Parel Constituent Branches filled the hearts of the delegates with envy.

Our sincerest thanks are due to Lady Premlila Thackersey, the Chairwoman of the Reception Committee and her band of indefatigable Secretaries whose labours resulted in a smooth, successful and happy Session.

## Proceedings of the Session

The 17th Session of the Conference was held in a spacious pandal erected in the grounds of Vanita Vishram, Sandhurst Road, Bombay, on Friday, the April 7, 1944. The proceedings began with a prayer rendered by pupils of the School of Indian Music, after which Mrs. *Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit*, the retiring President addressed the Conference.

Speaking in Hindi, Mrs. Pandit recalled that the Conference was meeting after two years, the last session having been held at Cocanada in 1941. In the period that had intervened between the last session and the present, many notable events had taken place all over the world. In India specially the last year had been tragic one and circumstances beyond the control of the Conference had come the way of its normal work. For many months some of our best workers had been in detention and it had not been possible to give effect to many of the resolutions passed at Cocanada. It is to our credit that throughout this difficult period members individually and collectively had kept the spirit of the Conference alive.

Mrs. Pandit expressed the opinion that reforms in the political, social and economic sphere were interdependent. While it was true that the main aim of the Conference was to raise Indian womanhood to its rightful place, they could not be blind to the political situation If the Conference wished to progress rapidly towards its ideal it could not afford to keep out of politics—not the limited party politics of any group but those wider issues which face humanity. We must bring this wider political interest within our purview and attempt to solve our problems in the National interest rather in the limited circle of our own immediate needs. The world is engaged in a War for freedom and we cannot forget that our country consisting of one-fifth of the human race is also a part of the world. For the satisfactory solution of any of the difficulties that face us as a group or which face the country, freedom is the first essential and only then can we help towards the building up of a better world.

The women's movement in India has forged ahead with a rapidity which, if one understands the handicaps we have had to overcome, has been remarkable. The Indian woman reformer has not been the enemy of man—our men have helped

us in our fight for equality and the bitter antagonism which existed in the West between the sexes never found its way into our ranks. Our ancient tradition has been one of comradeship and we look forward in the future to its growth.

She was glad to state that the membership of the Conference was on the increase and that more and more women in the mofussil areas were beginning to realise the advantages of joining the women's movement. She hoped the time would soon come when hundreds of branches of the Conference would spring up all over the country,

The work of the Conference during the two years that had passed since the last session was mainly relief work for the sufferers in the calamities which had overtaken Midnapore and subsequently the whole of Bengal, and Bijapur District in Bombay Province. Workers of the Conference had not only collected funds but had rendered help in the distressed areas in every possible way. In this connection she referred to the All-India Save the Children Committee which had come into existence as a result of conditions of Bengal.

Mrs. Pandit referred to another tragedy which had cast a gloom in every Indian home *viz.* the death of Kasturba Gandhi who was the symbol of ideal Indian womanhood to thousands all over the country. She appealed to women to help in the collections for raising a suitable memorial, which it had been suggested, should take the form of an organisation for advancement of women's education, a subject with which the Conference was very much concerned.

Paying a tribute to Shrimati Kamaladevi, Mrs. Pandit observed that the Conference was fortunate in having her as their President for the year. She was one of the foundation members of the Conference and a valued worker. Her work for women both in India and abroad had done much to raise the prestige of Indian women. Mrs. Pandit was specially happy to hand over charge to a woman who was her comrade in another and bigger sphere. She felt that all she had left undone during her term as President would be more worthily accomplished by Kamaladevi who would guide the Conference with ability and courage.

**Welcome Address**

*Lady Premlila Thackersey*, Chairwoman of the Reception Committee, welcoming the President and Delegates said : I wanted to deliver this address in Gujarati which is my mother tongue, but I chose Hindi because it is important I should speak in a language which delegates from other parts of the country can understand. There is no other language except Hindi for that purpose. If we all learn Hindi there will be no need for us to learn any other language.

After a lapse of fourteen years we have met again in Bombay. Bombay has not remained impervious to the many changes that have taken place during this period. Although it is not the capital of India, Bombay is undoubtedly the greatest City in India and it has always given the lead in the matter of helping the rest of India, and relieving distress wherever it occurs. Bombay has played an important part in the organisation of the Women's Conference. Although the Conference came into existence in 1926 its foundations were laid on a firm basis in 1930 at the session held in Bombay. Here I am reminded of late Lady Dorab Tata, the then President of the Reception Committee. Let me hope that the silver jubilee of the Conference will also be celebrated in Bombay. Last year we could not hold the Conference because of the political turmoil and the arrest of our national leaders. Even today we are meeting under the shadow of grief. The passing away of Kasturba, the greatest of our women, is a matter of profound sorrow to us. She was the embodiment of the virtues of Aryan womanhood and we all can draw inspiration from her.

Her death has caused a void in Gandhiji's life which cannot be filled. Even so it has caused a void in the life of our country. Indian women owe a great debt to Gandhiji for the progress and advance they have achieved.

The sad demise of Shri Ranjit Pandit is still fresh in our memory. Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, the President of our last Session and the soul of our Conference has made great sacrifices with Mr. Pandit for the awakening and freedom of our country. We all sympathise with Mrs. Pandit in her very sad bereavement.

We keenly feel the absence of Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, one of our closest friends and very sincere and active worker on account of her detention under the Defence of India Rules.

It is our fortune, Kamaladevi, that you are here to preside over this conference. In what terms shall I introduce you to the gathering ? You are the embodiment of world womanhood. You have done the greatest service to your sisters in this country by the most favourable impression you have created abroad.

You have taken the keenest interest in our Conference. You were responsible for the opening of branches in different parts of the country. In recognition of your services the Conference elected you general secretary thrice. Now when vital problems face us you have assumed the presidentship of the Conference. You are clever, cultured, gifted and talented ; you are a great organiser and you have great capacity for service. By participating in the International Women's Conferences at Berlin, Geneva, Prague and Elisinor as India's representative and very ably presenting our problems you did a great service to us and won us the esteem of outside world. You also dispelled many wrong notions about India that prevailed in other countries. I am cofident that in the present critical juncture you will be able to lead us along the right path.

It is a great pleasure, we have in our midst today Mrs. Sarojini Naidu who has gone through a long period of detention and illness. She is not quite well as yet, and it is her great interest in our Conference that has brought her here today. Srimati Naidu, we welcome you from the core of our hearts. I am sure that the Conference by presenting an address to you will show its gratitude for all that you have done for us and the country. You have raised the status of Indian women as no other person has done, and your contribution to Indian culture is by no means small. Your presence here is a great inspiration to us all. You have brought lustre on Indian womanhood. May you be long spared to us.

There are many grave problems facing us today. The war of the great powers is still raging furiously, and it is exacting greater sacrifices from the people. Although we have no concern with the war we have been dragged into it. India has made great sacrifices both in men, money and material. We are experiencing great hardships in travelling and getting the daily necessities of life. No one appears to worry about the needs of the people ; and there appears to be no prospect of any improvement in the situation. All round, we see distress and famine is stalking Bengal and other parts of the country. It is a matter of shame for our rulers that in a vast agricultural country like India there should be such famines. It is imperative that under such circumstances we should know what is our duty. I hope the Conference will give right and proper guidance in this matter.

I am aware that India is a vast country and there are numerous difficulties in our way. We are divided. There are provincial, linguistic and other differences which come in the way of our progress. But if we approach our task in the right spirit I am sure we can accomplish it. We have a great task awaiting us in the villages. Owing to certain difficulties we have not been able to give as much attention to this question as it deserves. The vast masses of village women are illiterate and ignorant. They are like frogs in the well. Their outlook on life needs to be liberalised and broadened. In this task we have a duty to perform. You have set up a committee to deal with this problem. But I think greater emphasis should be laid on this work than hitherto.

The Conference publishes a magazine "Roshni." Many people do not know anything about it, indeed they have not even heard its name, because it is in English. I trust that it will be published in Hindi.

As a result of the war many educated middle class girls and women have secured employment. It is necessary to utter a word of caution that in this going forward there would be no blind imitation, for such imitation would not help the promotion of culture. It is equally important that there is no neglect of the moral side of education. It goes without saying that strong morality and character are essential to success.

There are several women's organisations functioning in this country. I think that there should be a close co-ordination of their efforts. If they all worked in unity and under a single organisation and direction we could achieve better results.

Once again I extend on behalf of the Reception Committee a warm welcome to the Delegates and Visitors to the Conference. I hope you will excuse us for our shortcomings. Let us hope that by the time our next Session is held the war clouds will scatter away, and there will be harmony and peace in the world, and India will acquire its proper place in the world under the guidance of the apostle of peace, Mahatma Gandhi.

**Visitors' Speeches**

*Mrs. Urmila Mehta*, Hon. General Secretary, then read the report of the activities of the Conference for 1942-43, after which in accordance with the announcement of Shrimati Kamaladevi, visitors' speeches were delivered.

*Mr. M. R. Masani, the Mayor* : I would like at the outset to say that while

two days ago I had the pleasure of welcoming your President-elect and members of the Standing Committee to this city on behalf of the Municipal Corporation, now that I understand a large number of delegates has come in. I would like to convey to them as well the warm welcome which the citizens of Bombay would desire me to give them on this occasion. It is all the more pleasant to welcome you all because in a way this is the first time since August 1942 that we are having a gathering of this nature in the city. One cannot help looking back and being reminded of occasions of this sort in the past which are no longer permissible in these days in our country or in our city. You have brought added life to the city and raised the level of its consciousness, and in that sense your Conference has contributed to our civic life.

Having said that, I confess to an amount of bewilderment as to the capacity in which I and my distinguished fellow-citizens who are invited here today are before you. I can only surmise that our capacity is something approximating to that of fraternal delegates from a fortunately non-existent All-India Men's Conference. (Laughter). At the same time, the fact that the majority of the speakers on the opening day of the All-India Women's Conference should be men is one which cannot but appeal to the vanity of the mere male. I do hope it means an admission that even when you foregather, you cannot really do without us.

There are just one or two points made by the retiring President and the Annual Report of the General Secretary to which I would like to draw attention. The first point, which was made by Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, was that this is non-partisan organisation. That is a point which is well worth stressing, because I think that is the secret of the successful growth and development of the Conference. I think this Conference is bound to grow and become more and more powerful as a factor in our national life only to the extent that you can manage to retain that non-partisan character. We have seen unfortunately in the case of certain other organisations of this nature, whether they were of the workers, peasants or students, that they have all come to grief because of attempts in a certain quarter to permeate and capture those organisations for partisan ends. I do hope that your Conference will be able to survive any such attempts and repel them firmly and will keep its broad-based national character.

The other point is with reference to the Secretary's Report pertaining to the Abrama Training Camp. That Camp has set a very fine example of what your Conference can do to meet the growing demand for trained women workers of various kinds in our countryside. There is a growing need for doctors, teachers, nurses and technicians of every kind, including those in social services, as well as engineers, chemists and others. And that want has to be met. When one reads of a plan like the Fifteen Years Plan, what one is worried about is not where the money is going to come from, but where the men and women are to come from, because such a plan requires laks of trained technicians, both men and women, of various kinds. Today, those men and women simply do not exist in sufficient numbers in our country. For every doctor we have today, if we are to reach the United Kingdom's standards, we need at least 16 doctors. And for every nurse we have in this country, we need 320 nurses if we are to get anywhere near the British standard. There is such a terrific leeway to make up, and I do hope that you will follow the example you have set at Abrama and have camps throughout the country, in every province, and turn out a large number of women, trained in social and other sciences, so that when our country is free to embark on big plans of development, women will be there, to take up the work. I wish your session every success, and, apart from being useful, I hope you will find your stay in Bombay pleasant. (Cheers).

*Mr. Bhulabhbai J. Desai*: Madame President, Delegates to the All-India Women's Conference and Friends, I myself wonder as the last speaker has done as to the actual place I occupy when I am invited to attend the Conference. If I was asked to do so as a survival of those who used to hold what were euphemistically called social conferences at the end of every session of the Indian National Congress, then I wish to repel the suggestion. For I am one of those who feel that the progress of the nation, and particularly our own, no longer depends on the vicissitudes through which other countries passed in the experiments of halting nature which were their fate. We stand today in a very different world in every sense of the term. While there is the shadow of a world war, there is also the inspiration of a great example of the greatest experiment of a stupendous character in the application of freedom and equality to the relations of men and women and men and men in the world's history. It is that experiment which is the outstanding event of this

war, and of this world. And it is that experiment which is going now to be fore-runner of the work of reconstruction of society in the human world. For it is not by means of halting, individual measures that we are going to rejuvenate and revitalise this land, where no doubt in theory, in times gone by as was pointed out sometimes ago by the retiring President, there was an acceptance of the equality of men and women ; then there was period of intervening darkness when women fell back, fell behind and fell into a state when the world began to look upon them with a certain amount of askance. It is not therefore by retracing this step, but by entirely reorganising our life that the women of this country are going to lead the world. I feel if you look at the way in which the problem of women in India has during the last 25 years beer tackled, I think it deserves a considerable amout of congratulation. For there never was what may be called a militant movement which speaks for the fact that there was never any resistance to the claim which they made. An equality in the sphere of life, an equality for the purpose of doing their duty, and service to mankind, an equality claimed as the result of works, is an equality which could in modern times be never resisted. It is not a mere matter of histerical anachronism, but it is a case in which we felt that in this country we escaped the vicissitudes of militant womanhood in other lands, and for the simple reason that it proceeded in a manner which evoked not merely the enthusiasm, but the assistance of men whom you have invited here to address you. They feel that it is not by assisting you that they have done anything, but they realise that you have made your own progress unimpeded by men so far as this country is concerned. It is a silent and tacit recognition of a principle which the world learned after a great deal of time and trouble.

For that reason, I feel, standing before you today and looking back to your work for the last 17 years, it is a great pleasure to find that we stand where we stand today where no question can be raised. If you look at the history of the last three or four years in the matter of franchise, the other day counting it over I found that while in every country, even in the European world, there was the question whether franchise should be granted or not, we had a franchise of one in every ten women throughout the country. I do not see any reason why there should not be the adult franchise applicable to women as well as men. How they won the last elections is a matter of history and a matter of great satisfaction to me ; it is a matter for great pride in the way in which they acquitted themselves so far as the organisation of the national life of this country is concerned.

I also wish to add a word about what was stated in regard to one of the matters in which the Conference holds a strong opinion. That is, with reference to the pending legislation, as regards the rights of women as they are called, I would prefer to call them the restitution of their actual position. Whether it is the matter of intestate succession, or whether it is the matter of marriage, the application of correct principles of life is an obligation and it is not a matter to be begged for. There are before the Assembly two bills, the Bill of Intestate Succession where ungrudgingly they have recognised the right of inheritance of the sisters along with their brothers in almost every sphere and every grade. There is also before the Assembly a Bill codifying the Hindu Law on the question of marriage. It deals with two types of marriages, the sacramental and the civil, but even in sacramental marriage, the principle of monogamy is sought to be obligatorily enforced. The principle, while it appears revolutionary, will restore that self-respect and dignity to man and woman which alone will place us in the position in which we wish to be placed before the world today.

There are other matters which will arise before the Conference, but so far as I am concerned, I feel that there should no more be any argument about principles. The world has seen, as I said, stupendous experimental success of the application of equality and freedom in all spheres of life and how it has vindicated itself in the vindication of freedom and democracy today. Let us now under the inspiring guidance of the application of this principle proceed so that our sisters will have no cause to say that Indian men did not assist in the restitution of their society, in the rehabilitation of their own life and in the reconstruction of the future which belongs to this land as much as any other. I thank you for the invitation.

*Mr. Justice M. C. Chagla* : Madam President, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have ceased to be a politician and I no longer understand politics. But without understanding politics I do realise that our country is at present passing through a period of frustration and disillusionment and I congratulate the All-India Women's Conference for not falling a victim to the prevailing atmosphere.

One has only to look at this gathering to realise how full of life and enthusiasm the All-India Women's Conference is. The one great appeal that this conference has for me is that it has created a platform where united womanhood can stand. Women of all communities, of all castes, and if I may say so of all races, from different parts of the country have come and sat on this platform, and as the previous speakers have pointed out the main feature of this conference is that it is a nationalist, non-partisan institution. If Indian men have failed to create such a platform, all the greater glory to Indian women. (Applause).

Ladies and gentlemen, I am sure that women of India do not claim any rights as women. The rights they claim are as human beings ; they want to have the same rights as men have. The rights they claim are legal rights, civic rights and economic rights. They claim that they should have the same legal status in society as men have ; they claim that they should have the same rights of citizenship as the men have ; they claim that economically they should not be dependent upon the father or the husband, but should be independent economic units. I feel certain that there is no danger of the Indian Women's Conference constituting itself into a separatist body. For Heaven's sake, we do not want any more differences in our country and we do not want a sex war between men and women.

It is my profound conviction that social reform can only be achieved by women. Men are not sufficiently interested in social reform. They may be interested in the political freedom of the country ; they may be interested in economic or industrial advancement ; but so far as social reform is concerned it leaves them cold, because our present society is a man-made society ; men have made the laws and have administered them and even if this world is in a mess it is a masculine mess. (Laughter). But it is time, ladies and gentlemen, that women redressed the balance of the old world. All that they claim is that the society of the future should be a society which must be made jointly by men and women. The laws which should govern society must be laws unitedly made by men and women and I do not think that claim is too highly placed.

Ladies and gentlemen, the previous speakers wondered what role exactly we speakers were supposed to play on this platform. I can offer an explanation. When Madam President instead of first delivering her presidential address asked us to speak I realised that we were to play, to use the language of the theatre, the part of curtain raisers and that we were to precede the going-up of the curtain for the presidential address. I shall be the last person to stand between the audience and the raising of the curtain. I am sure that during the term of office of your new President the conference will reach greater success.

*Mr. B. J. Wadia* : Madam President, Ladies and Gentlemen, on behalf of the University of Bombay I welcome the Women's Conference to the City of Bombay, and wish it every success.

I have a grievance ; but it is not against the President for having changed the programme. My grievance is against the organisers of the programme, because when I asked what I was to speak on, I was told—'Nothing in particular ; you can speak generally and say a few words.' (Laughter).

I shall therefore, say only a few words, and will stand aside for Madam President to go on with her speech. In this world, and at this particular moment, we are going through enormous changes. We take new views of the past, we entertain new views and ideas of the present, and we are making any number of plans for the future. So that we are entirely in a state of flux. In the West, especially in England, women had to fight long to attain the position which they have attained. They got the right to vote after many years. Having got the right to vote they also wanted a change in the rights to membership of property. The old adage of the law was 'husband and wife are one'; but the wife retorted : 'The husband is the one and not I.' They gradually got many changes made in their favour.

In India things have not yet attained that stage. In England women have attained the stage of absolute independence ; but I do not comment it as ideal, that men should be independent of women and women should be independent of men. I would rather that there was interdependence between the two. Without the two combining, no progress will be possible.

I am sometimes told that education is making enormous progress in India. Judged from the larger number of students attending schools and colleges, that may be so, but the statement is not borne out by the figures of literacy in the country. In a country in which only 12 per cent of the population is literate the

progress of education cannot be said to be satisfactory. In cities like Bombay the number of girls attending colleges is on the increase, but in the villages, which is the real India, the progress of literacy is very slow indeed. I am looking forward to the time when this progress will become more rapid, and I am sure that you are all also looking forward to the same end. I am sure that with the removal of the dead hand of the past, and when the tyranny of custom, tradition, and superstition, is no more, our women will make greater progress in education, which will ultimately lead to their emancipation.

Some of you may have heard, if not studied, what is known as the Sargent scheme of education. It is a colossal scheme involving a colossal sum of money, and I for one am not so very optimistic as not to care where the money comes from. Undoubtedly, an army of men and women teachers will be required, and I am sure that amongst our educated men and women we shall find many able and willing to teach. The right to vote is important, but it is not everything. In countries like France, Switzerland, Syria and Egypt women have not got the vote. Everything does not depend on the vote. Much depends on the social position of the women. In China they say the wife rules the husband. I do not know how far it is true, but I read somewhere that there is no country where there are more henpecked husbands than in China. (Laughter). What is really required is that the position of women should be equalised, and for that purpose we welcome the different reforms relating to position of inheritance, divorce and various other matters. I especially look forward to the amelioration of the position of widows because I cannot forget the words of Swami Vivekanand when he said : 'I shall have no respect for any religion in the world, which does not wipe a widow's tears nor bring a morsel of food to an orphan's mouth'. This was his great ideal. That is the ideal which we in India must look forward to.

Food has become a great problem in India, and when we think of the work done by women in the Bengal and Bijapur crisis, we men will never grudge the extent done to the women for the great part they have played in this humanitarian word. I am sure we shall soon have many more workers amongst us and when we shall have the real emancipation of women, men and women will become inter-dependent. It is a truism that no country can advance unless its women, the mothers of future generations, advance. We are all looking forward to a large increase in educational activity. I do not believe in, what they used to call in former times blue-stockings, nor do I believe in what they now call the highbrows ; but there is a tendency amongst our women graduates nowadays to ride the high horse, specially when they get higher honours in the University examinations than some of our boys do. I have no respect for highbrows, but I look forward to women who will not only give us the educators of the future, but above all who will produce the servants who will serve in millions upon millions of Indian homes in the village where their work is most necessary. Madam President, I wish your conference great success, and I thank you for the great honour you have done me by asking me to address it this enening.

*Sir Sitaram Patkar :* Shrimati Kamaladevi, Mrs. Pandit, Lady Thackersey, Delegates, ladies and gentlemen, I have no complaint to make why I have been asked to speak on this occasion, nor why I have been asked to speak before the President has delivered her address. I am only anxious that I should not detain you and delay your hearing the Presidential address. I shall, therefore, try to make my observations as brief as possible.

During the last quarter of a century the Women's Conference has done great service to the country. They have brought to bear considerable influence upon the consideration of many political and social questions affecting the country. They have also been a source, a spring of popular imagination and popular ideas. Women's associations have done great service for the political rejuvenation of the country.

The only question to which I shall now address myself is in regard to the social and legal status of Hindu women. Their rights and liberties have been curtailed on account of archaic rules of Hindu Law which were framed centuries ago. They are inelastic, wooden, and antediluvian. They have no relation to and are not in consonance with the present environments of society.

There are two forces which militate against the progress of Indian womanhood. The first is the pursuit of out-of-date customs and the tendency to maintain inherited traditions, and the second is the preservation of archaic laws by judicial decisions. The remedy against the first is education of public opinion by means of the press, the public platform, and by meetings like this. But with regard to

the laws of inheritance or laws of marriage they have become quite fixed and static as the result of rulings given by final judicial decisions, and these rulings are now in force throughout the whole country. The only remedy against the mischief caused by the preservation of archaic laws by judicial decisions is through legislation. I will give one instance of how the ancient texts were framed and how the Vedic texts were misapplied. There was a Vedic text which related to the prohibition of participation of *Soma* juice by women on account of their weakness and it was misapplied by Bodhayana who laid down on the strength of the text that women were not entitled to any portion of the inheritance. Manu, another lawgiver, came to the conclusion that women were incompetent and, therefore, not entitled to get any share in the inheritance. I have reason to believe that if Manu and Bodhayana were present at this gathering they would have modified their opinions as regards weakness and incompetence of women. I am quite sure that the force of public opinion generated by women's associations will be instrumental in withstanding the opposition which is prevalent in some parts of the country. Already the efforts of women's associations have borne fruit. In the past they have been responsible for shaping legislation, and I have no doubt that in the near future they will succeed in attaining the ideals which they have in view.

It is a matter of satisfaction that the Rau Committee was appointed. Its re-appointment was the direct result of the agitation carried on by the Women's Conference. Another instance in which women successfully carried on agitation in the Bombay Legislative Assembly was Mr. Desai's Bill of Adoption which had to be given up on account of their opposition. The Women's Conference and the associations affiliated to it have been doing immense service to Indian womanhood.

The Rau Committee has fortunately now submitted their well-considered views in the two Bills, one relating to intestate succession and the other to marriage. The criterion of the civilization and culture of any society is to be judged from the position accorded to the woman by that society, and I think the Rau Committee has done a great service to Indian womanhood by providing rules of inheritance and marriage which are in consonance with justice and equity. In the civil form and also in the case of the sacremental form of marriage it has been provided that monogamy shall be the rule. In the case of inheritance the Rau Committee has recommended that the daughter should get a share simultaneously with the son.

In the past women's organisations have done great service in the cause of education, but this work is more urgently needed in the rural areas than in the urban areas. I should like, therefore, to sugest to members of this conference that they should extend their activities to rural areas, where much work remains to be done. They should also consider Mr. Sargent's scheme of education so far as it affects women.

In conclusion, I would appeal to the members of the conference to go on agitating till they secure equality of status and equality of opportunity in the competition of life, and equality of rights and obligations, which are the guiding principles in determining the status of woman which in its turn is the true index of the civilization and culture of any society.

*Shrimati Kamaladevi* then read her Presidential address.

**Presidential Address**

Friends, I should like at the outset to offer our sincerest sympathies to Shrimati Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, our retiring President, in the irreparable loss she has sustained, and send our greetings to Mrs. Margaret Cousins, who may be justly called the founder of this Conference, now lying on her sick bed, to wish her a speedy recovery.

Although the women's movement has fairly advanced and matured, I feel the need today more than ever to restate its case, because of the continued misunderstanding of its nature and growth by a large number of men and quite a few women alike. The women's movement is essentially a social movement and part of the process of enabling a constituent part of society to adjust itself to the constantly changing social and economic conditions, and trying to influence those changes and conditions with a view to minimising irritations and conflicts and making for the largest measure of harmony. Thus it operates as an integral part of the progressive social structure in the broadest sense, and is not a sex war as so many mechanically believe or are led to believe. For the issues round which it revolves, such as right of votes, inheritance, entry into professions and the like, are an intrinsic part of the bigger issues striving to overcome the prevailing undemocratic practices that

deny common rights to certain sections of society. It is therefore a comrade to the struggle of the backward castes and the long oppressed classes seeking alike to regain the lost inheritance of man's inalienable rights. To give it any other interpretation or shear it off to isolate it from the main current, is socially injurious. It is equally erroneous to hold the "nature of man" responsible for women s disabilities and give the women's movement an anti-man twist. It is the nature of our society which is at fault and our drive has to be directed against faulty social institutions.

The women's movement, therefore, does not seek to make women either fight men or imitate them. It rather seeks to instil into them a consciousness of their own faculties and functions and create a respect for those of the other sex. Thus alone can society be conditioned to accept the two as equals. To fit women theoretically and practically into this scheme, women have to be encouraged to develop their gifts and talents. This has, therefore to be one of the main planks of the movement.

Closely allied to false conception of the women's movement is also the false value allotted to the women's economic worth. The correct premise to start from is the recognition of the social division of labour between the sexes, which gives the lie direct to the middle and upper class conception of women as domestic and social parasites, living off their husbands and contributing nothing. Woman power is basic and the woman must be recognised as a social and economic factor on her own, not as an assistant to man. Little recognised are the tremendous labours of the housewife and even in the most highly industrialised countries, house-keeping still remains the major industry, and the housewives still form the majority. To state blandly that woman produces children and rears them, cooks food, cleans, washes, is not enough. According to industrial economy she produces labour power, and labour power is basic, for, without it none of the other kinds of power can be made to operate. But that too is not good enough. The housewife is as much of a working woman as a factory worker. She expends more energy and time and skill in the production of commodities than the unionised, legally protected worker, for her hours are unlimited and her tools countless. Tradition has always tended to place a lower value on the home production and services. One reason may be because such goods and services do not come on the market but only cater to the family group as consumers. Yet, really speaking, this very fact should make them as one writer says "Priceless." For, since society depends upon the family not only for biological perpetuation but cultural as well, woman as the guardian of the home and one of its stabilising factors, will also continue to remain "Priceless." The tragedy is that its very non-pecuniary and noncompetitive charactor has lowered the prestige of the woman's role. Husbands who claim they "support" their wives simply because the latter do not bring home a pay cheque, are being anti-social, upsetting the harmonious social equilibrium and breaking social solidarity. For it is time society recognised that every housewife supports herself though she may not scratch at a desk or run a machine, by the social labour she performs and the contribution she makes towards the maintenance of the home and its happiness.

The entrance of women into extra-domestic activities has to be welcomed, for it provides a wider field for the women's talents, breaks the relative segregation of the women as a sex, relaxes the restrictions that otherwise narrow women's functions. What is strange is that as long as woman confines herself to her domestic duties, she is censured as a burden on man, whereas if she tries to earn a livelihood outside the home, she is equally condemned as a competitor of man, trying to take his livelihood away from him. Truly did Robert Ingersoll say that a fact will fit all other facts, but a lie will fit nothing except another lie made expressly for that purpose. Correctly viewed and rightly interpreted, the women's movement is found resting on a scientific basis, shaped by a rational ideology and indispensable in the social scheme of things.

The field of operations that lie before the Conference is ever-widening. Many varied activities beckon and the temptation to rush in all directions is great. But like an autumnal matron who has developed a high sense of discrimination but not lost her youthful vigour and enthusiasm, the Conference would do well to concentrate on a few items and do them well. First in importance I would place the training of social services, so eminently needed yet so grievously neglected. It had been my privilege to have my modest little experiment in this field accepted by the Conference. The ready response and co-operation it received from other organisations, workers and the public heartens me once again to appeal to the

provincial branches of the Conference to make this one of the chief programmes of work for the year, with any necessary modifications in the original scheme. Closely allied to this is the necessity for training women in handicrafts and fostering hand industries. Those of our branches who are already working in this direction, one of them even turning out paper, will testify to the utility of such ventures. They will provide a means of livelihood to many helpless women. Incidentally, they will add to the industrial production of our country at a time when it is not able to meet our needs. Every Branch should initiate whatever industries can run best. In such undertakings, I am sure, we can always count on the help and co-operation of other experienced bodies who are already in the field but who do not attempt, specially, to train and employ women, a task this Conference is best fitted for.

As essential and as scarce are the health-services, particularly nursing. A rough set of figures say, there is one Nurse for every 56,000 people or to 256 square miles. The Health visitors are about one per 3,50,000. The maternity and child welfare movement is mostly a week-end show and the entire country can boast of only 800 centres to cater to such a vast area and population. All this makes an appalling picture. While admitting that the Women's Conference is not the body which can build up a complete health service to meet the country's requirements, I feel sure it can make a small but appreciable contribution. It can recruit women to the nursing profession, encourage many more girls to take courses in public health, nursing, first aid, industrial hygiene, etc., and also get more of such courses introduced into our educational and social institutions. It can help to organise shorter courses in the general principles of nursing to meet the present emergency in the country. At the same time it should agitate to raise the standard of housing allowance, training and pay of the nursing staff, with a view to popularise and secure social recognition to this long despised but most noble of professions. The Conference can also organise relief units out of the available material and co-operate with such bodies as the Women's Reserve Medical Unit formed by the medical women in Delhi, which did such excellent service in Bengal. Such work deserves our warmest commendation and I can only hope that this worthy example will be followed by other provinces in distress. The Branches and Sub-Branches can certainly dot the country with numerous maternity and child welfare centres, creches, etc.

Although the food problem is the most frightening at the moment and tends to overshadow most others, its causes are beyond the Conference's power to remedy. As long as India's economy continues to be throttled and perverted by foreign interests, hunger and starvation must stalk this land of plenty. Only a careful development of its vast untapped wealth based on an economy designed to meet the needs of the people by a free Indian people's government, can aspire to overcome this dreadful scourge of perpetual famines. But that cannot by any means be our final word on it. As women happen to be the regulators of food in the home they should be more sensitive now than ever to the care and preservation of food, avoid waste in daily consumption as also in lavish hospitality which in the present setting strikes one as painfully incongruous. Working out of balanced diets with the limited things available would also help. The worst sufferers in this tragic drama are the children. In very responsible society they have the first claim on the available resources, particularly milk. But today in our country the man who pays the price gets the milk. So, while adults who are not wholly dependent on this article are able to get large supplies and sometimes even thoughtlessly waste it, children who solely subsist on it are forced to go without it if they do not have sufficient means. Ways and methods must be sought by us to alter this and see that our children, which in reality means several future generations to come, are not hopelessly undermined. We shall be guilty of a grave crime if we do not get this righted immediately.

In catering to the daily needs of the mere man we too often grossly neglect the cultural side, the delicate creations in word, song and colour in which the dreams of mankind find expression. The Conference must realise its responsibility in fostering creative work. It can encourage women artists and introduce them to the public. It can place their writings with publishers, articles with editors, it can organise concerts and exhibitions and help playwrights produce their plays. This would help release floods of creative streams and direct them into useful channels, thereby enriching the cultural wealth of our country, a wealth which can only be measured by the happiness it brings to them that give and them that receive.

Two happenings affecting women have considerably agitated the public

mind :—the re-employment of women in mines and the Bills emerging from the deliberations of the Rau Committee, now before the Central Assembly. The former, an act perpetrated in violation of an International agreement and intense national feeling, has raised such a storm of protest both in India and abroad as to bear ample testimony to its unpopularity. The Government arguments that no compulsion is applied and that wages have been increased, have no reality. Poverty drives people to any risks. The very fact that three annas a day is paid for surface work as against eight annas underground is explanation enough. The wage even after this grand increase is about Rs. 15, while the average in other industries in the neighbourhood is around Rs. 25 to 30. In addition, the general conditions are very bad, housing deplorable and inadequate. Although the agitation against this measure has been considerable, it has not been effective, and none of us can rest while it continues. The Women's Conference, if it is to prove an effective instrument for safeguarding women's interests, must get women out of the mines as speedily as possible.

All progressive elements in India have long dreamed of the establishment of a common national legal Code, operating irrespective of caste or creed. It is as a step towards this that we welcome the codification of the Hindu Law undertaken by the Rau Committee, and not as an end in itself. I hope this attempt will fructify in the near future and give us the entire condification as a complete picture instead of in bits and pieces which so easily lend themselves to distortion when isolated from the whole. The Conference has supported the Intestate Succession Bill in spite of its inadequate nature, because it seeks to give recognition to the principle of women's right. It is regtettable that in the Marriage Bill the barriers of caste and *gotra* which have lost most of their significance in modern society, have not been overcome. The clause on monogamy is welcome though it would not serve the purpose without certain other changes which are envisaged. The Women's Conference, along with other liberal sections of society has always stood for the institution of marriage. The strong allegience of women to this institution hardly needs reiteration, for it is proverbial. Instinctively in their own interest and in the interest of social stability so deeply ingrained in them, they will always strive to keep this intact. But all societies including the Hindu, have recognised the need for modification, in its legal attitudes. Laws have had to change from time to time under changing conditions. Those who seek a relaxation in a rigid marriage law or a law that makes differences between the sexes in dispensing justice, do not do so on flimsly grounds but on a deep respect for and understanding of the function of law which is to enable harmonious living. Where it becomes a social injustice, the need for an adjustment has to be recognised by society as imperative.

Some mental and verbal agitation has been afoot over the political nature of the Women's Conference. To a subject people politics is its very lifebreath. To deny that urge is to deny life. Weighed down though we may be by chains, we continue to live on dreams and thoughts of freedom and a striving towards it. To formulate political sensitiveness into an accusation, is to charge the organisation for being alive. The Women's Conference cannot remain impervious to natural inner urges and cataclysmic outer events. The members of the Conference may have different political affiliations, but I have no doubt they represent an effort to reach the same cherished goal of national freedom by varied paths. To lose sight of that goal would mean the negation of the very objective this great organisation stands for : self-respect and social solidarity. But it is in the very nature of its role and function that it should remain non-partisan, unattached to any political school or party. It has been our pride in the past to maintain that and it shall be our duty in the future to preserve it. Those who think and act otherwise, I have no hesitation in saying most emphatically, are no friends of the Conference.

Our peninsular outline has widened into the global, with an increasing awareness that we and the rest of the world are but part of a single sphere, that our destinies are inevitably linked, our paths interlooked. Therefore, world policies and events are as much our concern as our affairs, their responsibilities. War as much as peace reveals that the world cannot be divided into islands of feedom and slavery, that the present system of one people holding another down by armed might, no matter with what smooth explanations, leads ultimately to world enslavement by fear and violence, and to colossal human, material and moral destruction. Just as national freedoom is but an extension of the social freedom, the Conference is fighting for, the establishment of the same principle all the world over is of equal interest to us. Until this present system is not only outlawed in principle

but abolished in practice, all talk of peace and freedom becomes transitory and meaningless. For peace is not to be achieved by armed victories or by refusing to bear arms, but by the removal of the root causes: imperialism and colonial exploitation that menace peace. Today we witness the fantastic spectacle of big world powers claiming to fight for the larger freedom and greater happiness of mankind feeling no sen e of shame or humiliation in denying those very principles to millions of the people they still countinue to exploit and dominate. It is not idle curiosity or cheap sentiment which shapes the question that haunts and harasses every diplomat like a family ghost: "What about India"? We may well say 'Everything," for while England continues to hold India in political and economic bondage, the United Nations do nothing short of perpetrating a colossal lie on humanity. India is more than a test, it is a symbol. It is the mirror in which the world sees the shape of things to be. Today we are witnessing the fantastic spectacle of two warring groups, each assiduously claiming to fight for the larger freedom and greater happiness of mankind. It is towards a world which recognises the right of every nation to determine and rule its own destiny but in a co-operative world order, that the women of India and of the world have to strive for, if humanity is ever to enjoy decency, peace and happiness, and world wars banished from amongst our seasonal pests.

Before closing, I should like to send my thoughts to those millions all over the world whose homes have been gripped by the plight of death and destruction, and whose spirits lacerated by untold suffering, and offer them sincerest sympathies. In particular, my thoughts turn to the distressed areas within our own homeland and I take this opportunity to pay my humble tribute to the various organisations, volunteer corps and individuals who a:e so selflessly serving to alleviate suffering. I should like particularly to congratulate our Bengal Branch for its splendid work in this terrible distress.

The air is heavy with gloom, the sky rent with cries of pain. Civil liberties, one of the main planks of the Conference, are under perpetual assault. Shadows of suspicion and insincerity deepen and lengthen blacking out those neon lights mankind had succeeded in lighting through the ages, a growing disregard for the common Courtesies and human decencies and a ruthless flouting of popular feeling make a mockery of life. The continued detenti n of our valued and irreplaceable leaders and comrades who alone at the helm could transform the scene from despair to hope and weave order out of chaos, often dulls our spirit and stays our hand. But this very tragedy should in truth, galvanize us into greater and mightier action, for our responsibility becomes doubly great. There are some who turn to post-war reconstruction as an escape from the terrors of the present. Others believe that in large scale industrialisation lies the cure. Those who have faith in these patent pills have only to glance at some of the highly industrialised countries to note the havoc wrought ont of priceless natural resources and marvellous technical opportunities. Hunger, unemployment, slums, human degradation, all bear eloquent testimony to this tragedy. It is not enough to produce more. It is more important to determine its basis, and the principles that will guide the distribution, in short, who controls and directs the economy. We cannot surely subscribe to a system in which many produce but few enjoy the benefit, in which artificial scarcity is created by arbitrarily denying men the right to produce, and destroying natural wealth. Women can have real freedom only in a society which will uphold the sanctity of life and the dignity of labour, a society which will give every child the fullest opportunities for development, enforce and practise those fundamental economic and social rights that entitle every individual to a decent life, the fruits of his or her labour, and the benefits of science and culture. To achieve this the Women's Conference should ally itself with all the progressive forces in the country and develop a vital identity with other oppressed sections of the society to pull its full weight on the side of progress in order to overcome reaction. Thus alone can it meet the present challenge and play an accredited role in the national regeneration of the country.

## Resolutions Passed at the 17th. Session

**Condolence Resolutions:**

1. This meeting of the All-India Women's Conference records its deep sense of sorrow at the untimely dealth of Mr. R. S. Pandit and offers its heartfelt condolences to Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit in her sad bereavement.

2. This meeting of the A.-I. W. C. puts on record its deep sense of sorrow at the tragic death of Kasturba Gandhi while in detention and expresses its

sympathy with Mahatma Gandhi and other members of the family in their sad bereavement.

3. This Conference deeply mourns the death of Begum Azad and conveys its heartfelt sympathy to Moulana Abul Kalam Azad.

4. This Conference mourns the untimely death of Shriman Mahadeo Desai and conveys its sympathy to his family.

5. This Conference places on record its deep sorow at the death of Shrimati Shyamalabai Belgaumkar, the Branch Representative of Karnatak.

6. This Conference is deeply grieved at the death of Mr. V. M. Joshi, Principal of the Women's College of the Indian Women's University at Poona.

7. This Conference deeply regrets the death of Sjt. Ramanand Chatterjee, Editor of *Modern Review* and *Pravasi* and conveys its sympathy to his family.

**Children's Homes**

This Conference congratulates the Bengal Branches of the A.-I.W.C. on the excellent relief work they have undertaken in opening milk centres for starving children and homes for destitute children. This Conference records its very great appreciation of Shrimati Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit and Mrs. Urmila Mehta's admirable work in personally visiting villages affected by famine, the result of which has been the formation of the All-India Save the Children Committee.

**Recommendations of the Central Advisory Board of Education**

This Conference welcomes the Report of the Central Advisory Board of Education on Post-war Educational Development as an effort towards universal and compulsory education, and authorises the appointment of a Representative Committee to submit within a specified time, the considered views and recommendations for presentation before the next meeting of the Standing Committee.

**Social Science and Adult Education**

This Conference recommends that the study of social sciences be introduced in all stages of Education, with particular emphasis of practial work.

Bearing in mind the need for spread of adult education and literacy and other social service activities this Conference calls upon the higher educational institutions to define a scheme, whereby it will be incumbent on students to serve a period in one of the recognised social activities before they are qualified to receive a certificate, Diploma or a degree.

**Hindustan Scouts**

This conference is of the opinion that the Hindustan Scout Movement should be encouraged and special attempts be made to popularise its women's section.

**Traffic in Women and Children**

The grave economic distress in famine areas has raised a special problem with regard to traffic in women and children. Advantage is being taken of the helplessness of women destitutes, who are being enticed away for immoral purposes. This Conference emphatically condemns such exploitation and urges

(a) that exemplary punishment be meted out to the culprits by official authorities, and

(b) that recognised organisations take immediate steps for the protection and re-habilitation of such women, and Government by legislative and executive action safeguard their interests.

**Baroda Marriage**

This Conference strongly condemns the action of the Maharaja of Baroda in violating the law of monogamy in force in his State and deplores the action as definitely detrimental to the progress of Society in India.

**Shariat Bill**

This meeting of the All-India Women's Conference supports the Shariat Bill introduced by Baji Rashida Latiff in the Punjab Legislative Assembly.

**Women in Labour Organisations**

This Meeting of the All-India Women's Conference is of opinion that all efforts should be made to co operate with other organisation, including Trade Unions, to help women workers to obtain their maternity benefits without fear of dismissal.

It further resolves that the Indian Factories Act may be amended to include the following provisions :

(a) Proper house equipped with separate water taps and bathing taps and latrines for women.

(b) High stools in those departments of factories in which women are made to labour for long hours in a standing position.

**Health Insurance**

In view of the extremely inadequate provision which exists for medical aid in India, this Conference urges upon the Government to take effective steps that medical help is made available for every citizen of this country by a scheme of compulsory health insurance.

**Women in Mines**

The All-India Women's Conference condemns the action of the Government of India in withdrawing by a notification the prohibition on women to work underground in the coal mines in India, as a retrograde and reprehensible step, infringing a convention of the International Labour Organisation. No circumstances justify the employment of women underground, and hence the Conference urges upon the Government to restore the same immediately.

**Hindu Law**

(a) This Conference welcomes the re-appointment of the Hindu Law Committee and hopes that, as soon as the entire Code has been completed, it will be enacted into law. The Conference, however, regrets the exclusion of Diwan Bahadur V. V. Joshi from the Committee, who is a well-known champion of women's rights.

(b) This Conference notes with satisfaction that the Marriage Bill was referred to a Joint Select Committee without a division. But it feels that there should be some provision for the dissolution of marriage under specific conditions. They therefore, draw the attention of the Hindu Law Committee to the urgent need of incorporating such provision in the final draft of the Code as a whole.

(c) While re-affirming the claim for equal rights for both men and women, this Conference supports the Intestate Succession Bill as originally introduced into the legislature and deplores the changes suggested by the Select Committee in regard to the addition of simultaneous heirs, as this has resulted in the dilatory tactics of re-circulating the Bill.

**Civil Liberties**

This Conference reiterates the resolution on Civil Liberties passed at the 16th Session of the All-India Women's Conference at Cocanada, and records its emphatic protest against the continued attempt to curtail the fundamental rights of the Indian people, in particular those of personal security and free speech. The Conference demands :

(a) The immediate and unconditional release of all citizens who have been detained in jail without charge or trial, and

(b) The cancellation of the arbitrary and high-handed order on Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and others forbidding them to make any public speech or statement.

**Franchise in Municipalities in Punjab**

This Conference reaffirms the principle of equality as between men and women in the right of exercising the vote and, therefore, strongly condemns the action of the Punjab Government in depriving women of the franchise in the coming Municipal Corporation elections. It urges the immediate withdrawal of this retrogressive step.

**Atrocities on Women**

This Conference records its deep resentment at Government's attitude to the atrocities committed on women at Chimur, Midnapore and elsewhere, and, believing that such atrocities still occur in various parts of the country, hopes that information of specific cases will be supplied by public spirited citizens to the Conference authorities.

**Medical Relief**

The All-India Women's Conference welcomes Dr. B. C. Roy's efforts to unite all Medical Relief Work in Bengal under the banner of the Medical Relief Co-ordination Committee and extends its whole-hearted support to this partriotic endeavour.

**Representative Government**

This Conference, realising that the gravity of the present crisis in the country is the result largely of the political impasse and the lack of public confidence in the present administration, is firmly of the opinion that the only effective solution of the problem is the formation of representative government responsible to the people.

**Food Resolution**

This Conference views with the utmost alarm the food situation in Bengal, Orissa and elsewhere and emphatically condemns the wholly unsatisfactory handling

of the situation by the authorities concerned. It firmly believes that continued lack of planning by the Central and Provincial Governments, their failure to prevent inflation and hoarding by large stockists, and to tap India's vast resources, and their inability to secure and distribute stocks are contributory factors.

Whilst affirming that the only adequate solution lies in the hands of a representative Government responsible to the people, it is of opinion that the present distress can to some extent be mitigated in co-operation with popular food committees by the following measures :—

(a) The stoppage of depletion of rural areas to feed cities.

(b) The feeding of cities directly by Government through imports and surpluses.

(c) Uniform policy of control and rationing of the necessities of life at prices commensurate with the economic conditions of the people.

(d) Drastic steps to stop the prevailing wide-spread corruption and unscrupulous handling whether by Government or officials, particularly in rural areas.

(e) A more developed and practical form of the 'Grow More Food' campaign, with subsidies to cultivators to grow more food grains in preference to more paying commercial products.

(f) Arrangements and priority for the supply of adequate milk for children and invalids.

(g) The prevention of export of food-grains in the period of the food crisis.

(h) The discontinuation of the denial policy which is prevalent in Bihar and elsewhere.

# The All India Jat Mahasabha

## Annual Session—Lyallpur—8th. April 1944

### Presidential Address

A reply to the criticism levelled against the Jat Mahasabha by Mr. *Jinnah* in his recent speeches at Lahore, was given by *Sir Chhotu Ram*, Revenue Minister, Punjab, addressing the annual session of the All-India Jat Mahasabha at Lyallpur on the 8th. April 1944.

Sir Chhotu Ram said that the primary object of the Jat Mahasabha was to work for the economic, educational and social uplift of the Jats and its members had complete freedom to join any political organisation in their individual capacity. They would not interfere in the communal organisation of any community, but the Jat Mahasabha platform could not be utilised either to support or oppose any of the different political ideals. The Jats could not agree to be the slaves of Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs or Christians nor could they be used as a mere herd of cattle.

Sir Chhotu Ram went on to explain that they would be concerned with politics only to the extent of securing a suitable share for the Jats in the political rights granted under the constitution to various religious communities. Concluding, Sir Chhotu Ram said that ninety per cent of their programme related to the economic, social and educational welfare of the arts, and if, in spite of all this, some one unnecessarily gave them trouble, they would be forced to take up the challenge. They understood very well the score of religion and had full respect for it but they would not allow anybody to misuse the religion.

*Khan Bahadur Mohd Hussain* (M.L.A.), in the course of his presidential address, referred to the war effort of the Jat community and appealed to them to accelerate their recruitment to the army for the defence of their country.

## Resolutions—2nd. Day—Lyallpur—9th. April 1944

A resolution expressing implicit confidence in the leadership of *Choudhri Sir Chhoturam*, Revenue Minister, Punjab, and approving of his political and economic policy and programme, was unanimously passed at the Conference, which concluded its two-day session in Lyallpur on the next day, the 9th. April 1944.

*Khan Bahadur Pir Mohammad*, who claimed to be a staunch Muslim Leaguer, paid tributes to Choudhri Sir Chhoturam who, he said, had created a great awakening among the Jats. He condemned the agitation launched by a section of the Muslims against the Jat movement. Mr. *Jinnah* had been misled by some

persons, and had been persuaded to launch his tirade against Sir Chhoturam and the Jat movement. He was sure that when Mr. Jinnah came to the Punjab next time he would realise his mistake.

The Conference by another resolution greatly appreciated the Government of India's "good sense in meeting the cultivators' point of view, to a substantial extent, in fixing the control prices of food grains" and fixing simultaneously a minimum price also.

The Conference passed resolutions urging the Jats to accelerate their recruitment in the army and urged the Government of India to set aside at least 150 crores of rupees and distribute the amount among various provinces in proportion to their contribution to the ranks of the country's fighting forces to be spent for the benefit of Indian soldiers on the termination of the war. The Conference demanded the reservation of a reasonable share in the services for martial and agricultural classes.

Sir Chhoturam, in his concluding address, said that he had learnt that "fatwas" had been obtained from *Maulvis* enjoining upon Muslims not to join the Conference as it was being held to harm their community and declared that the Conference had not been convened to injure the interests of any community.

# The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce

## Annual Session—New Delhi—4th. March 1944

### Presidential Address

The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce began its annual meeting at New Delhi on the 4th. March 1944 with *Kumararaja Sir Muthiah Chettiar* in the chair.

Before delivering the presidential address, the Kumararaja made a reference to the death of Mrs. *Gandhi*. Paying a tribute to her, he said she was the embodiment of Indian womanhood and that her memory would always be held in respect for generations to come. He moved a resolution of condolence which was passed, the audience standing.

Delivering the Presidential address Sir Muthiah Chettiar referred at the outset to the favourable turn the war was taking on the different theatres and said with regard to the political situation in India that "the Indian Commercial community has always held the view, that the political advancement of the country has much to do with its economic prosperity. Our commercial organisations, although they may eschew active politics cannot afford to remain absolutely impervious to the march of events connected with Indian freedom. We have as patriotic Indians to assist in all legitimate and constitutional efforts that aim at the political progress of the country. No one can deny that a calm political atmosphere is an indispensable condition for a totalitarian war. That our country should have been denied this atmosphere is indeed a tragedy. Opinions may differ as to who or what may be responsible for the position. A discussion of the blame to be apportioned does not at this stage serve any useful purpose, and I need but stress here, that it is the duty of everyone to do all that lies in his power to end the present state of affairs."

"Almost every political party and leader has demanded the release of the political leaders who are now kept in detention. Whatever might have been the justification for detaining these leaders, I feel the time has come for the Government to release them. They should not be kept in such detention for a moment longer than is necessary. Personally, I do not think that their release would embarrass war efforts, and I am afraid it must have come as a great disappointment to many in the country when *Lord Wavell* declared in the Assembly the Government's decision not to release political leaders. There is however, hope in his assurance that the conclusions he has now come to may not be regarded as final. Everyone hopes that with the release of these political leaders it may be possible to form a more representative and National Government in India, both at the Centre and in the Provinces."

#### National Government Essential

"When I say a representative and National Government, I mean a Government composed of representative leaders of all important political groups and

interests, and not of any one political party, however influential it may be for the time being. A truly National Government must embrace all the divergent sections of the country. What is needed now is a completely representative Government in which all important political groups and interests are included, and which will aim mainly at the effective prosecution of the war, the defence of the country, and its future development. The Government must be one sworn to serve the country and must eschew party politics at least till the war ends. The magnitude of the issues involved in this war has made every belligerent country accept the rule of a Government constituted of all parties thinking and acting as one authoritative and supreme body representing all sections of the people. In such work of harmonious blending the Indian business community has a useful and important part to play. We are on the threshold of the most momentous period in history when the call comes to every nation to play its part to achieve a great destiny not only for itself but for the entire human race. India too must respond to this call. Whatever may be the reaction in the political world to the Assembly speech of the Viceroy, it must be recognised by all that His Excellency was very sincere when he declared from his military experience that no objective could ever be gained without the fullest co-operation of all concerned. There is no use denying the differences and weaknesses that at present divide and separate us. If we have to gain our objective, we must compose our differences, close our ranks and stand together. The *Cripps* offer is still open and it is my strong conviction that with goodwill all-round, the offer may not only help to unite us but also bring about real transfer of power to Indians."

## THE FOOD SITUATION

*Sir Muthiah Chettiar* then turned to the food problem facing the country and deplored the fact that political capital was sought to be made out of the tragic and harrowing miseries of the people by different factions within India itself and by British reactionaries whose undemocratic faith still stood firmly rooted in spite of the lessons of the war and the unmistakable aspirations of the people of this country. He traced the policy followed by Government since 1930 with regard to agriculture and said that they were throughout the period negligent of the interests of the peasant and the agriculturist. He pleaded for a radical change in policy and said that the Government of the day should always think of the real interests of the people of the country.

It was a matter of considerable gratification that the Viceroy had recognised that "the food problem must be our first concern." What was required was a proper control of the prices of foodstuffs at a level which would give to the agriculturist a fair price, and to the consumer, foodstuffs at a price which he could afford. Rationing in all urban areas irrespective of whether they were deficit or surplus areas was also necessary, if equality of sacrifice at a time of stress was to be imposed on the whole population of the country. There was no incompatibility between a system of rationing and harnessing it to the usual trade channels. It was to be hoped that the policy of using the existing links of wholesalers and retailers for the procurement and distribution of foodgrains, subject to any safeguards by way of supervisory control would be fully restored without any more hazardous amateur handling of this vital matter of food supply by Revenue officials.

With regard to the Government's drive against profiteering, the President said that the Federation had been whole-heartedly with the Government in any well-thought out schemes to control prices or to prevent profiteering but they would not agree to ill-conceived and ill-digested proposals which far from achieving the objects in view merely tended to annoy and harrass the general trading population.

## PROBLEM OF INFLATION

But this problem was closely linked with that of inflation and it was only during the last twelve months that Government spokesmen had expressed themselves in panicky terms of inflation. "Their measures to counter it have been equally panicky and not the result of mature deliberation. Our currency has undoubtedly expanded but it would be wrong to measure the evils of inflation merely on the basis of currency expansion. The evils of inflation lie in the mounting prices and in the scarcity of the ordinary articles of consumption which are the necessaries of life for the common man. To the fullest possible extent the evils of such inflation should be met by making available to the public large quantities of gold which could be obtained from the Allied Nations. As regards anti-inflationary measures in general a control of the price of foodstuffs and other necessaries of life on reasonable levels and a proper rationing of these articles appear logically to

be the first step that should be taken by the Government to counteract inflation. The next step should be to provide the working classes with those necessaries of life which will help them to expend their increased incomes with profit and use to themselves.

"Apparently the Government of India had come to the same conclusion but in actual practice they seem to have entirely missed the point when they decided to import certain consumer goods as a measure of anti-inflation. Without consulting any of the interests concerned the Government of India have framed a list of articles which ought to be imported as consumer-goods for anti-inflationary purposes and in that list of articles Johnny Walker leads all the rest. It is not by the importation of such luxury goods which the rich want to purchase that the evils of inflation can be tackled. It is really by affording to the common man what he needs most and on which he can utilise his newly obtained purchasing power that a check can be put to the evils of inflation."

### Import of Consumer Goods Harmful to Industrialisation

The consumer goods which it is stated the Government had decided to import, not only were not calculated to check the inflationary evil but may prove positively harmful to the growing industrialisation of the country. It may be remembered that Government at the beginning of the war promised to safeguard industries which were developed during the war and it was categorically stated that the nascent industries would not be left high and dry to fend for themselves and probably to be wiped out of existence by competition. "Now that the shipping situation is a little easier and the possibilities of import better, the authorities already seem to be tending towards the old practice of preferring imported articles to indigenously manufactured articles. It is imperative that the Government should at once declare their clear and unambiguous policy in this matter. The industries that have been started virtually at the instance of the Government, and have come to their rescue under dire circumstances must be assured that they will be kept alive during the continuance of the war period, and that they will be adequately safeguarded against unfair competition at the end of the war."

### Export Trade Monopolised by Foreign Concerns

As regards the policy regarding exports from the country, the President observed that after the fall of France, the Government decided, without fairness to existing export and import interests, that only those who were doing business for three years before the war should be permitted to continue business on the basis of their average during that period. This involved a certain amount of injustice to those who had come newly into the field and also involved, owing to the methods adopted by the Government the substitution in many cases of banking houses and a few shippers whose names appeared in the register of the Custom House, for the real businessmen who canvassed orders, took the risks and were responsible for the export and import trade of the country. Notwithstanding this injustice, the Indian business community reconciled itself to this new order as a short-term arrangement. They were now in the fifth year of the war and to-day were faced with the fact that a virtual monopoly had been created for a few big importing and exporting houses, mainly foreign and that Indian businessmen were gradually being squeezed out altogether from India's foreign trade. It was an intolerable position requiring early revision at the hands of the Government. It was time that a system of licensing was introduced which would give a fair share of the business to Indian commercial houses.

### "Avatar of East India Company"

In this connection Sir *Muthiah Chettlar* referred to the activities of the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation in this country. In spite of repeated demands, His Majesty's Government have been unable to give a guarantee that its activities would be ended immediately after armistice was declared. No wonder there is grave apprehension among commercial interests that the U. K. C. C. may prove to be another *Avatar* of the East India Company and corner all the external trade of this country through its own organisation. The Federation had therefore asked that the Government should remove this grave injustice and restore freedom of trade wherever it was possible for Indians to make direct contacts. "The least that the Government can do is to promote an Indian Commercial Corporation which will be solely responsible for the purchase of goods in this country, and which would, if necessary, hand those commodities at port to the U. K. C. C. at reasonable prices, the U. K. C. C. then taking charge of those commodities and delivering them to the Government or the people of the other countries concerned.

This is what has been done in other countries like Australia, where the U. K. C. C. is not allowed to operate internally but is allowed to take the goods at port and transport and sell them at reasonable prices to foreign countries."

### UTILISATION OF STERLING BALANCES

Sir *Muthiah Chettiar* then turned to the question of the accumulation of sterling balances in England and to their possible utilisation after the war. These balances are now in the region of about £700 million and may amount to £1,000 million before the end of the war. Certain articles in the newspapers and even in economic journals tend to give the impression that somehow or other this accumulation of sterling balances in favour of India reflects a gross profiteering on the part of India and that it is virtually tantamount to India not having played its proper part and taken its share of burden in the prosecution of the war. It should be remembered that a good portion of these sterling balances represents the value of goods sold by this country to Great Britain, countries of the Middle East, America and even Australia. For these, we have had hardly any return at all by way of the importation of goods. All these materials and services have practically not been paid for except by the I. O. U. which His Majesty's Government have given us and which represents the so-called sterling balances. Our troops serving overseas have according to the financial arrangement between the Government of India and His Majesty's Government, to be paid for by Great Britain, but we have been issuing rupee notes towards their pay for which Great Britain has again given us only I. O. Us. All these factors have gone to make up the sterling balances. Verily it can be stated that these sterling balances represent the toil and sweat of the people and the blood and tears of millions of our countrymen. To turn round now for the *economist* or any other paper or individuals and speak of these sterling balances as an unfair advantage which India has gained over England is to put it mildly to show rankest ingratitude possible."

### CHARGE OF PROFITEERING UNFAIR

"When they talk of profiteering by India in the accumulation of these sterling balances, I wonder," said Sir *Muthiah Chettiar*, "whether they realise what a boomerang they are forging for themselves. Every article supplied to the British Government has been at controlled prices—controlled by the Government of India. It is well-known that from the very start of the War, the Supply Department through its contracts and otherwise has controlled these prices for the benefit of every nation except our own. I wonder whether there is any other country among the Allied nations which has charged less for its overseas customers and more for the citizens of its own country. It is in these circumstances that the charge is lightly and glibly made that India has exploited the needs of the Allied nations and by profiteering has built up these huge sterling balances."

### NEED FOR BUILDING UP DOLLAR RESOURCES

"In dealing with sterling balances," continued the President, "one naturally comes across the problem of dollar balances. During the war, India has had a favourable balance of trade with the United States and could have built up fairly large dollar balances. In the interest of the war effort, the Government of India decided that all the dollar resources should enter into a common Empire Pool. The time has now come when this arrangement should be reviewed and radically revised. The Empire Pool has played its part; Lease-Lend arrangements and reverse Lease-Lend arrangements enable Great Britain to get its requirements without having recourse to dollars to any large extent. The Government of India should therefore built its own dollar resources on at least current balances with the United States and should not allow these balances to be merged in any Empire Pool. We should like to have the assurance of the Finance Member that this will be done."

The President then referred briefly to the international monetary schemes and said : We are quite willing to enter into any international arrangement if proposals are considered, not with a view to stabilise the prosperity and the financial strength of any one country or group of countries, but with a view to raising the standard of living all over the world. It is indeed gratifying that the Finance Member gave the assurance that in any international monetary arrangements, India's participation would be entirely determined by the interests of India alone.

The President also stressed the need for an early and radical revision of the entire transport system of the country, its railways, shipping, both internal and coastal, and the air-ways.

### Post-War Reconstruction Plans

Sir Muthiah Chettiar proceeded to discuss at length the problem of post-war reconstruction of India and said that the various problems that would face us during the period of reconstruction would require the greatest care and attention in their solution and call for the advice and recommendations of non-official opinion to help the Government to come to a decision. He hoped th t the re-construction would be planned on an all-India basis and that the various schemes of reconstruction would be characterised by thoroughness, bold planning and a proper appreciation of the needs of the country.

Let us have no more of the blind leading the blind, observed Sir Muthiah Chettiar in conclusion. Let us have a bold and determined effort to put the economy of this country on a sound basis. I shall be told that all this needs money. It is common knowledge that money is always found for war but never for a fight against the more remorseless enemies of ignorance, disease and starvation. To-day in many countries bold adventurous methods of raising money for purposes of war as well as for national welfare have become a common thing. We in India are willing to make all possible sacrifice in our economy, if only well considered plans for vitalising our national life and bettering the lot of the common man are placed before the people of this country so as to capture their imagination and inspire their faith. Such a plan for the building up of the India of to-morrow is the long term plan of economic development for India which was recently published over the signatures of Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas and others. On behalf of the Federation and on my own, I wish to say how deeply they have laid the country in debt to them by their masterly plan of economic re-construction. It is noteworthy that in his speech to the Indian Legislature the other day, H. E. the Viceroy said that the Government were examining the plan with interest. To think that the plan contains a fully-hatched practical scheme complete in every detail, is to miss the point of its importance. It gives rather a vision, an inspiration. It is a mine of suggestions based on a mass of facts carefully marshalled and weighed. It is a scheme which contains within its flexible basic principles of re-construction, which if wisely followed and firmly put into practice, will, I have no doubt, assure the happiness and welfare of the India of to-morrow. It is in this light therefore, that I welcome the publication of this plan and congratulate the authors on the great and timely service they have rendered to the country.

## Resolutions

### Detention of National Leaders

After the presidential address the Federation passed a number of resolutions. *Kumararaja Sir Muthia Chettiar* was in the chair.

The Federation "viewed with serious concern" the detention of national leaders and expressed the feeling that their continued detention is not justifiable and therefore the Federation demanded their immediate release particularly in view of the fact that problems of very grave import are facing the country the solution of which hangs to a large extent on Government securing the general goodwill of the public. The Federation also strongly expressed the opinion that, with the war nearing its end in Europe, India can only find a proper place and play an effective part in the settlement of post-war problems in an atmosphere which the release of these national leaders and the establishment of a National Government at the Centre would create.

### India's Balances Abroad

In a resolution on India's balance abroad the Federation reiterated its opinion that India's accumulated sterling credits should in the first instance be utilised to repatriate British commercial investment in India and with regard to the balance of sterling credits the Government of India should secure an undertaking from the British Government that in case the value of the sterling during or after the war depreciates in terms of gold, the British Government shall compensate the Reserve Bank of India for all its sterling holdings to the extent of such depreciation.

While noting with satisfaction the Finance Member's announcement that a part of the dollars accruing to India on trade balance will be credited to her, the Federation put on record the fact that India has so far been deprived of gold and dollar credits as a result of the rupee being linked to sterling and of the dollar requisition order. The Federation demanded that at least at this late stage, all dollars accruing to India, whether on trade balance or otherwise, should be credited to India's account and that the Reserve Bank of India Act be amended to make it possible for the Bank to hold dollar balances.

EXPENDITURE ON SOUTH-EAST ASIA COMMAND

In a resolution moved from the Chair, the Federation expressed the opinion that as the operations connected with the South-East Asia Command were part of the inter-Allied plans based on a global strategy, no liability in respect of this expenditure should be accepted by the Government of India without the approval of the Central Legislature. Having regard to the acute shortage of foodstuffs in the country and the growing anxiety felt about the recurrence in other parts of the country of the tragedy recently experienced in Bengal, the Federation is of opinion that arrangements for securing foodstuffs from outside sources for the furtherance of the operations connected with the Command should be made to avoid further deterioration in the food situation in the country."

CIVIL AVIATION

On civil aviation, the Federation noted with satisfaction that the preparation of a blue-print of air transport developments in India was under the Government's active consideration, but it trusted that these schemes would be evolved without delay in close collaboration with Indian commercial interests and that the right of developing, operating and maintaining air services within the country would be completely and exclusively vested in Indian Companies, which were owned and controlled by Indian nationals. In return for grant by India to foreign air lines of right of free passage across India and the use of Indian air bases, India must be unequivocally assured of similar rights on a fully reciprocal basis in respect of any external air lines which India at any time might chose to operate. The Federation also felt that any foreign air line operating through India should not have the right to pick up any of the internal traffic in India.

WAR RISKS INSURANCE SCHEME

Regarding War Risks (Goods) and (Factories) Insurance Schemes, the Federation urged upon the Government of India that in view of the improved situation of the war in favour of the Allies and in view of the substantial accretions to the War Risks Fund, estimated to amount to Rs. 16 crores on March 31, 1944, and in view of the comparatively insignificant claims on the Fund, no further payment of premium under the War Risks Factories Insurance Scheme should be realised from those insured who had already paid eight instalments of the full premium and that the risk in respect of such insured should be extended for a further period of one year ending March 31, 1945. While appreciating the Government's action in further reducing the rate of premium under the War Risks Insurance Scheme to annas two per cent per month, the Federation, in view of the improved situation was further of opinion that as substantial amounts had accrued to the scheme and as the claims against the Fund so far paid by the Government were comparatively insignificant, the Government should reduce forthwith the rate to half anna per cent per month.

U. K. C. C.

On the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation, the Federation put on record that the apprehensions entertained and given expression to at its last annual session regarding the operation and the extention of trade activities of the U. K. C. C. were borne out by the findings of the recently published report from the Committee of Public Accounts submitted to the British Parliament, which were based on confidential particulars relating to the working of the Corporation. The Federation, in view of these findings, pressed the Government of India to take all possible steps in their power to safeguard the interests of Indian trade and commerce, particularly in her export markets in the post-war period.

FIFTEEN-YEAR PLAN

Mr. *Nalini Ranjam Sarker* moved: The Federation welcomes the plan of economic development for India, as sponsored by Sir *Purshottamdas Thakurdas* and others as a constructive contribution towards the solution of India's economic problems. The Federation accords its whole-hearted support to the fundamental objectives underlying the scheme, namely, a speedy improvement in the condition of the masses through raising their standards of living and by achieving a more balanced economy between agriculture and industry. The Federation, therefore, welcomes the broad proposals for providing the elementary needs of the people in regard to food, clothing, housing, sanitation, health and education, by development and expansion of agriculture as well as industries—basic, large-scale, small-scale and cottage. The Federation endorses the view embodied in the scheme that the essential conditions of the effective execution of any planning in India shall be (1) the maintenance of the economic unity of India, (2) the establishment of a National

Government at the Centre, based on popular support and enjoying full authority in matters economic and (3) the willing co-operation of the people. The Federation awaits with interest further reports in regard to the role of the State in future, as well as proposals for more equitable distribution. It also notes with satisfaction that acceptance of foreign capital, if necessary, is to be free from political influence and interference of foreign vested interests. The Federation urges upon the Government of India to recognise that the post-war economic planning of India must be based on the objectives, broad principles and essential conditions outlined above. The Federation expresses its keen sense of disappointment with the machinery set up by the Government for considering schemes of post-war reconstruction and the progress so far made. The Federation is definitely of the opinion that un-co-ordinated departmental schemes in the absence of a well-conceived and comprehensive plan, cannot result in achieving the desired objective of a broad-based economic development of the country."

Mr. *Sarker* referred to the country-wide enthusiasm and interest aroused by the plan, which, he said, had the object of ensuring a minimum standard of life to the common man, certainly not to make the rich richer or the poor poorer, but to improve the lot of the have-nots. After describing the broad outlines of the scheme Mr. Sarkar said that they had the Federation's fullest support but the Federation had not had time to examine the details of the scheme, such as the priorities to be attached to the various component elements in the plan, the ways and means of financing the plan, etc. The Federation was, therefore, unable as yet to express any definite opinion on such details. Moreover, the plan was not complete without an indication of the future role of the State in economic matters as well as schemes of distribution. Without some equitable methods of distribution, individual income might not be sufficient to achieve the minimum standard, while a minimum income without correlating it to prices might be meaningless.

"Our problem", concluded Mr. *Sarker*, "is not merely one of reconstruction. It is essentially one of construction from the very beginning. That is why we speak of our task as one of economic development of India and not of post-war reconstruction."

### Mr. Birla's Reply to Critics of Plan

Mr. *G. D. Birla*, one of the authors of the plan, seconding the resolution, supporting the fifteen-year plan, moved by Mr. N. R. Sarker, suggested that there was nothing frightening about the huge investment proposed for the plan. After all, he said, the so-called economics of a country were no more than the economics of a family in a magnified form. Here was a family of 40 crores that wanted to produce more and consume more. It found that if it was to consume more, it must produce 200 per cent more by the end of fifteen years. It also calculated that, if it could produce that much, the family members would be able to double the consumption of their goods as compared with their present position after making full provision for the demands of the children that would be born into the family during the next fifteen years. The question was how to produce 200 per cent more. The family discovered that it needed new equipment and a larger amount of work from its members in order to touch the mark of the proposed production. For equipment they found they had some money partly in cash and partly in sterling. They planned to spend that money and also borrow some in the country where they proposed to purchase equipment. But that was not enough. So they decided to put up more work with the labour of the family members to complete the work on equipment. They had not had enough to do so far and thus had plenty of leisure. They did not therefore find any difficulty in sparing extra time for this new work. Let us forget the words 'savings' and created money and favourable balances. Let us find out what extra labour we are called upon to contribute to achieve our object. The answer in a nut-shell is that we do not need to employ more than 4½ per cent extra members of the population during the planning period to complete the new job. This 4½ per cent of the population would be more productive than the rest and thus might represent 15 per cent of the earning capacity of the whole population, he added.

Referring to the Finance Member's argument that, if the 1,000 crores of our sterling resources now with the Reserve Bank of India were used for the plan, the backing to the currency might be affected. Mr. Birla said that the total note issue in England amounted to £ 1,075 million, against which gold held by the Bank of England was only one million that is only 0,1 per cent. Would anyone on that account say that the currency of England just now was not in a solvent position ? If sterling had no solvency about it—and this was the conclusion which

one would arrive at if one was to accept the Finance Member's logic—then to keep sterling as a backing for rupee, surely, was a dangerous proposition ? But Mr. Birla did not believe that the position of sterling was as bad as that, nor did he think that the sterling backing made the position of the rupee in any way stronger. Our note circulation just now amounted to about Rs. 870 crores against which the gold reserve, if valued at the present price amounted to about 92 crores or a backing of more than ten per cent. Surely in respect of its gold backing the rupee was in a much stronger position than sterling. And if people had not lost faith in the solvency of sterling there was nothing to fear about the faith in the solvency of the rupee. If we were to accept the Finance Member's logic, then, as long as there was the present size of our note issue we must continue to hold our large sterling assets as the backing of the rupee. We should not for a moment touch them. For all practical purposes, that would mean that our assets in sterling were permanently frozen in England's favour. Could any one contemplate such a position with equanimity ?

Mr. Birla concluded with a call for unity of purpose and the cultivation of a constructive psychology in India in order to make a success of the plan.

Mr. *C. M. Kothari* (Madras) said that it was for public opinion now to strengthen the hands of the leaders and resolve that, however staggering the figures, the plan must be brought to fruition.

Mr. *H. P. Bagaria* (Calcutta) thought that it would be a good idea to encourage intelligent criticism of the plan by translating it into the various languages of the country.

Dr. *Hamid* (Bombay) felt that the authors of the plan were puting the cart before the horse, inasmuch as the formation of a National Government was a condition precedent to the working of the scheme. He personally did not see any chance of a hundred per cent free India to carry out the scheme.

Mr. *A. D. Shroff* (Bombay), one of the authors of the plan, sounding a note of warning to the country at large and the commercial community in particular, stated that everybody must "prepare himself or herself to face the hardships, privations and sacrifices which the execution of a plan of this magnitude would call will entail for every body. Referring to the criticism that the plan aimed at strengthening capitalists, he said that such uncharitable and unfounded criticism must obviously be inspired from interested quarters. While he would leave the actual working of the scheme to a future National Government he would urge the Government to show one or two small mercies. If the Government in terms of the Viceroy's speech believed that their objectives were the same as that of the authors of the plan, they should do nothing which would make it more difficult to carry this plan into fruition in the future and secondly, they should strengthen their statistical organisation so that when the time came for the establishment of a Planning Commission they would have sufficient and up-to-date data to work upon.

The resolution was passed.

## FOOD SITUATION

The meeting adopted a lengthy resolution on the food situation in the country, which was moved by Sir *Purushothamdas Thakurdas*. The resolution recorded its profound sorrow at the heavy loss of lives and the impairment of the health of a large section of people in the country as a result of the famine, and while deploring the lack of foresight and of a co-ordinated policy on the part of Government, which might have prevented the calamity, welcomed the efforts recently being made in them for improving the situation.

With a view to preventing a recurrence of famine conditions, the resolution suggested that the Government of India should (1) evolve and implement an all-India policy for the production, procurement and distribution of food grains and exercise sufficient vigilance over Provincial Governments and, if necessary, direct the latter to carry out effectively and efficiently the all-India policy that might be laid down, (2) utilise under Government control normal trade channels as far as possible both in the procurement and distribution of food grains, (3) stop exports and increase imports of food-grains from abroad with a view to building up and maintaining an adequate quantity of reserves and (4) evolve a practical policy for the effective prosecution of the Grow More Good Campaign, by rendering all possible assistance, financial and otherwise, to Provincial Governments. Government should also consider measures for ensuring that prices of food-grains did not fall below a reasonable level, so that the grower could always have a sufficient incentive for stimulating production.

The resolution urged the Government to institute immediate measures for the rehabilitation of famine-stricken areas.

"THE PRESS IN BENGAL GAGGED"

*Sir Abdul Halim Ghaznavi*, supporting the resolution, conveyed on behalf of Bengal, her grateful thanks for the generous donations which the rest of India and Indians abroad had given to her. He complained that the Press in Bengal was gagged, so that full details of the disaster could not be made public. The real difficulty was lack of transport. There were no wagons, no bullocks and no boats available for carrying food. There was apprehension in the mind of everyone that unless Government decided to give the people boats, bullocks, and wagons the situation would not improve.

*Sir Abdul Halim* compared the methods of rationing in India with those in Great Britain and said that in the latter case basic items, such as, wheat and flour were not rationed. Strangely enough, they had started with rationing basic food such as rice. Sir Abdul Halim asserted that more food could never be grown unless the Government furnished the ryot with agricultural machinery, fertilisers, seeds and financial assistance.

Mr. *D. N. Sen* (Calcutta), Mr. *M. A. Srinivasan* (President, Mysore Chamber of Commerce), Mr. *Ishverdas Mallik* (Karachi) and Mr. *D. R. Naik* (Bombay), supported the resolution, which was passed.

COAL SHORTAGE

The Federation passed a resolution on coal and fuel, in the course of which it expressed the opinion that the recent scarcity of coal in the country was mainly due to labour shortage intensified by Government's policy of exporting coal abroad and as such, special endeavours should be made by the Government to help collieries to increase raisings by making more labour available at the collieries, by stopping the drift of coal miners to military works in other areas and also by arranging to procure necessary stores, plant and machinery for use in coal mines. The Federation further suggested that steps should be taken to encourage the opening of new mines and that an embargo be placed on the export of coal from India, and expressed the opinion that the shortage of labour would be very much reduced by making working conditions more attractive and requested the Government to give the necessary facilities to the colliery owners. The Federation asked for the constitution of an independent Coal Research Board to study the prevailing conditions and to recommend steps to secure plant and machinery to recover smokeless domestic fuel and other by-products, particularly, tar, disinfectants, napthaline and benzine by low temperature process. It also urged the establishment of a fuel research station at Dhanbad.

The resolution was moved by Mr. *A. L. Ojha*, Calcutta, and was seconded by *Sir Shri Ram* (Delhi).

The meeting next discussed the annual report of the Federation and adopted it.

## Resolutions—2nd. day—New Delhi—5th. March 1944

POST-WAR INDUSTRIES

The post-war position of industries established during the war was among the subjects on which the Federation at its second day's sitting put forward its demands.

In a resolution moved by Mr. *G. L. Mehta*, Calcutta, the Federation expressed "grave apprehension" regarding the post-war position of a number of new industries and particularly those which had been brought into existence in this country during the war to meet the war necessities of the Allied nations as well as the essential civil needs of the public in India. The Federation further points out that the establishment of some of these industries was definitely encouraged by the Government, with an assurance that such industries would be given such adequate measure of protection against unfair competition from outside India as may be found necessary for the continuance of their existence in the post-war period. "While appreciating such an assurance from the Government, the Federation is of opinion that suitable machinery on the lines of the Ad Hoc Committee under the Safeguarding of Industries Act in the United Kingdom should immediately be evolved to consider the claims of such industries for adequate protection—when necessary—without recourse to a reference to the Tariff Board.

"The Federation emphatically protests against the policy recently adopted by the Government in encouraging increased imports of manufactured goods which are at present being manufactured and supplied to the public by the newly established

indigenous industries in India. It is of opinion that these industries are in a position to meet the increasing demands in the country for such manufactured articles only if the Government extend to them the necessary assistance in the shape of further imports of plant and machinery and of materials, stores and the requisite component parts for such increased output."

Mr. *Mehta* went on to refer to the fact that the war had disclosed the existence among the people of organising capacity, technical ability and skilled craftsmanship necessary to build up an efficient industrial structure. What was required from the Government, he said, was a categorical declaration of policy that industries established or expanded during the war and having a definite assignable place in the peace economy would be given a due measure of protection for a reasonable period of time, so that they might have a minimum period of nurture and growth before being exposed to the full rigours of competition from established industries in foreign countries. The assurance given by Sir *Ramaswami Mudaliar*, the then Commerce Member, in the Central Assembly on March 12, 1940, did not go far enough. A comprehensive and detailed programme of post-war utilisation of war plants would have to be worked out.

Referring to the proposals to import specialised kinds of goods, among which he remarked, were spirituous liquors for the use of a spiritual nation (laughter), Mr. Mehta said if bicycles and fans could be imported regardless of the bottle-neck of shipping, it was difficult to understand why their component parts or capital goods and machinery could not be imported for expanding domestic production. The decision to import textiles from the United Kingdom was in direct contravention of the Government's assurances that only commodities which were either not produced in India at all or produced in extremely small quantities would be imported. The United Kingdom Government turned down the Canadian Government's offer of one lakh tons of wheat for Bengal's famine-stricken people on the plea of shortage of shipping space, but shipping space was found for importing whisky and toilet goods and textiles. Mr. Mehta declared it was necessary to insist that the rapidly accumulating sterling balances should not be utilised in such a way as to assist and encourage British manufactures and exports after the war at the expense of Indian Industrial development or to restrict India's capacity and power to make purchases of plant and machinery in the world's best and cheapest markets (cheers).

### "SABOTAGE" OF INDIAN INDUSTRIES

Mr. *L. C. Jariwala* (Bombay) said that what had been achieved in the industrial field in the war years was far short of what she could achieve with her resources in men and material. There was already in progress what he termed a "sabotage" of Indian industries : he learned that a British company for the production of storage batteries and accumulators had been encouraged to establish itself in India, while there were already in existence six Indian companies for the manufacture of these goods and their full production capacity had not yet been fully utilised.

Mr. *B. C. Ghosh* (Calcutta) urged that Indian industries need not be apologetic in asking for protection. He drew attention to the fact that in Australia a proposal had been made for the union of countries similarly placed as regards industrial development so that they could present a united front and press for protection of national industries.

Mr. *A. R. Bhatt* (Poona) asked that the *ad hoc* committee proposed in the resolution should include representatives from the Federation which was the expotent of the feelings of the Indian commercial community.

Mr. *Lakshminarasu* (Hyderabad) pleaded for protection not only to war industries but to all industries in the country.

Mr. *Cunnan* (Madras) and Mr. *Begraj Gupta* (Bombay) also supported the resolution which was passed.

### GOVT.'S TAXATION POLICY CRITICISED

*Sir Badridas Goenka* moved a resolution relating to industrial development and taxation. The resolution stated that the present taxation policy of the Government if not revised and placed on a scientific basis, would prove injurious to the industrial development of the country in the post-war period, and regretted that the Government of India had not allowed Indian industries to build up any appreciable reserves to meet deferred renewals and repairs which would be necessary as a result of the undue strain to which plant and machinery had been put by continuous working to meet war requirements. The resolution, therefore, recommended that industries should be allowed to build up substantial reserves for the

purposes indicated above and urged the Government to institute a comprehensive investigation of all issues relating to their policy of taxation in consultation with and with the co-operation of Indian industries.

Sir Badridas criticised the taxation policy in the country which, he said, was 'built on a twentieth century pattern, but upon a 19th century economic structure' and was based on a scheme of public and social expenditure which was antidiluvian. The present high rate of income and excess profits taxes had taken away all incentive to production and the new tax proposals, which would take away practically all the profits, were bound to injure many businesses. One of the ways to combat inflation was to increase production, and in this connection, he would urge the Government to extend to other industries the same concessions which they had granted to the coal industry to accelerate production. Referring to the Finance Member's hints about taxation for post-war reconstruction, Sir Badridas declared that any such taxation would be vehemently opposed by the commercial community till they saw and approved of a comprehensive reconstruction plan.

Supporting the resolution moved by Sir Badridas Goenka, Mr. *M. A. Master* (Bombay) pointed out that in any policy of taxation, the important consideration should not be lost sight of that what was got for a highly industrialised country like England might have serious consequences when applied to India which was not highly developed industrially. He criticised the policy of levying heavy import duties on raw materials or spare parts imported into this country, and said that these duties tended to hamper the industrial growth of this country by putting the indigenous articles at a disadvantage with articles imported from abroad. He pointed out that, on certain spare parts required for textile industry, the import duty was 30 per cent. while the duty on the finished product was only 10 per cent. He deprecated the tax policy of the Government which took away not only 100 per cent of the excess profits of an industry, but made an inroad into the standard profits also. The result of this policy was that industries were left without adequate funds for expansion and development. He said that relief and allowances granted by Government for renewals and repairs, depreciation, reserve and rehabilitation programme and future expansion were not adequate and asserted that the whole policy seemed to be aimed at preventing stabilisation or expansion of industries after the war

Mr. *J. J. Kapadia* quoted figures from the balance sheets of certain companies to substantiate Mr. Master's statement that the taxes took away not only all the excess profits, but also made an inroad into standard profit. For instance, a company whose excess profits amounted to Rs. 152 lakhs had to pay Rs. 101 lakhs as E. P. T., Rs. 21 lakhs under the old scale as deposit and Rs. 26 lakhs as the normal income and super taxes, totalling Rs. 148 lakhs. But under the new proposals, the taxes would make an inroad into the standard profit. The result of this heavy taxation, he concluded, quoting various authorities, would be lack of supervision, inefficiency and waste. Industries were not philanthropic institutions, he said, and unless there was the incentive of profit, the industries would not thrive. He pointed out that there were many industries like electrical undertakings which were not making any war profits. But they had also to pay away all their profits as taxes. The history of the British connection with India, particularly in the sphere of commerce and industry, he said, had been one of lost opportunities. He hoped that the Government would grasp at least this opportunity to do their duty by this country.

*Khan Bahadur G. A. Dossani* (Calcutta) and Mr. *Bachittar Singh* also supported the resolution, which was adopted.

### INDIANS' RIGHTS IN POST-WAR BURMA

The Federation passed a resolution on the question of Indians in Post-War Burma which urged (1) that there should be no control of the immigration of Indians into Burma after the cessation of the present hostilities. (2) that Indians should have the same right of free entry and the same status in that country in all respects as were enjoyed by persons domiciled in the United Kingdom. (3) that it was essential, in the common interests of India and Burma, particularly in view of recent developments, that there should be closer association between the two countries and that Indians should, at all stages, be fully associated with the preparation of reconstruction and rehabilitation plans for Burma ; the evolution and determination of the necessary arrangements for the return of people to Burma during the period of military occupation ; the formulation of plans for the re-establishment of the economic life of Burma, the safe-guarding of the interests of labour and the raising of the standard of the life and promotion of the general welfare of people

in Burma ; and with negotiations for the enactment of a trade agreement between the two countries, and in respect of all vital matters which might affect the status, position, rights or well-being of Indians in Burma.

The resolution urged the Government of India to use all their influence and good offices with the Government of Burma to arrive at an agreement which would not conflict with the fundamental objectives mentioned above so as to enable Indians to exercise and enjoy the status and rights in the future Burma.

Mr. *S. N. Haji* (Bombay), moving the resolution, replied to the contention that Indian labour in Burma had led to a lowering of the wage standard. To meet this difficulty, he said, minimum wages should be fixed both for Indians and Burmans. Merely by keeping Indians out, the wages problem would not be solved. If the presence of Indians would create bitterness, how was it, he asked, that they had lived in amity and good-will for many years before the separation of Burma ? He hoped that after the war the Governments of India and Burma would evolve some form of closer association between the two countries which while maintaining the separate identity of Burma would bring about enough common interest between the two countries to justify and fulfil the hope of the governor of Burma himself. Mr. Haji thought it unfortunate that the Governor should have complicated the situation by suggesting that "Indians with genuine roots" should be helped to return to Burma. There should be no question, Mr. Haji declared, about Indians' right of re-entry into Burma, when it was reconquered. Mr. Haji urged the Government of India to associate non-official public opinion in the country with the Civil Affairs Committee of the Burma Government and said that this was necessary to keep a watch on the things happening about the military occupation of Burma and to prevent the establishment of "another United Kingdom Commercial Corporation" which would oust Indian trade connections there.

Mr. *Mohammed Hoosein* Hassan Premji (Bombay), supporting the resolution, asked that Indians should be associated with the post-war development of Burma.

### INDIANS OVERSEAS

In a further resolution moved from the Chair on Indians abroad, the Federation demanded that the Government of India should secure for Indians in the United States rights of citizenship, and negotiate a tready of commerce and navigation with the U. S. A. Government so that Indian nationals might enjoy a status that would enable them to carry on trade uniterruptedly in that country. The resolution also registered its emphatic protest against the anti-Indian Pegging legislation of the Union of South Africa, as it was inconsistent with India's partnership in the British Commonwealth and repugnant to the basic ideals for which the war is being fought. The resolution urged the Government to take energetic steps to give effect to the provisions of the Reciprocity Amendment Act.

Dr. *N. B. Khare*, Member for Indians Overseas, Government of India was present at the meeting during the discussion on these two resolutions.

### CONSTITUTION OF OILSEEDS COMMITTEE URGED

The Federation also adopted a resolution moved by Mr. *Ramdas Kilachand* urging the Government of India to establish immediately a Central Oilseeds Committee on lines similar to those on which the Indian Central Cotton and Jute Committees are constituted, so that it might be helpful in safeguarding the interests of the producer and in giving proper guidance to the oilseeds interests in the post-War Reconstruction period. The resolution also recommended that Government should give priorities for the import of oilseeds crushing machinery to enable the farmers to get better value for his oilseeds and for retaining oil cake in the country.

Mr. *Devji Ratansi* (Bombay) and Mr. *K. L. Narasimha Rao* (Madras) supported the resolution.

### BASIC CHEMICAL INDUSTRY

Moved by Dr. *H. Ghosh* (Calcutta) and seconded by Dr. *Hamid* (Bombay), the Federation passed a resolution deploring the indifferent attitude and the failure of the Government of India to formulate a co-ordinated plan for starting and developing the basic chemical industry in the country both for defence purposes and for the healthy progress of the chemical, pharmaceutical and allied industries. The resolution urged the Government to constitute an advisory panel of manufacturers to find out ways and means of removing the grievances of the industry and initiate measures for a healthy and well-planned development of this essential industry.

### TAX ON INSURANCE COMPANIES

The Federation concluded after adopting two more resolutions, one on taxation of life and general insurance companies and the other on slaughter of cattle.

The former resolution, which was moved by Mr. *K. S. Dasai* (Bombay), protested against the fixation of 63 pies in the rupee as being the tax applicable to the profits of life insurance companies as announced in the recent Budget speech by the Finance Member and urged the Government that in view of the peculiar business of life insurance and for the benefit of policy-holder in general the maximum rate of income-tax should be lowered down to 45½ pies in the rupee, which was the ruling rate in 1940-41. The resolution also protested against the attitude of income-tax authorities in disallowing general insurance companies from transferring amounts to additional reserves as an expenditure laid out or expended wholly and exclusively for the purpose of their business and which reserves were absolutely necessary with a view to covering the extraordinary risks undertaken by non-life insurance companies. The Federation urged that income-tax authorities should for purposes of computing the profits of non-life companies allow them amounts transferred to additional reserves as expenditure solely incurred for the purpose of earning the profits of business.

### SLAUGHTER OF CATTLE

Mr. *Pranlal Devkaran Nanjee's* resolution invited the pointed attention of the Government of India to the indiscriminate slaughter of cattle in India for army requirements which could not but have very undesirable and ruinous consequences on agriculture and rural economy in particular, and the health and nutrition of the nation in general. The resolution urged that there should be a total ban on the slaughter of useful cattle and the restrictions imposed so far should also be strictly enforced, and requested the Government to take steps for the improvement of cattle particulary milch cattle in India.

### THE EMPIRE DOLLAR POOL

*Sir Muthiah Chettiar*, the President in his address to the session, referring to the Empire Dollar Pool, said that since he wrote his speech the Finance Member had announced that His Majesty's Government had agreed to set aside each year, from now onwards, a part of the dollars accruing from India's exports to the U. S. A. apart from and in addition to our current dollar requirements which were met from the Empire Dollar Pool under the Sterling Area arrangements. "While appreciating the Finance Member's efforts in this matter, I would like to observe that India's current dollar requirements have, so far, been fully covered from our own exports to the U.S A. which, in fact, have even provided a favourable trade balance in our trade which the U.S.A. and, as such, the Finance Member's statement provides only a partial assurance and would not fully and adequately meet India's legitimate claims."

### TRIBUTES TO OUTGOING PRESIDENT

The Federation also adopted a warm vote of thanks recording the services rendered by the outgoing President, Sir Muthiah Chettiar. Moving the vote of thanks, Mr. J. S. Setalvad paid glowing tributes to the work of Sir Muthiah, both as President of the Federation and in other spheres, in the cause of the country and of Commerce and Industry in particular.

# The Indian Science Congress

## Annual Session—New Delhi—3rd. to 6th. January 1944

The annual session of the Indian Science Congress was opened on the 3rd. January 1944 in New Delhi by *H. E. the Viceroy.*

The opening proceedings were preceded by a unique function in which the Congress converted itself into a special meeting of the Royal Society—the first meeting of that body ever to be held outside England. Prof. *A. V. Hill,* Secretary of the Society, who had been elected Vice-President for the occasion, conveyed greetings and goodwill from the Society to scientific men and women in India and read messages from the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, Field Marshal Smuts, Sir Henry Dale, President of the Society, and Sir Richard Gregory, President of the British Association.

On Prof. Hill's invitation, Dr. Homi Babha and Sir Shanti Swarup Bhatnagar, two Fellows of the Society who had not yet been formally admitted, signed the obligation on parchments which will be incorporated in the Society's Charter Book. The special meeting of the Society then terminated.

### H. E. The Viceroy's Speech

In opening the Science Congress, *H. E. the Viceroy* said :

It is a great privilege to have been present to-day to witness the unique ceremony of a meeting of the Royal Society outside England, to hear the greetings of the President and other eminent Fellows to their Indian colleagues and to witness the admission of new Fellows to the Society. It may interest you to know that it is just over one hundred years ago since the first representative of eastern science, an Indian gentleman of great engineering ability, was admitted to be a Fellow of the Royal Society. This occasion is also made memorable by the presence of Professor Hill himself, the Secretary of the Royal Society, a physiologist of international repute, who has come to India to establish a closer touch between scientists in the United Kingdom and in India, with special reference to India's problems of post-war development. Science-knowledge should mean peace and progress, but in these days of turmoil, even men of science have had to take a hand in the dealing of destruction and Professor Hill is closely connected with war effort. That he has been allowed at our request to leave England and come to India at this time is a measure of the importance attached to the improvement of the contacts between scientists in the United Kingdom and India.

Nothing in my career has fitted me to address so distinguished a gathering of scientists. I certainly have no scientific qualifications to do so ; though I have an ancestral connection with the Royal Sciency as Prof. Hill has told you. My great-grandfather and grandfather were both Fellows ; and I was lately privileged by the kindness of Prof. Hill to see facsimiles of their signatures to the obligation to which we have just listened. My great-grandfather was, I believe, quite a distinguished scientist who discovered a mineral called wavellite : that is to say, he discovered it, and the famous chemist Sir Humphrey Davy called it wavellite. I was always a little dubious about my grandfather's Fellowship. He was a roving soldier of fortune who fought in India, in Spain during the Peninsular War and for Chile and Mexico in their wars of liberation. He was a man of wide knowledge and experience, but I always wondered how he found time to acquire the deep scientific learning associated to-day with Fellowship of the Royal Society. Prof. Hill, when I enquired of him in London whether the records of the Society showed in what particular branch of science my grandfather was so distinguished, broke it to me gently that in those far-off days it sometimes happened that members got their sons elected without any very special scientific qualification (laughter) other than a kindly presumption that they had inherited their parents' scientific turn of mind (more laughter). That exception might have been fulfilled in my grandfather who had an enquiring mind, some considerable knowledge of geology and much literary ability, but I am afraid he transmitted to his sons and grandsons his roving and military genius rather than any scientific ones (laughter).

Though I have never regretted that I had a classical education, I have always regretted that I had not at least a good grounding in science ; and I have always had a profound admiration for men of science. It is a little curious to mark the attitude of the bulk of ignorant mankind such as myself, towards men of science. In the earliest days of civilisation, they were revered as magicians and

given pride of place and power as in ancient Egypt. I think they have always continued to hold a high place in the east; but in the west at one period there was great suspicion of the man of science who was classed as a sorcerer, a wizard or a warlock, had to practice in secret and was liable to be burnt at the stake. Since those dark days the man of science has had a freer hand and our general complaint against him now might be that he has gone too fast for us; and has poured out inventions quicker than we can assimilate them. A famous English poet wrote nearly one hundred years ago that "science moves, but slowly, slowly creeping on from point to point." Had he written now, I feel that his line would have run more like this: "Science shoves on quickly, quickly, pushing us from post to post." There is much to be said for the old leisurely days and the old leisurely ways before the scientist began his assault on space and time. Worse still, his inventions have sometimes got into wrong hands. A domineering bully like the Prussian should never have been entrusted with an aeroplane, nor an ambitious barbarian like the Jap with a battleship.

"Still there is nothing more unprofitable than to try to turn back the wheels of time. We cannot trick the imp. back into the bottle as did the sailor of the Arabian Nights. We must go on now and must enlist the help of the scientists to control the geneii they have raised, and to bring order into this new world for which they are so largely responsible. They have put before us possibilities to a wider, fuller, healthier and more prosperous life, if we can only use their gifts aright.

"India, one of the oldest civilisations, has perhaps felt the impact of modern science later and less than any other great people. A large proportion of her population still lives the old life untouched by the vast changes of this century. Her realm has been of the spirit rather than of the earth. It may be said of the West hereafter that we took too much from India materially and too little spiritually.

"But if India is to play the part in the world to which her size, her population, her history and her position entitle her, she too must make every possible use of scientific advancement. She has already produced many great scientists, she bears many more in her fertile womb. Her contributions to science have always been on the side of peace and progress. She has everything to gain by combining modern science with her old culture; her traditional outlook should enable her to make an increasingly fine and characteristic contribution to natural knowledge. Indian science has in fact made a very remarkable stride forward during the last 25 years, as is shown by the foundation of many new societies, new journals and new departments of science in universities and under the Government.

"In this war, science has played a great role in India as elsewhere. It has made a splendid contribution to maintaining the health of the fighting men, through the activities of such bodies as the Malaria Institute, the Indian Research Fund Association, the Nutrition Laboratories at Coonoor, and others. It has also played an important part in munitions productiou and in solving problems of supply. As an ex-Commander-in-Chief, I should like to thank Indian science for the invaluable assistance it has given to the armies in the field. It must play a great part also in post-war development. The coming years will be vital to India. She must learn to make use of her abundant resources with the aid of science, which is the most international of all human interests. Professor Hill has himself said in an address elsewhere I believe that the pursuit of knowledge for the welfare of mankind is one of the greatest agents for goodwill between men in every land. It is in that belief that he is here to-day.

This session of the Indian Science Congress has a momentous task to perform: to discover how best to bring the aid of science to the development of India's great resources in agriculture and industry to the improvement of health and to social advancement and prosperity. The Science Congress is a body of high repute with a great and growing membership and influence. Gentlemen, I wish all success to your deliberations. I declare the Congress to be open and ask Professor Bose to give his presidential address. (applause).

### Presidential Address

Professor *S. N. Bose*, delivering the Presidential address on Classical Determinism and the Quantum Theory said :—

Many of us expected that a deliberate programme of the future scientific activities of the country would probably be a feature of the opening speech of this Congress. Pandit Jawaharlal had studied the needs of the country, many of our

front-rank scientists and industrialists had met under his leadership not long ago and given to questions of future reconstruction much time and anxious thought. The results of this deliberation would have been invaluable at the present moment. My regret is keen that chance has deprived us of the benefits of a sustained and careful study of the problems of the day. I would have liked to present here the results, if they were available. Unfortunately they are not as most of the reports are inaccessible to me.

I would like to present before you certain aspects of modern physics and draw your attention to the profound changes in the principle of scientific explanation of natural phenomena brought about by the quantum theory. The last fifty years record remarkable discoveries. I need only mention the electron, X-rays and Radioactivity to remind you of the increase of our knowledge. Our equipment has gained in power, range and accuracy. We possess powerful telescopes to scan the furthest corners of the universe ; also precise and delicate instruments to probe into the interior of the atoms and molecules. The alchemists' dream of transmutation has become a reality. Atoms are now disintegrated and synthesised. X-ray reveals invisible worlds and wireless links up the furthest ends of the earth with possibility of immediate inter-communication. These discoveries have their repercussions in the realm of ideas. Fifty years ago the belief in causality and determination was absolute. To-day physicists have gained knowledge but lost their faith.

### The New Theories

After describing the modification of classical physics by the discoveries of Einstein and others, Prof. Bose continued :

The new ideas have found application in different branches of physics. Discontinuous quantum processes furnished solutions to many puzzles. Suitably modified, the theory furnished a reasonable explanation of the periodic classification of elements and thermal behaviour of substances at low temperature. There was however one striking feature. It was apparently impossible to characterise the details of the actual transition processes from one stationary state to another, that is, to visualise it as a continuous sequence of changes determined by any law as yet undiscovered. It became clear that the dynamical laws as well as the laws of electromagnetism failed to account for atomic processes. New laws had to be sought out compatible with the quantum theory capable at the same time of explaining the rich experimental materials of classical physics. Bohr and his pupils utilised for a time a correspondence principle, guessing correct laws for atomic processes from analogy with the results of the classical theory. In every case these appeared as statistical laws concerned with the probabilities of transition between the various atomic states. Einstein tackled the problem of the equilibrium of matter and radiation of the basis of certain bypotheses regarding the probabilities of transition between the various states by absorption and emission. A derivation of the Planck Law was obtained by Bose by a suitable modification of the methods of classical statistics. Heisenberg finally arrived at a satisfactory solution and discovered his matrix-mechanics and a general method for all atomic problems. Dirac and Schrodinger also published simultaneously their independent solutions. Though clothed in apparently dissimilar mathematical symbols the three theories gave identical results and have now come to be looked upon as different formalisms expressing the same statistical laws.

"I have mentioned that the photon gave a simple explanation of many of the properties of radiation and thereby presented its corpuscular aspect while the well-known properties of interference and superposibility brought out its wave character. That the same dual nature may exist in all material corpuscles was first imagined by De Broglie. His phase-waves found quick experimental verification, and raised a similar problem of the real nature of the corpuscle. The formulation of wave-mechanics by Schrodinger, one raised a hope that by a radical modification of our usual ideas about the corpuscle it might be possible to re-establish the law of causality and classical determinism. Subsequent developments have shown such hopes to be illusory. His waves are mathematical fictions utilising the multidimensional representation of a phase-space and are just as incapable of explaining the individuality of the electron, as the photon is incapable of explaining the superposibility of the field. The true meaning of his equations appears in their statistical interpretation.

### Statistical Determinism

"The adherents of the quantum theory interpret the equations in a peculiar way. They maintain that these equations make statements about the behaviour of

a simple atom and nothing more than a calculation of the probabilities of transition between its different States is ever possible. There is nothing incomprehensible about such a statistical law even if it relates to the behaviour of a single particle. But a follower of determinism will interpret such statements as betraying imperfect knowledge, either of the attendant circumstances or of the elementary laws. We may record the throws when a certain die is cast a large number of times and arrive at a statistical law which will tell us how many times out of a thousand it will fall on a certain side. But if we can take into account the exact location of its centre of gravity, all the circumstances of the throw, the initial velocity, the resistance of the table and the air and every other peculiarity that may affect it, there can be no question of chance, because each time we can reckon where the die will stop and know in what position it will rest. It is the assertion of the impossibility of even conceiving such elementary determining laws for the atomic system that is disconcerting to the classical physicist.

"It is clear that a complete acceptance of all the recent conclusions of the physicists would mean a complete break with the ancient accepted principles of scientific explanation. Causality and the universal laws are to be thrown simultaneously overboard. These assertions are so revolutionary that no wonder, they have forced physicists to opposing camps. There are some who look upon causality as an indispensable postulate for all scientific activities. The inability to apply it consistently because of the limitations of the present state of human knowledge would not justify a total denial of its existence. Granted that physics has outgrown the stage of a mechanistic formulation of the principle they assert that it is now the task of scientists to seek for a better formulation. Others of the opposing camp look upon old determinism as an inhuman conception, not only because it sets up an impossible ideal, but also as it forces man to a fatalistic attitude which rewards humanity as inanimate automata in the hands of an iron law of causation. For them the new theory has humanised physics. The quantum statistical conception of determinism nestles closer to reality and substitutes a graspable truth for an inaccessible ideal. The theory has brought hope and inspired activity. It constitutes a tremendous step towards the understanding of nature. The features of the present theory may not all be familiar but use will remove the initial prejudice. We are not to impose our reason and philosophy on nature. Our philosophy and our logic evolve and adjust themselves more and more to reality.

### Sir Maurice Gwyer's tribute

Sir *Maurice Gwyer*, Vice-Chancellor, Delhi University, requesting the Viceroy to open the Indian Science Congress, said: "Indian science has already achieved a position second to none in the world, and Indian men of science have it in their power to make a contribution to the future welfare of India almost beyond human computation. They can transform the face of India, they can multiply its wealth, they can solve the problems of ignorance and poverty: and who knows whether they may not even be able to solve the most intractable of all, India's constitutional problems? It is the earnest prayer of all who have the happiness and welfare of this country at heart that these problems surveyed in the calm and serene atmosphere of science by men consecrated to the search for truth and nothing but the truth with minds free from prejudice and bias, may find a solution, or at least the beginnings of a solution at the meetings this week in Delhi."

Lieut-General Sir *Clarence Bird*, Master General of Ordnance, gave a brief outline of the work of the M. G. O's branch in its scientific aspects and emphasised that the Ordnance Services had contributed their quota to the development of technique in Indian industries to their permanent benefit. He gave the example of the development of the silk parachute and said, his department felt that in this it had made a real contribution to the future of the Indian silk industry. The Department had also helped many of the smaller metal industries to develop stores which formerly were imported.

### Prof. A. V. Hill's Speech

Professor *A. V. Hill*, Secretary of the Royal Society, in his speech, said:

This is a very special, indeed a unique, occasion and I am deeply grateful to the Indian Science Congress Association and the authorities in Delhi for providing it. With your permission, Sir, I now declare this great meeting to be, for a few minutes, a meeting of the Royal Society.

Before I left London in November, the President and Council of the Royal Society desired me to convey to the scientific men and women of India their greetings and goodwill: and the President asked me, on his behalf and with the

authority, to convene, if possible, a special meeting of the Royal Society for the purpose. That possibility has become a reality by the courtesy of the Indian Science Congress, which has allowed its inaugural ceremony to be deferred, for a short time, for the purpose. At this meeting of the Royal Society the vast majority of those present are, for the moment, guests; but there are in fact several Fellows of the Society here to-day, and His Majesty the King, the Patron of the Society, is represented by H. E. the Viceroy—who is not unconnected by inheritance with the Society. Moreover, many Fellows and foreign members of the Society, scattered over most of the earth although more concentrated in the United Kingdom, will be present with us in spirit at this meeting, and will warmly approve the purpose of goodwill and comradeship in the scientific endeavour for which it is called: and I am sure that there are a good many future Fellows of the Royal Society here present, for the moment as guests.

This occasion is unique in the fact that for the first time in its 281 years the Royal Society is holding a meeting outside England. At the beginning of the present war, the Society held a few meetings in Cambridge, and a few years ago a very special meeting was held in his home in London to admit to foreign membership a very distinguished refugee from Nazi persecution, Dr. *Sigmund Freud*, whose health did not allow him to present himself at the Society's headquarters for the ceremony. Apart, however, from those few occasions, our meetings have never been held outside our own apartments.

I mentioned the special admission of Dr. Freud. The Society, which has a pious care for its records and traditions, has been rather concerned of late for the fact that too many of the great men who have been members of its Fellowship, have been unable to attend a meeting to be admitted and to sign the historic Charter Book, which contains the signature of the vast majority of its Fellows for the last 281 years. The great Louis Pasteur was among those and also the first Indian to be elected (in 1841) *Ardeshir Cursetjee*. With the expansion of science more and more of the Fellows tend to be elected in parts of the British commonwealth far distant from London, and at the present time there are four Indian F. R. S.'s who have as yet been unable to attend a meeting for admission and to sign the Charter Book and Obligation. The President has asked me, on his behalf, to admit such of this four Fellows as are able to be present to-day and to obtain their signatures on a special sheet of parchment to be included later in the Charter Book. This I propose to do at the close of my remarks. He has appointed me formally a Vice-President to act for him in this.

Prof. Hill then read the letter Sir *Henry Dale*, the president of the Royal Society, to the President of the Indian Science Congress in which he had expressed his earnest hope that Prof. Hill's visit to India would strengthen the bonds of understanding and true comradeship between Indian and British men of science. He also read other letters from Fellows of the Royal Society which expressed the same hope including those of Sir *Richard Gregory*, the President of the British Association for the advancement of science and formerly Editor of *Nature*, Field Marshal Smuts and Mr. *Churchill*.

Mr. Churchill's message, sending greetings and good wishes to Indian men of science and especially to the six Indian fellows of the Royal Society, said: "Science has given to this generation the means of unlimited disaster or of unlimited progress. When this war is won, we shall have averted disaster. There will remain the greater task of directing knowledge lastingly towards the purposes of peace and human good. In this task, the scientists of the world, united by the bond of a single purpose which overrides all bounds of race and language can play a leading and inspiring part."

Prof. Hill said: There is no qualification at all, nor any limit, to the desire of their British colleagues for intimate co-operation with the scientific people of India, in the common tasks, first of improving natural knowledge (which is the age-long function of the Royal Society) and second of applying the knowledge so won to human betterment. And—if I may dare to say so—in collaborating, as we can so easily do, in these ways, we may learn perhaps to collaborate more effectively in others.

Prof. Hill then read the Obligation to be signed by Fellows of the Royal Society which stated:

"We who have hereunto subscribed, do hereby promise, each for himself, that we will endeavour to promote the Good of the Royal Society of London for improving Natural Knowledge; and to pursue the Ends for which the same was founded: That we will be present at the meetings of the Society, as often as conveniently we

can, especially at the anniversary elections, and upon extraordinary occasions ; and that we will observe the Statutes and Orders of the said Society. Provided that whensoever any one of us, shall signify to the President, under his hand that he desireth to withdraw from the Society, he shall be free from this Obligation for the future."

Prof. Hill, in conclusion, said that the number of those who had signified to the President, under their hand that they desire to withdraw from the Society is, to use a mathematical term, vanishingly small.

### Engineering & Metallurgy Section

"It is research, and nothing else, that can develop our industries and improve our agriculture. To-day, research is progress, research is life," said Mr. *J. J. Ghandy*, in his presidential address to the section of Engineering and Metallurgy at the Indian Science Congress on the 5th. January 1944.

Dealing with the question of industrial research in India, Mr. Ghandy said that apart from the inadequately staffed, official scientific services and a mere handful of research institutes and committees and engineering colleges, India had had few facilities for research in the past. The Department of Scientific and Industrial Research was only a creation of this war and suffered from many handicaps. The hour had come when we must plan national research on national lines or abandon all hopes for the future.

In every advanced industrial country of the West, industrial research was fostered by State bodies, observed Mr. Ghandy. There was always the closest liaison between Government, the university and the factory in the furtherance of scientific and industrial research. For furthering research in India, he suggested that the existing Department of Scientific and Industrial Research, consisting of a Research Council and a Board and a Research Utilisation Committee should be de-politicised, and its membership enlarged so as to include representatives of all branches of science. The Council should only lay down policy and co-ordinate the work of the technically subservient bodies, corresponding in its functions to the Committee of the Privy Council for Scientific and Industrial Research in England. The Board and the Committee, both aided by chains of Committees, should plan national research in close collaboration, under the general direction of the parent Council. The Board should concern itself with the scientific aspect and the Committee with the industrial aspect, of the planning of a national programme and its direction and execution.

For children, said Mr. *Ghandy*, 'Pioneer Palaces' on the Russian model, equipped with science laboratories, should be set up ; and for adults, facilities for scientific research at the universities and for technological training should be extended. The vocational, practical training of science students in the workshop of private companies and the railways should be arranged, to make the science students shop-minded. Industries should set up their own research laboratories, if they can afford them, or combine together and foster co-operative research like the Iron and Steel Industrial Research Council in England ; arrange part-time technical instruction for the average factory worker, who is the eventual agent for the application of research to industry ; and stimulate the growth of an industrial fellowship plan on the American model. The daily, non-technical press in addition to the technical press, exhibitions, the film and the radio should be fully exploited for the general dissemination of scientific intelligence.

### Agricultural Sciences Section

In his presidential address to the Section of Agricultural Sciences on the 5th. January, *Rao Bahadur* Dr. *D. V. Bal* dealt with some aspects of the present and post-war food production in India.

Dr. *Bal* said that various problems connected with the present and future food production in India had been broadly surveyed. It had been shown that on the basis of 1939-40 figures regarding the area under cereal crops in British India, the quantity of cereal food grains available for human consumption came to 53.2 million tons. Average requirements in respect of cereal food grains per head per day came to about 1½ lb, on the assumption that out of the minimum requirement of 2,600 calories, about 275 calories were derived from oils, pulses and vegetables and 1¾ lb, if the total calorific requirements as shown by different diet surveys were to be derived chiefly from cereals only. According to the recent census figures the total quantity of cereal food grains required, would thus come to 57.8 to 67.5 million tons which was higher by 4.6 or 14.8 million tons respectively than what the land could normally be expected to produce under existing systems of crop

production ; in other words, the present production would have to be raised by 8.6 to 26.8 per cent in order to meet the minimum food requirements of the existing population. It was thus evident that leaving aside questions like birth control and other measures for checking the growth of population, our immediate need was to increase food production to the maximum extent possible apart from the economic factors governing crop production.

Dr. *Bal* made the following suggestions for increasing food production. Comprehensive schemes should be drawn up for the purpose of construction of wells in areas possessing shallow water table as well as construction of bunds and drains and the State should make sufficient funds available at low rates of interest, together with a provision for adequate subsidies and easy instalments for the repayment of loans. Preparation of composts from farm wastes by the cultivators and preparation of composts from town refuse and nightsoil in urban areas should be encouraged and the latter should in the first instance, be issued free to the cultivators and in addition small cash payments might also be made to partially cover the expenditure incurred in carting the manure from urban areas to the field. Extensive cultivation of leguminous crops was also of urgent and vital importance both from the point of recuperation of soil fertility and improvement of the existing ill-balanced diet of the people. Efforts should be made to increase seed multiplication centres in order to meet the demands of the cultivators for improved seeds of various crops. Suitable agencies on a regional basis should be established to deal with the diseases of crops and adequate storage facilities should be provided for, to protect the produce from the attack of insects, rats etc. Since the existing supplies of fodder and the area under pastures were inadequate the practice of breaking up fallow land should be adopted with very great caution as it was likely to increase the competition between the cultivators and their cattle. Fortunately for us, if better methods of cultivation and manuring were adopted, it was possible to increase the food production by 25 to 33 per cent so as to adequately meet the food requirements of the population of the country. In view of the fact that it was obligatory on the part of the State to ensure minimum requirements in respect of food and clothing to every individual citizen, there was no reason why a portion of the increasing industrial and commercial income should not be utilised in giving relief in the form of subsidies to the cultivators should the business of crop production *vis-a-vis* industrial manufacture of finished articles become uneconomic or unremunerative.

Referring to the question of long range problems relating to food production, Dr. *Bal* stressed the necessaity for conducting properly planned experiments to determine maximum crop production capacity of soils for training a large number of young persons for stabilising incomes of agricultural labourers and cultivators and for prevention of fragmentation of holdings. He also suggested colonisation of new areas and utilisation of demobilised soldiers and various motor vehicles and tanks at present employed for war work.

In conclusion, Dr. *Bal* urged that all the forces at our disposal must be harnessed together in order to increase the production of food in India, not only to meet her present requirements but to banish the problem of food deficiency for all time to come.

### Psychology & Educational Science Section

Presiding over the Section of the Psychology and Educational Science of the Indian Science Congress on the 6th. January, Mr. *John Sargent*, Educational Commissioner with the Government of India surveyed the position of education in India and set forth a plan of national education.

Discussing the nature of the changes that are called for and what is the minimum programme of development which will place India on an approximate educational level with other countries Mr. Sargent stated that the following were the essential requirements :—

(1) Universal compulsory and free education for all boys and girls from the age of five or six until 14, in order to ensure literacy and the minimum preparation for citizenship.

(2) A reasonable provision of education before the compulsory age for school attendance in the form of nursery schools and classes. This is important mainly in the interest of health particularly in areas where housing conditions are unsatisfactory.

(3) Secondary or high school education for those children who show the capacity for benefiting by it. Probably to satisfy this requirement provision should be made ultimately in high schools of various types for not less than 20 per cent

of the boys and girls in each age-group. Variety both in types of school and in the curricula of individual schools is essential to suit the varying tastes and aptitudes of the individual pupils on the one hand and the requirements of their future occupations on the other. In addition, so that no boy or girl of outstanding ability may be debarred by poverty from further education, liberal financial assistance in the form of free places, scholarships and stipends must be forthcoming.

(4) University education, including postgraduate and research facilities for picked students. It is difficult to fix a quantitative standard here but probably when a High School system as contemplated above has been fully established, about one pupil in every 15 should be found fit to proceed to a University.

(5) Technical, commercial and art education. The amount, type and location of this will necessarily be determined to a large extent by the requirements of industry and commerce.

(6) Adult education, both vocational and non-vocational of all kinds and standards to meet the needs of those who were denied adequate opportunities in their earlier years or recognise the importance of supplementing what they then received.

(7) Arrangements for training the vast army of teachers which a system of this kind will require.

(8) An efficient school medical service which will see that children are made healthy and kept healthy. This means treatment as well as inspection and the provision of proper nourishment in necessitous cases. It is a waste of time and money to try to teach a child who is underfed or conscious in other ways of serious physical discomfort. Health also postulates the provision of hygienic buildings in suitable surroundings, the right kind of furniture and equipment and ample facilities for physical training and games.

(9) Special schools for children suffering from mental or physical handicaps.

(10) Recreational facilities of all kinds to satisfy the craving for corporate activity and to counteract the drabness of the conditions in which so large a part of the Indian people otherwise spend their lives.

(11) Employment Bureaux, to guide school and college leavers into profitable employment and so far as possible to adjust the outout of the schools to the capacity of the labour market.

(12) An administrative system which will place initiative and authority in the hands of those who understand and care about education.

### Defects in the System

Mr. *Sargent*, proceeding to examine the defect of the present system, pointed out that in the lower ranges, in the absence of compulsion, 80 per cent of the students lapsed back into illiteracy. In regard to high school education, admission was determined by ability to pay fees rather than by intellectual promise of the student. The curriculum was determined by the requirement of university matriculation and offered hardly any facilities for pupils, who sought employment in industrial or commercial occupations. Indian universities did not make any serious attempt to relate their output to the needs of the community. Their examination system did not encourage original thinking and real scholarship and their organisation failed to secure personal contact between students and teachers. There were few openings in industry and commerce and to the technically trained Indians opportunities were still more limited by the practice of filling better openings by imported technicians. School medical service was defective, in that there was provision only for inspection, not treatment and that children were not supplied with the requisite nourishment.

Regarding equipment, the less said the better, observed Mr. Sargent; at any rate, in the lower stages of Indian education, buildings, equipment, playgrounds and so on regarded as essential to any proper school. Scouting flourished in certain areas, but there was no co-ordination of extramural corporate activities. The Indian education system, moreover, made no attempt whatever to market the articles it produced. In the sphere of administration, if a national system was to be introduced within a reasonable period it would have to be not merely subsidised but also stimulated and co-ordinated from the centre through a strong Education Department in the Central Government.

Passing on to the question of educational finance, Mr. *Sargent* pointed out that whereas in England and Wales, the educational expenditure, per head was Rs. 32-2-0, in India it was but 8 as. and 9 ps. Allowing for a scale of salary in primary schools for assistants of Rs. 30 to Rs. 50 with free houses or rent allowance and of Rs. 40 to Rs. 80 in pespect of vernacular middle or senior basic schools and of Rs. 75 to Rs. 150 for graduates, Mr. Sargent calculated that the total salary bill for

British India would amount to Rs. 195.71 crores, including expenditures on medical service, employment bureaus, books, youth movement, adult education, training of teachers, the expenditure would come to Rs. 313 crores for British India and 417 crores for the whole of India. In respect of British India estimating for an income from fees and similar sources of Rs. 35.56 crores the deficit to be met from public funds in British India amounted to Rs. 277½ crores. Mr. Sargent stated that it might be possible to finance this by savings that may be expected in expenditure on defence by diverting the surplus of religious bodies to education and by other means.

"ALL OR NOTHING"

Concluding, Mr. *Sargent* said, "Most of the main lines of development have already been laid down by the Central Advisory Board but even so, given the will and given the funds it would in my opinion take at least 35 to 40 years to establish the sort of educational system which has been outlined in this paper. The work might be spread over 8 five-year programmes. The first would be devoted mainly to working out plans in details, reorganising the administrative system and setting up the Training Schools and Colleges necessary to provide the teachers required. During each of the seven subsequent periods an area roughly equivalent to one-seventh of the area of each Province would be taken in hand. It will be about 10 years after the end of this period before the full incidence of the cost of educational reconstruction will be felt. By that time, it is possible that the industrial development to which many look for raising the standard of living in India to a level which will enable her to finance essential services out of her own resources, may have become an accomplished fact. Moreover, as education spreads among the rural population, there is reason to hope that it may lead to the abandoning of those superstitions and prejudices which for centuries have hung like millstones round the neck of the Indian peasant. A competent observer has estimated that with the removal of these the standard of living among agriculturists might be raised by as much as 100 per cent. Others are even more optimistic. If there are any such prospects, they would more than justify an immediate loan of such a size as would enable a start to be made at once with educational reconstruction on the scale which I have advocated. It is in the world's interest as much as India's that this should be done and done quickly. People like myself who believe that given the chance the human race, not excluding Indians, is capable of progress, find it difficult to understand why if money in any quantity can be raised in war time the same cannot be done in peace-time for what may be a still more world-saving purpose. The object of this paper is to throw down a challenge to all those who have the real welfare of India at heart. The question it propounds is as simple as it is urgent. What is not less important, it would appear in my humble opinion to transcend all political controversies. Federation will not answer it, nor Dominion Status nor Non-violence, nor Pakistan. But the right answer to it may provide the right answer to all these. If my premises are accepted there can be no half-way houses between what is and what ought to be. It is all or nothing. All means expenditure on a scale which may frighten those who have defended inertia on the ground that India is too poor to have what other countries enjoy. Anything less than all means—and there is no evading this conclusion—that India accepts a position of permanent inferiority in the society of civilised nations."

**Botany Section**

In his presidential address to the Section of Botany of the Indian Science Congress on the 6th. January, Mr. *T. S. Sabnis* dealt with the recent progress in the various fields of botany with special reference to economic plants. During the last three or four generations, he said, the progress made in improving the numerous plants and animals which provide us with food, clothing and ornament had been astounding. The progress achieved by the non-scientific methods in earlier centuries was no doubt good, but it could hardly have stood the strain of the modern political problems and helped to satisfy the industrial and commercial requirements of to-day.

The lecturer said that one development of botany had been plant ecology, that is, that branch of botany which dealt with the effects which the various environmental factors produced upon plants. In dealing with the problem of controlling vegetation, either for agriculture, forestry or for the improvement of grassland, plant ecology, by investigating the fundamental laws concerning growth of plants in relation to the environmental factors, would be of much help.

Much attention had lately been paid to one of these factors, namely, light. By subjecting plants to controlled illumination, and sometimes, when necessary, by artificially giving them additional illumination, the growth periods of crops had been

markedly changed, thus making possible certain breeding experiments. The information secured was, besides, useful to the agriculturist and the horticulturist in their attempts to grow plants in new environments, different from those to which the plants belonged.

The study of response of plants to different temperatures had led to the process originated by Russian scientists and now known as vernalization, which consisted of giving to the seeds certain temperature treatments. Vernalization had enabled Russia to grow luxuriant crops of winter wheat in areas in which it was formerly impossible to grow it successfully. Thus the process had enabled agriculturists to triumph over Nature's climatic barriers. A great deal of work in this direction was now being done in the different countries.

Another factor which stimulated plant growth resided in the plant itself but it was discovered only recently, said Mr. Sabnis. It was known as the growth regulator and was something like the growth hormones of the animals in nature. Preparations of plant growth regulators were now being used for stimulating the rooting of plant cuttings or seedlings which were normally found difficult to be propagated. Researches on the nutrition of plants had led to the discovery of the important role which some of the elements played in the life of most plants. These elements were required only in traces, yet they were essential. Their deficiency was at times responsible for failure of vast crops, but with the knowledge gained the crops could now be saved by supplying the deficiency.

### Medical & Veterinary Section

In his presidential address to the Section of Medical and Veterinary Sciences at the Indian Science Congress on the 6th. January, Dr. *K. V. Krishnan* dealt with the subject of medical education in India and made suggestions for improvement in certain directions. On the standard of medical education reached in any country, he said, largely depended the soundness of the medical men, the efficiency of medical service provided by Government and its usefulness to the community.

In India, said Dr. Krishnan, they had a dual standard of medical education, medical schools turning out licentiates who are men of a lower standard and medical colleges producing university graduates who are men of a higher standard. With the exception of India and Russia, there was no other country in the world which retained this dual standard. Russia was fast trying to abolish the lower standard and he hoped in the very near future India, too, would be having only medial colleges and no schools.

In considering the needs of medical education of a country, almost the first question that arose was "are there a sufficient number of medical institutions producing the requisite number of medical men ?" The standard aimed at in western countries was to have enough medical colleges so that there would at least be one qualified doctor for every 1,000 of the population. According to this standard, India should have at least 400,000 doctors or ten times the present number. The ten medical colleges and 27 medical schools in existence in India were jointly producing every year about 1,700 new doctors. Unless some practicable plan was put forward to hasten production (without lowering the standard and without considerable extra cost) there seemed to be no hope of solving the question of inadequacy of doctors in the near future.

Proceeding Dr. *Krishnan* said that India was predominantly a rural country ; 95 per cent of her vast population lived in rural areas. The majority of these received little or no medical aid. The majority of the doctors produced in our colleges were averse to settling down in rural areas for one reason or another. "The few that do are unable to cater to the special requirements of the rural people and to adapt themselves to the conditions of the villages for long. This unfortunate situation is due to a number of factors one of which is that our colleges do not produce the right type of rural medical practitioners. Only if and when they produce this special type they would be considered as having catered to the country's needs. What is needed is a band of doctors with true missionary zeal, with genuine rural bias, with proper understanding of the diverse rural problems, medical and non-medical, and with high humanitarian ideals, who will be content to devote their lives and knowledge at least for a set period to the service of the people for a small reward. The country needs and demands such a band of selfless workers and it is not difficult to constitute that band if one goes about in the right way. It is the duty of our medical colleges to select the right type of men, train them suitably and make them available to the rural people who badly need them. It can be done even under the present economic conditions and available resources."

POST-GRADUATE COURSES

Making suggestions for the improvement of medical education in the country, Dr. *Krishnan* stressed the need for organising proper postgraduate courses for our men, particularly for the general practitioner. Where our educational institutions failed, there it was the duty of our medical associations to step in. Advancement of science could only be achieved through men with a scientific bent of mind. It was the responsibility of the medical colleges to produce such men through inclusion of research programmes in education. The library was a vital part of a medical college. A well selected collection of books, monographs and periodicals covering as completely as possible the entire field of medicine waa a necessity both for the student and the staff. "Here mention may be made about the need for text books containing Indian data and reference to Indian problems" said the lecturer. "At the country while being highly valuable in certain respects lack information on local problems that the Indian medical student will be particularly interested in. If the professors of our medical colleges would only take the trouble to write suitable text books and incorporate in them all available Indian data and their own personal experience a long-felt genuine demand will be soon satisfied."

Dr. *Krishnan* also laid emphasis on the importance of providing adequate clinical facilities for teaching purposes. "Here it will not be irrelevent for me to draw your attention to one of the criticisms that is being levelled at our recent graduates by the senior members of the profession namely, that the graduates nowdays are too much dependent on laboratory, X-ray and other findings and too little on the results of their own clinical observations", he observed. "From personal knowledge of several of our recent products I feel that this is a very true and just criticism which our medical colleges would do well to note. Although in our educational programme we should and do rightly stress the importance of the scientific method of approach to medicine, it does not mean that we would be justified in neglecting or in even laying less emphasis on the clinical methods of examination. One of the causes of unpopularity of western medicine among the Indian masses is that it is too expensive ; apart from the cost of medicines, there is not only the doctors' fees to pay but also the fees to the bacteriologist, the biochemist and the radiologist. I do not say for a moment that we should in our practice of medicine altogether omit resorting to laboratory aids, on the ground that they are costly. But I do say at the same time that it is our duty to consider our patients' purse and to suggest these aids only when they are absolutely essential."

Dr. *Krishnan* suggested two reforms relating to the instructional staff of Indian medical colleges which need to be immediately introduced in the interest of medical education. The first was to debar the entire teaching staff from engaging in private practice in order that they might be able to give their undivided attention to teaching research and hospital patients, if any in their charge. A serious damage that had been done through allowing private practice to paid doctors in Government employ in general and to the paid teaching staff of medical colleges in particular, was that it had kept down the standard of the independent medical profession through unfair competition. The second reform that was needed is to constitute a separate cadre for the teaching staff of medical colleges. At present the college staff formed part of the provincial medical cardre and as such were liable to be transferred to non-teaching post. These changes apart from depriving the colleges of competent teachers might bring in men who had no aptitude for teaching and who could not appreciatively co-operate in the educational programme of the college. The creation of a separate cadre would overcome this difficulty and help the colleges to achieve their objectives more rapidly.

UNIVERSITY TYPE OF COLLEGE

After discussing the various aspects of medical training, Dr. Krishnan said: "A study of the various medical educational institutions in existence in different countries of the world shows that they may broadly be classified into two types—ordinary type and university type. The first type is organised chiefly to produce the ordinary general practitioner through provision of facilities for undergraduate training of a vocational type ; and the second is organised not only to produce the general practitioner with a scientific bias but also the specialist in various branches through provision of facilities for postgraduate training and research. The objective aimed at and the functions of the various departments are also different. The modern tendency is to have wherever possible medical college of the University type which in the words of Abraham Flexner would address itself whole-heartedly and unreservedly to the advancement of knowledge the study of problems from

whatever source they come and the training of men all at the highest level of possible effort. India needs a few of these. Almost all her colleges are of the ordinary type and a few are struggling towards the university type. These few can readily be remodelled into the university type and let us hope we will be able to do it in the near future. The colleges in Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta are advantageously placed and have already facilities developed to an extent that it would not cost much to reorganise them into the university type. The three together would require about Rs. 60 lakhs for capital expenditure and about Rs. 10 lakhs for additional recurring expenditure. This sum is nothing compared to the benefits that are likely to accrue from such reorganisation and expansion.

The lecturer suggested the following scheme of reorganisation. The control of the 'University Medical College' should rest with a board constituted for the purpose. It should be composed of two representatives each from government, university, legislature, postgraduate and research institutes and the medical college itself. The duties of the board should be administrative, financial and technical control. Appointment of staff; finance; building; equipment; creation of new departments; expansion of existing departments; formulation of policy and pragramme; organisation of new courses of study; formulation of regulations and rules; determination of fees and scholarships; acceptance and utilisation of gifts, bequests and trusts should all come under its purview. The university concerned should help by (a) providing regular grants towards the cost of research and postgraduate educational programmes, (b) creating endowment fund by attracting public support, (c) enabling the college to utilise some of the facilities of the university for their educational activities, (d) broadening the objectives and procedures of medical education and (e) encouraging the publication of books on medical subjects containing Indian data and information. The government will continue to give financial aid as at present but will delegate some of its powers to the board of control.

### Position of Ayurveda

Concluding Dr. Krishnan said : 'If one goes into any rural area in this country (this is also true of many urban areas) one finds four classes of practitioners—the witch doctor, the quake doctor, the *ayurvedic* or *unani* doctor and the allopath. As regards the first two all are unanimously agreed that quackery wherever and in whatever form it exists must be relentlessly put down. Yet we have so far done nothing substantial to root it out nor even to make it difficult. It is being practised openly and it still remains a challenge to scientific medicine and a blot on human intelligence. We must make up our minds what to do about it. As regards the *ayurvedic* and *unani* systems the opinion is rather divided. If we want the indigenous system to remain, we must encourage it as best we can, get the qualified men compulsorily registered so that quackery may not masquerade under its name and spoil its reputation as it is doing at present and also make the services of these men readily available to the people wherever they are required. All this is possible, but if it is done, it will, in my opinion, be a false and retrogressive move, a move in the wrong direction. If really India wishes to keep pace with modern developments in science and come into line with all advanced countries, she must, however unpalatable it may be to some people, be prepared to abolish this antiquated empirical system of medicine. Any sympathy or attachment to it will only retard scientific progress. The plea that the indigenous system is better suited to Indian constitutions is a myth. The plea that it is cheap and within the means of poor people is no criterion of its value or usefulness. The plea that it is readily available even in remote areas is a dope to ease the conscience of the sick for whom we are unable to provide the scientific medical aid that we ought to. Under these circumstances we must make up our minds as to what to do with these systems of medicine.

The position at present with regard to the allopathic system is that all people resort to it when they can obtain it and if it is within their means. The majority of that people are thoroughly convinced of its greater value and usefulness and its wider application in many fields. It has the advantages of possessing a preventive side of having methods for developing positive health and of being built on rational and scientific basis.

The type of medical service that is best suited to the country has to be decided. We must study beforehand the situation in the country thoroughly with the help of an expert committee and find out the type of medical service that will really and truly take the benefits of modern scientific medicine within the reach of every individual in the country, urban and rural. I believe even with the existing resources in men and money we can reorganise our medical services in a

way such that they will be of greater help to a larger group of people than at present. As I stated previously, through the utilisation of the services of honorary men in place of paid men in all urban areas and through the employment of paid staff in all rural areas where they are badly needed we can greatly improve matters. The type of organisation I have in view consists of five classes of officers : (1) administrative officers in each district for direction, supervision and control. (2) medical college staff for teaching research and technical advice. (3) rural health officers for doing mainly public health work and a little of medical work. (4) honorary doctors in all urban hospitals for medical work and (5) health officers of municipalities and towns. Once it is agreed that a particular scheme is suitable, then medical education can be immediately modified to supply the type or types of doctors required for the scheme. We must make up our minds as to the type of medical service that would suit the country best."

### Anthropology & Archaeology Section

In the course of his Presidential address to the section of Anthropology and Archaeology, Mr. Verrier Elwin, said :

"I have taken 'Truth in Anthropology' as my subject for this seems of great importance at a time when our science has been debased in the interest of false racial theories. Truth is specially important also at a time when a young science is passing the age of puberty and entering maturity. I propose to speak to you very simply as a field-worker. I have no theories to advance and no axe to grind. I am concerned in my own work simply in recording the facts, and in this speech I want to speak to you of some of my experiences in that task and to stress the very great need of a high standard of Truth in all our field-work in order that the science of anthropology may be established in India, both as a means of recording the history of her people and as an instrument which may be of value to Governments in caring for and preserving her aboriginals.

"It is necessary to stress this, for anthropology is regarded with some suspicion in India. There are several reasons for this. The attempt of certain scholars and politicians to divide the aboriginal tribes from the Hindu community at the time of the Census created the impression that science could be diverted to political and communal ends. In earlier years the Census authorities tried to distinguish animism and Hinduism. Later the expression, 'Followers of Tribal Religions', was used. The test proposed was to ask a person whether he worshipped Hindu or tribal gods. This test was meaningless. The religion of the aboriginals in Peninsular India at least is obviously of the Hindu family. Hinduism itself having many elements which a theologian whould call animistic. In the religious columns, therefore, the aboriginals should have been returned from the beginning as Hindus. Any other classification was worse than useless. It is very difficult even for a trained theologian to decide the exact description of the religion of the various tribes. It is obviously impossible for an illiterate and ignorant enumerator to do so. What we want to know is how many aboriginals there are in India so that we can insist that they have a square deal in the counsels of the country. But now we know accurately neither the religious nor the racial situation, and the unfortunate fact that a number of anthropologists interested themselves in the complicated business of deciding the exact way in which aboriginals should be distinguished from the Hindu religion has done our science harm in public estimation.

"But perhaps the chief thing that has disturbed nationalist opinion in India has been the creation of Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas. It is an open secret that this move was largely the work of a distinguished anthropologist, at the Round Table Conference. Nationalist India accepted Sections 52 and 92 of the Government of India Act as an insult to India's political capacity, and at the National Congress held at Faizpur (and again at Haripura) the most sinister motives were ascribed to the British Government. Provincial legislators condemned the arrangement in the strongest terms, and in a debate in the Legislative Assembly in Delhi, Mr. M. S. Aney, and Mr. N. M. Joshi condemned all anthropologists as desiring to keep the primitive races of India 'uncivilized' and 'in a state of barbarism' as raw material for their science and "in order to add to their blessed stock of scientific knowledge." About this time there arose the curious criticism of anthropologists that they wished to keep the aboriginal tribes in a zoo, a suggestion that can only have been made by people who had never met an anthropologist or visited a zoo. In a zoo, an animal is not protected ; it is restrained ; it is taken away from its natural environment and deprived of its liberty. But what the anthropologist desires for his people is the preservation of their liberty that they

retain control of their natural environment and grow to cultural and civic maturity in freedom, happiness and peace.

"As a matter of fact, the Partially Excluded Areas bear no resemblance whatever to the anthropologists' dream. They are very different from the National Parks of North America or the Reserves of Africa. They afford no real protection to the tribesmen, and their establishment has done little except that by irritating public opinion it has drawn attention to the aboriginal problem.

"In any case, it cannot be too often emphasized that the real business of social anthropology is not the collecting of exciting and curious customs and the recording of bizarre superstitions. It is the attempt to describe and to make real the entire living beauty of a culture in all its related activities. I do not believe that anyone can read the best productions of the Functional School without gaining a profound respect for whatever tribe has been described. Indeed, I would put this as one of the tests of successful writing in this sphere. There are few communities of human beings who, when fully and thoroughly studied and understood, do not excite our admiration and even our love.

### Weakness of Official Research

As we look back over the history of Indian ethnography and survey the meagre array of books upon its shelf, we can see, I think, why it is that our science does not hold a higher place in the counsels of India. We have been set some very bad examples. The Ethnographic Survey, for all the valuable information it collected, was too superficial, too Tylorian, too bureaucratic and too dependent on information provided by untrained subordinates. Unfortunately it has generally been forgotten that the volumes of the Ethnographic Survey were prepared primarily as works of reference for the officers of Government and that as Crooke said at the time they were written not so much in the interests of anthropological research, as indispensable aids to the work of civil administration. The result has been the establishment of a tradition of scrappy hurried work largely divorced from personal observation.

"Another bad example was set by the reports of the *Census of India*. Here again the impression was all too easily created that social anthropology consisted of a series of notes on interesting and curious subjects. It would be hard to imagine anything less like the productions of the Functional School than the material contained in these reports. Part of it is the obviously inaccurate record of tours in motor-cars. Part does not even enjoy this authority. I notice one writer in the 1931 Census frankly admits that his contribution is the result of a hasty perusal of the books available in the District Office".

Truth in anthropology demands a scrupulous adherence to the highest rules and standards of field-work. First and foremost I would put the length of time that an investigator should spend among his people. But here in India particularly where anthropological work has been mainly the hobby of persons otherwise busily engaged how short has been the time given by many investigators to their task. Ruben wrote his massive work on the Asurs after a stay among the tribe of less than a month. Indian writers whom I will not name have produced articles and monographs after a week or a fortnight's stay in tribal villages. My own book on the Baiga was published seven years after I had settled down in the Baiga country, yet I am still to-day discovering new facts about the tribe and points where I should like to modify my early conclusions.

### Knowledge of Languages Essential

Westermarck very rightly stresses linguistic qualifications. A knowledge of the language he says is in my opinion an indispensable qualification for which no sociological training can serve as compensation. To be able to converse freely with the people without the aid of an interpreter should be the field-anthropologist's most serious aspiration.

One of the most important needs of social anthropology is that it should be firmly based on statistics. By no other means can we eradicate from our literature the baneful presence of the general statement. This is particularly necessary in questions of sex and marriage, about which writers in India have a passion for being discreetly vague. Thus Unwin laughs at such statements as that the girls are modest and beautiful, the majority chaste. A distinguished writer once committed himself to the opinion that no girl of a certain tribe ever came to her marriage as a virgin. By what possible means could this remarkable piece of information have been achieved except by direct revelation from Above ?

In attempting to reach the realities of tribal life, I believe that tribal poetry

is of the first importance. There is a remarkable passage in Leigh Hunt which describes how poetry leads on from dry fact to living reality.

Poetry begins where matter of fact or of science ceases to be merely such and to exhibit a further truth that is to say, the connection it has with the world of emotion and its power to produce imaginative pleasure. Inquiring of a gardener, for instance, what flower it is we see yonder, he answers, A lily. This is matter of fact. The botanist pronounces it to be of the order of Hexandria Monogynia. This is matter of science. It is the lady of the garden, says Spenser, and here we begin to have a poetical sense of its fairness and grace. It is

"The plant and flower of light" says Ben Jonson ; and poetry then shown us the beauty of the flower in all its mystery and splendour.

For anthropology must be established in its rightful place in India, it is urgently needed for the life and safety of the tribesmen. A whole world of Indian life and culture is rapidly passing away without proper record, because we are not doing our field-work properly. The collections in our Museums, the teaching in our Universities is equally inadequate to the task that lies ahead. A very great change must be introduced and I believe myself that that change will only come as we establish ourselves more and more firmly in the idea of Truth.

Mahatma Gandhi has set us all thinking again in terms of Truth. Above the changing flux of earthly existence there rises the Eternal Truth, in that Yonder which is the true home of man. And since man was made for Truth he is restless until his feet are on the highroad which will lead him to his home. For the Truth of science is no static thing, for his whole life man must pass from truth to truth. All Truth is a shadow except the last—except the utmost, yet every Truth is true in its kind. The scholar's life becomes a daily parting with shadows—and some of these will have become dear to him. Yet he knows that of all the adventures of which the world is full there is not one that can compare with his. For other ambitions and desires seek partial and imperfect ends, he alone has set out for the whole.

### Theory of Quantum Mechanics

Speaking on "The Fundamental Equations of Quantum Mechanics," Mr. *B. M. Sen* in his presidential address to the Section of Mathematics and Satistics of the Indian Sience Congress said that the theory of Quantum Mechanics was a new creation, which though not perfect, had achieved wonders in explaining the mysteries of the atomic structure Before it came, atoms were regarded as indivisible particles and it was futile to try to discover their structures. They were the fundamental materials with which the universe was built. But Quantum Mechanics had entirely changed this outlook. Introducing some new physical principles, it had explained satisfactorily the structure of the elements. It had also explained many imperfectly understood phenomena of astrophysics. In fact, there were very few branches of Physics or Physical Chemistry which had not felt the impact of these new ideas.

It was, therefore, of utmost importance, said Mr. *Sen*, that the subject should be developed in a perfectly logical way. Though in recent years, it had attained a good deal of clarity and rigour of treatment, there were some gaps.

# The A. I. Muslim Educational Conference

## Annual Session—Jubbulpore—16th. April 1944

### Sir Azizul's Presidential Address

The establishment of an institute of science and technology at Aligarh was recommended by a committee of which Prof. *A. V. Hill*, *Sir Ziauddin* and *Sir Shanti Swarup Bhatanagar* were among members, said *Sir Azizul Haque*, Industries and Civil Supplies Member, Government of India, in the course of his presidential address to the All-India Muslim Educational Conference held at Jubbulpore on the 16th. April 1944.

While the institution was primarily intended for Muslim research workers, he proceeded, it would also be open to other communities. It would give facilities for scientific, technical and industrial research and for the highest post-graduate science studies. The institution would not in any way be a burden on the Aligarh University ; it would be an independent institution not receiving any financial assistance

from that university and therefore in no way responsible to the authorities of that university. It would be under the management of a governing body representative of Muslims of India and specially selected for that purpose. But it was proposed that the institution would work in close collaboration with the Aligarh University and that the staff, the laboratory and other facilities of the institute would be available to that university to help them in their teaching and laboratory work. Its location at Aligarh would give an undoubted advantage to the Muslim University in the scientific and technical side of its activities while it would also gain by its proximity to the Muslim university with all its ideals and traditions. It had been estimated that a non-recurring fund of about Rs. 10 lakhs, a recurring fund of Rs. 3 lakhs and a sum of Rs. 2 lakhs in the reserve fund would be required. A committee of experts had already been appointed to draft the scientific and technical side of the scheme, and another committee was now engaged in drafting its administrative and financial details.

### Reform of Muslim Education

Sir *Azizul Haque* went on to suggest, firstly, a replanning and reorganisation of the conference and the setting up of a statistical and report section which should note the factual position of Muslim education in India. Secondly, steps should be taken to organise provincial and state branches of the conference to keep watch over the conditions of Muslim education which, as experience showed, suffered in all provinces including even some of the Muslim-majority provinces. Thirdly, a few boards should be constituted by the conference to deal with such questions as the suitability of existing text books, particularly history text-books for Muslim students. Fourthly, a central Islamic research organisation should be established for India as a whole. Fifthly the conference should arrange inter-provincial and international contact of Muslim teachers and students, organise holiday camps, travel parties and special study tours in India and abroad. Sixthly, the conference should lay down what the type and pattern should be of a true Muslim school. Lastly, the conference should organise an oriental education board to establish oriental scholarship and co-ordinate the activities of the various oriental institutions and organise also special lectures in Islam.

Dwelling on the "cross-currents of politics," Sir *Azizul Haque* criticised those who seemed to think that India would be worse off if she did not retain her political unity as one State. To these critics, he pointed out the existence of about 400 Indian States, each more or less with an autonomous government, and said that they did not seem to affect the unity of the country. Independent, sovereign States had been political partners and allied in matters of common policy and common interest, he emphasised. They might have a common currency and enter into a custom, shipping, railway or tariff union. They might pool their economic and natural resources without jeopardy to their political sovereignty.

"But," he went on, "one must not consider these possibilities. It does not matter if Europe minus Russia comprising almost the same area and population as India is divided into many national States. It does not matter if the racial and cultural problems of Central Europe forced the creation of many small States after the last war. India at any cost must be one political unit and in the name of democracy, a country of 400 million people must be governed as one country with all its multiple cultures and languages with people in different strata of evolution.

### Theory of Majority Rule

"The majority must rule the minority, and a hundred million people must accept the scheme of things as may be decided by the majority, whether it is to the interest of the minorities or not, whether the minorities agree to or accept the scheme or not. There need be no effort to take the minorities with the majority and to create a sense of security among them. They will not look at any other scheme if thereby the majority has not a minority to govern and to rule. They will not try to understand the others' point of view or know the reasons behind the attitude of those who differ. They will allow the present system of government to continue, and yet if anybody in the face of the existing realities of acute economic difficulties and disorganisation in the country, with enemy trying hard to cross the frontiers of India, desperately struggles to bring about some ameliorative measure to the hungry and the needy millions, he must be a traitor to the country for his contact with the existing governmental machinery. I cannot think of a greater tragedy in human affairs. I do not wish to give any moral verdict on the different aspects of political attitudes in the country. I have just mentioned them as factors creating more difficult problems for us in the sphere of education.

# Convocation Addresses

## The Lucknow University Convocation

**Sir C. V. Raman's Address**

The following is the text of the Address delivered at the Annual Convocation of the University of Lucknow by *Raja Sabhabushana Sir C. V. Raman*, Kt., M. A., Ph. D., LL. D., F. R. S., N. L. on the 15th. January, 1944.

Allow me, Sir, in the first instance, to express my high appreciation of the honour of being asked to address this Convocation. Even the most hardened politician in India would have felt it an honour to be present here on this most colourful occasion and to address this vast and distinguished gathering. Being myself just a student of Science and a teacher of youth, I feel that honour all the more highly and regard it as a great privilege to address the graduates of the year on this occasion.

The climate of Northern India in winter is perhaps the most beautiful climate in the world : sparkling blue sky, sun-shine, a cold nip in the air and this wonderful panorama of colour is enough to stir the pulses of even the most hardened scientist. I am still young enough to be thrilled at the sight of youth, to feel their joys and their sorrows as my own. I should like to say a few words about the topic of colour. I refer to the colours of these gowns, the colours of the saris worn by the ladies, the colours of the pandal and so on. I have only to enter an apology for the colour of the gowns worn by the pround possessors of Doctor's degrees and perhaps you may be interested to know why it is that Doctor's gowns have these colours. It is the privilege of women all the world over and all the time to wear colourful dress. We mere men are compelled by the force of inexorable custom to be dressed in drab, whites, grays and blacks. Once in a while, and by virtue of the authority vested in the Vice-Chancellor, we are permitted to flit round in gayer colours, which not even a lady would wear (loud laughter).

Allow me, Graduates of the year, to congratulate you on this occasion in your lives. It is no small privilege to have been a student of the University of Lucknow, to have trodden the halls of this beautiful centre of learning, to have sat at the feet of teachers of great distinction and to have achieved what the heart of young India regards most highly and that is the honour of a University degree. It is a great pleasure to me to have come here and to be asked to speak to you on this occasion and one thing urges me very specially and that is to find that this privilege has not been granted to the mere men amongst you. It gives me great pleasure to find that amongst the recipients of degrees, amongst those who have walked off with medals and diplomas and distinctions, are also a fair proportion of the young women of this province. To them specially I wish to express my heartiest congratulation. On this occasion, however, I feel a certain note of sadness coming over me, and referring to the women graduates of the year, I cannot but recall that to-day, one of the most charming and one of the most beloved figures among the women of India is smitten by sorrow : I am referring to Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, and I am sure the hearts of all of us will go out to her in her great bereavement (silent sympathy).

It is often the case that those who are called upon to address University convocations take it upon themselves to criticise and to speak ill of our Indian Universities. They think they are privileged to address an audience of University men and women and to tell them that Indian Universities are no good at all, that they are stamping machines, that they produce innumerable graduates year after year who are no good at all, who are out of contact with the realities of life and who are not capable of rendering service to the country and so on. I do not traverse all those statements made by these people, because the intensity of their vituperations is only matched by the impregnability of their ignorance about this subject. I take pride in the fact that I am a University man, that I am a teacher and that it has been my privilege over more than a quarter of a century to come into contact with the youth of India—to live their lives, to share their joys and sorrow. I would like to say this, that there is one thing above all things which I should like to see uppermost in your minds to-day and during the rest of your lives, and that is a feeling of gratitude to the institution and to the teachers with whom you have spent your lives during the past few years. There can be no

greater loyalty, no stronger feelings in the mind of youth, than a feeling of gratitude for those who have set them on the right path towards life.

I regard the Indian Universities as institutions of the highest possible importance in the life of our country. It is quite often that you hear speakers talking about education in India, to talk of Primary education, the lower grades of education as the basis of education, and they talk of University education as the apex of the pyramid of education. That picture, I think, is entirely wrong. Those who have given thought to the subject will realise that the true foundation of education is mostly furnished by the Universities. We require a strong, broad foundation to bear the weight of the pyramid and that foundation, in my view, is furnished by the Universities of India. You, young graduates, as I said, you can rightly feel proud of having been privileged to spend a few years within the walls of this institution and to learn at the feet of your teachers. I am not paying an exaggerated compliment to your University when I say that you have no reason to feel ashamed of your teachers. The University of Lucknow has made itself felt in the educational world of India. The roll of its teachers includes many men of distinction in many subjects who have kept alive the name and fame of your institution, and if I may single out one name, because it rises uppermost in my mind and it is a name of one who is universally acknowledged in scientific circles in this country and outside, and is regarded by the outside public also as one of our great national figures, a man who is one of the foremost of the living biologists of the world, it is that of Dr. Birbal Sahni. (Applause).

What is the message I would like to give you, what is the message which you are going to carry back from the University into the walks of life ? I should like to suggest to you that the spirit of University education can be expressed most briefly in the form of a phrase : it is the "restless human spirit." I mentioned the name of Dr. Birbal Sahni just because I happen to know your distinguished Dean of the Faculty of Science. In a short phrase I would refer to him as the "restless human spirit." What I mean by this is the spirit that does not satisfy itself by just inactivity in finding a position and just discharging the duties of it in a routine spirit. I mean the spirit which is always reaching out, which is always searching for something new, always moved with the spirit of endeavour, always athirst with the glory of achievement, always seeking for newer and newer fields to conquer—that is the "restless human spirit." And if you look back over 3,000 years of human history, who are the human beings whose names shine across the mists of time ? It is the "restless human spirit"—men like Archimedes of the ancient Greeks, men like Leonardo da Vinchi of the Middle Ages, men like Newton, men like the late Lord Rutherford. I mention these names as of men whom no honour, no glory, no success ever succeeded in sinking back to idleness, who to the last day of their lives were athirst with the same vigour and the same energy as they were when they were young men. I would like to suggest to you, my young friends, that one thing which you can take away from the halls of this seat of learning is that "restless human spirit." A University, I think, altogether fails of its purpose if it does not in insufficient measure impart that restlessness of spirit to its alumni. You no doubt have succeeded in passing the University examinations. Some of you have succeeded in walking away with one, two, three six or more medals, but pray do not think for a moment that you have achieved the supreme success of life. Please remember that what you have done to-day is just a small earnest of what the country asks of you in the future. If that restless human spirit has not been stirred, if that desire to do something, to achieve something, to prove yourself worthy of your country, has not been kindled when you leave the gates of your University, then I say the University has failed of its purpose. You should go out into the world, filled with the desire to do something worth while ; to glorify not yourself, but your *alma mater*, your country, the province that has given you birth, the land of which you are the son or the daughter. If that feeling has been roused in you, if that feeling does not remain dormant, but takes impetus, then I do not despair of the future of our country. I regard it as the purpose and function of the University to create the "restless human spirit," not in this or that field of knowledge or activity, but in every field of knowledge and in every field of activity. It is these "restless human spirit" who will create and lay down standards of achievement in the world, and who will build the India of the future. I ask you to bear these words in mind.

I say to you that you cannot show your gratitude to your *alma mater* in any greater way than by your future life and activity and by showing yourselves worthy sons and daughters of the University of Lucknow of which you have the

honour to be graduates. Allow me also to say something more. I feel that the loyalty of the graduates of Indian Universities, and of your University in partieular, should be the greatest tower of strength to the University. A University in my view is not and cannot be a static structure. We either go forward or backward., There is no standing-still in the world of learning and of knowledge. We either move forward or slide back. How is this dynamic ideal of a University to be achieved ? It can only come through the continuous enthusiasm and support of the alumni of the University. Hundreds of University graduates pass out of the University every year. If each of you sends out thoughts of affection, love and gratitude at least once a year to the *alma mater*, just imagine what the collective power of those thoughts can be. The most powerful things in this world are not tons of aeroplanes ; they are powerful thoughts and ideas, and if your thoughts and ideas are filled with the desire to serve and strengthen the glory of the *alma mater*, nothing can stop the progress of the University. The more you appreciate what the University has done for you, the more you should demand and insist upon the rapid progress of the University. You should all make it your earnest desire to see the University of Lucknow rise from strength to strength, to see that her fame and her lustre should not stop at the boundry of the United Provinces or of India, but that it should spread throughout the whole world. The lamp of learning should shine brightly ; the air of learning must waft its breezes all over the world, and if fame is to be achieved it can only be through you and others like you have been in this institution and who have received the benefits of it. It is up to you to see that your *alma mater* grows form strength to strength and reaches the very greatest heights of fame and name. I am not one of those who constantly tell us that our Indian Universities are inferior editions ; that our graduates are worth nothing. So long as we have that feeling in our hearts, we shall not be able to rise to the heights of achievement that we are capable of. The day is long past when we had to compare ourselves unfavourably with the institutions of other parts of the world. I have a different message to give you : let us be proud of our institutions : let us demand of them the highest achivement. The more you ask of your teachers, the more they will give. That is the rule of nature: the more you ask of man, the more he will give: and the less you expect of him, the less you ask of him, the less he will give.

And here lies a great burden on your teachers. When I address the graduates, it follows as a matter of course that I am also addressing the teachers. I know, and some of us may feel sad that the profession of teachers is not honoured, is not supported. Nonetheless it devolves upon us as teachers to hold our heads high. I do not mind saying...though I might be criticised...that I regard the position of a University professor as good as or even greater than that of the governor of a province or the Viceroy of India. His is an empire of love ; and empire of service. He loves his empire and he is firmly established in the hearts of his people. He spreads the light of learning and what greater thing can there be than to create an empire of love ? Great men whose names slide through history in letters of blood and fear have been forgotten ; but the names of those like Asoka, like Jesus Christ, like Buddha, who have built an empire of love, shine for ever and will continue to shine. I say, a teacher, a humble teacher, even though his work lies in the fields of learning and does not lie in the fields of philosophy or religion, he also is building an empire which can never die. I would like to suggest to my fellow-teachers of this University, that the higher the ideal they have of their profession, the nobler the ideals that move them in their daily thoughts, the greater the University. Ultimately, I have no doubt, that the honour of this great country, the future of India, depends, with ever-increasing measure, on the strength of our Universities, on the strength of our teachers, the energy and the devotion which they bring to their task and which they impart to their pupils within the walls of the University. I say once again that the real bases of the education pyramid are the Universities, these men trained here as teachers, who are to go out into the world and who have to spread the light of knowledge and learning, more and more, whose work will reach out far and near, until 10 or 20 years hence we might hope to realise the vision which has been held forth before us—the vision of a universally literate and educated India. How is that to be accomplished ? It can only be accomplished if our Universities prove themselves worthy of the task. It is not the knowledge of the three Rs. ; it is not the spread of elementary knowledge throughout the length and breadth of the land that is going to make India a great, self-sufficient nation. I say that it is the work of the University professors and teachers, that is going to build the nation, that is going

to strengthen our position in the various walks of life, so that we shall have the resources, the strength and the energy to spread the benefits of education over the largest possible number. To imagine that you can neglect the universities, that you can starve the universities and leave them to carry on their work, and that in 50 years you can make India educated, full of learning, I think that is a chimaera. We must support the universities and strengthen them. We must build the foundation and send out from the universities great numbers of highly qualified and highly gifted teachers, and it is they who are going to build the new India of the future, to which we all look forward.

Well, I have put before you my vision of the India to come, and my vision of the roll which you, my young friends are going to play in it, Let me once again say that I am not only referring to you young men ? I am addressing myself particularly to the young women graduates of the year. I have lived long enough to known that men make up not only half this world, but less than half this world. The real world of India is the world of the women. Why ? Because they determine what we shall do. The influence of the women-folk of India is hardly realised by any except by those who have had the good or ill fortune to be subjected to that influence. They determine the outlook of our children. The mother, for example, has a much greater influence over her children, over the mind of youth, than the mere father has. The father is out all day and busy earning his livelihood. The mother is the first, last and everything ; and therefore if any body imagines that the promotion of education of the young men of India, to the neglect of the uplift of the young women, is going to solve the problem, he is utterly mistaken. I say this once again, that there is nothing more heartening to my mind in the progress of education than the desire of the young women of India to shoulder the burden, to improve themselves and to show themselves fully worthy of their country, in the same manner and to the same extent as, or perhaps even more than, the young men of India. Last year I was addressing the Convocation at Madras. I then recalled what I had seen 32 years earlier. Then a single woman graduate was a sight to see—I am not using that term in any uncomplimentary sense. And now what do you find ? Half the Convocation hall is occupied by women graduates. You, women of the United Provinces, have not demanded such a large measure in the Convocation hall. Some day you will. But let me assure you that India is as high as its women are. It is they that ultimately determine the fate of the nation. It is their influence, their outlook, their virility, their strength, which will strengthen the masses of India in the tasks that lie in front of them. I see no future of Indian which does not also include a great and glorious future for our women.

Here I should like to say a word. There are some who think that for the women of India the proper place is in the household ; that their proper duty is to prepare *kichri* or *laddu* or whatever it is for their husbands and children. The domesticity which, for example, is insisted upon, I understand, by the Nazi regime as a special virtue of the German women ; that domesticity is also, I know, regarded by many people in India as a proper virtue of women and they think that they should not try high, that, for instance, they need not traverse the fields of Physics or Chemistry; that they should leave it to the mere men. Well, there was a time when I thought so myself. I do confess it, but I have changed my mind. I have changed my mind because I have actually seen that the women of India when they set their hearts to a job, they are just as good as or better than the men. There is nothing to stop them. There is no field of knowledge, be it even Mathematics, be it Physics or Chemistry, in which, so far as I can see, the women of India cannot equal men or excel them. It may be that in digging the earth or in some other physical work, men are superior. But if it is a question of acquiring knowledge, if it is a question of strenuous devotion to work, I do not think that women are in any way behind the men of India. It is true, and I hope it is true, that the women of India will regard culture, art and all the beautiful things of life as their special privilege. That is a privilege which we men shall not deny to them. It is the privilege of women to make the house beautiful, to make her dwelling place and the dwelling place of men something worth going to and worth looking at. While art, in the fitness of things, is the special privilege of woman, other things should not be denied to her. I should like to impress upon the young women of India, that while it is quite right and proper that they should regard themselves as equals of men in the men's sphere, the men cannot by any manner or means successfully regard themselves as the equal of women in the women's sphere, and that is in making the home beautiful and worth living in (hear, hear,)

I should like to say one word before I finish. Let me tell you, young friends, that this world is a hard world. I have been through it myself. The path of life is not strewn with roses or jasmines all the way. It is also strewn with thorns, with stones. You have to struggle through life as best as you can. If you think that success will come to you unasked, you are mistaken. There is nothing in this world which is worth having, which will ever come unless it is earned by the sweat of your brow. Success is achieved by blood and tears—I would not say, blood; tears, certainly. Let me also tell you that you will not appreciate success if it comes to you unearned, undeserved. The only true successes that a man really enjoys and appreciates are those that he knows in his heart of hearts that he deserves. What is the good of a title, for example, if you know that it was given to you unmerited. The things, as I say, you will appreciate most are those that come unsought for, but come because they are deserved and deserved by hard work. This is a truth, so obvious, but nevertheless one which I hope you will bear in mind. I say this because, it is just as well to be prepared for difficulties in life. You must be prepared to find people infinitely more unsympathetic than even your more unsympathetic teachers. You must be prepared to find people who make you work and give you no credit. Do not imagine that you will find the same treatment outside as you find in the University; but do not let that dishearten you. I should like to say to you, for I have lived long enough in this world to realise, that life is not worth living if you make yourself miserable all the time, if everything makes you down-hearted. If that is the case, it is much better that the whole humanity make up their minds and die and disappear like the extinct Brontosaurus and find a place only among the zoological specimens you find in the museums. Why is life worth living at all? Because there is something worth while in it. There is something in it which brings you happiness. The greatest possible fault is to seek happiness blindly. Many of you may not perhaps understand what is the real secret of happiness and let me tell you this as a message coming from my heart after long experience of life. I have been through good and bad; I have been through many trials. The secret of happiness is just the sense of awareness of the beautiful surroundings amongst you. Many of you have come into this hall today. How many of you have cared to look at these beautiful domes, the lovely sky, the trees and so on? You take it all for granted. You have seen these before and you find nothing new in them. I would like to tell you this, that it is a habit of mind that is worth cultivating to find joy and beauty in the commonest things of life. If you have nothing else to do, please look at the grass on the ground and see how green it is: I would like you to cultivate this habit. This is a thing which unfortunately disappears with the growth of human civilization. The really civilised beings, let me say, are those who do not live in towns, but live in villages, close to the heart of nature; who live the life of nature; who sow the seed and see the plant grow; who live in daily contact with nature's life. Theirs is the civilised life. The artificial life of the towns and the cities is such that we are blind to our surroundings. As somebody remarked, we even forget that there are stars in the sky; there is no time to look at them, or to see the many beautiful things about us. India is still one of the most beautiful countries in the world. You have only to open your eyes.

Wherever I go, I go in search of Mother India. I gaze at Her fair face. I am never tired of gazing upon her fair face any more than a child is tired of gazing at its beloved mother. Remember always that India is your beloved mother, and there is no greater joy, no greater happiness that you can find than in just gazing at the face of Mother India, and vowing yourselves to Her eternal service (long applause).

# The Osmania University Convocation

### Mr. C. Rajagopalachari's Address

The following is the text of the Convocation Address delivered by Mr. *C. Rajagopalachari* at the annual Convocation of the Osmania University held at Hyderabad (Deccan) on the 27th. January 1944.

It is a great honour done to me by the authorities of the University that I have been invited to speak at this Convocation. I tender my grateful thanks to His Exalted Highness and to the University for conferring on me this privilege.

The University has worked for 25 years and qualified for its Silver Jubilee this year and I am happy to tender my congratulations to the Chancellor and the Government on their achievements. The last time I was on these grounds your late Chancellor was alive. It is too sad for words that I come here to fill a place in this function after he is gone for ever. I am proud of the love and regard which he chose to bestow on me. This is no occasion for referring to private friendship however insistent be the memory. Sir Akbar Hydari gave of his best to Hyderabad. May his soul rest in peace, and that of his dear wife who lies interred here as a sacred relic of Sir Akbar's connection with Hyderabad.

I congratulate you graduates who have just received your degrees, especially those who have received them with distinction. You are part now of the precious stream which must water, nourish and maintain the living culture of our people. As graduates of a relatively young University you have a more particular duty than those who are sent out by the older Universities. By your love of learning and continued application and more than that, by your enlightened conduct, you should bring credit, distinctive credit to your University. Remember that you are the products of an important experiment, *viz.*, the imparting of the highest modern learning through an Indian language. You will be rigorously judged by critics who have received their own training through the unnatural, though may-be-at-present richer medium of a foreign language. Not only is there no reason for you to feel inferior, but you have every cause for just pride and confidence. If you maintain your habits of study and regard for truth, and keep your faculty for right judgment whetted with daily practice and verification, if you are weary and keep your sense of values unspoiled, you will not find it difficult to do your battle of friendly rivalry with others however industriously trained through a foreign language. You can go about it with complete confidence.

I referred to culture and indicated that you formed part of the body of trustees for India's culture. What I call Indian culture is one and indivisible. I take it that this is the creed of this University. Separate cultures referred to in controversy are hypothetical ideas framed *ad hoc* for the purpose of a stage in investigation and reasoning. We should not confound religion or religious practices with culture. The culture of India with all its varieties is in fact one. It is single and indivisible, even as the climate of India is one, with all its varieties. The composition is itself a distinctive unit, as old as English culture. You do not analyse the colour of a peacock or of a spotted deer or the tiger's gorgeous coat but apprehend it as one whole. You do not understand it as a conglomeration of several separate colours. So it is with what I call the culture of India, and it is of that you are trustees.

On behalf of the assembled gathering here, I congratulate you and give you our best wishes. I hope that you will fulfil with honour and efficiency the duties cast on you in return for the special concern which the State and learned men engaged for the purpose have spent on you through the period of fifteen years of Brahmacharya which you have finished today.

The Osmania University is unique in all India in that the highest scientific education as well as the teaching of the Humanities are done through an Indian language, the rich joint product of Muslim and Hindu contact. It is unique because every other University throughout India uses the English language and from what one can see has no intention of using any other medium within a measurable distance of time. The teachers established in the Universities and the books in vogue form a conservative fortress of exceeding strength. The place of English in the administrative machinery of India and of almost every state and province in India completes the apparent impregnability of the fortification. Yours is an achievement of which not only you but all India should be proud. The only language that can claim to be an all-India language is Hindustani and that is the medium of instruction in this University. Yours, then, is the true Vidyapith, the Swadeshi University of all India.

Let us hope that all difficulties will be overcome as are being overcome here, and that there will soon be various Universities scattered over India where the highest branches of knowledge are dealt with in one or other of our ten great languages. The smallest of these languages is spoken by populations larger than that of Portugal or of Scotland and Ireland combined, and many of them are spoken by larger numbers than the population of Spain. Each one of them possesses an abundant literature of its own, prose, poetry, song, drama and fiction. Unfortunately as yet even the Universities born in the new-found consciousness and renaissance of India, the Andhra University, the Mysore University, and the Annamalai University have not taken steps to impart University education of the highest

type in Telugu, Kannada or Tamil nor is there any chartered University that has adopted or is preparing to adopt Marathi or Bengali as its medium. The great University of Benares has not yet resolved on any adventure in the direction of adopting the lingua franca of India as the medium of instruction for the higher University courses. I am not indulging in cheap criticism without realising difficulties. It is because I know the difficulties, that I admire the courage, the patient industry, and the achievement that the Osmania University has shown to its credit as a shining example for all India. Let us hope that the Osmania experiment will enable all of us throughout India to overcome the difficulties and set aside the illusion, which is the greatest of the difficulties, that there is anything insuperable in giving the highest instruction through any one of the great languages of India, be it Hindustani or be it Telugu or Tamil or Kannada or Marathi or Bengali or Gujarati.

Sir Akbar Hydari on whose advice His Exalted Highness issued his *firman* in 1918 and founded the Osmania University laid all India and all Indian languages under debt by the bold recommendation he made and the courageous execution of the plan laid down. The Bureau of Translation which was founded along with the University became naturally the chief feature of the work that was inaugurated twenty-five years ago. All instruction in the University was to be through Hindustani, English being given its proper place as a compulsory language subject. Quoting Mr. Vincent Smith, the historian, Sir Akbar Hydari pointed out in his memorandum about Hindustani that its syntax was simple and flexible as was claimed for English, its vocabulary was rich with an abundance of words drawn from Western Hindi, Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, English and other sources, and it was capable of expressing ideas on any subject, literary, philosophical and scientific.

I have referred to the medium of instruction in this University as Hindustani though the official name adopted is Urdu. It is a paradox, but none the less true that in a world dominated by prejudices, small differences cause wider gulfs than very big differences. The difference between Urdu and Hindi is insignificant, almost microscopic, compared with the yawning gulf between any Indian language and English. But we are able more easily to reconcile ourselves to getting all our schooling, not to speak of higher instruction, done through English than to overcome the prejudice against Hindi or Urdu. Yet if what is spoken and understood under these two names be written in one script, the difference will not be greater than that which marks the language of Jhonson's *Rasselas* as compared with that in which Goldsmith wrote the *Vicar of Wakefield* or Charles Lamb his essays. We do not call the one English and the other by some other name. While we are quite able to swallow the English camel—language, script, idiom, phrases and all—we strain at the gnat of Hindi or Urdu because of the difference in a certain measure of vocabulary. It has been conceded that it is possible even to adopt a third script, Roman, without damage to the identity of the language. Indeed large numbers in the Civil and Military services are today learning through the medium of Roman script what we all recognize as the lingua franca of India. As regards the proportion of Sanskrit borrowings as against words taken from Arabic and Persian, is it really a great point when there is no difference in structure, idiom or grammar or in the main bulk of the vocabulary of the language ? If our ultimate goal is the enrichment of the vocabulary of Hindustani and the use of it as a medium for every variety of higher knowledge, the difference between Hindi and Urdu based on present vocabulary is bound rapidly to vanish. The enrichment of the language that is yet to be achieved by use in the teaching of modern knowledge will leave present differences in vocabulary far behind. Wealth and variety are advantages and not a cause for quarrel. The suitability of Hindustani as a lingua franca consists in the very fact that it has been handled by and modified to suit the requirements of the elite both among Hindus and Mussalmans, and has been for long written in both Urdu and Nagari scripts. The enrichment of vocabulary from Hindu as well as Islamic sources, far from being a difficulty or cause for quarrel is the very proof of its competence for common service. There is and can be no compulsion in choice of words.

There is no University that has made Hindi as such the medium of instruction qualifying for degrees in Sciences and Humanities. Hyderabad has rendered signal service to the lingua franca of India by its bold and successful experiment in Urdu. The name Urdu should not be a cause for underrating this achievement.

I am one of those whose confirmed opinion is that the students' mother-

tongue is the best and most fruit-bearing medium of instruction. As I said already we ought to have at least one efficient University in India for every one of the great languages spoken by the people of India, so that students from all parts of India may choose where to go according to what their mother-tongue is and get instruction in the highest branches of arts and sciences. The question of what is is the most effective medium is placed beyond controversy by the recorded opinion of the All-India Universities Conference that held its deliberations in Bombay in March 1939. They passed a resolution that in their considered opinion the medium of instruction at different stages of education up to and including the Degree course should be the mother-tongue of the students and that with a view to attaining this end, the Universities of India should take steps to enrich the literature of the respective Indian languages. No University has made an adequate or perhaps even an honest endeavour in the fulfilment of this urgent educational object. The Osmania University took up the task 25 years ago and its achievement is such that it should serve as a beacon-light to others whose duties in this direction centre round the other great Indian languages.

I have said so much about the achievement of the Osmania University in respect of the lingua franca of India. But I am not unaware of what may be called the skeleton at the feast, the medium of instruction in Secondary education. The announcement of the invitation extended to me to deliver this Convocation Address was a signal for several public workers to open correspondence with me on the State policy in respect of the medium of instruction for Secondary education. I made it clear to my correspondents that it was not my intention to use this occasion for entering into any discussion of Hyderabad policy. I am too keenly alive to the difficulties of administration specially in the formulation and working of educational policy in an area composed as Hyderabad is, of people speaking four different great languages each with affiliations abroad and literatures of which they are justly proud. Any light-hearted and hasty criticism or advice can be exploited to increase existing difficulties. But I do not wish to minimise the importance of the issue involved. I have already stated in explicit terms the fundamental creed of education through the mother-tongue to which I adhere. Sir Akbar Hydari and His Exalted Highness have both clearly laid down in unambiguous terms that the student's mother-tongue is the only effective medium for the acquisition of knowledge and for the complete conversion of what is acquired into a part of one's own being. But our loyalty to a creed should not result in blind passion or a refusal to see facts. On the one hand, uniformity of rule and procedure is the normal aspiration and consequence of every modern unified administration. This cannot be ignored or belittled. It is absolutely true that the claim of the mother-tongue is one that cannot be neglected without serious injury to the cause of education, which means injury to the State itself in the long run. But it is equally true that when more than one language claims this natural and indefeasible right of the mother-tongue, the problem becomes complicate and calls for the exercise of patience and compromise all round. I have no doubt the question is receiving the continued and open-minded consideration of His Exalted Highness' Government. The happiness of the Sovereign is bound up with the contentment and progress of his people and there is no short-cut for progress eschewing the path of true and effective education. The conditions of modern education are, however, complex, and State policy has to cover a wide ground. Peace and toleration create as great difficulties as their opposites. Several peoples have come together, several faiths live together, several languages flourish side by side in the same State as a result of peace and toleration. The problem of positive service on the part of the State to the composite population thus placed together under its care becomes very complex and difficult.

Not only this, but there are other difficulties arising out of the complexity of modern developments in education. Almost the whole burden is thrown on the schools run by the State, the family contributing but little towards the preliminary education of the child. The divisions of education into Primary, Lower Secondary, Higher Secondary and University courses are not water-tight. They are not isolated courses. In no one stage is the training quite so independent of the requirements of the next stage as the authorities dealing with the matter would wish it were. Each stage is for the most deserving and for a large number of hopefuls, a preparation for the next stage as much as it is an independent course by itself for the others. Differentiation of those who can and ought to go up to the next stage from those who cannot do so is not practicable. As a result of all these causes, the perfect organisational conditions required for one stage are complicated by the

requirements of the next stage. This affects not only the subject-matter of the instruction given but also the question of medium of instruction. Those who are responsible for the organisation of Secondary education cannot shut their eyes to the fact that the best and a large number of others among the students in High schools legitimately look forward to go to the University courses, and that it cannot be decided beforehand who may be permitted to aspire to it and who may not be. We should not forget that University education has not been undertaken through the medium of Kannada, Telugu or Marathi in Hyderabad or anywhere in India for that matter. The English medium prevails everywhere in Universities and this queers the pitch for any reform in Secondary education.

The fact that the Osmania University imparts instruction in the highest courses through Hindustani directly affects the medium to be adopted for Secondary education. If up to the last point in Secondary schools, the instruction should be given through the medium of the mother-tongue other than Urdu, it may be feared that a large body of the students would be ill-equipped for the University course to which they may legitimately aspire. If the Government of Hyderabad made the apparently good rule that in the Kannada, Telugu and Marathi areas Secondary education shall be imparted through these languages respectively, what would the parents of the best boys and girls say as to the necessary consequence of this, *viz.*, that they would be practically excluded from higher courses available in the Osmania University and from the chances in life open to the Osmania graduates. The problem is complicated everywhere, and more so in Hyderabad. We may not get ideal solutions but must be content at present with compromises and experiments. One compromise regarding Secondary education would be that of enforcing Urdu as a language subject while imparting instruction in all subjects through the medium of the regional language but accompanied by a liberal use of the terms of science and art used in the Osmania University for higher courses in the same subject. But I should not trespass into this problem any further. I hope that the passage from English to Indian languages may not be rendered needlessly difficult by the development of passion and prejudice, and by stressing the theoretical advantages of administratively impracticable alternatives.

I have not touched politics so far. I do not propose to do so here because I have very recently put down my views on the present situation in very clear terms in a booklet written for that purpose and I have nothing to add to it. I would like however to say one thing from this platform to this gathering of the most enlightened section of Hyderabad people. I hold the view that it is an erroneous belief that is carelessly spread that the citizens of Indian States are politically inferior or backward compared to the citizens of British Indian Provinces. National consciousness has spread all over India at one and the same pace everywhere. The citizens of Indian States are as fit and as ready, or as unfit and as unready, for democracy as citizens of the British Provinces are. Our princes can today without disturbing the efficiency of administration grant representative institutions and constitutional governments on a basis of parliamentary democracy as was done in the British Provinces and themselves occupy the royal and exalted position that Governors enjoy in those places, with the great and significant addition of a personal affection that they will always command in the hearts of the people. If the princes trusted the capacity of their subjects for democracy, it would be the greatest moral contribution for the attainment of freedom for the motherland as a whole. I shall not detain you any further.

I thank you for having listened to me so patiently.

# The Gurukula University Convocation

**Pt. Amarnath Jha's Address**

The following is the English rendering of the Address delivered at the 42nd Convocation of the Gurukula University by *Pandit Amaranatha Jha*, Vice-Chancellor, Allahabad University on the 8th. April 1944 :—

I am very happy to be able to accept your kind invitation and to find myself in an atmosphere reminiscent of the ancient centres of learning which were remote from the madding crowd and situated in beautiful natural surroundings, where nature contributed as much as man to the shaping character and training the

emotions. Here one finds abundant means for the acquisition of knowledge, for meditation, and for the high thinking which is induced by simple living. Here, preceptors and pupils alike can pursue learning undisturbed by the distractions of the world, in close proximity to the sacred Ganges.

The Gurukula is based on the lines of the old Universities of India. It is meet that changes due to altered times and circumstances should be introduced, but in every civilisation there are certain fundamental principles that must be preserved, essential elements that no nation can afford to lose. In the civilisation of India there are some features that have ensured its continued existence, though civilisations contemporaneous with it are extinct and can be seen only in archæological ruins: and these features will remain if we prove worthy of them, if we follow in the footsteps of those who have gone before, and if in moments of doubt and indecision we hearken to the voices that float across the centuries.

The system of education which prevails in the country today has many admirable aspects. The study of the sciences, of history and geography, of psychology and modern philosophy is of very great value. We have an opportunity of learning the languages of the West. But the underlying mental attitude of those responsible for introducing this system was wholly unsound. Did not Macaulay declare that one shelf of European books enshrined more knowledge and wisdom than was contained in the entire literature of Asia? This attitude has vitiated the whole educational fabric. We venerate everything Western and look down upon everything that is indigenous. The greatest defect of the system is that the medium of instruction is an exceedingly difficult foreign language at our incorrect use of which we are laughed at and our proficiency in which is regarded as our highest educational achievement. Even our ability as a good soldier is measured by our skill in the use of the English language! I am no opponent of this language; I read it with great pleasure; I enjoy its literature; I take delight in teaching it. English has now become a world language and it will and should continue to be used in this country. But that is no reason why it should be the medium of instruction in our educational institutions. It is the right of every child to receive education through its mother-tongue; it can only thus be properly educated. It is unfair and unnatural that he should be compelled to receive instruction through a language that is not his own. There will probably be practical difficulties in the middle schools in arranging for classes in all languages; the major provincial languages will have to be used in preference to those of smaller areas; but by then the student will have become fit both physically and mentally to bear this strain. At the University stage, too, it is desirable, as soon as may be, to use the languages of the country as media of instruction. This will add to the cost; arrangement will have to be made for the use of more than one language. Thus in the Bombay presidency, it will be necessary to have lectures in Gujrati and Marathi; in Madras, in Tamil and Telugu; in the Punjab, United Provinces and Bihar, in Hindi and Urdu. But the gain will be incalculable, alike in comprehension, thought, and expression. In order that the Universities should use these languages it is necessary that books of the highest standard should be written and published in them. How one wishes that our literary and academic institutions could abandon the barren path of controversy and concentrate on this essential work! The Gurukula has from its inception used Hindi as the medium of instruction.

Another defect in our system of education is that religion is severely excluded. In state institutions one realises that for historical reasons it was not possible to provide for religious education; but the consequence has been that for several generations Indians have grown up ignorant of and indifferent to religion. Our earlier institutions had religion as their foundation. A true knowledge of religion, acquaintance with religious truths and the history of religions, familiarity with the main tenets of the faiths of the world—all this is necessary before anyone can lead a full life. Religion is of great value in the formation of character. Many of the riddles of the universe, many of the problems of the world, religion can solve; it can destroy many undesirable tendencies in our nature. It will enable us to realise that we are part of one creation, to destroy many of our brute instincts, induce in us feelings of sympathy and piety, make us aspire to get closer to our Creator, and inspire us, by word, thought, and deed. so that we may attain the good and the true. It is gratifying that the several committees on educational reconstruction set off by organisations and states in the West have all placed the utmost stress on religious education. At the Gurukula you have adequate provision for it A truly religious person is one who is not narrow, who is tolerant, who recognises

that everyone has the right to believe in any faith that he chooses. He looks upon all as his brother.

A futher handicap from which modern centres of education suffer is that almost all of them are situated in large cities and are therefore cut off from the nerve-centre of the country—the villages. Impressive and costly buildings, comfortable and even luxurious hostels, expensive living—these have made the educated man a stranger in his own home. A person of ordinary means finds it impossible to provide for the education of his children. It is desirable that more and more educational institutions should be started in the villages, so that they may not be alienated from the life of the people.

What should be the aim of education ? Why do your teachers teach you ? Why are you here ? Do you ever ask yourselves what your education is intended to do for you ? According to our traditional view, education is intended to produce piety and sense of reverence ; to train the intellect and memory ; to make one fit to have healthy progeny ; to enable one to gather riches ; to make one long-lived ; and to bring immortality within reach, Filial devotion, modesty, freedom from conceit, sense of discrimination, the building-up of a healthy body, purity of character—these also education should seek to produce. Knowledge for the attainment of wisdom and not for mere word-chopping ; wealth not for luxury and comfort, but for relieving the distress of others ; power not for domination but for helping the weak—these ought to be one's objectives. It is not necessary to come to a University if your sole aim is the amassing of wealth. It is not necessary to come here if you are to spend all your time in the contemplation of life after death. Nor is it necessary for you to be here if you are only interested in your physical development. You are here because after your training is over your face should glow with health and with the radiance of a blameless character, your mind should be filled with the determination of being socially useful, your intellect should be able to distinguish between right and wrong, good and evil, your body should have strength to prevent iniquity, and your heart should arise in adoration of the Creator. In the *Chhandogyopanishad* we are told of Narada who, on approaching Sanatkumara for further instruction, said that he had studied the Vedas, had acquired a knowledge of the stars, had been trained in mathematics and biology, in serpent-lore, in the science and art of offence and defence, in astronomy, in the fine arts. About twelve hundred years ago, Bana, in his *Kadambari*, while describing the education of Prince Chandrapida, says that he had acquired proficiency in language, in logic, in ritual and religion, in the science of administration, in physical feats, in archery and swordsmanship, in chariotery, in horsemanship and management of elephants, in music and musical instruments, in dancing and dramaturgy, in the understanding of omens and prognostications, in the testing of gems, in architecture, in the use of medicines, in the digging of mines, in history and legend and poetry, in various scripts and languages. What a comprehensive scheme of education, designed to train all one's faculties and turn out a young man with a really liberal and many-sided education !

Graduates of the Gurukula, you are children of this land and by your conduct you should prove yourselves worthy to be called Aryas. From our books we can gather what qualities one has the right to expect in Aryan youths. Remember Devavrata, the son of Shantanu, taking the vow of perpetual bachelorhood, sacrificing his worldly prospects for ensuring his father's happiness, living so that all, friends and opponents, came to him for precept and guidance, fighting for his King with such valour as to compel Krishna to break his vow of not using arms in the Great War. His is a noble example of one who never swerved from the path of duty. Remember Rama, heir to the throne of Ayodhya, willingly going on twelve years' exile, suffering every kind of hardship, bearing troubles with unexampled fortitude, enduring separation from Sita. He defeats Ravana and returns victorious to Ayodhya, but pain and suffering are still his lot, and in order to satisfy his subjects has to part with Sita again. In the fulfilment of his duty he has to undergo so much suffering that pain seems his sole portion in life. But he remains the embodiment of ideal manhood. Remember Bharata and Lakshmana who represent ideal brotherly love. Remember Harishchandra who sacrificed everything so that his plighted word be kept. Remember Yudhishthira, who declined to enter heaven if his dog could not accompany him ; Kunala, who took out his own eyes in order to carry out his mother's wishes ; Rana Pratap, who was willing to give up his life for the sake of liberty ; Bhoja, who in his generosity gave gifts of rare magnitude to poets and scholars. They are the models by following whom you will be entitled to be called Aryas.

The world today is in a conflagration. Civilisation is in dire danger. All that we prize is at stake. Peace is far off. Intolerance, greed, anger are in the ascendancy. What is your duty in this crisis ? Firstly, that you should not forget your ideals and secondly, that for their defence you should do all in your power. If you have to take up arms, if you have to go into the field of battle, you should be ready to do so for the preservation of the ideals of civilisation. Have faith that they are necessary for the good of the world. Peace and goodwill are the watchwords of all religions, and by their establishment alone can the world march on the path of progress. The effect of your education should be to produce within you a sense of peace, of calm, freedom from fear, freedom from envy. May you have fortitude, self-control, self-discipline ; may you be truth-loving, averse from wrongdoing, and full of fellow-feeling. May your words be sweet, your conduct noble, and your desires pure !

# The Calcutta University Convocation

### Sir S. Radhakrishnan's Address

The following is the text of the address delivered by *Sir S. Radhakrishnan*, Vice-Chancellor, Benares Hindu University at the annual Convocation of the University of Calcutta on Saturday, the 4th. March 1944 :—

May I say how grateful I am to the University authorities for their kindness in asking me to speak at this Convocation ? It is a pleasure for me to repeat, on some excuse or other, my visits to this University, where I spent the best part of my life. I should have addressed this Convocation last year but an unfortunate illness stood in the way. Thanks to the kind care and attention of your Vice-Chancellor and another member of your Senate Dr. Sivapada Bhattacharya, I speedily got over it. It is indeed very kind of the University to have renewed its invitation this year and given me this opportunity.

It is my agreeable duty to offer warm greetings and good wishes to the young men and women who have had degrees conferred on them today. They are going out into the world at a very critical time which is dynamic with great possibilities. University men, along with others, have had a testing time. This province is not yet free from the effects of one of the worst famines within living memory ; the country is drifting into a broken and helpless condition and is in a mood of sour disillusion and the world convulsed with the agony of war has much fear for the future. It is my fervent hope that the education which you have received in this University and its colleges may help you to play your part effectively in the remodelling of our life and society in the years to come.

This war has exposed the weakness of our Government, our economic life, and our system of education. The death, in conditions of peace, due to famine, even if we accept the figure given by the Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons, is not essentially different from or less costly than the death of a million people in any other part of the world. If we realise what this means in terms of human suffering and sorrow, we should be filled with shame and resentment and a burning desire to wipe out the conditions which make such things possible. The British Government has not yet divested itself of its responsibility for the Government of India. The country is richly endowed by nature with manpower, skill, talent and material resources. The example of other countries demonstrates that it is possible to increase the productivity of the soil, to control unemployment and destitution, and to raise the level of life. The diminished vitality of the people who live on a bare subsistence level, with no margin at all to provide for the failure of crops and other contingencies, who are largely without education, and suffer from low standards of public health and sanitation, points to the economic and political degradation of the country. A well-planned and vigorous economic expansion, involving the introduction of modern technical and industrial methods of producing goods and services, an all out development of education and public health alone can give relief to a long-suffering people and restore national vitality. We are not revolutionary by instinct but may become so by necessity. Revolutionary plans are apt to gather force, if the general community feels that serious attempts are not made to redeem the people from conditions of poverty and squalor.

Burke said : "Revolutions are produced not by those who lack power but by those, who holding power, make bad use of it."

We require to transform the habits of people and their ways of thinking. A social revolution means an educational revolution. Education should have priority among the schemes of reconstruction now being considered. Social security, communications, health and sanitation are all important, but education which is concerned with the making of men is the most important. If we do not have the right kind of citizens none of the other schemes will work successfully. No political arrangement can enfranchise a people, no industrial expansion can enrich them, no social privileges can assist them, if we do not have men and women with free minds and upright characters. An educational system which believes in the freedom of the mind and the validity of character is the most important part of any sound national planning.

Mr. Sargent's report gives us a comprehensive scheme of education for all stages from childhood to maturity and attempts to make the educational system organic to the community. It proceeds on the principle which is accepted by all civilised governments that it is the fundamental obligation of the State to provide all its citizens with compulsory education from the age of 6 to the age of 14 at least. It makes provision for different kinds of instruction for children of different aptitudes and temperaments, and provides large scope for choice. It is a long term national enterprise and its full realisation will take at least a generation and demand the sustained efforts of the community and effective co-operation between the Government and other agencies. If India is not to lag behind other progressive countries the scheme must be put through. The usual excuse for doing nothing, poverty is urged against it. Addressing the Annual meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce in this city on the 20th December, 1943, His Excellency the Viceroy said : "I think it is clear, that from the practical point of view the full realisation of a scheme such as that outlined in the Sargent Report, must wait on other developments. India at present simply has not the money for such a scheme." How can the national wealth of the country be increased if we are not given the education which alone can equip us to increase the wealth ? The expense must be incurred and the money found. In a speech which Lord Wavell gave in London just before he left England for India to assume the Viceroyalty, he said : "It has always seemed to me a curious fact that money is forthcoming in any quantity for a war, but that no nation has ever yet produced the money on the same scale to fight the evils of peace--poverty, lack of education, unemployment, ill health." It is a pleasure to know that in his address to the Central Legislature, he remarked that "the vital matters of health and education will not be allowed to stand still." But this negative assurance is not enough. Educational expansion is the foundation of all reconstruction and the money for it must be found.

An Indian Government with the confidence of the people will be able to raise the sums essential for the national effort of educational and industrial expansion. The Viceroy tells us that the present Government of India is "mainly an Indian Government". The presence of a number of eminent Indians does not make the Government a national one. Who lays down the policy ? Who wields the power ? The Viceroy stated that the aim of His Majesty's Government is to see India a united country, enjoying complete and unqualified self-government as a willing partner of the British Commonwealth. But a mere declaration of principle does not right a wrong. We sometimes belive that when a thing has been said it has been done. The complacency with which the British Government falls back on the disagreements among Indians is a distressing feature. Speaking at the East India Association Lord Erskine said : "Parliament is responsible for the good government of the Indian Empire and it would be a betrayal of our trust were we to allaw the difficulties of the situation to turn us from our declared purpose of leading the Indian peoples to full self-government." Surely if the difficulties do not embarass the Government in the effective prosecution of the war with this province as the chief base for operations against Japan, are they so formidable as to prevent the establishment of a national Government in India, with effective safeguards during the period of the War ? We do not deny that the progressive forces of the country spar between themselves for shadowy differences in ideals and they lose the benefits which might be won for the people by concerted action, but is co-operation among the parties facilitated by the helpful action of the Government ? The world looks upon India as the supreme test of British statesmanship and sincerity of purpose. The best answer to the Nazis is to stand up and perform according to the ideals we profess. The problem will become acute at the end of the war if full self-

government is not established by them. There are nearly two millions Indians in the fighting services with over 9,000 officers and another six millions are engaged in factories doing war work. Thousands are being trained as officers for the fighting services. They are getting into contact with the soldiers of Allied nations and are being imbued with the ideals of liberty and humanity, and when they return they should not be faced with bitterness and disillusion.

India is not indifferent to the issues of this war, notwithstanding her political differences with Great Britain. The ultimate issue of this war is not properly defined as a conflict between rival imperialisms due to the clash of economic interests between the Haves and the Havenots among the nations. It is not a conflict between rival forms of government, a duel between democracies and dictatorships. With Russia among the Allies such a claim cannot be sustained. It is really a conflict between the future and the past, between international order and justice and international anarchy and injustice. India knows that the victory of the Axis powers will mean fear and death and the destruction of all values, moral, cultural and social while the victory of the Allies has possibilities of hope and life. Millions in the flower of their youth have given up and are giving up happiness, health and life itself, they are suffering the pangs of separation from their homes, discomfort, exposure, torture in order that the world may be a better, kinder and juster place than it has been. While the phrases of Stalin's declarations, the Atlantic Charter and Roosevelt's proclamations about the four freedoms raise high hopes, the performances of the Allies do not measure up to the professions. The greatest surprise of the war has been Russia's heroic resistance to Nazi aggression but what will be the contribution to peace of a Russia which has grown nationalistic in sentiment, orthodox in religion and somewhat indifferent to the victory of the Proletarian revolution? The recent declaration of autonomy for the sixteen Soviet Republics, which will have their own armies and foreign representatives, is interpreted by some as an excuse, if not a justification, for annexing invaded countries without protest from their peoples and the Allied nations. I very much hope that this view is a misjudgment. What will be the attitude of America's Big Business? Will Mr. Churchill who is so insistent on preserving "traditional Britain" help to remove the fear of war from the heart of humanity? Even while we are marching towards victory, there are grave anxieties on the political field and many suspect that the war is once again yielding to its inherent cruelty and narrowness of vision. War exerts a constant lowering pressure on our ideals and makes us ignore them in practice. There is a tendency to fall back into the old system of power politics, aggressive alliances and rival imperialisms. Among the masses there is a deep sense that with victory will come disillusion. The Archbishop of Canterbury said on the 23rd of March, 1943, "Horrible as it is, we have to realise that multitudes of our people actually fear the return of peace more than the continuance of war." Think of that. If the military victory is to be followed by a post-war period of noble professions and craven deeds, as it happened in the last war, the enormous price we pay for it will be paid in vain and it will be a sacrifice of the best for the worst.

If this war which has no boundaries except those which God in His mercy has given to the world, results in a close searching of hearts, if it ends not only in a victory over the external enemies but over inner sloth, slackness and selfishness, it will mean a new dawn for mankind. We must be cured of our dangerous obsessions and distorted views. The forces that are to renew the face of the earth must spring from men's hearts. Deliverance does not come from outside. The sword can impose it but cannot develop it. We must learn the lesson that all mankind is one. The oppression, persecution of any race wounds and menaces all. Another country's distress or discontent is our country's danger. We must become great of soul and rid ourselves of race prejudice and love of power. The Atlantic Charter asks us to work for "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." Such faith is vain without works and works require that we should rid ourselves of the obsessions which are inadequate to the changing conditions of life. Our minds must be lifted out of the ruts of past habit. Only then can we build up a great human society fostering and developing the cultural resources of the different peoples. Wendell L. Wilke observes: "Brilliant victories in the field will not win for us this war now going on in the far reaches of the world: only new men and new ideas in the machinery of our relations with the peoples of the East

can win the victory without which any peace will be only another armistice." All our hopes will be frustrated if the statesmen who will work at the peace conference are not inspired by a spiritual purpose and love for the common man.

The world crisis is only superficially economic and political, it is essentially moral and spiritual. War is a symptom, not a disease. It can be removed only by curing the spiritual condition of society. 'Without virtue," Aristotle said, "man is merely the most dangerous of the animals." By calling on men to be better, we cannot make them better. Through schools and colleges, through the social and political institutions they must be moulded into proper shape, and made new. The Nazi and the Bolshevist systems of education have been largely successful in engendering a radically new type of man. Education is the means to it. The world crisis means that there is a demand for a revision of aims. Sir Richard Livingstone in his work on the *Future in Education* sets forth admirably the nature of the present crisis: "Our present situation reveals the great need of the world. If the conventional stranger from Mars arrived in Europe this moment—after a journey through the air more hazardous than usual—he would not so much be surprised by the fact that a war is in progress, for war unfortunately is nothing new, but he would be struck by something far more serious, by the appearance of a new philosophy of life." He refers to the disappearance of moral and religious ideas of liberty, justice, mercy and truth which have helped us to tame barbarism. The essential aim of education, according to the ancient Indians and Greeks is initiation into the higher life of spirit. It is to be reborn. The whole soul must be turned round towards the light, Plato tells us, so that its eye may receive the truth. Only then can we have the right outlook on life. Where there is no vision, the people perish; for lack of restraint, the rule of law lapses and the community falls into chaos. While the power of controlling the forces of nature has increased enormously, our power to control human nature has scarcely advanced. In science and technology we have made tremendous progress but all these forms of progress do not relieve man of his burden of the inner world. The external march of things does not alter the inward struggle. The mechanical devices and even psychological techniques do not touch the inner deeps. A pride in our own past has been our chief defect. A little humility will do us great good. Humility, it is said, is to know the truth about oneself. We must face the naked truth that we are prone to put the interest of our family or groups higher than those of the general country. We are inclined to exaggerate our own wrongs and secure our interests at the expense of other people. "Bear ye one another's burden" is spoken of nations as of individuals. True greatness is a quality of soul; it is humanity. The truly educated are those who are their own masters, whose minds do not fall an easy prey to half-truths, prejudices or interested propaganda, who have enough poise to distinguish between a rational argument and a mass appeal to passion. In a University we are members of a great company by whose law of compassion and justice we are protected and bound. *Dharmo raksati raksitah.* We should strive after a purified and ennobled patriotism which will disdain to use wrong methods even for saving a nation.

What makes a nation is not race or religion but a way of life. India is not a geographical expression, nor is it a collection of individuals. It is a tradition, an order of thought and manners, a loyalty to certain fundamental values, fostered by all races and religions which have found a home in this land. We should not be seduced from adherence to these great values by the bribes of comfort or pleasure. In a rapidly changing world, it is not easy to think or speak of things which do not change, the foundation of the good in us, the faith in spirit, the beauty of action and the endurance of life's charges. But ultimately, these are the forces which will forge the future of humanity. We cannot fight against the gods, India cannot and has no desire to lead the world by virtue of her military strength or industrial efficiency. Nations hereafter must think less about dominance and more about service and we believe that India and China have a special contribution to make in a period of political and social reconstruction. If you are to write with honour a new chapter in our history, you must develop respect for those values which are neither national nor international but universal. The future of humanity is bound up with the regeneration of the deeper foundations without which no political structure can last and the growth of a new loyalty to the world-community. India's present condition is a challenge and an opportunity. It is my hope and faith that you shall not be found lacking in vision, courage and strength to meet that challenge and use that opportunity.

## Dr. B. C. Roy's Address

What form of educational development post-war India ought to have was indicated by Dr. *Bidhan Chandra Roy*, Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, in his address to the Convocation,

"This University," Dr. Roy said, is to-day the biggest in the world in point of numbers; our activities are manifold. I am now ready with a scheme for Post-Graduate studies in Medicine and very soon we hope to have similar arrangements for the Department of Engineering. In my opinion this is as it should be; the number of subjects, for the teaching of which the University should, directly or indirectly, take responsibilities, would increase simultaneously with the increased interests of the students and the public in the various departments of Arts and Science. If the University is to function effectively in a democratic world, it has to keep pace with the growth of ideals and concepts regarding the value of Education and functions of an educational institution.

There are, however, two difficulties in our way. Firstly, any expansion in Post-Graduate Departments necessarily implies increasing provision of funds. Large benefactions have come in for the purpose from private parties, Government also have provided funds, but the bulk of the expenditure in the Post-Graduate Departments comes from the fees of candidates for the different examinations. Critics have commented of this procedure and one may be inclined to agree; but the grim fact remains that money is needed—much more than the donors and Government have contributed. Secondly, the work of the University has become so huge and complex that one feels that the time has come when it should be relieved of the burden of conducting the Matriculation examination and all it signifies. The Calcutta University has repeatedly expressed its opinion that it would welcome any move for the establishment of a body to control education up to the Matriculation standard and to conduct this examination, provided the financial losses of the University, out of such transfer of functions, are arranged for; and provided further, that the University has—as it must—an effective voice in regulating the type of education and the standard of examination which the newly created Body would provide for the candidates for the Matriculation examination. This is necessary because the University should be assured that a student, when he is admitted to the University courses, possesses the requisite standard of knowledge to follow the lectures intelligently in the College classes and profit by them.

I understand that a Government Bill for the establishment of a Board of Secondary Education in Bengal has passed through the Committee stage, without the University even getting an opportunity of considering this Bill to find out if it is a suitable one from the general academic and the Calcutta University points of view. I hope and trust that the Bill will not be allowed to become an Act, without such an opportunity being afforded to us to consider its provisions. As I said last year, no academic measure should be made the bagatelle of political parties and their proclivities; it should be tested to find out how far it would satisfy the educational needs of the province and its people.

### Future Educational Needs

"Talking of our future educational needs," Dr. Roy contiuued, I cannot refrain from referring to the present times. The world is witnessing to-day the progress of totalitarian war—a war not merely of individuals, nations or races but a war which is a clash of ideals, a war waged to find out which concept would be acceptable to the future dwellers of this planet. Every proposal which affects the activities of humankind, be they big or small, has to be examined on the basis of the prevailing acceptable concept. Even before the war, there was a dissatisfaction, all the world over, with the conventional educational methods. In this country also, we are aware of the same popular discontent with our educational systems. Moreover, even this system has been insufficiently provided for and indifferently worked. In spite of the fact that some educational plan has been followed in the country for nearly 80 years, in spite of the growth and multiplication of institutions to provide training to our children and our youug men, we have to sorrowfully admit that to-day, only 10 per cent of the people are literate, that this literacy often tends to sink into illiteracy, that the nature and quality of education provided for our children do not satisfy their lives' requirements, that the teachers themselves are ill-trained, ill-paid and ill-equipped to guide and instruct our boys and girls, that there is a big hiatus between the instruction given and the subsequent

use that the students make of it. It is obvious that Education, if it is to be useful, should be more vocational and therefore utilitarian in character.

National Education must mean the reorientation of our fundamental concept of human existence, on the basis of which the superstructure or reconstruction can be erected ; it must mean improved type of teachers and if it is to be compulsory, free and universal, it must entail the expenditure of increasing sums of money.

We hear of Post-War Reconstruction in all spheres of life. I believe that in the future world-to-be, Education will have to be based either on the ideology of those who maintain that the State is everything, the individual is nothing, and according to which Education is conducted on a plan, with a realistic out-look, outlined by the Dictators of the totalitarian states ; or that Education will be based on the theory that every individual is free—free to think, free to teach, free to learn, free to sift evidence and facts, draw tentative conclusions, remain alert for additional information and revise conclusions in the light of new findings : he should be able to think constructively about the world around him. This, in the ultimate analysis, should be the attitude of the modern youth, because he is infected by the great ideals of democracy, which are contained in the words "Life, Liberty and pursuit of Happiness" Such a youth is not satisfied with the old type, the time-worn conventional planned syllabus of Education.

Teachers who prescribed these syllabuses are daily confronted with the following question from the students. "Why should I do this ?" Possibly three decades ago, the pupils were docile or had sufficient faith in their teachers or could bridge the gulf between the things they were studying aad their possible usefulness in practical life a few years hence. Possibly there was a time when the teachers could, with some accuracy, predict the knowledge and skill which their pupils would need when they entered the world and the teachers could then provide for them. But in this complex world of to-day, neither an Aristotle can claim to be acquainted with all existing knowledge, nor could a King of Portugal publish a compendium of human knowledge in one volume.

"Hence", the Vice-Chancellor pointed out, "the present educational system, which takes no count of the pupil and the environments he grows in, is a misfit ; such an education will not provide the knowledge, the acquisition of which is the objective of Education."

"The learning process may be compared to a pyramid, the base of which is composed of facts. No worthwhile learning can take place without them. But facts are important not as an end in themselves, but in what we do with them. We must use facts in thinking situations, and the ultimate purpose of massing facts together in thought-situations, is to develop the correct attitude, which is the apex of the pyramid ; we cannot hope to get the right attitude unless we think straight with right facts. In appraising these facts, we find that the present type of Education has no relationship to the fundamental needs and the basic social structure of the community to which the pupil belongs. It is absurd to consider that rural education should follow urban models or that a girls' school should follow the same syllabus as a boys' school. Every school therefore should survey the neighbourhood and the type of students it caters for ; the curriculum should be founded on the local needs so that the children of the agriculturist, the artisan, the blacksmith, and the carpenter become better suited to their vocations in life, and so that the limitations of their parents do not hamper them. The job of the school is to get boys to farm more intelligently than their fathers, or to get young women to learn how to tend their babies, cook their food, keep their houses more intelligently and with a more scientific grasp than their mothers.

## H. E. The Governor's Address

Speaking at what he termed "almost my first public function", the annual convocation of the Calcutta University, the Chancellor, Mr. *R. G. Casey* exhorted the youth to work together in this period of stress and trial so that they might forward what should be the aim of all decent men—that of ensuring that, each year they might be able to improve the lot of the ordinary man. His Excellency observed : To-day I will not dwell long on the larger aspects of education and the peculiarly difficult problems with which it is confronted in Bengal and in India. But I feel that in the course of the last few years things that previously moved slowly have, strangely enough, been given sudden impetus by the war. I say strangely because war would not appear to be the friend of education. However the war has brought home to us, more clearly perhaps than any other of its lessons, the real need for a sound and constructive educational policy.

I think it witness of this fact that, during the war, so much thought has been directed to the educational field. I need only remind you of the Sargent Report on Education in India, the Secondary Education Bill in Bengal, the primary education scheme, and the scheme for post-war education in the United Kingdom.

Education on sound and constructive lines means, in my opinion, not only the development of technical ability—or even of scholarly attainment—it means the development of an attitude of mind, a mental outlook, favourable to the development of civilised democratic life.

We have long known that in Germany education even under Nazi tyranny, with its absurd racial dogmas, reached a high technical level: so also, but in lesser degree, in Japan. But clearly education in these countries has not fitted their peoples to take an honourable part in the civilised community of nations: Therefore I think that education does not realise itself to the full unless it emphasises such requirements of civilised social behaviour as fraternity, tolerance and sound cultural back-ground.

In other words, I suggest that in the long view we come back to the old definition of education being that something which remains after we have forgotten that we have learnt. It is that indefinable something, that particular attitude of mind or mental outlook which remains and which should be our greatest strength and an enrichment of the life of the community.

I notice from the remarks of the Vice-Chancellor that the numbers presenting themselves for education in the law are declining and that the Sciences are on the up-grade. Speaking as one whose own training was on the scientific side, I cannot find myself down-hearted at this trend.

In this same regard, I share the Vice-Chancellor's views as to the linking up of science and industry, and of science and agriculture. I know no better investment for a Government or a people than that of the application of science to the solution of the problems of industry and of agriculture. The improvement of techniques, the elimination of pests, the improvement in quality of production bring large and continuing dividends to those who have the foresight steadily to pursue the application of science and research to the principal industries that go to make up the life of a people.

I have listened with interest to the description which you, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, have given of the development of the Indian Air Force Training Corps Classes. There is no doubt whatsoever that the astonishing impetus which the war has given to the development of our command of the air will lead after the war to the greatly increased extension of air transport.

As we all know, the Indian Air Force has an important part to play in the war; its expansion, already rapid, will certainly continue. In this lies a great opportunity for the educated youth of Bengal to take an outstanding place for themselves in the forces, and at the same time to fit themselves for careers in what will undoubtedly be the widely expanding business of post-war civil aviation. I have no doubt that many of you will seize the unique opportunities that are now presented to you in this regard.

The past year has been a bad one for Bengal. Reading a report the other day I was struck by this sentence: "All the four horsemen of the Apocalypse, war, famine, pestilence and death, have ridden hard over the plains of Bengal". Famine, pestilence and death have ridden—and we must and will stop them from riding again. The fourth horseman—war—has been held in check by the determination and valour of our fighting forces among which those of India have played so notable a part.

However, although this Province has mercifully escaped becoming a battle ground, it is war which is at the root of our troubles; but as the prospect of victory becomes increasingly brighter and nearer—and simultaneously as our administrative resources directed against scarcity and disease become increasingly effective, I feel that we may reasonably and confidently look forward to our final and speedy release from the shadows which have darkened the last year.

Looking back on the course of history I suggest that it is possible to pick out certain periods, some fairly long, some very short, during which the current of human affairs has seemed to flow more swiftly, more deeply and with more determined direction than at others. There have been such periods in the history of India—as you know better than I. I feel that in this our present decade we are in one of these rare periods of what I may call concentrated significance.

# India in Parliament

## House of Commons—London—18th. April 1944

### Amery attacks Congress

Mr. *Amery* told Parliament to-day that the whole campaign for creating mass sabotage and for paralysing the activities of the Government of India was almost certainly one for which the Congress leaders were responsible. Mr. Amery was speaking during a short debate on the subject of India and Burma Orders which had already been approved by the House of Lords. The Commons adopted these motions after a short and spirited debate.

Mr. *Amery* began by explaining that under the Act of 1935 he was empowered by proclamation to take any or all functions of Government of certain Indian Provinces if the Governor of a Province found that Parliamentary Government in accordance with the provisions of the Act could not be carried on. He added : "That situation arose in October 1939 when the so-called High Command of the Congress Party ordered the Congress Ministries in eight Indian Provinces to resign their functions in order, in particular, to embarrass the general conduct of the Government of India and also to make it clear that that they were dissociating themselves with responsibility for co-operating in the conduct of the war."

After saying that the resolutions affected only five of the eleven Provinces in British India and paying a tribute to the war effort and co-operation in the maintenance of law and order of the other self-governing Provinces, Mr. Amery declared, "I think it essential for the House to remember that when those very grave disturbances which were instigated by the Congress occurred in the Autumn of 1942 they were dealt with effectively in these Provinces not by the Central Government, but by the Provincial authorities."

When Mr. *Sorensen* (Labour) asked if Mr. *Amery* really suggested that these regrettable affairs were actually instigated by the Congress, Mr. Amery replied, "Oh yes, most certainly. The whole campaign for creating mass sabotage and for paralysing the activities of the Government of India was almost certainly one for which the Congress leaders were responsible.

### Resignation of Congress Ministries

Mr. *Amery* regretted that opportunities for developing the tradition and experience of self-government had been denied to other Provinces though not through the British, the Central or the Provincial Governments concerned. When parliamentary government was stopped in those Provinces by the order of the Congress High Command, there was no kind of deadlock or difficulty occurring within these parliaments or in the relations of the Ministries to the Governments. To the best of his information the Ministers concerned were reluctant to have to resign in obedience to the orders from without. "I do not think anybody can, therefore, describe the action of the Congress Party as an implementation of democracy. On the contrary, it seems to me to have been a clear assertion of totalitarian principles against democtacy in the field of Provincial Government. Since then there has been no change in the political situation so far as that is concerned. Every opportunity during the next three years was given to the Congress leaders to come to some compromise or understanding both with the Government and, what is no less important, with other important elements in India itself. But none of these opportunities was taken advantage of." Mr. Amery mentioned the Cripps declaration which, he said, if accepted, would automatically have involved the resumption of parliamentary self-government in all Provinces. "Unfortunately the Congress did not see their way to accept those very generous proposals, proposals, which, I might add, still stand, in what the Prime Minister described as their whole scope and integrity and are indeed still, as the Viceroy reminded the Indian Assembly, only a few weeks ago, an essential part of the policy of the British Government." Nothing, however, that the Congress leaders have done would suggest a desire or disposition for a change.

Mr. *Amery* added : "I think it is obvious that those who consistenly took up an attitude definitely allied to those grave and tragic disturbances of 1942, disturbances which might very well have endangered the whole fate of India in the face of imminent Japanese invasion.....

Here Mr. *Amery* was interrupted by Mr. *Cove* (Labour).

"A WIDE AND CONTENTIOUS STATEMENT"

Mr. *Cove* protested that Mr. *Amery* was making a very wide and contentious statement at a time when opportunities of discussing an issue of this magnitude were curtailed.

The *Speaker* of the House suggested that the debate should, if possible, be confined to the resolutions. The general situation could be left over until another opportunity. 'We don't want to discuss the general situation of India to-night", the Speaker declared, adding, "I think Mr. Amery is following a wise course if he says we should have a full day for a debate on India."

Mr. *Amery* said he thought it was necessary to remind the House that the situation which led to the proclamations originally has not altered and that difficulties in the way of resumption of self-government in those provinces still continued. "The door of course is always open not only as a matter of goodwill on the part of the Governors concerned, but as a matter of constitutional duty and obligation on their part, because, if at any time it should appear to the Governor that there are prospects of sufficient Parliamentary support for a stable Ministry in any Province, it would be his duty to summon those capable of forming the Ministry and therefore, bringing back resumption of Parliammetary government. That situation has unfortunately not arisen.

Mr. *Amery* said: "Therefore very reluctantly we are compelled for another twelve months or at any rate for the time being to ask for the promulgation of these resolutions. I hope therefore, that on the understanding that there is to be a full debate in which broad constitutional issues will come before the House—and I did not mean to raise a controversial spirit just now—we may get through these resolutions without undue delay."

"MOST PROVOCATIVE SPEECH"

Mr. *Pethick Lawrence* (Labour) thought Government and Mr. *Amery* had handled the matter in about the worst possible way he could imagine. He said Mr. Amery had made one of the most provocative speeches on the Indian situation he had ever had the misfortune to listen to in the House (cry of nonsense). Speaking with some heat, Mr. *Lawrence* added: "If Mr. Amery does not realise his speech as controversial and if his friends sitting beside him do not realise it, that completely convinces me he is totally unfit for the position he holds in Government. I say that after very great consideration because the fact that Mr. Amery does not realise that things which he has been saying are controversial and likely to arouse fierce feeling in India only proves he does not understand the psychological reactions which lie behind this tragedy which is going on at the present time."

Mr. *Godfrey Nicholson* (Conservative) energetically criticised Mr. Lawrence's remarks which he described as astounding. "I am sure he will regret the violent attack he made on Mr. Amery (cries of yes and no). I challenge him to say what Mr. Amery said which departed from a bare statement of fact—he cannot answer."

Mr. *Lawrence* replied that Mr. Amery's whole speech was based upon attacking Congress leaders which was unhelpful.

Mr. *Nicholson*: It was a plain statement of the actions of Congress; if that is an attack on Congress. Congress is responsible for that, Mr. Nicholson who paid a warm tribute to Mr. Amery said: "I feel in such extraordinary bad temper about it that I shall not say any more."

Mr. *Sorensen* said he entirely disagreed that the disturbances were instigated by Congress. There was no evidence that they were. He described Mr. Amery's remarks about totalitarianism in the Indian Congress as flagrantly contentious.

Mr. Sorensen said that whatever one thought of Congress it was a shocking state of affairs that for the third time in five out of eleven provinces in British India, including the most important provinces of Madras and Bombay, the House was to accept what virtually was despotic Government at a time when the Allies were waging a prolonged war for the reverse principles.

"A NEW SPIRIT NEEDED"

Mr. *Graham White* (Liberal) hoped an effort would be made to escape from the chains which bound Indian discussions in the Commons. "We need a new outlook and a new spirit. In the forthcoming debate, I hope we shall escape from the shadows of the past" he declared.

Mr. *Harvey* (Independent) supported Mr. Graham White in this.

Mr. *Graham White* said Mr. Amery's speech was not one of a tyrant. If he wanted to impose alien rule on India he would not have introduced these provisions

"very reluctantly", Mr. Amery, he said, had re-emphasised Sir *S. Cripps* great offer. "That is a great thing we cannot re-emphasise too much," he declared.

Replying to the debate Mr. *Amery* said, "I would like to echo the appeal made by Mr. Graham White that when we come to a full discussion of these matters, we should look less to what he truly called threadbare discussions of the past than to the immense opportunities and possibilities which the future will bring to India."

Five Orders relating to the India and Burma Orders were approved by the House. Mr. Amery agreed with several members that the subject of Burma deserved more attention of the House than hitherto. He associated himself with their request which would have to be made to the proper quarters that part of a day should be devoted to the debate on Burma.

**Lords Pass Resolutions**

The *Lords* to-day formally passed without discussion five resolutions approving the continuance in force for a further 12 months, the proclamations issued under Section 93 of the Government of India Act in respect of the Provinces of Madras, Bombay, the United Provinces, the Central Provinces and Bihar and also a resolution approving similar continuance of the proclamation issued under section 139 of the Government of Burma Act.

The *Earl of Munster*, Under-Secretary for India and Burma, in moving the five resolutions said, "I understand that the noble Lords do not press for a discussion of these resolutions to-day. However, Labour peers have intimated to me that while prepared to let the resolutions passed without discussion they will do it on the understanding that, if a debate is called for during the summer months on Indian matters, Government will be prepared for such a discussion. I need hardly say that we are prepared to fall in with the views which have been expressed to me privately".

## House of Commons—London—21st. and 22nd. April 1944

**Debate on Dominion Affairs**

The House of Commons to-day discussed the future relations between Great Britain and the Dominions—a debate which has added interested in view of the forthcoming conference of Dominions Prime Ministers. The debate which was continued on the next day was regarded as an useful preliminary hearing which might assist the British Government in the presentation of their views to the Dominions leader. To-day's sitting was devoted to the economic aspects of post-war Commonwealth co-operation and unity.

There was a large attendance including Mr. *Churchill*, Mr. *Attlee* and Mr. *Amery* when Mr. *Emmanuel Shinwell* (Labour) moved. "That the United Kingdom should do its utmost by close co-operation and regard for different points of view of the nations of the Commonwealth to preserve in time of peace, the unity of purpose and sentiment which has held them together during the time of war".

Mr. *Shinwell* said that Britain's purpose was to raise the standard of life for all elements within the Empire whether they were black or white. "It has become fashionable in certain quarters to indulge in sneers at the British Empire. I readily admit that in the past mistakes were made. Our treatment of native peoples was not without blemish. Perhaps here and there our administration was far from perfect, but it does not lie in the mouths or other nations and other peoples to indulge in derogatory terms regarding our administration until they put their own house in order (Hear, hear). There was the native problem within the British Commonwealth of Nations. The United States had the Negro problem. In the sphere of acquisition of territory, even our friends of Soviet Russia, for sound and proper purposes in order to safeguard themselves against possible aggression in future, had sought to exercise—he put it no higher than that—protectorates for the defence of their territories.

After urging immediate inquiry into the possibilities of post-war expansion in the Dominions, India and the colonies including financial implications, Mr. Shinwell added: "The people of this country do not want a sham Empire but a real Empire and are heart and soul with those throughout the Empire who are anxious to promote a higher standard of life on the basis of economic expansion. But they must be prepared for certain sacrifices and I suggest as one that we should from accumulated national savings invest a large proportion of these savings in those Empire countries which need them, particularly colonies, and that it would be much better to invest savings throughout the Empire than to invest them in South American countries from which in the long run we gather very little return",

### Indian Problem Economic

Turning to India, Mr. *Shinwell* said : "It seems to me that the problem confronting us there and which confronts the people of India is more an economic problem than a political one. After all, what does it matter about Hindus and Moslems, if you can raise the standard of life of the 400 million in that country ? By raising the standard of life of those 400 million, not only have we accomplished something that is worthy and desirable for those people, but we have provided ourselves with extensive markets, and indeed extensive markets for the whole of the Empire countries".

### Answer to U. S. Criticisms

Mr. Shinwell added that there was nothing exclusive about this and nothing hostile to other countries associated with Britain. Referring to American and other comment on the British Empire, Mr. Shinwell said, I "propose to speak blunt, but I hope with courtesy to the peoples of the United States and elsewhere." Mr. Shinwell said he occasionally found himself in disagreement with the Prime Minister. "But I am in hearty accord with the view he expressed some time ago on the subject of the suggested liquidation of the Empire" (cheers). "We have no intention, anyone of us, of throwing the British Commonwealth of Nations overboard to satisfy a section of the American Press or indeed anyone else," declared Mr. Shinwell amid cheers.

On the subject of war organisation which he understood would be under review at the coming conference of Dominion Prime Ministers in London, Mr. Shinwell said : "It is important to vanquish the enemy in the Pacific as it is to destroy the enemy in Europe (cheers). This is a total war. We cannot engage in hostilities on a piecemeal basis and it would afford poor consolation to our friends in Australia and New Zealand, if having vanquished the enemy in Europe, they find themselves in a precarious plight because we had not taken adequate steps for their protection in that theatre of war."

After stating that the call for closer Empire co-ordination had not come from Britain in recent times but emanated from Australia and Canada, Mr. Shinwell said : "Therefore there can be no question of domination by the motherland. In a free and independent and co-operative commonwealth such as we envisage, all parties without exception and not on the basis of population alone, must have the right and privilege, in relation to the affairs of the Empire as a whole, of conserving to themselves those privileges which in fact belong to the States of the United States or the States of Soviet Russia."

### Empire Markets for Britain

Regarding the post-war economic position, Mr. Shinwell said that facts had to be faced. Unless this was done on the basis of enlightened self-interest by the Commonwealth, not only would Britain's plight be precarious but that of the Dominions would be more precarious still. The great problem was one of markets and he hoped that this would be discussed at the Prime Ministers' conference. Mr. Shinwell did not believe that secondary industries in the Dominions would harm British industry. Mr. Shinwell added : "There is a strong case in relation to Empire collaboration, particularly in the economic sphere for the bringing of the whole of the Empire countries into the picture and allowing them to exercise something in the nature of supervision over the whole of the Empire countries including colonies.....There should be established an economic council for the whole Empire which can consider first of all an inventory of Empire resources and what the Empire has at its disposal in raw material, land, fertility and all the rest. It is a task which should be undertaken almost at once."

On defence, Mr. Shinwell said that if the Empire countries 20 years before this war had collaborated for defence, it was very doubtful the war would have occurred. Mr. Shinwell ended by asking whether all these problems would be dealt with independently or would the task be undertaken in co-operation. The answer must come from the Dominions. If they preferred co-operation and recognised that although there were virtues in independence, some renunciation of sovereignty were to the advantage of the whole Empire and subsequently to the whole world it would profoundly affect the fate not only of Britain and the Empire but the world at large.

Mr. Shinwell said that Britain should avail herself of economic possibilities within the vast Empire market. The problem for America after the war would be how to dispose of surplus products. Was she to find markets "in our market ?" There were sections in the United States who would like to make an agreement

with the Dominions one by one. Mr. Shinwell regarded that as disastrous for Britain and the Dominions.

### IMPERIAL PREFERENCE MUST BE MODERNISHED

*Sir Alfred Belt* (Conservative) suggested that development and modernisation of Imperial preference was one of the factors which would contribute towards the unity of the British Empire as also the expansion of the sterling area in the economic sphere if the negotiations going on in Washington did not bring about a world trading area.

### DOMINIONS' FEARS SHOULD BE ALLAYED

Mr. *Vernon Bartlett* (Independent) said that Dominions were still worried and frightened by the idea that Britain was trying to impose upon them some limitation of their independence and sovereignty. They did not want the United Kingdom to have so predominant a voice in their affairs. Changes in the Commonwealth machinery and development were desirable and necessary. Mr. Bartlett thought that the more Britain looked upon itself as one of the Dominions on an equal footing with the other Dominions the better. He suggested the abolition of the Dominions Office and replacement of the existing High Commissioners by Ambassadors. It would then be easier to replace the present officials by some permanent secretariat with personnel recruited from Britain, the Dominions and some colonies. Mr. Bartlett declared that the Commonwealth must not become a bloc of states in rivalry to the Soviet Union, the United States or any other great power that might arise.

Mr. *Spearman* (Conservative) said that they should not let a rigid adherence to Imperial preference stand in the way of world prosperity. He was in favour of the Empire co-operating with the United States in a multilatoral currency plan.

### A COMMON EMPIRE BROADCASTING POLICY NEEDED

Mr. *Edgar Granville* (Independent) said that Australia, Canada, India, South Africa and the Middle-East had all now in some form or another begun the process of building up war industries and a committee of Imperial defence of the future would have to give a great deal of its time not to ordinary strategy but industrial strategy throughout the Commonwealth. Mr. Granville hoped that the meeting of Dominion Prime Ministers would consider the suggestion that a Commonwealth Development Air Board would be set up in order to plan Empire routes for civil aviation. He also hoped that they would consider the whole question of Empire broadcasting. There should be a correlated Empire broadcasting policy.

### GOVT. ACCEPTS MOTION

Accepting the motion on behalf of Government, Mr. *Hugh Dalton*, Minister for Trade, said that Government would not take final decisions on any matters discussed to-day until after there had been an opportunity of discussing them with the Dominion Governments representatives. "We shall seek to achieve, in respect of all matters referred to a united Empire policy in peace as we have achieved it in war."

Dealing generally with economic purposes, Mr. *Dalton* said : "We must aim at achieving full employment in each part of the Empire and we must take whatever steps are necessary to bring that about—full employment and, I would add, a full standard of life. We must aim at raising the standards of life throughout the various colonial and other territories for which we are responsible and we must reap the largest possible value of beneficial exchange of goods and services throughout the world, coupled with reasonable stability of price movement." Mr. Dalton said that it was generally agreed that Imperial preference had been of quite definite advantage, both to Britain and the Dominions. "We shall—and I say this on behalf of Government—not alter any of these preferential arrangements as they now exist except after discussions with and agreement with the Dominion Governments". None the less, the Dominions would say that Britain could not seek to confine her trade within the Empire. The United States market was enormously important. With South America, Russia and China too, there were very great possibilities and there was also the continent of Europe.

Mr. Dalton said that the discussions with the Dominion Prime Ministers would be conducted in a most frank and friendly manner and no doubt certain broad conclusions would be reached.

Mr. *Churchill* replying to the debate said :—"Great as our responsibilities are, no reasonable person could expect us to solve all the problems of the world while we are fighting for our lives".

"The question before us is how can we make things better. The forces under our unity are superior to any temporary short-comings." Mr. *Churchill* said, the British Commonwealth and Empire was never more united. It would be quite easy to have meetings of Prime Ministers or Imperial Conferences every year or more often on every serious occasion when we get the times of peace and we will encourage them at any time during the period of war. It was not necessary that these meetings should always take place in London. At the end of his speech Mr. Churchill said : "When peace returns—and we should pray to God it soon may—conferences of Prime Ministers of Dominions among whom we trust India will be reckoned and with whom the colonies will be associated will become, we hope, more frequent and regular facts and festivities of our annual life."

A Common Empire Broadcasting Policy Needed

Mr. *Arthur Greenwood* (Labour) said that he thought the Conservative Party had idealised the growth of the British Empire. "They think it was a short of development of truth and beauty and we all know it was loot and booty." He said that in the past Britain had shamefully exploited the Colonial Empire. She had been a race of absentee landlords but in recent years had tried honestly and in all sincerity to develop the resources of the Colonial Empire with a view to developing the sense of independence of the colonial people.

He did not believe in the idea of an Empire Cabinet although he would welcome frequent consultations by the Prime Ministers of the Dominions on matters of major policy.

India Should be Represented at the Conference

*Sir Percy Harris* (Liberal) said that he was rather surprised at the little mention of India the previous day. Mr. *Shinwell* had said that their problems were more economic than political. "I wish that were true", commented Sir Percy Harris.

"I am sure Mr. *Amery* wishes that were true. There is a feeling in India that economic problems will not be solved until the people are provided with a Constitution. We have definitely promised that after the war India shall be a Dominion. It is a genuine promise and represents the real and sincere desire of the British people and of this House of Commons. I want to see after the war—the earlier the better—India becoming the sixth Dominion. I would like to know that in the discussions which are to take place between the Prime Ministers of the British Commonwealth, India will be represented. I understand she will be represented by at least one distinguished Indian statesman. It would be unfortuate if they were not present at these Councils because the British Commonwealth will not be complete until we have India, friendly and co-operating with us in our common problems."

Sir *Percy Harris* said that the gesture of passing the Statute of Westminster had been justified in the light of experience. He ag eed with Mr. *Vernon Bartlett's* suggestion yesterday that the Dominions Office was something of an anachronism. What was really required was some form of a Dominions Secretariat with its own civil servants, experts and trained officials from all parts of the Commonwealth.

Mr. *Wedderburn* (Conservative), a member of the British Parliamentary Delegation which recently visited China, said that he had oportunities of seeing the possibitities of economic expansion there. It would be an excellent thing to send capital exports to China but clearly there must be some limit to what Britain did. "We will not be able to scatter British capital broadcast all over the world as we did in the 10th century. We must discriminate, we must select, we must control."

Mr *Hore Belisha* advocated more non-political functional institutions such as the Middle East Supply Centre, which more effectively controlled the economic life of the Middle East than any of the separate Governments concerned except possibly two. The advantage of this functional control was that it was flexible. On this basis it was possible to achieve a closer functional union with the Empire while at the same time retaining the co-operation Britain had with other countries, notably America. "The Empire is not a sick body. It is Europe that is sick" Mr. *Hore Belisha* added.

*Captain De Chair* (Conservative) said : "We must count more heads if we are to hold our own. Whether white, brown or black they are all citizens of the Empire who owe allegiance to the King-Emperor. What part the 300 millions of India will play in the British Empire when they attain to a greater measure of Self-Government it will be rash to prophesy but we should never forget amid the babblings of party politicians in India the silent fearful tread of thos Indiane

millions who have volunteered to fight and who have fought with such valour for England in two successive wars. I have had the privilege of serving with some of them in the Middle East."

*Sir Herbert Williams* (Conservative) referring to *Sir P. Harris's* remarks about the promise of Dominion Status for India after the war said: "How can you make a Dominion of a country which will be tyrannised by the worst aristocracy in the world—the Brahmin class? You can promise anything you like; there is no one to give it to. Are you going to hand it over to the Brahmins to exploit the untouchables? Is that Dominion Status? Let us be honest about this matter. Of course the Cripps Mission failed. It was bound to fail. I rejoice it did fail because it brought the truth home to the people. How can you have a democracy handing over power to a people who are so prejudiced that if the shadow of a certain man falls over their meal it cannot be eaten?"

*Sir Percy Harris* intervening asked if *Sir Herbert Williams* was suggesting that the House proposed to go back on the offer of Dominion Status.

*Sir H. Williams*: Of course we are not going back on anything but when you say you offer something to somebody there must be somebody who can take delivery.

*Earl Winterton* (Conservative) referred to the criticisms in the United States about the treatment of Indians and native people in British colonies. He said, if people in the United States thought it right to interest themselves in indigenous races it would be only proper for Britain to say that she claimed the same right and ask what was the position with regard to coloured men in Southern United States. He thought that ought to be stated in the House of Commons.

Earl Winterton paid a tribute to Mr. *Churchill* as "Captain-General of the whole British Commonwealth" the flame of whose courage had never flickered or faltered.

Winding up the debate, Mr. *Churchill*, said: When we planned this debate together it was well understood that its main purpose was to enable the House to express its opinion and that the Government would not have any far-reaching declaration of policy to make. Indeed it has been everywhere recognised that for us to commit ourselves to hard and fast lines of policy or even to the advocacy of particular suggestions or proposals would not be appropriate on the eve of the first meeting we have been able to arrange, after many attempts, of all Dominions Prime Ministers since this war began.

It will be almost universally admitted that the debate has been a great success and of far-reaching usefulness and that the resolution on which the debate is founded is acceptable to all that there is an All-Party agreement on the most fundamental issues and that the discussion has been worthy of the breadth of the subject and distinguished by speeches of statesmanlike character such as I heard yesterday from Mr. Shinwell and to-day from Mr. *Hore Belisha* and *Earl Winterton*. I sat up until half past two reading the full report last night—every speech—and I crave the indulgence of the House for not having been constantly on the bench during this debate on account of the other things which you know it is my duty to look after (laughter).

What struck me most out of the speeches was the great number of enormous topics some of which have been formerly matters of heated controversy and may be again which Members have found it necessary to take for an airing. A great number of these questions concern our future and they have been raised directly or indirectly—what changes are to be made in the political, economic and defence structure of the British Commonwealth and Empire, in what way will the ever more closely-knitted British Commonwealth and Empire become also at the same time more closely associated with the United States. How will this vast bloc of States and nations which will walk along together, speaking to a large extent the same language, reposing on the same body of common law; how will they merge in a Supreme Council for the maintenance of world peace? Should we draw closer to Europe, aim at creating under a Supreme World Council a living unity, an entity in Europe, a United States of Europe? Or should we concentrate upon our Imperial Commonwealth organisation or upon our fraternal associations with the United States and put our thrust in the English Channel, air power and sea power?

It is easy to see from the recurrence of these topics in so many speeches the way in which the modern mind in the House of Commons moves, when other topics crop up like free trade versus protection. Imperial preference versus greater develop-

ment of international trade, international currency in relation to the policy of the United States and the existence of a vast sterling area.

Mr. *Granville* said yesterday that the main lesson of the war was that the world was one and indivisible. I should myself have thought that the most obvious fact before our eyes is that the world is very seriously divided (laughter) and is conducting its controversies in a highly acrimonious manner (renewed laughter). Certainly it seems to give peace-makers quite a considerable task to weld it into one common mutual living whole at the peace table. I cannot pretend to have provided myself with all the answers to these questions which would give satisfaction to all parties here at home and cause no complication in our relations with foreign States. We must be generous, we must be fair to the future, we must leave something to be done by our descendants to provide for their safeguards (Laughter).

### Safeguard in Atlantic Charter

Mr. *Wedderburn's* laudable desire to probe into the distant past is not always accompanied by historical precision. He quoted a speech which I made forty years ago against Joseph Chamberlain's policy of protection and Imperial preference. It does not, whatever might be thought about it, reveal to me as a very ardent supporter of those policies and certainly makes it very odd that I should for the time being have the honour of leading the Conservative Party. I have no intention of passing my remaining years in explaining or withdrawing what I have said. (Laughter). What I am concerned about to-day is to show to the House and also to the members of my own party how strictly I have during my stewardship safeguarded the structure of Imperial preference which we have built up out of the controversies and achievements of the last forty years against any danger of being swept away in the tumult of this war. At my first meeting with the President of the United States in Newfoundland at the time of the so-called Atlantic Charter and before the United States entered the war a meeting on very anxious and critical matters—I asked for the insertion of the following words in the Atlantic Charter which can be read in that document. 'With due respect for their existing obligation.' These are the limiting words and they were inserted for the express purpose of retaining to this House and to the Dominions the fullest possible rights and liberties over the question of Imperial preference. Again in February 1942 when the United States was our closest ally, I do not agree to article seven of the Mutual Aid Agreement without having previously obtained from the President a specific assurance that we were no more committed to the abolition of Imperial preference than the American Government was committed to the abolition of their protective tariffs. (Hear, hear).

I am convinced myself that there should be a careful searching and a far ranging discussion on the economics of the post-war world and a sincere attempt made to reconcile conflicting interests wherever possible. There must be whole-hearted endeavour begun in good time to promote the greatest inter-change of goods and services between the various communities of the world and to strive for that process of betterment of the standards of living in every country without which, as Mr. *Shinwell* pointed out, expanding markets are impossible and without which world prosperity is a dream which might easily turn into a nightmare. Mr. *Hore Belisha* made a remark which I particularly liked when he said that the Empire is not a sick body. I cordially agree with that but even I can look back to the days when it was considered to be moribund. When I was young great statesmen whose names were honoured who spoke of the colonies as burdens and the dominions as fruit which would fall from trees when ripe. I did not live myself in the days when those speeches were made but I remember well the times of great anxiety about the British Empire about the end of the last century.

### First World War and Empire

I have never thought that the Empire needed tying together with bits of strings. I agree with Mr. *Hore Belisha* that natural development, natural forces, mysterious natural forces will carry everything before them especially when those forces are fanned forward as they will be by the wings of victory in a righteous cause. Then came another phase. Looking at the British Empire thirty years ago in 1914 on the eve of the first Great War all foreign nations, especially German opinion, were convinced that this vast structure of empire, created, coming into full life in Victorian times, had reached a condition of ricketiness and looseness when a single violent shake would bring it clattering down and lay it low for ever. Then there came upon the world the most frightful war, a slaughter so far as we

were concerned incomparably greater than anything we had ever known and a slaughter far greater than which, thank God, we have suffered so far in this struggle.

I remember coming out of the Cabinet on an August afternoon in 1914, when war was certain and the Fleet was already mobilised with this feeling : How are we to explain it to Canada, Australia, South Africa ; how are we to explain it to our people in short ? But when we left the fierce controversy of the Cabinet room and came out into the open air, the whole people of the Empire, of every race and clime, had already sprung to arms Our old and recent enemies, Generals Botha and Smuts, were already saddling their horses to rally their Commandos to attack on Germany (cheers) and two great Irishmen whose names I always bear in my memory with regard—John Redmond and his brother with others of the old Irish Parliamentary Party which fought us so many years in this House and pleaded the cause of Ireland with such eloquence and parliamentary renown—there they were making those speeches of absolute support and unity with this country until people said everywhere that the brightest spot in the world is Ireland. It may be that an opportunity was lost then (cheers). We must always keep our eyes open. I always keep mine on the Irish question.

We had a pretty dreary time between those two wars. We have great responsibilities for the part we played all of us and so have the Americans in not making the League of Nations a reality and not backing its principles with effective armed force (cheers) letting this deadly and vengeful foe arm at his leisure. But underneath, the whole empire and ourselves in this land grew stronger, our resources multiplied. Little was said about our growth and little was visible of our closer union, yet the forces which had sent the Anzac Corps to the Dardanelles and afterwards to the Hindenburg Line which carried the Canadian to Vimy Ridge, were all growing unseen, unnoticed, immesurable, far below the surface of public life and political conflicts. Those are the natural processes to which Mr. Hore Belisha so aptly referred.

MOTHER COUNTRY

Then this war broke out. The mother country—I must still ask leave to use this name—I think it is rather dangerous to plunge out into a new nomenclature. I am not sure that anything like 'elder sister country' would be a very great success (laughter and cheers). There was an old song which I remember in my youth. 'A boy's best friend is his mother' that seems to me to be worthy sometime of humming again. The mother country geographically involved once again in the struggle of Europe found it right and necessary to declare war on Germany because Germany had invaded Poland and we had guaranteed to defend Poland. Instantly from all parts of the British Empire, save one lamentable exception about which we must all search our hearts, came the same response. None of the disillusions that followed the 'War to End Wars', 'Homes for Heroes' and so forth, all good slogans in their day, none of these had affected the living, growing, intensifying, inner life of the British Commonwealth and Empire. From the poorest colony to the most powerful Dominion the great maxim held 'When the King declares war the Empire is at one'. It was the darkest moment but no one flinched. Was there one cry of doubt, or terror ? No. Darkness was turned into light and into a light which will never fade away.

"When peace returns—and we should pray to God it soon may- Conferences of Prime Ministers of Dominions, among whom we trust India will be reckoned, and with whom the colonies will be associated, will become, we hope, more frequent and regular facts and festivities of our annual life."

The Prime Minister observed : What is the miracle which brings men from the uttermost ends of the earth, some taking twenty days before reaching a recruiting station and some armies having to be sent 14.000 miles over sea before reaching the battlefield ? What is this force, this miracle which makes governments as sovereign as any that have ever existed to cast aside immediately all their affairs and set themselves to help the old land and the good cause and to beat the common enemy ? We must look with the eye of the spirit. It is then that you learn that human beings are not dominated by material things but by ideas for which they are willing to give their lives or their life's work. Many and various forces have held the British Empire together—and I don't object to the expression of an Honourable Member yesterday—'enlightened self-interest'. But make no mistake that in front of those deeper influences are more mysterious forces which cause human beings to do the most invaluable, improvident and from the narrow

point of view, profitless things. It is our union in freedom and for the sake of our way of living which is a great fact reinforced by tradition and sentiment and it does not depend on anything that could be written down in any account kept in some large volume. We have had the Statute of Westminster which some thought would involve a breaking of ties. Here was a lot to be said about that on either side. But it has not impeded in the slightest degree the onward march of the Commonwealth and Empire. It has not prevented the centripetal force of our vast organisation from exerting its full strength. Here after our failures—we are not the only nation who made failures between the two wars—here, after the Statute of Westminster, here, after getting into this war and dragging in the Empire, so unprepared and they themselves no better prepared than others in arms, into this great struggle, here, amid a wreck of empires and states and institutions of every kind, we find the British Commonwealth and Empire more strongly united than ever before. In a world of confusion and ruin the old flag flies. We have not to consider how to bind ourselves together more closely. It would pass the wit of man to do that. It is extraordinary what business it has become to sneer at the British Empire. Those who have tried it in the United States have been discredited. Those who have tried it in the Dominions have found no public backing although there is perfect freedom of speech in all those nations. Those who decry our Commonwealth of nations and the mother country have very little support. The question before us is how can we make things better? Can we improve the already close ties? How can we gain better results I should say from our already close ties? I do not think we should embark upon that task with the short of feeling that if we do not do something, everything is going to crash. I do not understand that I do not feel like that. The forces underlying our unity are superior to any temporary shortcomings that any of us may have or be responsible for.

### Need for Imperial "Family Council"

We have to consider practical steps and to consider them coolly and sanely. The world is in a crisis but the British Empire and the Commonwealth within itself was never more united. Rudyard Kipling, that remarkble fountain of British Imperial ideas. speaking of the Dominions said, 'Daughter am I in my mother's house but mistress in my own.' We have to take steps beyond that now. There is a family council. Methods must be devised without haste to bring the nations of the British Empire into an intimate and secret council upon the march of world events not only during this war—because that is done with great labour and efficiency, but after the war so that they may know fully our position as we know theirs in regard to the march of events and the action that might have to come from them. Mr. *Hore Belisha* spoke wisely and suggestively about what he called functional within the British Empire and also others applicable to the world at large.

The question has been raised: Should we have a permanent machinery like the Committee of Imperial Defence rather on a larger scale—a kind of extension of the principle which is embodied in the name of the Chief of Imperial General Staff which Lord Haldane created by a farseeing decision, a short of continuance in imperial form of the machinery which I at present direct as Minister of Defence—to set up something like this by a standing, a perpetual committee of the British Empire. This is no more than an application on a much greater scale and with much more precise detail of the work which was hitherto done by the Committee of Imperial Defence. But should it extend into spheres of maritime affairs, of economic affairs and of financial affairs and how far? These are obviously matters which we must begin to explore together when we meet informally our colleagues from the great Dominions. There are others who would choose a machinery of union with ministerial authorities. Others would have it extended to both economic and military spheres. Speaking for myself I see very little difficulty about the first—about the functional bodies being developed and made more perfect. We have of course, representatives of all the Dominions on the bodies which function under the Minister of Defence now. I see very great advantage in the second. There must be frequent meetings of Prime Ministers; they must be attended by those they choose to bring with them to discuss all aspects of Imperial policy and Imperial safety. Here as in so many cases, time marches forward with friendly step. The vast developments of air transport make a new bond of union and new facilities for meeting which will give the councils of the British Commonwealth of nations a uuity much greater than ever was possible before.

When the war is over and when command of the air has turned from the most horrible form of destruction to the glories of peace it will be quite easy to

have meetings of Prime Ministers for Imperial conferences—whatever you like to call them—every-year or more often on every serious occasion and we will encourage them at any time, during the period of the war. It is not necessary that these meetings should always take place in London (cheers). They may take place in other centres of our united commonwealth—although I am still old fashioned enough to consider cockney London the heart of the Empire. I am quite ready that we should take wing in the future. This we have already had apart from the conference with the President of the United States, a conference in Quebec where I sat for several days with the Dominion Cabinet and where we were all guests of Canada which I may say it is a very agreeable thing to be.

It is very likely that when Hitler and Hitlerism are finished and blasted from the face of the earth we shall have conferences of the British Empire and the United States in Australia about all those matters in some of which all certainly find causes for complaint against Japan (laughter and cheers). When peace returns—and we should pray to God it soon may—conferences of Prime Ministers of the Dominions among whom we trust India will be reckoned, and with whom the Colonies will be associated, will become, we hope, frequent and regular facts and festi ities of our annual life. Some assume that there must be inherent antagonism between a world order to keep the peace and a vast natural federal organisation which will inevitably be in existence. I do not believe this is true (cheers). Both the world order and the great organisation may be so fashioned as to be but part of one tremendous whole. I have never conceived that fraternal association with the United States would mitigate in any way against the unity of the British Commonwealth or Empire or breed ill-feeling with our great Russian ally with whom we are bound by a twenty years' treaty. I do not think we need choose this or that. With wisdom, patience, vigour and courage we may get the best of both. We have often said of our own British Empire. 'In my father's house there are many mansions'. So in this far greater world structure which we shall surely raise out of the ruins of a desolating war there is room for all generous free associations of a special character so long as they are not disloyal to the world cause nor seek to bar the forward march of mankind.

The motion for Commonwealth Co-operation was unanimously agreed to.

## House of Lords—London—16th. February 1944

### Big States to Swallow Small States

Moving the second reading of the India (Attachment of States) Bill in the House of Lords on the 16th. Feb. '44, *Earl Munster*, Under Secretary for India, said the bill was intended to place beyond all manner of doubt the right of the Viceroy to provide for the most suitable administration of a large number of small and very small states, or really estates. Particularly was it concerned with the position of some 400 petty states in Kathiawar and Gujerat.

"I hardly think it is necessary for me to emphasise the disastrous effect produced upon the 800,000 inhabitants of these states by the present multiplicity of jurisdictions and fragmentation of their territories. That, I believe, is obvious to every one" he said. The Chiefs of these states have been accorded certain personal privileges and these will be maintained to them under the new arrangements. Political officers had neither the time nor the administrative machinery to ensure that the Chiefs, or Taluqdars as they are commonly known, employed their resources to the best possible advantage."

Referring to the Crown Representative's declaration of April last year, Lord Munster said that by the arrangements then proposed the inhabitants of these states would secure administrative benefits normal in British India and larger states and which up to now the Crown Representative had been unable to extend to petty states through lack of financial resources and personnel. Law and Order had been assured but public health, education and communications had not been established on a really modern basis. Lord Munster referred to court action in last August by a Taluqdar who had been attached to Gondal State, alleging that the attachment order was illegal. The court had allowed the appeal. The new bill only affected those states not named in the first schedule of the Government of India Act of 1935. It would, therefore, only apply to very small states which lacked administrative resources. The Crown Representative might give such direction as he thought fit in his relation with states and in fact would always be deemed to have had that authority.

He continued: 'The Bill, as drafted, takes nothing away from Taluqdars which they have possessed in the past. I venture to think that the beneficial forms of Government in operation in such states as Nawanagar and Baroda to which the majority of these small states will be attached, are well known. To attach these petty states to a British province is utterly impracticable from the geographical point of view alone."

*Lord Samuel* (Liberal) said probably the best solution would be to group smaller states together among themselves but very frequently there were local prejudice which had rendered that impossible. The only other course was that they be absorbed in states of which they were geographically neighbours.

### Dangerous Position

*Lord Faringdon* (Labour) said he did not view anything like equanimity the handing over of these states to neighbouring states. Baroda and Nawanagar both had as Indian states quite admirable records of administration but they were absolute Governments, and it was yet to be seen whether, for example, the present Maharaja of Baroda carried on the admirable traditions of his grandfather, and whether the new Jam Sahib carried on the equally good traditions in his state. The smaller states would be removed from the fairly direct administration of British officers, and would be put in the hands of state officials. These officials might be admirable, but they were officials of an absolute monarchy and one saw at once danger in this position.

Lord Faringdon added: "I cannot view this bill with anything but alarm and despondency, and that is the attitude which is shared by the inhabitants of these tiny principalities. When we are all, including the Government, committed to the policy of Indian progress, it would be correct surely to give these states advantages of representative administration. I suggest that before the Bill is proceeded with further the peoples in these tiny states should be consulted and their wishes taken into consideration. This is a dictatorial act. It may be a beneficial one. Certainly some such provision is clearly necessary in these cases, but I cannot believe that at the present time it is wise, proper or just to hand over a considerable population to an absolutism, which is completely in control."

### Lord Hailey's Views

*Lord Hailey* said there were as many people in this country as he thought there were in India who shared the apprehension expressed by Lord Faringdon. One reason for the apprehension was that though many Indian states had lately made great advancement in liberalising their constitution, they had not brought themselves within the orbit of those democratic institutions we in the last generation endeavoured to establish in British India. Another reason was that some Indian states had not in the past had a record marked by progressive administration. There had been instances in which the Paramount Power had to remove some rulers for gross cases of misrule. It was fortunate that some states to which it was proposed to attach minor units were among the most progressive.

Discussing alternatives to the Bill's proposals Lord Hailey said that the areas might be annexed into British India. There was nothing in the treaties or obligations in past relations which would remain the original problem caused by their geographical detachment. In the second place they could cancel the order of attachment that had been made by the Representative of the Crown and restore the position which existed before. That would still leave unsolved the problem of improving the position of the inhabitants. In the third place they might withdraw any attempts to maintain elements of order in these units and leave the people concerned to make their own attachments with neighbouring major states. That was a proposition so undesirable that it carried its own condemnation. They had to consider the welfare of the 800,000 people concerned and he felt the proposals in the Bill offered greater possibility than any of the three alternatives he had suggested.

The Bill was given a second reading.

# The Natal Indian Congress

## Durban—20th. February 1944

### Mayor of Durban's opening Address

A conference of the Natal Indian Congress—the first meeting of the Indians united in one common body—was opened by the Mayor of Durban, Mr. *R. Ellis Brown* in Durban on the 20th. February 1944.

Senator *D. G. Shepstone* and Mr. *J. H. Basson*, Commissioner of Immigration and Asiatic Affairs, attended on behalf of the Union Government.

Mr. *Ellis Brown* said : "There have been signs that the disputes we have been trying to settle in S. Africa are likely to have international repercussions, and unless we are careful, things that have happened may upset the hitherto friendly relations between S Africa, India and other nations. It will be nothing short of a calamity--and a very great calamity—if any divisions are allowed to creep into the British Commonwealth of Nations. To allow such things to happen would be to play directly into the hands of the enemy."

Mr. *J. W. Godfrey*, in his presidential address, said that the blame for the friction existing today between the Indian and European in Natal lay not with the Indian but with the Durban City Council and the Union Government. The former had "criminally" neglected its responsibilities and the latter sacrificed Indians on the altar of a general election.

Dealing with the "Pegging" Act he said that it was "unnecessary," but the situation was used by Government to secure a majority in Parliament. This Act flouted the spirit of the Capetown Agreement which laid down that the Indian community should adopt European standards of living. "It is an insult to our honour as Indians: it proclaims racial discrimination of the lowest and vilest type. Even the sponsors of the Bill are now ashamed of it.

"Political expediency was the central motive of the Act, while a vociferous minority cried 'save us from Indian penetration.' The Act takes away our inherent right to progress and expand economically and industrially. We are denied our right of acquiring and occupying properties anywhere we please"

He emphasized that at present the Act was restricted to the city of Durban, but other municipalities could apply it.

"We demand and claim the right to acquire and occupy land for commercial and industrial purposes," he declared.

As regards property acquired for residential purposes, they had a mutual interest to consider—that of living beside the European. Many difficulties had arisen because of the neglect of municipalities to afford suitable sites where Indians could reside. The Durban City Council's failure in this direction might be said to be "criminal, and its attitude has left our middle class people no option but to buy land in the localities we have bought."

"Also, it was an act of deliberate injustice on the Union Government to insist upon retaining provincial barriers. It is our considered opinion that if the provincial barriers were removed and the Indian community allowed freedom in commerce, industry and agriculture, very little would be heard of any 'Indian' question.

"We have been criticized in this country for appealing to India when we are in difficulties. We are told that these are S African matters and the Union Government will brook no interference from outside. We do not share that view, for so long as the Union Government fails to give us the right of representation, so long will we consider it our right to invoke the aid of India and other countries."

He emphasized that while the Indians wanted franchise, they would not be satisfied with communal representation, because communal franchise had been tried elsewhere and had proved a failure.

### Resolutions

Later, the Congress decided that it would co-operate with the Judicial Commission only if the political status of Indians was included in the terms of reference.

When the Congress gives evidence before the Commission, it will deal with full franchise. Representatives will also lead evidence calling for the repeal of all repressive laws militating against the progress of the Indian community, with particular emphasis on the Pegging Act.

The Congress empowered its committee to hold mass meetings in Natal against the "Pegging" Act.

It ratified the policy of co-operation carried out in the past concerning alleged Indian penetration. There was considerable division of opinion on this issue, and the Congress rejected an amendment seeking to abandon negotiation by declaring that Indians once and for all opposed segregation in demarcated areas.

A motion describing the "Pegging" Act as a negation of the most elementary human rights and the violation of the principles of democracy and the Capetown Agreement and calling on the Union Government immediately to repeal "this most obnoxious legislation" was passed.

**Messages**

*F. M Smuts*, S African Premier, sending greetings to the conference, said : "The conference meets at a time when difficult issues once more are under consideration. My earnest wish is that your deliberations may be guided in a spirit of mutual accommodation which may help towards finding a way out of the present difficulties. We have had difficulties before, and have from time to time been able to overcome them, and, I trust, the same will be the case again. The Broome Commission, in which I trust the Indian community will participate, will explore important issues which will be referred to it and possibly pave the way towards a satisfactory settlement of these issues. In that spirit, let us all grapple with the task which I believe is not beyond our power to achieve. Your Congress may thus become an important link in the whole process of finding solutions for difficult problems."

Dr. *N. B. Khare*, Member for Indians Overseas in the Viceroy's Executive Council, in a message said : "Indians in S Africa should speak with one voice and wish for a common cause. May the conference maintain sobriety and wisdom."

Sir *B. Rama Rao*, in a message said :—"India will never let you down."

Messages were also received from Mr. *P. N. Sapru*, Sir *Chunilal Mehta*, Sir *Padampat Singhania*, Mr. *M. R. Jayakar*, the *Mayors of Bombay* and *Madras*, and *Raja Sir Maharaj Singh*.

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# The South African Hindu Conference

## Maritzburg—8th. to 10th. April 1944

### Proceedings & Resolutions

There was an atmosphere of religious revival in the City Hall on Maritzburg on the 8th. April 1944 when the S. African Hindu Conference held its opening meeting under the auspices of the S. African Hindu Mahasabha. It was attended by 300 delegates representing all Hindu religious and educational institutions throughout the country.

In a message, the Administrator of Natal, Mr. *G. H. Nicholls*, referred to the harmonious instinct of Hinduism.

He said that great progress was being made in education and within a reasonable period it should not be said that any Indian child in Natal was growing up without proper education.

The chairman of the reception committee, Mr. *S. R. Naidoo*, said that the Hindus formed the largest group of the Indian population in S. Africa and it was essential that there should be a central organization to direct and achieve unity of purpose. He suggested that the conference should devise a scheme by which the services of Hindu missionaries could be secured from India.

The President, Mr. *R. B. Chetty*, said that they owed a debt of gratitude to this country which was the place of their birth. Their gratitude could not be better expressed than in founding a Hindu College where cultures of Western and Eastern civilizations would meet and opportunity provided for Indians and Europeans to further the cultural advancement of the country.

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# CALENDAR FOR 1944

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

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

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# Chronicle of Events

## July 1944

There was a debate in the House of Lords on the political situation in India. Lord Strabolgi criticized the methods of censorship as prevailed in India. Lord Faringdon raised the question of India's food situation. He wanted to know what provision was being made to deal with it.

Lord Munster, replying to the debate in the Lords on India, said : "His Majesty's Government have not departed in any way from the intentions declared in the Cripps Mission and.....repeated by the Governor-General."

In the House of Commons, replying to the debate on India, Mr. Amery gave renewed assurances that Britain stood by the promises of independence after the war and that the offer made by Sir Stafford Cripps still held good.

Mr. Amery laid stress on the food situation in India and the consequent strain on India's economy.

Syed Badruduja, ex-Mayor of Calcutta, presiding over the Lahore Majlis Ahrar Conference, condemned the Pakistan scheme and the League Ministries.

Mr. Fenner Brockway said in London, "The refusal of the Viceroy to meet Gandhiji is one of the major defeats of the war."

In the House of Lords, the Bill to amend the Government of India Act, 1935, was given a second reading without discussion.

The Government of Orissa reviewed the grounds on which security prisoners in the province were detained under the Restriction and Detention Ordinance.

H. E. the Governor of Bengal, in a broadcast from Calcutta, referring to Bengal's food situation, said : "We are almost out of the wood so far as this year is concerned."

The Indian delegation offered a compromise proposal to the World Monetary Conference (Bretton Woods) regarding the release of India's blocked sterling balances.—The proposal was opposed by Britain, the U. S. A. and France.

Mr. B. G. Kher, former Premier of Bombay, was released from detention.

A joint statement signed by Sardar Santokh Singh, M.L A., Sardar Harnam Singh, President, All-India Sikh League, Sardar Jogindar Singh and others referring to the formula of communal settlement of Mr. Rajagopalachari, supported by Mahatma Gandhi, said : "We strongly protest against this offer, on behalf of the Sikh community, and hereby declare that the Sikhs will fight to the bitter end against the proposal."

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, presiding over a meeting of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha in Calcutta, said : "The terms now offered to Mr. Jinnah by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari contemplate a division of India, from the very initial stages, based on communal consideration."

The Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, the Nawab of

Bhopal, presiding at the final sitting of the Standing Committee, reviewed the war situation and made a statement on the war effort of the States.

The Executive Committee of the Nationalist Christian Party of Bombay expressed happiness over Mahatma Gandhi's efforts for evolving a communal settlement.

The Famine Inquiry Commission presided over by Sir John Woodhead started work in New Delhi.

**1st.** The full text of Mahatma Gandhi's letter of June 17 to the Viceroy and the Viceroy's reply on June 22 was released for publication from New Delhi.

A Small Savings Scheme to popularise thrift habit and to provide greater facilities for the easy purchase of National Savings Certificates and Stamps was inaugurated in Calcutta and adjacent industrial area.

Sir William Beveridge, who prepared a plan for full employment to follow up his social security scheme, made his first public comment at Sheffield on the Government white paper outlining their employment policy.

An Ordinance was issued from New Delhi to provide for and regulate the payment of compensation for death, personal disablement or damage to property arising from the explosion in the Bombay docks on April 17.

The Working Committee of the All-India Majlis-i-Ahrar decided at Lahore to turn down the invitation of Mr. Jinnah to join the Muslim League.

**2nd.** The Labourite *Daily Herald* urged the British Parliament to take up without delay "the complaint" about India's food situation contained in the manifesto of 27 prominent Indian Leaders.

Of about a hundred Congress detenues, who were ordered to be released during June by the Punjab Government, only 7 were not interned in their Home Villages or Towns. The rest, like all those previously released, numbering about 300, were interned.

**3rd.** Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, supply member, Government of India spent four days in Calcutta discussing with the Coal Control Board, collier owners, the Coal Commissioner and other officials, measures calculated to bring about the greatest possible output of coal and to make the best possible use of it.

Syed Badruduja, ex-Mayor of Calcutta, presiding over the Lahore District Majlis-Ahrar Conference (at Lahore), condemned the Pakistan Scheme and strongly criticized the League Ministers.

**4th.** In the Bengal Legislative Council, the President (Sir B. P. Singh Roy) gave his ruling regarding competency of the House to impose a tax on agricultural income from lands owned by the Ruler of an Indian State and Bengal. The point arose in connexion with Agricultural Income Tax Bill as passed by the Bengal Legislative Assembly).

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, General Secretary, All-India Muslim League, announced at Srinagar, that a meeting of the council of the All-India Muslim League would be held at Lahore on the 30th. and 31st. July.

Mr. Fenner Brockway in an interview, in London, said : "The refusal of the Viceroy to meet Gandhiji is one of the Major defeats of the war."

The Bill to amend the Government of India Act of 1935 in regard to several minor points was given a second reading in the House of Lords without discussion, after a brief explanation by the Under-Secretary for India, the Earl of Munster.

Prof. Archibald Hill, addressing the East India Association, (in London), stressed the urgency of a new approach to the Indian problems.

**5th.** In the Bengal Legislative Council, the Chief Minister Sir Nazimuddin stated : "The Government of India will give back the 10,000 tons of rice which the Government of Bengal have sent to Assam. It is purely a question of a temporary loan which will be repaid by the Central Government from the quota reserved for the Army from outside Bengal."

**6th.** In the House of Commons, Indian famine conditions were referred to when Mr. Sorenson (Labour) asked if Mr. Amery was aware of the public warning against the recurrence of famine conditions issued by 27 influential Indian industrialists and whether he was satisfied that adequate steps had been taken

to avoid such a recurrence.—Mr. Amery : "Yes, The Government of India and the Provincial Governments have been actively pursuing the measures described in my answer on April 6."

7th. In the Bengal Legislative Council, Government's scheme relating to the rationing of "Bhog" offerings to Hindu deities was outlined by Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, Civil Supplies Minister, when he announced the appointment of a committee to assist Government in carrying out the scheme.

Mr. J. K. Mitter, presiding at the first Quarterly General Meeting of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce in Calcutta, reviewed the food situation in Calcutta and in the province.

The Working Committee of the Sindh Provincial Muslim League, at its meeting at Karachi, passed a resolution calling on the Sindh Ministry to resign from office forthwith.

Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava, Food Member, Government of India, issued a statement on food imports.

8th. Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President, Hindu Mahasabha, in an interview in New Delhi, said : "It is a paradox that the Hindu Mahasabha which is dubbed a communal body, is actually more national than the Congress which claims to be a national body." The Congress, he added, was not national in its outlook because it was unjust to Hindus and showed preference to Muslims.

The Government of Orissa reviewed the grounds on which security prisoners in the province were detained under the Restriction & Detention Ordinance.

The Indian Information Service (Washington) reported that arrangements were made to ship 400,000 tons of wheat to India before October 1.

9th. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, in a statement from Panchgani, said : "My efforts to secure Mr. Jinnah's powerful help in pushing through an honourable settlement of the communal question have reached a stage when the public have to be taken into confidence."

The 19th meeting of the Standing Committee of the A. I. Newspaper Editors' Conference met in the office of the "*Sind Observer*" at Karachi.

The two-day session of the first Sindh Journalists' Conference began at Karachi. Members of the Standing Committee of the A. I. N. E. C. also attended the Conference, which was inaugurated by Mr. S. A. Brelvi. Mr. Devdas Gandhi presided.

10th. H. E. the Governor of Bengal, in a broadcast from Calcutta, referring to Bengal's food situation, said : "We are now within reasonable sight of having procured the minimum total of rice to see us through until the next *Aman* crop in November. This means that we are almost out of the wood so far as this year is concerned."

The Working Committee of the All India Hindu Mahasabha, adopted a resolution in New Delhi, opposing coalition with the Muslim League in forming Ministries in provinces and favouring coalition with political parties other than the League on the basis of an agreed programme.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, consideration of the Agricultural Income-tax Bill, as passed by the Assembly, was resumed. Mr. Humayun Kabir (Proja) criticized the retrospective character of the measure and suggested that it should come into force from April 1. 1945.

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, Working President, All India Hindu Mahasabha, issued a statement from New Delhi, in which he said : "Destitutes are slowly coming into Calcutta again, and it is natural that the matter has received prompt notice outside Bengal."

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, in the course of a Press statement from Allahabad, said : "There is almost a universal desire in India for an early solution of the present political impasse. It is abundantly clear from Gandhiji's correspondence with the authorities that he is anxious for a settlement and this settlement need have no reference at all to the threat of civil disobedience which must disappear in the atmosphere of settlement."

A deputation representing Six Muslim Associations met Malik Khizar Hyat Tiwana, Premier of the Punjab, and requested him to reconsider his attitude towards the Muslim League.

The Sindh Journalists' Conference which met at Karachi for two days under the presidentship of Mr. Devdas Gandhi, concluded after passing a number of resolutions. The Conference resolved that the continuance of the political

deadlock was responsible for the continuance of restrictions on the Press and declared that, in the interests of free and healthy journalism, the political deadlock should be resolved and political leaders should, as a first step, be released to create the necessary atmosthere for ending the deadlock.

11th. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, in a statement from Allahabad on the correspondence between Mr. Rajagopalachari and Mr. Jinnah to solve the communal deadlock, said : "I am glad that the stagnant water of the pool have been stirred. I have no doubt that the vast majority of Hindus and Muslims alike will welcome a settlement on just and reasonable terms."

Mr. Amery, replying to a question in the House of Commons, said he had consulted the Government of India on the question of applying the increases in family allowances to British officers of both British and Indian Services in India.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, details of communal disturbances that took place in May in Khulna and Jessore districts were given by the Chief Minister.

The Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, in a resolution from New-Delhi, said: "In view of the reports received about the Working of the Muslim League Ministries in the different provinces showing that not only legitimate rights and interests of the Hindus and other minorities have suffered but such administration has proved generally detrimental to the interests of the province as a whole, the Working Committee calls upon the Hindus and other non-Muslim members of the provincial legislatures to withdraw their co-operation with the Muslim League."

A Communique said : "The Governor of Orissa has assigned to Mr. S. L. Maewood, who has been appointed Adviser to His Excellency, the business of Government, arising in the following Secretariat department, Education, Health and Local Self-Government, Revenue, Development, Law, Commerce and Labour and Supply and Transport. His Excellency will be in direct charge of Home (including Civil, Defence, Publicity and Reconiting sections) Finance and P. W. D."

The Indian delegation offered a compromise proposal to the World Monetary Conference (Bretton Woods) regarding the release of India's blocked sterling balances. The compromise provided that a part of the Sterling holdings, to be determined by the conference, be released for conversion into other currencies—The proposal was opposed by Britain, the U. S. A. and France.

12th. The Bengal Legislative Council further considered the Agricultural Income-tax Bill as passed by the Lower House.

A meeting of the representatives of those affected by the Paper Control Order was held in Bombay, Sir M. S. A, Hydari, Secretary, Industries and Civil Supplies Department, Government of India presiding.

Mr. Amery, replying to questions by Labour member, Mr. Sorenson and Mr. Harvay about Mahatma Gandhi's pronouncements, said : "I have seen Press accounts of certain statements made recently by Mr. Rajagopalachari and an interview with Mr. Gandhi by a correspondent of the "*News Chronicle*."

Mr. Eden, leader of the House of Commons, indicated that the House would discuss India shortly.

13th. Mahatma Gandhi, in an informal talk at Panchgani, reiterating his faith in the destiny of a free India, declared : "I live for a cause and if I perish it is for the cause."

Mahatma Gandhi, in handing over to Press representatives two statements for publication, explained that they were two sets of notes prepared after discussion with Mr. Stuart Gelder, "*News Chronicle*" war correspondent in India.

14th. Mr. B. G. Kher, former Premier of Bombay, was released from detention and left for Bombay. Mr. Kher was arrested on the morning of August 9, 1942 along with other Congress Leaders, and had been kept in detention at Yerawada since then.

Mahatma Gandhi, in a talk with Pressmen at Panchgani said : "I have received bitter criticisim of my views expressed in the Gelder interview. Some of my correspondents say that, under the influence of moderates and moneyed men, I have betrayed the cause of the country."

In the Bengal Legislative Council, Mr. K. C. Roy Chowdhury introduced a Bill—Commercial Firms Bill—designed to regulate security of service, provident

fund, gratuity and pension and life assurance of persons employed in commercial firms.

Mr. Fenner Brockway, Secretary, Independent Labour Party, wrote in the *New Leader*: "We in the Independent Labour Party stand completely behind the Indian National Congress and all Sections of Indians who demand the independence of India. We never cease in our opposition to British imperialism.

A joint statement signed by Sardar Santokh Singh, M.L.A., Sardar Harnam Singh, President, All-India Sikh League, Sardar Jogindar Singh and others said: "The formula for Communal Settlement of Mr. Rajagopalachari, which is supported by Mr. Gandhi has created a stir in the Sikh Community. How can Mr. Gandhi make such an offer to Mr. Jinnah in the face of the definite assurance given by the Congress in its Lahore session of 1929 to the Sikhs to the effect that the Congress will be party to no communal settlement which does not give full satisfaction to the Sikhs.—"We strongly protest against this offer, on behalf of the Sikh Community, and hereby declare that the Sikhs will fight to the bitter end against the proposal."

**15th.** Dr. N. B. Khare, member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, commenting on Mahatma Gandhi's pronouncement said (in New Delhi): 'It is clear that Mr. Gandhi has accepted Mr. Rajagopalachari's proposal of dividing the country into more than one political state. According to Mr. Gandhi himself vivisection of India was a sin, so the Mahatma at the present moment is willing to do a sinful act consciously."

Mahatma Gandhi, in an interview at Pachgani, observed: "My plan contemplates immediate recognition of full Independence for India as a whole, subject to the limitations, for the duration of the war, to meet the requirements of the Allied operations. The Cripps plan, as I understand it, dealt more with the future than with the immediate arrangements."

A meeting of the Working Committee of the All-India States Muslim League, was held at Nagpur under the chairmanship of Mr. Rasul Khan, President of the Muslim League of Baroda State.

**16th.** Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, in an interview at Panchgani, said: "It is gratifying to note that apart from the Mahasabha's uncompromising attitude, Mr. Gandhi's acceptance of my scheme has been widely welcomed. The opposition of the Mahasabha leaders to any Congress-League settlement on the basis of self-determination for predominantly Muslim areas is nothing surprising or new. Their opposition must be taken for granted. It cannot be met by any terms acceptable to the Muslim League. If we accept the argument of the Mahasabha the result will be indoubtedly continuance of the deadlock and of British rule for all time."

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookherjee, presiding over a meeting of the Council of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha in Calcutta, said: "The terms now offered to Mr. Jinnah by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari contemplate a division of India from the very initial stage based on communal considerations, after tearing to pieces existing provinces like Bengal and the Punjab into small fragments. Such an offer was only aimed at placating Mr. Jinnah's megalomnia."

H. H. the Maharaja of Kashmir, Lt. Gen. Sir Hari Singh, Indian representative on the British war cabinet, paid an official visit to Indian troops in Italy on his way to India.

**17th.** In the Bengal Legislative Council, Mr. N. N. Mahalanabish gave notice of an adjournment motion to criticize a Government circular issued to all district officers, relating to the publication in the "Calcutta Gazette" of rice prices in the districts.

The Bengal premier, Sir Nazimuddin, inaugurating the proceedings of the Rangpur District Muslim League Conference said: "The League is the only organization by which the Muslims could maintain their political existence, but the time has come when the League should extend its activities also to constructive work for all-round betterment of the Muslim masses."

**18th.** India's sterling balances in Britain were referred to during the debate in the House of Commons on a £ 1,000,000,000 vote of credit for war expenditure.

The question of the continuance in office of the League Ministry in Sindh came up before the Council of the Sindh Provincial Muslim League in the form of the resolution already passed by the Working Committee of the Provincial League calling for the resignation of the Ministry.

At the meeting of the Central Consumers' Council in New Delhi, it was announced that a slightly higher quota of Kerosene had been arranged from October and it was suggested by those present that brass sheets should be distributed in the widest manner possible so that utensils might reach the remotest villages.

19th. Mahatma Gandhi in a Press interview at Pachgani said : "The independence of India as a whole is a certainty. That it may not come in my life time is a matter of indifference to me. I can but work for it till the end of my life."

The Nawab of Bhopal, presiding at the final sitting of the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes (in Bombay) reviewed the war situation and made a statement on the war effort of the States.

20th. The Speaker of the Sindh Assembly, Syed Miran Mohd. Shah admitted an adjournment motion of Sheikh Abdul Majid, holding that an Ordinance is an extraordinary law as distinct from the ordinary law and the manner of its application, such as the prevention of an M. L. A., from performing his duty to his constituency, does constitute a matter of urgent public importance.

Mr. Savarkar, President, Hindu Mahasabha, in a statement from Bombay criticized Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Rajagopalachari for conceding the Pakistan claim to Muslims without consulting other organizations and, in particular, the Hindu Mahasabha.

21st. The British news magazine *Cavalcade* sent four questions to Mahatma Gandhi. The fourth question stated : "Will you outline your conception of the role of a free India in the post-war world with special relations to the peoples of the British commonwealth and the United States of America ?" Mahatma Gandhi replied : "My proposal is an acid test and I have no shadow of doubt that its hearty acceptance by Britain will immediately turn the scales and ensure the defeat of the belligerent powers and fill exploited nations of the earth with hope. You see that I am therefore fighting for no small stake."

Mr. N. V. Gadgil, President of the Maharastra Provincial Congress Committee, said at Poona, "I do not see any feeling of defeat or opportunism in Gandhiji's various statements. There is no need for Congressmen to worry or get confused."

22nd. The Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha was asked by Mr. V. D. Savarkar to observe the first week of August as the Akhand Hindusthan and Anti Pakisthan week" to protest against Mr. Rajagopalachari's scheme for Communal Settlement.

The Executive Committee of the Nationalist Christian Party of Bombay issued a statement expressing happiness over Mahatma Gandhi's efforts for evolving a communal settlement as evidenced by the proposals emanating from Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar to Mr. Jinnah.

The All India Urdu Congress held its session at Hyderabad (Resy). The inaugural session of the Congress was presided over by the Nawab of Chhatari.

23rd. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Labour Member, Government of India in a speech in Bombay, said : "I am glad that Mr. Gandhi has begun to move in the direction of a communal settlement, late as it is; Mr. Gandhi has realised that a communal settlement is a necessary precursor to a National Government."

Mr. S. A. Brelvi, presiding over the first All-India Urdu Journalists' Conference at Hyderabad (Dn.) expressed the view that it was in the hands of writers in Urdu to hasten or delay the day when the majority of the people of this country would hail Urdu as their national language.

24th. Quazi Mahomed Isha, President, Baluchistan Muslim League and member of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, in a statement from Bhopal, on Mr. Rajagopalachari's proposals for a communal settlement, said : "The Muslim nation refuses to accept the position of a petitioner."

In the Bengal Legislative Council, an adjournment motion criticizing a Government Circular issued to all district officers relating to the publication in the "Calcutta Gazette" of rice prices in the districts was lost without a division.

H. H. the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir replying to an address presented on behalf of the people of the State on his return to Srinagar, said : "What I saw and heard while in England convinced me of the high determination of every man and woman to achieve complete victory and lasting peace, no matter what the sacrifice involved might be."

The inauguration of the Kohlapur Assembly was performed at Kohlapur at

the Durbar Hall, by the President, Mr. A. N. Mitchel, Prime Minister of Kohlapur.

In the Sindh Legislative Assembly, Mr. Abdul Majid moved an adjournment motion "to discuss the failure of the Premier on Saturday to promise immunity from prosecution as abettors to those who are stated to be ready to prove before a Court of law or a tribunal that they paid an illegal gratification of Rs. 70,000 to a Minister for getting the control rates manipulated as was asserted by Mr. Nichaldas C. Vajirani in his speech on the 22nd instant."—The Premier said that the offer was merely a suggestion and in any case, bribery was not a cognisable offence, and there were other legal causes open to the parties concerned. The motion was ruled out of order.

**25th.** In the House of Lords, opening the debate on the political situation in India, Lord Strabolgi said that the Labour Party wanted facts on this subject. There had been fierce Censorship in India, both military and political. There had been complaints that the military censorship had been aimed primarily at preventing news reaching the British people which was already known to the enemy and not to prevent news reaching the enemy The political censorship had been most rigid and it had been very difficult to obtain accurate information about what was going on in the political field.

Lord Faringdon raised the question of India's food situation in the House of Lords. He said that many people were becoming increasingly uneasy. He wanted to know what provision was being made to deal with it.

Lord Munster, replying to the Lords debate on India, said : 'His Majesty's Government have not departed in any way from the intentions declared by the Cripps Mission and which have been repeated again by the Governor General in his speech to the combined Legislatures and the proposals stand in their entirety."

**26th.** Sir J. P. Srivastava, Food Member, at a Press Conference in New Delhi, said : "I view the food situation in Bengal and in the country generally with much greater confidence than I did last year."

In the Bengal Legislative Council, the Chief Minister, Sir Nazimuddin announced : "The Government propose to take early steps to institute an inquiry by a high judicial officer into the working of the administrations of the Howrah Municipality during the past few years and into the allegations against the executive of the Municipality."

Mahatma Gandhi, interviewed on the Lords debate said : "I have read the debate in the Lords on the Indian question with attention. I confess I am disappointed."

**27th.** The first session of the reconstituted Travancore Srimulam Assembly was held at Trivandrum under the presidency of the Dewan-President, Sachivottwam Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar.

Mr. F. B. Wace. Secretary, Supplies and Transport, Punjab Government commented on Lord Munster's remarks during the food debate in the House of Lords that the Punjab Government's scheme of purchase of food grains through agents was not working altogether satisfactorily.

**28th.** Mahatma Gandhi in a Press interview at Panchgani said : "I say unhesitatingly that underground activities, even though utterly innocent in themselves should have no place in the technique of non-violence. Sabotage and all it means including destruction of property is in itself violence."

Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, replying to the Commons debate on India, initiated by Mr. Pethwick Lawrence (Lab) gave renewed assurances that Britain stood by the promises of independence after the war made to India two years ago. The offer made by Sir Stafford Cripps still held good.

Mr. Amery said that Mr. Gandhi had expressed his views on the immediate situation, and so long as that was the basis of his proposals, they did not afford even a starting point for a profitable discussion with the Viceroy or with the interned Congress Party Leaders.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, the Government's action in applying to the Central Government for the service of a number of army officers to hold civilian posts in the province was criticized by the Opposition.

**29th.** In the House of Commons, Mr. Amery, in his reply to the debate on India said : "By far the greatest consequence of the strain imposed upon India's

economy has been the strain on the food situation. That had been, and would continue to be, quite apart from the war, an increasingly serious problem."

A reference of exceptional importance was made by the Governor-General, acting under sec. 213 of the Government of India Act, to the Federal Court regarding the powers of the federal legislature to provide for the levy of Estate Duty in respect of property other than agricultural land passing upon the death of any man.

30th. The Muslim League Council authorized Mr. Jinnah to conduct negotiation with Mahatma Gandhi with a view to trying to arive at a settlement of the communal question.

Mahatma Gandhi, in a press interview on the House of Commons debate, emphasized that the British Government's rejection of his offer did not in any way affect the formula for a communal settlement.

31st. Work was started on the Railway Board's scheme for the expansion of the communication system of Indian Railways. This is apart from the 16 crore plan for the development of the tele-communications system under the Posts and Telegraphs Department.

The Famine Inquiry Commission presided over by Sir John Woodhead started work in New Delhi and had informal talks with officers of the Food Department, gathering information and generally settling procedure and programme.

Sir Jogendra Singh, Member-in-charge of Education, Health and Lands, presiding over the 14th. conference of Registrars of Co-operative Societies in Bombay, said: "I can think of no other activity which could raise our Motherland from proverty to power than the spirit of co-operation inspring all our social and economic activities."

## August 1944

There was some correspondence between His Excellency the Viceroy and Mahatma Gandhi on the political situation in India. Mabatmaji was requested "to submit a definite and constructive policy", on which Mahatma Gandhi offered some substantive proposals, which were ultimately considered as unacceptable.

A draft Hindu code prepared by the Rau Committee was published for the purpose of eliciting public opinion thereon.

Lord Hardinge of Penhurst died at Kent.

The Working Committee of the All-Parties Sikh Conference passed a resolution rejecting Mr. Rajagopalachari's formula.

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee sounded a note of warning that India was about to enter the most bitter and critical phase of Hindu Muslim relationship.

Master Tara Singh, the Akali leader, returned to public life.

The Working Committee of the All-Parties Sikh Conference demanded reservation of five percent shares in the Central Government services.

The Patna City Municipality was superseded for three years.

Master Tara Singh, the Akali Leader, expressed the view at Lahore that in the event of India being divided into Pakistan & Hindustan the Sikhs would claim Sikhistan, comprising Lahore and Amritsar, the two most important centres associated with Sikh history.

A representative Conference of the Hindus of the Punjab passed a resolution protesting against the C. R formula.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was entirely opposed to the idea of Pakistan.

The Maharajadhiraj of Darbhanga, presiding at the All-India Landholders' Conference in Calcutta, appealed to the landholders to play their part in shaping the future of the country.

The Sikh Panthic Conference rejected the C. R. formula.

At a meeting of the Committee of the Bihar Chamber of Commerce it was resolved to send a telegram to H. E. the Viceroy to release the Congress Working Committee members and thereby initiate a move for ending the deadlock.

**1st.** In the Bengal Legislative Council, the consideration of the Agricultural Income-tax Bill was continued. Five clauses relating to computation of agricultural income-tax and allowances were passed. All amendments to modify the clauses were defeated.

A draft Hindu Code prepared by the Hindu Law Committee of which Sir B. N. Rau was Chairman, was published from Madras for the purpose of eliciting public opinion thereon.

**2nd.** Lord Hardinge of Penshurst, former Viceroy of India, died at his home in Kent.

Sir J. P. Srivastava food member, Government of India, replying to a memorandum submitted to him at Lucknow, by a deputation of leading citizens of the U.P. on the subject of communal settlement, said : "I do not wish to damp the ardour of those of our countrymen who are anxious to find a compromise formula; they are actuated by the best of motives ; but with all respect to them, I hold that the communal problem cannot be solved by agreeing to the demand for Pakistan."

The Working Committee of the All-Parties Sikh Conference passed a resolution at Lahore, rejecting Mr. Rajagopalachari's formula for a communal settlement, and calling upon the Sikhs to carry on a country-wide agitation for its rejection. Sardar Baldev Singh, Development Minister, Punjab, presided.

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee gave the warning at Poona that India was about to enter the most bitter and critical phase of Hindu-Muslim relationship. He appealed to Indians to raise their voice against the scheme for Pakistan and Mahatma Gandhi to withdraw his offer to Mr. Jinnah.

The suggestion that the Standing Joint Committee of both Houses of Parliament on Indian Affairs should be revised was made to Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India, in the House of Commons by Sir Ralph Glyn.

**3rd.** In the Bengal Legislative Council, consideration of the Agricultural Income-tax Bill was resumed. The opposition moved an amendment for the deletion of a sub-clause to clause 25 relating to assessment.

Master Tara Singh, the Akali Leader, decided to return to public life, in order to guide Sikh opposition to the C. R. formula for a Communal settlement.

Sir Feroz Khan, in a broadcast from London, sounded a note of warning that the food situation in India remained grave and shortages of the previous winter might be repeated.

**4th.** Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President, All-India Muslim League, in pursuance of the resolution passed at the Karachi session of the All-India Muslim League in Dec. 1943, appointed a Planning Committee whose main function would be to survey the conditions of India, particularly of the Pakistan area, with a view to preparing Muslims to participate effectively in the commercial, industrial and agricultural expansion, especially after the war.

**5th.** The 44th. meeting of the Provincial Board for Anglo-Indian and European Education, Bengal, was held in Calcutta.

Sir Maurice Gwyer, former Chief Justice, Federal Court, in a note on the question of self-determination in Mr. Rajagopalachari's formula and in the Cripps offer, said : "There is one point in Mr. Rajagopalachari's formula for the settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question, especially in relation to the Cripps offer, which needs some clarification, viz., when precisely the issue of separation is to be decided."

The Working Committee of the All-Parties Sikh Conference adopted a resolution demanding reservation of five per cent shares for Sikhs in the Central Government Services, in view of "the importance of the Sikhs in the country

and the Army, and their proportion in the total population of the smaller minorities in British India."

**6th.** A. Press Note from Cuttack stated: "It has been decided by the Orissa Government to requisition surplus stocks of paddy and rice in Ganjam district, which are still in the hands of large stockists in the villages."

Mr. Jinnah, in a Press interview at Lahore on the Gandhi-Jinnah Meeting, assured the Sikh Community and Sikh leaders that the Muslim League would endeavour to meet their just demands "in a very fair and reasonable way?

A Press Note from New-Delhi said: "The Famine Inquiry Commission have just completed the hearing of evidence of officers of the Food Department, Mr. R. H. Hutchings, Secretary, Mr. B. R. Sen, Director General, Food, Mr. Somerset Butler, Special Officer, Mr. W. H. Kirby, Rationing Adviser and Mr. Christie, Deputy Secretary."

The Patna City Municipality was superseded for three years from Aug. 5 and the District Magistrate of Patna was appointed to be in charge of the municipality.

Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer, Vice-chancellor of the University of Travancore, repudiated the theory propounded by Mr. Edward Thompson and others both in India and abroad that the Indian States were mere creations of the Paramount Power and as such could lay claim to no special rights or privileges and could even be eliminated.

Khan Bahadur S. Mahamed Jan, M. L. C. (Bengal), in a statement, said: "While Mr. Jinnah appealed to the Press and to the Leaders of all Communities 'to maintain complete truce and apply their energies to create an atmosphere of friendliness and goodwill', he felt no scruple to cast aspersions upon those Muslim parties who are opposed to his present politics by describing them as 'mush-room political coteries attempting to create disunity and disruption among the Muslims."

**7th.** It was announced at Lahore that the Punjab Government would enter the market for a loan of Rs. 2,70,00,000 in the form of a further issue of the 3% Punjab Bonds, 1953. The bonds would bear interest of 3% p. a.

Mrs. V. L. Pandit in an interview at Allahabad said. "Satisfaction has been expressed that no recurrence of last year's tragedy can take place in Bengal and that the general condition is free from anxiety. This picture is a misleading one and famine in Bengal cannot be referred to in the past tense."

The Famine Inquiry Commission heard Mr. Tyson, Secretary, and Sir Pheroze Kharegat, Additional Secretary, Education, Health and lands Department.

In connexion with the second anniversary of the arrest of Indian leaders the India League issued a public appeal (from New York) for release of leaders addressed to lord Halifax, signed by 110 prominent Americans including leading educationists, authors, columnists, Church and Labour spokesmen.

**8th.** The Mysore Government served an externment order on Rev. R. R. Keitham, the American missionary and social worker in India, directing him to leave Mysore State before August 17.

His Excellency Sir John Colville, Governor of Bombay, addressing a recruiting meeting in Pandharpur declared: "I have no sympathy with those who call for freedom, yet will take no part in the war".

Mahatma Gandhi, in an interview at Wardha said: "I would urge upon critics not to mind my inconsistencies, so-called or real. Let them examine the question on its merits and bless the effort if they can."

At the invitation of the Chief Minister (Bengal) Sir Nazimuddin, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, Rai H. N. Choudhury and Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal, representing the opposition in the Bengal Legislature, met him at a conference in the Assembly buildings to discuss the Secondary Education Bill with a view to coming to a settlement on the controvesial provisions of the measure.

Mr. P. N. Sapru, in an interview at Allahabad, said: "I value the integrity of India very much, but I confess that I attach great importance to the Independence of the Indian people."

**9th.** The Bengal Legislative Council was adjourned for want of quorum.

H. H. the Maharaja Bikaner, in a statement to the press, called for a full recognition and encouragement of the new forces at work in the Indian State and declared that the Princes did not consider themselves separate from the rest of India, and that they wished to see India rise to her full height, in which "the States have a rightful and important place to fill."

**10th.** Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, Supply Member, Government of India, met the general committee of the Indian Jute Mills Association and discussed coal economies, coal allocations, the position of mills outside the Association Membership and the Association's dump scheme.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, Khan Bahadur M. Hossain, Minister for Agriculture, replying to questions on the high prices of fish and vegetables, stated: "Bengal Government have acquired 3,000 acres of land for growing vegetables, and the major portion of the produce will go to the Military, so that they may no longer encroach on the supplies meant for civilian consumption."

Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, in a Press statement from Madras, appealed to Mahatma Gandhi and his colleagues "to abandon their present misguided enterprise" for a solution of the communal problem.

**11th.** Mr. V. D. Savarkar, in a telegram to Mr. N. C. Chatterjee, from Bombay, said: "It is most encouraging to note Hindu Bengal has risen to the occasion to defend the integrity of India. Our fathers got smashed the partition of Bengal. We, their sons, must smash the proposed partition of India even before it is settled."

The Secretary of State for India appointed Sir Torick Ameer Ali, acting chief Justice of Bengal, as one of his advisers from November. 11.

Master Tara Singh, the Akali leader, expressed the view at Lahore: "In the event of the partition of India into Hindusthan and Pakisthan, the Sikhs would not rest content without a Sovereign State of their own, comprising Lahore and Amritsar, the two most important centres associated with Sikh history and culture."

Sir Azizul Haque, member of the Viceroy's Executive Council in charge of Commerce, Industries and Civil Supplies Department declared in Calcutta: "The Government of India are making all efforts to safeguard India's internal economy from the impact of forces after the war."

Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer, Dewan of Travancore in an interview at Trivandrum, said: "There are occasions where plain speaking at all costs becomes an elementary duty; and it is heartening at this juncture to read the moving appeal by Mr. Srinivasa Sastri."

**12th.** Mr. Rafi Butt, in an interview at Lahore, said: The main object of the Muslim League Planning Committee is to draw up a programme for the economic regeneration of the Muslim Community.

The Famine Inquiry Commission held its first meeting in Calcutta. The Commission heard the evidence of Major-General Wood, Director General of Munition Production and formerly Secretary, Food Department, Government of India.

**13th.** A representative Conference of the Hindus of the Punjab, (at Lahore) passed a resolution strongly protesting against the C. R. formula.

Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, addressing a public meeting in Madras, in an exhaustive and critical analysis of the C. R. formula, strongly opposed it.

**14th.** At the joint Session of the two Houses of the Travancore Legislature, a record surplus of Rs. 125,33 lakhs (for 1944-45) was anticipated by the Financial Secretary to the Travancore Government, Mr. S. Narayana Aiyar. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan President, presided.

Sir Feroz Khan Noon resumed his duties as Defence Member of the Viceroy's Council.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, in a statement at Allahabad, said: "I am entirely opposed to the idea of Pakistan."

**15th.** In the Bengal Legislative Council, the Chief Minister, Sir Nazimuddin explained the arrangements made by the Government for the distribution of quinine and other anti-malarial drugs in the districts.

A statement issued by prominent leaders of the Punjab including Sir Gokulchand Narang, said: "The Hindus of the Punjab stand united for the Geographical and political unity of India, but the C. R. formula aims at dismemberment and disintegration of the country."

Allama Mashriqui, the Khaksar leader, expressed the hope that Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah would be able to come to a settlement in the course of a letter from Lahore to the two leaders.

**16th.** The Calcutta Corporation adopted a resolution supporting the move of Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah to end the political deadlock in India and wishing their every success.

Sir John Woodhead (Chairman) gave an idea of the task before the Famine Inquiry Commission at an informal meeting of the members of the Commission and representatives of the Calcutta Press and news agencies in Calcutta.

**17th.** The Bengal Legislative Council, by 22 votes to 13, defeated an adjournment motion relating to the alleged non-availability of rice at Midnapore and neighbouring villages.

The Famine Inquiry Commission heard the evidence of Mr. M. C. Innes, formely grains purchasing officer under the Bengal Government.

The Punjab Government during the week ended August 10, despatched 4,436 tons of food grains to the deficit provinces. Of this, 1,537 tons of wheat was sent to the N. W. F. P.

**18th.** The Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga, presiding at the All-India Landholders' Conference in Calcutta, made an appeal to landholders to play their legitimate part in shaping the future of the country.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, the Agriculture Minister, Khan Bahadur S. M. Hossain made two statements, one about the Government plan to increase the milk supply in the province and the other relating to the appointment of Army officers to some civilian posts.

The Famine Inquiry Commission examined witnesses (in Calcutta), Major-Gen. Paton, formely surgeon-General, Dr. B. Mookerjee and Major Lakshman, past and present directors of Public Health respectively.

The Government of Bengal directed an enquiry into certain allegations made personally against Mr. B. P. Pain (Minister for Communications and Works), when holding the office of Chairman of the Howrah Municipality.

Correspondence passed between His Excellency the Viceroy & Mahatma Gandhi. The Viceroy stated inter alia: "If you submit to me a definite and constructive policy, I shall be glad to consider it."—Mahatma Gandhi's proposals were not accepted.

**19th.** The Famine Inquiry Commission examined more witnesses on medical and public health services.

The Rt. Hon. Srinivas Sastri expressed the view in Madras that the latest pronouncement of the Viceroy had worsened the situation and was calculated to frustrate efforts to bring about Hindu-Muslim settlement.

**20th.** At the concluding session of the All-India Landholders' Conference in Calcutta various problems affecting the rights and welfare of the landholding Community were discussed. Maharajadhiraja Bahadur U. C. Mahtab of Burdwan presided.

The Sikh Panthic (representative) Conference held at Amritsar under the presidentship of Mr. Mohan Singh adopted a resolution condemning and rejecting the C. R. formula and authorizing Master Tara Singh to carry on negotiations with various organizations in the country with a view to safeguarding the claims and rights of the Sikh Community.

The Bombay Legislative Congress Party at its meeting in Bombay, adopted a resolution supporting the proposals made by Mahatma Gandhi for the solution of the political deadlock and condemning the attitude of the British Government towards them, as revealed in the statements of the Secretary of State in the House of Commons and of the Viceroy in his reply to Mahatma Gandhi's letter.

**21st.** The Famine Inquiry Commission in Calcutta heard the Nawab of Dacca, who was Minister for Agriculture and also acted as Minister for Commerce for a short time in the Fazlul Haque Ministry.—The Nawab gave an account of the steps he took to establish the Directorate of Civil Supplies and his assessment of the deteriorating food position at the time.

Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, in a statement from Madras said: "If power is not to be transferred, the formula, of which the last clause is the linchpin, no longer stands. The Pakistan basis of the meeting between the two great leaders is cut off."

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in a statement from Bombay observed: "I categorically deny that I have ever made am offer or sent any scheme referred to in that report to any member of the Sikh Community or any body else. On the

contrary, I have, both publicly and privately, requested the Sikh leaders, to send me their considered proposals which they deem to be in the best interests of the Sikh Community, assuring them that I shall endeavour to meet them in every possible way".

**22nd.** The Famine Inquiry Commission heard Mr. P. N. Bannerjee, who was formely Minister of Revenue (Bengal) and was the first Minister of Civil Supplies in the Fazlul Haque Ministry.

The Fisheries Department of the Government of Bengal, in order to improve fish supply in Calcutta and to increase its production in the districts, worked hard to give effect to various schemes spread over the entire province.

**23rd.** Master Tara Singh, the Akali leader, commenting on Mr. Jinnah's statement said at Amritsar: "Mr. Jinnah, while contradicting the false report of his making an offer to the Sikhs, invites the Sikhs to send him proposals for safeguarding Sikh interests. Why should the Sikhs send their petition to Mr. Jinnah: why should he presume that he and Mr. Gandhi are the final authorities who can seal the fate of the Sikhs?"

Dr. B. S. Moonje, in a Press statement from Bombay, made an appeal to Hindu youths "not to see Mr. Gandhi, go to Bombay to see Mr. Jinnah, if they desire to save the Hindu nation from committing suicide.

**24th.** The Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, addressing the members of the Maharastra Mandal, Vepery, Madras, reiterated his opposition to Pakistan and threw out a suggestion that the issue be decided by a board of arbitrators consisting of a Chinese, a Frenchman and an American.

**25th.** Mr. Rajagopalachari, addressing a public meeting at Triplicane, made an appeal to Indians to trust Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah and abide by their decisions.

The Travancore Assembly continued discussion on the Land Revenue and Income-Tax demand.

The Government of Mysore announced the appointment of Mr. T. Singaravelu Mudaliar as Vice-chancellor of the Mysore University in place of Mr. E. G. Mc Alpine.

**26th.** Sir Thomas Rutherford, Governor of Bihar, in his speech at a Provincial Durbar at Ranchi, dealt on the policy and programme of the Provincial Government.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, in a message to Mr. S. Pande, Secretary, All-India Hindu Students' Federation, said: "We must stand by the integrity of our motherland and defend Hindustan to the last breath.

In the Sri Mulam Assembly (Trivandrum) discussion on the demand for a grant of Rs. 55,42,685 for the Registration Department, moved by Mr. Madhhva Kumpa, Director of Registration, was continued.

**27th.** Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, addressing a public meeting in Madras, referred at the outset to the movement contemplated in Aug. 1942 and said that there was a large section of the people, namely Muslims, who said that they had nothing to do with that movement.

The *Manchester Guardian* raised the question whether elections for the Indian Provincial Legislatures should not be held at once—"as soon, that is, the military situation renders it safe to release the interned Congress leaders."

**28th.** Sir Sultan Ahmed, Member for Information and Broadcasting in his address to the Publicity Advisory Committee (New Delhi) surveyed the progress of the Government of India's publicity activities.

**29th.** At a joint Press Conference in Calcutta, a strong plea to the public to be their own censors, both in speech and writing, was made by high military spokesmen of the Eastern Command.

**30th.** Mr. M. A. Jinnah sent a telegram to Mahatma Gandhi advising that September 7—or any day thereafter—would suit him for his meeting with Mahatma Gandhi.

Mr. M. K. Vellodi, Textile Commissioner, Government of India, accompanied by Mr. T. Jones, Textile Controller, Bengal, visited the Muslim Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta, and discussed with the representatives of the Chamber, questions relating to cloth and yarn trade.

The Travancore Sri Mulam Assembly reassembled, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan President presiding, and transacted non-official business.

31st. Members of the Famine Inquiry Commission who spent nearly a week in different districts of Bengal visiting a number of towns and villages and inspecting transport arrangements, distribution, storage and medical facilities, returned to Calcutta.

At a meeting of the Committee of the Bihar Chamber of Commerce, held at Patna, it was decided to send a telegram to H. E. the Viceroy to release the Congress Working Committee members and thereby initiate a move for ending the deadlock.

## September 1944

The Gandhi-Jinnah negotiations which were carried on since September 9, broke down on September 27, when the two leaders met for the last time for one and a half hours. Mr. Jinnah handed over to Pressmen copies of the correspondence which passed between him and Mahatma Gandhi in the course of the Bombay talks.

The correspondence revealed that the two leaders could not come to an agreement on the question of the two nations theory, plebiscite and other issues.

Giani Sher Singh, an Akali leader stated at Lahore that the Sikhs would demand an independent Sovereign Sikh State in the event of Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah agreeing to the proposal of a division of the country into Hindu India and Muslim India.

Pearl Buck became the Joint Honorary President of the India League of America.

85 professors of the Delhi University, signed a joint statement supporting Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah.

Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah met at the latter's residence in Bombay on September 9th.

A deputation on behalf of the Hindu Women's Association waited on Sir Asoka Roy, Law Member, Government of India re : Hindu Intestate Succession Bill.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League issued an *Id* message, in which he stated that he was glad to note that the Muslims were "moving from strength to strength."

Sikh opposition to Rajagopalachari-Gandhi formula was voiced by a number of speakers at Rawalpindi, including Master Tara Singh, Sardar Mangal Singh and Sardar Ajit Singh.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Labour Member to the Government of India, at a meeting at Hyderabad, emphasised that the goal of the Depressed classes was the sharing of the power of the Government of the country.

Dr. B. S. Moonje expressed his view in Madras that the division of India into Hindustan & Pakistan would neither promote unity nor secure Independence.

The India (Miscellaneous Provisions) Bill which made certain minor technical amendments to the Government of India Act was given a second reading in the House of Commons.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, in a statement from Bombay said that the proposal to vivisect India had assumed "a far more dangerous aspect.....than it had on the day when the (Gandhi-Jinnah) talks began".

1st. A Press Note stated that evidence was recorded before the Famine Inquiry Commission by the official Congress Parliamentary Party which was represented by Dr. N. Sanyal and Dr. A. C. Ukil.

Giani Sher Singh, a prominent Akali leader, said at Lahore: "If Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah finally agreeupon the division of the country into Hindu India and Muslim India, the Sikhs would demand the creation of an independent sovereign Sikh State."

2nd. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, in a statement from Bombay, said: "My attention has been drawn to a report of Master Tara Singh's interview that has appeared in the Press. The statement made by Master Tara Singh that I had made an offer to Raja Maheswar Dayal Seth, which was discussed at a Delhi meeting of Hindus and Sikhs is entirely untrue."

Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, former Bengal Premier, convened a conference in Calcutta of all-India Nationalist Muslims to consider their attitude and programme in respect of the proposals for a Hindu-Muslim settlement and the C. R. formula.

The Famine Inquiry Commission heard the evidence of representatives of the Indian federation of labour, the Radical Democratic Party, the Communist Party of Bengal, the Bengal Provincial Kishan Sabha and the Bolshevik Party of India.

3rd. Mr. K. Akram Khan, Vice President of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League, Dr. A. M. Malek, M.L.A., Secretary, Bengal Muslim League Parliamentary Party and Mr. Abdul Kasim, M.L.A., joint secretary, Bengal Coalition Party, issued a statement strongly criticizing Professor Thompson's letter to the *Spectator* on the Indian deadlock.

4th. Pearl Buck became the joint Honorary President of the India League of America with Dr. Lin Yu tang, Chinese author and philosopher.

A Press Note stated that continuing their examination of non-official witnesses, the Famine Inquiry Commission heard representatives of the Marwari, Bengal National, Indian and Muslim Chambers of Commerce.

5th. The Travancore Sri Chitra State Council commenced session at Trivandrum, with Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan President, in the chair.

The Akali leader, Master Tara Singh, told Press representatives that the Rajagopalachari-Gandhi formula was positively dangerous to the Sikhs. He said: "It is not so much the vivisection of India as that of the Sikhs. According to this the Sikh community will be so divided that one half of them will go under Muslim rule and the other half under Hindu rule. This is certainly a death blow to one political status and we cannot agree to it."

Sir J. P. Srivastava, food member, addressing the Committee of the Indian Merchants' Chamber on the food situation in India, said: "Taking the country as a whole, in respect of price control and of movement under the basic plan, the position is not too unsatisfactory. I do not suggest that the food problem has been solved or that we are yet out of the wood."

Mahatma Gandhi presided over a meeting of the All-India Village Industries Association at Sevagram. It was decided to arrange for training in rural hygiene and sanitation and to carry out tests in Maganwadi to examine the possibilities of using bullocks in connection with the manufacture of paper pulp.

6th. 85 Professors, including four Principals, belonging to different Colleges of the University of Delhi, signed a joint statement which said that the meeting between Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah offered an opportunity to make a decisive shift in the political situation.

Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chetty, giving an account of the Bretton Woods conference to students in Madras, said that this was the first of the great peace conferences as it undertook to tackle some of the problems which the peace would force on the world.

7th. A Press Note on how Bihar faced the food crisis on the previous year was described by the representatives of the Bihar Government headed by Mr. R. E. Russel, Adviser to the Governor of Bihar, in their evidence before the Famine Inquiry Commission in Calcutta.

8th. Mahatma Gandhi told Mr. Hari Prasanna Misra, General Secretary, All-India Hindu Students' Federation at Wardha: "I will not ignore or compromise a single interest, be sure."

9th. Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah met at the latter's residence (Bombay).

Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah, in a joint statement, said: "We have had

there hours' frank and friendly talk which will be resumed at 5-30 p. m. on Monday."

Lt. Col. Malik Khizr Hyat Khan Tiwana, Premier of the Punjab, protested against the reflections on the Indian Army by Mr. William Phillips, President Roosevelt's personal representative in India.

The Famine Inquiry Commission heard Mr. Tarak Nath Mukherjee, Revenue Minister, Bengal on the organization of relief measures during the famine of the previour year.

Mr. N. C. Chatterjee, presiding at the Barisal Hindu Conference, reiterated his condemnation of the Rajagopalachari formula.

**10th.** Mr. M. S. Aney, Government of India's Representative in Ceylon, in a Press statement, wished success to Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah in arriving at a settlement of the Hindu Muslim problem, first, on the footing of an undivided and indivisible India and secondly, with due regard to the interests of other minorities.

Mr. Tushar Kanti Ghosh put Bengal's special difficulties before Mahatma Gandhi at Bombay in detail and expressed apprehension that her interests might not be safeguarded if a proper realisation of such difficulties was not made at the time.

**11th.** The talks between Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah lasted from 5-30 p. m.

Just after his talks, addressing the congregation at Birla House, Mahatma Gandhi said : "We are fully alive to our responsibility and are straining every nerve to come to a settlement. But we realise that ultimately the result lies in God's good hands. You should, therefore, all pray that He may guide us and give us wisdom to serve the cause of India."

Mahatmaji added that Mr. Jinnah told him : "If we part without coming to an agreement, we shall proclaim bankruptcy of wisdom on our part."

A deputation on behalf of the Hindu Women's Association waited on Sir Asoka Roy, Law Member, Government of India when they submitted their protest against the enactment of the proposed Hindu Intestate Succession Bill.

Release of political leaders and the establishment of a National Government were urged by the Commonwealth Party of England, in a booklet, which embodied the Party's policy for the year 1944-45.

**12th.** The Gandhi-Jinnah talks were resumed at 10-30 a. m. and lasted two-and-a-half hours in the morning. The leaders met again in the afternoon from 5-30 to 7 p. m.

The Bombay Government's post-war reconstruction plan was the subject of a long discussion when the Bombay Provincial Rural Development Board resumed its meeting.

**13th.** The Gandhi-Jinnah talks were resumed. In the morning the two leaders met for two hours and a quarter.

In the Memorandam furnished to the Famine Inquiry Commission were mentioned the large increase in the population of Calcutta, the effect of air raids, disturbances in trade, large scale purchases by industrial concerns and rise in prices.

A deputation on behalf of four associations waited on Sir Asoka Roy, Law Member, Government of India, and explained the reasons for their opposition to the Hindu Law Committee as also the draft Hindu Code published by the committee.

Sir Aziz-ul-Heque, Commerce Member, Government of India, when he met the Bombay Muslim Chamber of Commerce in Bombay, declared : "There would be no occasion for any Government intervention if tradesmen behaved properly and sought moderate profits, but if they created conditions of famine in particular commodities, then the Government would certainly intervene."

**14th.** A Press Note said what relief organizations were able to achieve and the nature of the problems which engaged the attention of the Famine Inquiry commission, when they heard the evidence of non-official relief societies.

His Excellency Sir Maurice Hallett, Governor of the United Provinces, opening the annual session of the Council of the Indian Roads Congress at Lucknow, emphasised that there must be an All-India Transport Board to co-ordinate the development of railways, road transport and air lines, to deal also with the development of the Indian postal and telegram system, and in particular the improvement and extension of the telephone service.

The Calcutta University requested the Government of India to exempt it from the operation of the Paper Control Order. It also asked for permission to manufacture answer books and to print its calendar pamphlets, handbooks and textbooks as before.

The resumed Gandhi-Jinnah meeting lasted about 100 minutes.

Mahatma Gandhi's 75th. birthday was celebrated in Bombay.

**15th.** A deputation of the Princes' Chamber waited on the Viceroy to discuss questions relating to the Indian States in general. The deputation included the Chancellor, the Pro-Chancellor, and the rulers of Baroda, Bahawalpur, Bikaner, Patiala, Dholpur, Dungarpur and Rampur.

Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah met again, the talks lasting an hour and 40 minutes.

**16th.** Mr. Lalchand Hirachand, in his presidential address at the 12th. annual meeting of the Indian Sugar Mills Association, held at Cawnpore, observed: "I cannot agree to the total control, as is being exercised at present by the Government. Any system of control must bear a relationship to the level of economic development of a country. The striking features of the war-time economic controls in India is that there is control without development.

A Press Note stated how the famine situation developed in Bengal, the measures which the Government took and the widespread nature of the problems which faced the province were reviewed by Sir Nazimuddin, Chief Minister, before the Famine Inquiry Commission.

The Commission also heard Mr. N. R. Sarker who gave an account of the policy pursued by the Government of India, of which he was member from August 1941, until February, 1943. In a memorandum furnished to the commission, Mr. Sarker gave his analysis of the causes of the famine and his views on the future.

**17th.** A meeting of the Working Committee of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha was held in Calcutta, Dr. S. P. Mookerjee presiding. The meeting passed a resolution contending that due to the bad storage arrangements of the Bengal Government, thousands of maunds of foodstuff become decomposed and had to be thrown away.

The Gandhi-Jinnah meeting lasted an hour and a half.

Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, supply member, opening the National Rolling Mill near Calcutta said that the progress the country had made during the war, especially industrial progress, was a matter of great satisfaction. To some extent, it had exceeded pre-war ideas.

Sir Zia-ud-Din Ahmed, Vice-Chancellor, Aligarh Muslim University and a signatory to the Sargent scheme of post-war education, in an article examined the scheme from the Muslim point of view.

**18th.** Sir John Burder and Messrs Guthrie, Campbell and Fairbairn gave evidence before the Famine Inquiry Commission on behalf of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League issued an "Id" message. He said: "Since my last "Id" message to you, our progress as a nation has been steady and solid. We have moved from strength to strength, and to-day, I am happy to say, I find the Mussalmans of India united as one man, ready for any sacrifice for the advancement of our national cause."

**19th.** The Gandhi-Jinnah talks lasted 90 minutes. Mahatma Gandhi's earnest prayer to all present was that if they had the good of the country at heart and wanted India to be free and independent at the earliest moment, they should establish the closest bonds of friendship between Hindus and Muslims and members of all other communities. That was the best that every one of them was expected to do and could do.

Sikh opposition to Rajagopalachari—Gandhi formula was voiced by a number of speakers including Master Tara Singh, Sardar Mangal Singh, M.L.A., (Central) and Sardar Ajit Singh, Frontier Minister, in the course of speeches delivered at the Rawalpindi Akali Conference.

Mr. G. C. DeCruz, President of the Southern India Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association referred to the future of Anglo-Indians in the national life of the country, with particular reference to education and colonisation.

**20th.** Id-ul Fitr, one of the most important Muslim festivals, which marks the end of the 30 days' fast in the month of Ramzan, was celebrated throughout India.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Labour Member to the Government of India, at a meeting organized by the Hyderabad State Scheduled Castes' Federation, emphasised that the goal of the depressed classes was the sharing of the power of the Government of the country.

**21st.** The Gandhi-Jinnah talks lasted over 100 minutes. The main point at issue appeared to be the question of plebiscite. While the Rajagopalachari formula insisted on a plebiscite before Pakistan is brought into being, Mr. Jinnah was understood to be determined on Muslims having the right to Pakistan without a plebiscite.

H. E. Mr. R. G. Casey, Governor of Bengal, in a message broadcast to the people of Bengal from Calcutta, said : "The comparative steadiness of the price of rice at its substantially reduced level is solid cause for both satisfaction and confidence in the progress Bengal is making towards recovery, although no one is complacent about it."

The revised draft code of Hindu Law, prepared by the Hindu Law Committee, appointed by the Government of India, was published for general information.

Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, in a speech in Madras, strongly defended his proposal for reference of the Pakistan issue to an international court of arbitration. He failed to understand how, when Indians agreed to divide, anybody in the world would regard them as a united body.

That division of India into Pakistan and Hindustan would neither promote unity nor secure independence for them, was the theme of an address delivered by Dr. Moonje in Madras.

**22nd.** The Policy Committee of the U. N. R. R. A. passed a resolution which would empower the U. N. R. R. A. to entend its activities to India should famine and disease prevail there.

Mr. B. M. Birla in his presidential address at the second quarterly general meeting of the Indian Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta, discussed the question of industrialisation of the country and the difficulty in the way of its achievement.

**23rd.** The Gandhi-Jinnah talks lasted an hour-and-a-half.

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, announced the postponement of the Muslim League Committee which was fixed for September 27.

Dr. B. S. Moonje, addressing a public meeting in Madras, appealed to all Hindus to consolidate their ranks as the only effective means of safeguarding the integrity of India and her freedom in the future. Dr. P. Varadarajulu presided over the meeting.

The Mysore Government sustained two defeats in the Representative Assembly, when the House expressed itself against the Mysore Prisons (amendment) Bill and the Mysore City Municipalities (Amendment) Bill.

The Secretary, Hyderabad State Andhra Conference issued a statement on the food situation in the State, stressing the immediate need for effecting certain changes in the procurement scheme adopted by the Government.

The Working Committee of the All-India Scheduled Castes Federation in a resolution adopted in Madras, expressed disapproval of "the secret negotiations which are being carried on by Mr. Jinnah for a settlement between the Hindus and Muslims" on the ground that communal settlement of a sectional character "is harmful in every way". Rao Bahadur N. Sivaraj presided. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Labour Member, Government of India, participated in the deliberations.

**24th.** Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, addressing a public meeting in Madras, canvassed the view that the Scheduled Castes were a separate element in the national life of India. Rao Bahadur N. Sivaraj presided.

Mahatma Gandhi in a statement referred to the publication of a report in a local paper that the Sevagram Ashram was to be disbanded.

**25th.** The Gandhi-Jinnah talks continued.

A meeting of the Muslim League Assembly Party was held under the presidency of Mr. Ghulam Hossain Hidayatullah to discuss certain administrative matters on which the provincial League working committee had made adverse comments. The meeting was held at the instance of the premier who had been

directed by the League High command to place the matter before the League Assembly Party.

The Nawab of Chhattari, President of the Nizam's Executive Council, inaugurating the 19th. annual session of the Bombay Provincial Muslim Educational conference at Poona, outlined certain features which, he said, should be stressed in the education of Muslims.

Khan Bahadur M. Khuhro, Revenue Minister, Sindh, who resigned, was arrested at his residence.

**26th.** Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, who returned from inspecting Indian divisions fighting in Italy, vigorously repudiated at a Press conference the allegations published in the U.S.A. that the Indian Army was "Mercenary" and its morale "low."

The Bombay Provincial Muslim Educational conference, which concluded its two day session, adopted a number of resolutions on the Sargent scheme for post-war educational development of India.

A plea to safeguard the interests of Indian Christians in any future constitution was put forward at a meeting of the executive committee of the All-India Council of Indian Christians in Calcutta. Raja Sir Maharaj Singh presided.

**27th.** The protracted Gandhi-Jinnah talks initiated at the instance of Mahatma Gandhi on September 9, with a view to arriving at a settlement between the Congress and the Muslim League, failed.—At the end of the day's talk Mr. Jinnah in a brief statement said : "I regret to say I have failed in the task of converting Mr. Gandhi. We have therefore released to the Press the correspondence that has passed between us."

With the immersion of images of Goddess Durga in the Hooghly river, the main celebrations of the Puja festivities in Calcutta came to an end.

The India (Miscellaneous Provisions) Bill which made certain minor technical amendments to the Government of India Act was given a second reading in the House of Commons, after a brief explanation by Mr. Amery and an assurance that nothing in the Bill had been the subject of controversy in India.

**28th.** Mahatma Gandhi said at a Press conference in Bombay : "It is a matter of deep regret that we could not reach an agreement, but there is no cause for disappointment."

Sir A. P. Patro, ex-minister of the Madras Government, inaugurated at the co-operators' Home in the Praja Paksha (people's) Party, under the presidency of Dr. T. S. Siddappa.

Mr. Amery declined in the Commons to say anything about the breakdown of the Gandhi-Jinnah discussions until the situation was cleared.

**29th.** Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, in a statement from Bombay, said that the proposal to vivisect India had assumed "a far more dangerous aspect now when the Gandhi-Jinnah talks are adjourned than it had on the day when the talks began." He appealed to all those opposed to the partitioning of India to support the Akhand Hindusthan Leaders' Conference.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Labour Member, replying to the Municipal address at Rajahmundry, said : "If as a result of the end of the Gandhi-Jinnah talks, Mr. Gandhi now believes that he must revise his ideology, there is a great prospect before the country."

**30th.** Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, the Premier of Bengal, in a statement on the breakdown of the Bombay talks, said : "The time has been when representatives of all sections of Muslim political thought in India should come together and decide the best means of achieving the independence of India and of having their Pakistan also, if indispensably necessary."

Dr. Shyama Prosad Mukerjee, interviewed on the breakdown of the Gandhi-Jinnah talks, said : "Mr. Gandhi called for a rebuff from Mr. Jinnah and he has got it. Mr. Jinnah has nothing to lose from the breakdown of the talks. He must be happy that Mr. Gandhi has at last agreed to the principle of partition of India though he has not accepted all of Mr. Jinnah's terms for giving effect to it."

Mr. Ghulam Muhamad, the Finance Member, presenting the Budget for the Hyderabad State, said : "I have no proposals for leavying any additional taxes or for reduction or modification in any of the existing ones."

## October 1944

Mahatma Gandhi's 75th. birthday was celebrated at Wardha and other places.

The Sindh Government stopped the annual grant of Rs. 12,000 to the D. J. National College, Hyderabad.

Glowing tributes to the services of Dr. Annie Beasant in the cause of Indian nationalism were paid at a public meeting in Madras.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Labour Member to the Government of India strongly criticized the Gandhi-Jinnah talks in Bombay.

Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, in reply to a question in the House of Commons, said : I understand from published reports that the conversation between Mr. Jinnah and Mr Gandhi broke down over the issue of Pakistan."

Mr. M. A. Jinnah said in Bombay : "There is only one practical, realistic way of resolving Muslim-Hindu differences. This is to divide India into two sovereign parts of Pakistan and Hindustan."

Dr. Radha Kumud Mukherjee, in his presidential address to the Akhand Hindusthan Conference, in New Delhi, made an appeal to all communities to solve their problems by a comprehensive scheme of culural autonomy.

The Punjab Christian Association Conference made the suggestion to call a round table conference of all important communities for solving the constitutional deadlock.

The India Miscellaneous Provisions Bill, which made minor amendments to the Government of India Act of 1935, was passed into law.

The Punjab Government released six prominent Akali Leaders.

The All-India Akali Conference was held at Lahore, Jathadar Pritham Singh presided. He strongly opposed the Pakistan idea.

The Central Standing Committee of the All India Shia Political Conference met at Lucknow, Mr. Syed Ali Zaheer presided :—The attitude of Mr. Jinnah in regard to the demand of the Sikhs was examined.

Mr. Amery, in reply to a question in the Commons, said : "About 15,000 Congress detainees have been released since their original detention.

The Committee of the Natal Indian Conference unanimously rejected the Presidential Property Regulation Ordinance.

Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri pleaded for a fair stand on the question of undivided India.

Lord Listowel was appointed Parliamentary Under-secretary for India.

1st. Mahatma Gandhi and party returned to Sewagram. The Council of the National Liberal Federation of India, at its meeting at Allahabad, passed, among other, resolutions, one noting with regret the wholly unjustifiable agitation against the Indian Community in Natal by important bodies of Europeans in that province.

2nd. The Sindh Government in the Education Department stopped the annual grant of Rs. 12,000 to the D. J. National College, Hyderabad, affiliated to the University of Bombay for the B. A., and B. Sc., degree courses.

Glowing tributes to the services of Dr. Annie Besant in the cause of Indian Nationalism were paid at a public meeting held in Madras to celebrate the "Founder's Day" of the young Men's Indian Association with Sir S. Varadachariar in the chair.

At a Press Conference in Bombay, Sir John Woodhead, Chairman of the Famine Inquiry Commission said that the work of the Commission was not merely concerned with a post-mortem of the past, but it also took a long term

view of the whole question of famine in India and included such problems as food procurement and diet.

Mahatma Gandhi's birthday celebrations began at Wardha. The Congress flag was unfurled by Prof. Bhansali.

Chaudhury Khaliq-uz-zaman, a member of the Muslim League Working Committee said at Bhopal, "The breakdown of negotiations between Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah has caused deep disappointment throughout the country. There is, however, a ray of hope that they may yet meet again to find a solution."

George Bernard Shaw sent congratulations to Mahatma Gandhi on his 75th birthday.

3rd. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, in the course of an address on "our culture and Heritage" in Madras, observed : "The keynote of Indian heritage and culture was striving towards unity and amalgamation, and it was not in consonance with their history or traditions to break up India's oneness."

4th. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, at a Press conference in Bombay, strongly criticized Mahatma Gandhi's offer to the Muslim League during the talks in Bombay. He declared that if the League had consented to Mahatma Gandhi's terms, it would have brought in a National Government, "with an overwhelming and solid Hindu majority, which would mean virtual Hindu Raj."

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, answering a question at the Press interview in Bombay, said : It is not true that the Lahore session of the League Council gave me full sanction to negotiate with Gandhiji on the basis of C. R. formula."

Dr. Moonje, in an interview at Bezwada, said : "The Hindu Mahasabha had no quarrels with Dr. Ambedkar. "In fact," he added, "all his demands are conceded by the Sabha. If we had any quarrels it was with Mahatma Gandhi."

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Labour Member to the Government of India, strongly criticized the Gandhi-Jinnah talks, in a statement from Bombay.

5th. Mr. Amery, in the House of Commons, replying to a question on Bombay talks said : "I understand from published reports that the conversation between Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah broke down over the issue of Pakistan, but that both gave expression to the hope that this was not the final end of their effort. Pending further development, there would seem to be no useful opening for intervention on the part of the Government.

The Bengal Legislative Council, after six weeks' recess met to resume consideration of the Agriculture Incometax Bill—the main business for the season, there being 21 adjournments on the agenda.

His Excellency the Governor of Orissa, at a Press Conference, stated that Mr. B. N. Gokhale had been appointed Second Adviser.—He would be in charge, among others, of Post-War Planning, Health and Local Self-Government.

Mr. Amery told the Commons, he could not see any reason for releasing Pandit Nehru and others who had made no response to the Viceroy's invitation of last February to abandon the policy of non-co-operation and obstruction.

6th. In the Bengal Legislative Council, six non-official resolutions were passed without opposition.—By one of the resolutions, moved by Mr. Bankim Chandra Mukherjee (Hindu Nationalist), the House agreed to present an address to the Governor requesting him "to direct the Government of Bengal to take immediate steps", in compliance with the judgment of the High Court regarding the order of supersession of the Howrah Municipality, and also to safeguard the interest of ratepayers of the Municipality in accordance with the provisions of the Bengal Municipal Act.

Dr. Syed Mahmud, member of the Congress Working Committee was released on grounds of health. Dr. Mahmud was arrested on Aug. 9, 1942.

Mr. Krishna Menon, Secretary of the India League, commenting on Mr. Amery's refusal to release Pandit Nehru and other political prisoners, said : Mr. Amery's answer shows that the deadlock is to continue so long as he is in office."

A public meeting of the Muslims of Bombay was held under the auspices of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League.—The meeting while regretting the breakdown of the Gandhi-Jinnah talks for a settlement, fully supported the stand taken by Mr. Jinnah during the talks and expressed its complete confidence in his leadership.

The Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha passed a resolution condemning the Rajagopalachari formula and Gandhijee's scheme "as being destructive of the integrity of India and being detrimental to the interest of the Hindus as well as of the country as a whole".

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in a conversation with a foreign correspondent in Bombay, said: "There is only one practical, realistic way of resolving Muslim-Hindu differences. This is to divide India into sovereign parts of Pakistan and Hindustan".

**7th.** A Press note issued by the Bombay Government said: "Statements have appeared in the Press that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has been suffering from influenza. This is not correct. Pandit Nehru had an ordinary cold, from which he has recovered, and he is now alert and vigorous and in good health. No fever was recorded and no complaint of fever made".

Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerjee, in his presidental address to the Akhand Hindustan Conference (in New Delhi) made a plea to all communities to solve their problems by a comprehensive scheme of cultural autonomy, and combine to build up India as a democracy whose power would have to be reckoned with by the Comity of Nations.

The Punjab Christians' Association Conference made the suggestion to call a round-table Conference of representatives of all important communities in India for solving the Constitutional deadlock.

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookherjee, President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, presiding over the U. P. Hindu Conference at Gorakhpur, said: "The Hindu Mahasabha unhesitatingly repudiates any scheme of India's partition as a sin and patent untruth which must not admit of any compromise."

**8th.** The Akhand Hindustan Conference with Dr. Radha Kumud Mookherjee in the chair passed a resolution declaring its faith in the oneness and integrity of India and placing on record its firm conviction that the partition of India would be fatal to the best interests of the country as a whole and to those of every community of India.

The Famine Inquiry Commission arrived in Madras. The Commission's visit to Madras included a tour of Calicut, Cochin, Travancore and Bezwada.

Mr. P. Reid, Chairman of the South India Branch of the European Association, presiding at the annual meeting of the Association in Madras, said: "To those who have India's independence at heart, let me say that they have the good will of every European, but let India prepare hereself for independence. It is the responsibility for the well-being of 400,000,000 souls—a responsibility not to be lightly handed over nor cheaply received".

Speaking at a meeting in Madras, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari said that the essential issues emerging from the Gandhi-Jinnah talks were two fold, viz, how to determine the areas wherein Muslims preponderated and how to ascertain the will of the people in such areas.

**9th.** In the Bengal Legislative Council, Sir Nazimuddin, Chief Minister, explained the position in Bengal in regard to restriction on public meetings.

Dr. T. S. S. Rajan, addressing a public meeting at Trichinopoly expressed the view that all sincere patriots would be bitterly disappointed by the unsatifactory outcome of the talks between Gandhiji and Mr. Jinnah.

The 14th. Educational week celebration in Madras was inaugurated in Madras, by Professor K. V. Ramaswami Iyengar, who spoke on the Sargent Scheme of Education.

**10th.** Mr. Srinivas Sastri in a mesage to the Akhand Hindustan Conference held in New Delhi, said: "There is abundant reason to believe that a large section of Congressmen are opposed to the division of the country but it is not easy to determine their number with accuracy. When we add them to those non-Congressmen similary opposed, the aggregate will be such as a responsible statesman must respect and hesitate to overrule."

An "Assembly of U. P. Congressmen" was formed at Cawnpore on the first day of the Conference of Released Congressmen, held under the Presidentship of Mr. Sampurnanand.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, reviewing the Gandhi-Jinnah talks at a public meeting in Madras, said that the proposals made by Gandhiji contained "a perfectly good and reasonable arrangement" and he was quite hopeful that sooner or later a Hindu-Muslim settlement on that basis would be reached.

**11th.** The India Miscellaneous Provisions Bill, which made minor amendments to the Government of India Act of 1935, passed its remaining stages in the Commons and was read the third time without discussion. It has now passed both Houses and awaits Royal assent.

The Famine Inquiry Commission heard in Madras, Messrs. A. R. C. Westlake and E. C. Wood, Members of the Board of Revenue and discussed with them extent of the famine in the affected areas in the Ceded districts and also various relief measures undertaken by the Government. There was a general discussion about the provisions of the Famine Code.

Mr. M. M. Gazdar, Home Minister, Sindh, who returned from a tour of the Hur area, said that the Hur trouble might be considered as a closed chapter.

Mrs. V. L. Pandit, while addressing the Representative Assembly of U. P. Congressmen, said: "Gandhiji: is contemplating giving new lead presently to the country."

**12th.** The Punjab Government passed orders for the release of six prominent Akali leaders, including Sardar Sisbar Singh, Sardar Udham Singh Nagokei and Sardar Waryam Singh.

The Bengal Legislative Council passed clause 66 and the Schedule of the Agricultural Income-tax Bill without any amendment.

The Representative Assembly of U. P. Congressmen at Cawnpore, after a full dress debate, lasting nearly eight hours, adopted a resolution, moved by Mr. Sampurnanand, regretting the breakdown of the Gandhi-Jinnah talks. Babu Purushottam Das Tandon presided.

Mr. Amery told the Commons that six months after the ban on the employment of women underground had been lifted, the Government of India, in accordance with their undertaking, reviewed the position.

**13th.** In the Bengal Legislative Council, the question of the rights and privileges of Indians in reconquered Burma was raised by a special motion.

The Famine Inquiry Commission, at the conclusion of its sittings (in Madras) held a Press Conference, at which the Chairman and members answered questions put to them.

**14th.** The two-day session of the Bengal Provincial Radical Democratic Party Conference commenced at Jaynagar Majilpur, about 31 miles from Calcutta. Mr. Amarendranath Chattopadhyaya, M. L. A. (Central) presiding. Delegates from different parts of the province and outside attended.

The All-India Akali Conference opened at Lahore, thousands of Sikhs from the Punjab and other Provinces came to attend the Conference.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in a two hours interview to the correspondent of the *Daily Worker* of London, cleared several points about Pakistan.

**15th.** Jathedar Pritham Singh, President of the All-India Akali Conference in his speech at Lahore, said: "We, Sikhs are opposed to Pakistan which will cut us into two. Mr. Jinnah invites us to Pakistan by promising us safeguards. If safeguards alone can suffice, why, I ask him, does he not agree to stay in Hindustan with safeguards for the Muslims."

A Press Communique from New Delhi said: "H. M. G. in the course of the previous announcement regarding food imports, undertook to give further consideration to India's requirements for the fourth quarter of 1944. This has now been completed and shipping and supply are being arranged for approximately 300,000 tons of wheat and wheat products to be loaded for India in the months of October, November and December."

**16th.** The Punjab Youth League Conference, under the Chairmanship of Sardar Gurmukh Singh Jhabbal, adopted a resolution that Pakistan, Azad Punjab and Akalistan were equally harmful to the interests of the Sikh Community and that the Youth League was opposed to the vivisection of the country and to any attempt to divide the Sikhs into two parts. The resolution was carried unanimously.

The Central Standing Committee of the All-India Shia Political Conference met at Lucknow, under the Presidentship of Mr. Syed Ali Zaheer, to examine the attitude of Mr. M. A. Jinnah in regard to the demand of the Shias.

The establishment of Utkal University gave a great impetus to higher education in Orissa, and the people of the States and of British Orissa were working side by side for the preservation and advancement of their own culture.

Mr. K. M. Munshi, in a statement from Bombay, said interalia: "The theory that Islam was not only a religion but also a Fatherland was in vogue thirty years ago. This old-world philosophy making the Church and the State indivisible was exploded during and after World War I."

**17th.** The Madras Philosophical Association was inaugurated by Sir Radha Krishnan, Vice-Chancellor of the Benares University, before a large gathering of citizens and educationists. Dr. A. Lakshmanswami Mudaliar, Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University presided.

The Members of the Famine Enquiry Commission after a busy programme at Calicut left for Ernakulam.

Sir Ardeshar Dalal, Member for Planning and Development, Government of India, held a Press conference at Lahore, which ended abruptly, the Press representatives walking out it protest.

**18th.** Sardar Mangal Singh in an interview at Lahore said: "The Sikhs are under no circumstances ready to go in for Pakistan or consent to submit to any communal domination. They want to follow the policy of "live and let live" with their Hindu and Muslim brethren as an equally free community in a United Free India."

**19th.** Mr. L. S. Amery in reply to a question in the House of Commons declared: "About 15,000 Congress detainees have been released since their original detention."

His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir appointed Mr. M. A. Beg and Wazir Gangaram as his first two popular Ministers.

Mr. L. S. Amery, speaking at a meeting of the East India Association, said: "I can say that the Government of this country only wants to see Indian Industry developing to the fullest. The last thing industrialists of this country have in mind is the idea that the British export industry can best prosper by India being held back in the cours of her industrial development."

Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, addressing a public meeting in Madras, urged the country to adopt the Cripps scheme minus the self-determination clause, and uttered a warning that posterity would curse those who started the Pakistan idea.

**20th.** Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, declined to avail himself of the permission granted to Working Committee Members by the Government of India to have interviews with relatives on domestic matters.

The Famine Enquiry Commission which arrived at Trivandrum for the purpose of acquainting themselves with the methods of procurement and the system of State-wide rationing had an informal discussion with the Dewan, Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar.

**21st.** Srimati Kamaladevi Chattopadhya, President of the All-India Women's conference, addressing a mass meeting at Calicut stressed the need for more selfless workers to serve the country.

**22nd.** A resolution expressing confidence in Mr. Jinnah was passed at a conference (at Lahore) of prominent Muslim League Leaders and Workers of the Punjab, including M. L. A's and presidents and secretaries of the various district and city Leagues in the Province.

Inaugurating a Conference on Post-War Development organized by the Dharwar District Local Board, Mr. M. R, Masani declared that "any plan worth the name must be not only post-war but post-Swaraj."

Dr. G. S. Arundale, President of the Theosophical Society, in a Press interview at Allahabad suggested that Hindus should offer Muslims fifty percent representation at the centre.

**23rd.** In the Bengal Legislative Council, a walk-out by the members of the opposition excepting two, marked the proceedings when after a week's recess the Agricultural Income-tax Bill was taken up for consideration.

Dr. Syed Mahmud, former Member of the Congress Working Committee, in a statement to the Press set out the circumstances which led to his release from detention. His release followed a letter which he wrote to the Viceroy.—Dr. Mahmud said: "I made it clear in my letter that I was not writing to get my release but my object was something high and different."

Mahatma Gandhi in a statement on Dr. Mahmud's correspondence with the Viceroy said: "Congressmen should read without passion Dr. Mahmud's letter to the Viceroy and his statement to the Press releasing those letters."

Master Tara Singh, the Akali Leader, in a statement said: "The Sikh position has always been that they are prepared to agree to pure unadulterated nationalism throughout India, provided that Muslims and the other minorities also agree."

24th. In the Bengal Legislative Council, the debate on the third reading of the Agricultural Income-tax Bill came to an abrupt end following a closure motion, by a member of the Ministerialist Party. The opposition left the Chamber as a mark of protest. The Bill was passed without any modification.

The Committee of the Natal Indian Congress unanimously rejected the Presidential Property Regulation Ordinance, and asked Prime Minister Smuts to receive a deputation before the 2nd reading of the ordinance.

25th. The Bengal Legislative Council was prorogued. The session occupying over 8 months with 90 working days was the longest in the history of the House.

It was announced that the Central Government appointed a Mica Inquiry Committee to inquire into the immediate as well as the long-term problems of the mica mining industry with Mr. Justice D. E. Reuben, I. C. S., of the Patna High Court, as Chairman.

The Commonwealth Party (independent left wing party founded by Sir Richard Acland) issued the following statement on the policy of the party on India: "If, as the British Government insists, there is no practical difference between Dominion Status and national independence, we are allowing sentiment to conquer sense in refusing to allow independence to Indians. To withhold it until all differences of minorities have been resolved, is equivalent to a direct refusal."

Dr, Radha Kumud Mukherjee, President of the Akhand Bharat Conference, said at Lucknow: "The Akhand Bharat Conference was convened to give expression to the opposition of Hindu and national India to schemes for the partition of India, as a means for solving the communal problem."

26th. The India (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act, which made certain minor amendments to the Government of India Act of 1935, became law. Royal assent was signified in the House of Lords by a Royal commission to this and a number of other Bills.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, in a statement from Madras, advised Congressmen to broaden the basis of collaboraters and "challenge the British Government to carry out H.M.G's declaration in Parliament on March 11, 1942 to take steps to further that declared policy at once and not to allow the present regime in India to continue for an indefinite period."

Dr. N. B. Khare, Member, Viceroy's Executive Council, criticized Mahatma Gandhi's statement in which he asked the public "to condone Dr. Syed Mahmud's action and not to import any passion."

Mr. L. S. Amery, replying to an inquiry in the House of Commons, declared: "Despite many calls upon them for other urgent purposes during the past year, H. M. G. have provided shipping for the import of 800,000 tons of foodgrains into India since Oct. 1943, and provision for a further 300,000 tons to the end of the present year has just been announced, with the promise of consideration next month of future requirements."

27th. Mr V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, in the course of an address in Madras, pleaded for a firm stand on the question of undivided India. He also forecast the possibility of the Cripps proposals being offered again.

Mahatma Gandhi in a note entitled "Hints for workers on the constructive Programme" which he sent to the congressmen meeting in Bombay, said: "Its wholesale fulfilment is complete independence."

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Labour Member, Government of India, addressing the plenary labour conference in New Delhi, suggested changes in the constitution of the conference in order to remove organizational weakness discovered during its two years' existence.

A Press note from Bombay said: "The 3rd. meeting of the General Policy Committee (post-war reconstruction) commenced under the Chairmanship of Sir Ardeshir Dalal, Member for Planning and Development, Government of India.

28th. A survey of India's food policy in 1943-44, said: "It is comparatively simple to plan for some definite objective on which there is general agreement. Food lends itself to such planning. Food enters into almost every economic and social problem.

Mahatma Gandhi in a note entitled "Hints for workers on the constructive programme" which he sent to the conference of Congressmen in Bombay, said: "Workers should definitely realise that the constructive programme is the non-violent and truthful way of winning complete independence."

**29th.** Mr. M. S. Aney, India's Representative in Ceylon, arrived in New Delhi.

Mr. K. S. Gupta gave notice in the Central Assembly of an adjournment motion to discuss "the failure of the Government of India to provide adequate facilities to prevent or check epidemics like Cholera, Malaria (malignant type), sores ( fatal in most cases) and dysentry."

Presiding over a public meeting in Madras, Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar spoke on "The States and the problem of Indian Federation." Sir N. Gopalaswami Iyengar emphasised the point that it was unthinkable to have any kind of federation in India unless the States also came into that scheme.

**30th.** Four of the five scientists visiting Britain spent at historic places in Yorkshire.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, member of the Congress Working Committee, addressing the students of the Osmania University said the duty of the older generation was to teach the younger generation, not merely reverence for the past, but in the words of Napoleon, "to become their own ancestors."

**31st.** In an editorial on India, the *Manchester Guardian* said: "All agree that there is urgent need of drastic changes in India's social and economic organization. No temporary Government can put through these changes. We must either make it clear that external control, British or international, is to be permanent or we must succeed, at all costs, in compelling India to assume the full responsibility of self-government."

Two public meetings, organized by a joint committee of different organizations, were held in Calcutta and resolutions supporting the main principles of the Hindu Code were passed.

It was officially announced in London that Lord listowel was appointed parliamentary Under-sectretary for India.

The parliamentary under-secretary for India, Lord Munster, was appointed parliamentary under-secretary at the Home office.

A copy of a letter written by Abul Kalam Azad, Congress president, to the then Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, on Febuary 13, 1943, denying the charges made against the Congress, in the Viceroy's letter to Mahatma Gandhi, was issued to the Press by Dr, Syed Mahmud, a former member of the Congress Working Committee.

## November 1944

Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru's 55th. birthday was celebrated in Madras and other places.

H. E. Sir Hawthorn Lewis, Governor of Orissa and the first Chancellor of the Utkal University inaugurated the university of Orissa at Cuttack.

A resolution expressing confidence in Mr. M. A. Jinnah, was passed by the working committee of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, in a statement said that he was unwilling to work as the President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, any longer, on account of failing health.

Mr. C. P. N. Sinha was appointed vice-chancellor of the Patna University.

H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner announced an important constitutional advance involving more powers to the Bikaner State Legislative Assembly.

H. H. the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir appointed a Cabinet consisting of H. H the Maharani of Jammu and Kashmir, Major General Rai Bahadur Thakur Janak Singh and Sir B. Narsingh Rau, Prime Minister of the State to deal with the civil administration of the State in his absence.

The Earl of Listowel, under-Secretary for India, said in London that he had intense belief in the right of Indians to choose their own form of Government.

His Excellency the Viceroy prorogued the session of the Legislative Assembly.

Dr. Shyama Prosad Mookherjee was nominated by the Gujarat Provincial Hindu Sabha for the presidentship of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha.

**1st.** H. E. Sir Hawthorn Lewis, Governor of Orissa, and the first Chancellor of the Utkal University, inaugurated the University of Orissa at Cuttack before a large gathering including representatives of both the Province and Orissa States.

The Opening Session of the Central Legislative Assembly, without a division rejected Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan's adjournment motion to discuss "the Governor-General-in-Council's 'failure' to prevent misuse of the National War Front organization by the Punjab Premier for propaganda in favour of a political party.

The general secretary of the Committee of Indian Congress-men in Britain, Mr. A. N. Bose left London for India.

**2nd.** Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha, Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University, in his address delivered at the first convocation of Utkal University, held at Cuttack, said: "Historical facts establish the martial ardour and high culture of the people of Orissa in ancient days and form a suitable background to their progress and advancement in modern times in various spheres of activities."

The Famine Inquiry Commission, which returned to New Delhi on the conclusion of its visits to Provinces and States, announced that it intended to submit a preliminary report on Bengal to the Government of India, and might also make recommendations on matters relating to the food situation in the country requiring attention in the immediate future.

A resolution expressing confidence in Mr. Jinnah's leadership and supporting the stand taken by him during the talks with Mahatma Gandhi was passed at a meeting of the working committee of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League held under the presidency of Maulana Akram Khan.

A decision to unite the All-India Muslim League to hold its next meeting at Bangalore was taken at an extraordinary meeting of the Bangalore and Coorg Provincial Muslim League Council held at Bangalore.

The Government of India sustained its first defeat of the session when the adjournment motion moved by the Muslim League Party was carried. The subject matter of the motion was the failure of the East Indian Railway to maintain adequate lighting arrangements at Bakhtairpur railway station.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha issued the following statement from Bombay: "As the time for the election of the President of the Hindu Mahasabha is drawing close, I think it desirable to remind the Mahasabhite electorate all over India of the request which I made to them in August 1944, that I have decided not to accept the presidentship for the next year. The heavy work involved in discharging my duties as the President for seven years has affected my health.

**3rd.** In the Central Legislative Assembly, Mr. Lalchand Navalrai (Congress) asked: "What are the grounds for the Government's belief that if the arrests of Mr. Gandhi and the Congress leaders had not taken place in August, 1942, the Congress would have negotiated on their own with Japan, in the face of Mr. Gandhi's clear repudiation of such a belief."—Replying, Sir Fancis Mudie, Home Member, said: "Government have never had any such belief."

The Central Assembly discussed a non-official resolution moved on behalf of the Muslim League Party requesting the Government not to entertain the Bombay plan for the development of India.

A long term all-India 15 year reconstruction plan and a more detailed plan for the first five years suggested by the Reconstruction Committee of the Viceroy's Council, in their second report on post-war planning, was published from New Delhi.

**4th.** The Committee appointed by the Bengal Government to inquire into the

provincial administration machinery started work in Calcutta, Sir Archibald Rowlands, late Adviser to the Viceroy on war administration, was the Chairman.

A Press note from New Delhi stated: "The Government of India have imposed the same disabilities on South Africans of non-Indian origin as Indians suffer from in the Union of South Africa."

Maharaja S. C. Nandy of Cossimbazar, inaugurating the All-India Anti-Hindu Code Conference in Benares, uttered a warning that the Draft Hindu Code would result in the final disintegration of the joint family system which had been till now an excellent security plan for Hindu Society in general.

**5th.** The Australian Government Trade Commissioner in India, Mr. H. R. Gollan, left India for Australia for consultation with the Australian Government on matters relating to post-war trade and the development of reciprocal commercial relations between India and Australia.

Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, addressing a meeting of the Tagore Memorial Debating Society in Madras, strongly criticised the Dumbarton Oaks World Security Plan and put forth proposals for the establishment of permanent peace in the world.

**6th.** The Central Legislative Assembly without a division passed Dr. N. B. Khare's (Commonwealth Relations Member) motion that the position of Indians in South Africa and East Africa be taken into consideration, with amendments moved by the Congress Party and by Mr. Hoosainbhoy Laljee.—The amendments asked that powers under the Reciprocity Act be applied against South African nationals in India, that the Indian High Commissioner in South Africa be recalled, and that economic sanctions enforced against South Africa and East Africa.

The Government of India approved the release regulations for the Indian Army and Women's Services, India.

**7th.** The Central Legislative Assembly, by 55 votes to 15, rejected Bhai Paramanand's adjournment motion to discuss the Sindh Government's ban on Chapter 14 of the *Satyarth Prakash*, the sacred book of the Arya Samajists.

Mr. C. P. N. Sinha, provincial leader of the National War Front, was appointed Vice-chancellor of the Patna University for three years.

Support for the draft Hindu Code was accorded at a meeting organized by the girls' section of Ashutosh College, Calcutta.

Mr. W. H. Kirby, Rationing Adviser to the Government of India, interviewed by the A. P. I. in Bombay, said that in the interest of the public, food control measures should continue even after the war.

A demand for the release of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, who had been the President of the Allahabad Youth League, and other members of the Congress Working Committee was made in a resolution passed by the Allahabad Youth League.

**8th.** In the Central Legislative Assembly, vigorous critisism of the Government's food administration in the country was made when the food debate was resumed in the Assembly.

Mr. P. J. Griffiths (European Group) said that his group were satisfied with the policy but not with the administration of that policy. In the sphere of the enforcement of its policy, the administration had been lamentably weak.

**9th.** The Central Legislative Assembly concluded the food debate after passing two amendments to the Food Member's motion that the situation be taken into consideration.

In the Council of State, Mr. Hossain Imam's resolution urging the appointment of a Committee to inquire into the coal situation and report on ways of increasing production including compulsory amalgamations on nationalization, if necessary, was rejected by 23 votes to 7.

In the House of Commons, Mr. Sorenson (Lab) asked the Secretary of State for India whether full considerations had been given to the effect of increased Currency in India due to the expansion of Anglo-American armies and what action was being taken to deal with the economic problem involved.

Mr. Amery replied that the expansion was undoubtedly one of the many contributory factors in increasing the economic strain upon India. The Government of India and H. M. G. had for a long time been engaged in measures to offset this strain.

**10th.** In the Central Legislative Assembly, the Chair ruled out of order Mr.

Kazmi's adjournment motion to discuss "the surreptitious opening of private letters and thereby interfering with the Civic liberties of the people of India, as exemplified by the opening of a letter addressed to Dr. Katju, ex-Minister, U. P., and by mistake enclosing in it another letter which was intended for some other person."

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookherjee, presiding over the Punjab Hindu Maha Sabha Conference, which opened at Ludhiana declared: "There cannot be any compromise with any fantastic claim for cutting India to pieces either on communal or on provincial considerations."

H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner, on the occasion of the official celebration of his birthday announced all important Constitutional step forward, involving more power to the Bikaner State Legislative Assembly.

**11th.** At the Press Conference held in Madras, Mr. G. W. Priestly, Adviser to H. E. the Governor of Madras, reviewing the food position in the Province during the fortnight ending October, 31, 1944, stated that arrangements for the introduction of informal rationing in the rural area in the six deficit districts were in hand.

The Punjab Hindu Conference passed a resolution recording its emphatic disapproval of Mr. Rajagopalachari's formula and the standing offer of Mahatma Gandhi to the Muslim League for a settlement on that basis "as it concedes the principles of division of the country.

**12th.** His Excellency the Governor of Sindh appointed Khan Bahadur Mir Ghulam Ali Talpur and Mr. Roger Thomas as Ministers.

**13th.** The adjourned session of the Mysore Representative Assembly was held at Mysore, Pradhana Siromoni Madhava Rao, Dewan President, presiding.

In the Central Legislative Assembly the Home Member, in reply to questions, told the House that Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru and other members of the Congress Working Committee were detained under order issued by the Provincial Governments.

The Central Legislative Assembly passed Sir Aziz-ul Haque's Bill to amend the Indian Patents and Designs Act and his further to amend the Coffee Market Expansion Act, and Mr. J. D. Tyson's Bill further to amend the Delhi Joint Water and Sewage Board Act.

The Council of State rejected by 24 votes to 12, Pandit H. N. Kunzru's resolution recommending to the Governor General-in-Council to appoint an Industrial Commission with a non-official Indian Chairman and a majority of non-official members.

In the Assam Legislative Assembly, a number of adjournment motions were tabled; only one was allowed but discussion of it was postponed.

**14th.** In the Central Legislative Assembly, Sir Jeremy Raisman announced that on all the there points of the Public Debt Bill on which criticism in the House had centred, he was prepared to maintain the existing position.

In the Council of State, initiating the food debate, Mr. B. R. Sen, Director-General of Food, declared that the last 12 months' working of the basic plan gave Government the feeling that both at the Centre and in the Provinces they had now a much clearer idea of the minimum needs of the deficit areas, and they could hope that in no area in the future should they be taken completely by surprise unless there were any unforeseen developments or any unpredictable calamities.

Mahatma Gandhi, replying to a letter from Sardar Durlab Singh, General Secretary of the Central Sikh Youth League, said: "I could never be guilty of blessing anything which is contrary to the national interest. You can certainly have the assurance that the interests of the Nationalist Sikhs, as also of all Nationalists are safe in my hands and also, I presume, in the Congress hands."

**15th.** Under the auspices of the Madras Mahajana Sabha, a public meeting was held in Madras to celebrate Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's 55th. birthday.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, the Finance Member's Public Debt Bill with amendments framed in agreement between Government and the opposition was passed.

In the Council of State, replying to the food debate, Sir J. P. Srivastava, Food Member, expressed Government's doubts as to their ability to feed Calcutta as they did the previous year. The demand for rice from other parts of India, especially the south, was great, he said.

**16th.** The Council of State, which discussed non-official resolutions, agreed to Mr. P. N. Sapru's motion recommending to the Governor-General-in-Council to take steps to protect and safeguard the rights of Indians by bilateral agreements between the Government of India and the Governments of the Dominions, Colonies and Protectorates in which Indians were resident or domiciled and to which in future emigration might be permitted by the Government of India.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, the Home Member, answering a number of questions in the Central Assembly on the detention of Mr. Jai Prakash Narain and Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, informed the House that they were treated as class I security prisoners and their health was excellent. They were not kept in solitary confinement or in underground cells.

**17th.** The Central Legislative Assembly passed without a division a Congress party motion that an elected committee of the House consisting of not more than 15 members be appointed to consider the several plans for the post-war economic development of India, agricultural and industrial, with instructions to report to the House.

In the Council of State, Mr. B. R. Bannerjee, Secretary, Commonwealth Relations Department, initiating the debate on South Africa, said that the struggle to obtain recognition of the rights of Indians as full citizens would be kept alive and would not stop till the goal was reached.

**18th.** The Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, who left the State to visit various war fronts, appointed a cabinet consisting of H. H. the Maharani of Jammu and Kashmir, Major General Rai Bahadur Thakur Janak Singh and Sir B. Narsingh Rau, Prime Minister of the State, to deal with the civil administration of the State in his absence.

**19th.** Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, former Agent General of the Government of India in South Africa, speaking on the South African problem in Madras, welcomed the cause adopted by the Government of India and the Legislative Assembly, and said that all should support the Government of India in the proposed action.

Full support to the main principles of the draft Hindu Code was given at the half-yearly meeting of the All-India Women's Conference, in Calcutta.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, at a Press Conference in New Delhi, announced the decision of the Standing Committee of the Non-party Leaders' Conference to appoint a Committee to examine the communal and minorities question.

**20th.** In the Central Legislative Assembly, the chair disallowed Mr. Govind Deshmukh's adjournment motion to discuss the treatment of passengers at the Dhanushkodi Customs barrier where, he alleged, people were stripped naked for Customs examination.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the main question before the House was the consideration of the destitute persons (Repatriation and Relief) Bill, 1944, as passed by the Council.

The Central Assembly agreed to the Finance Member's motion to circulate his Bill to consolidate and amend the law relating to banking companies.

**21st.** In the Central Legislative Assembly, during question time, the Home Member, replying to Prof. Ranga said that from such calculations as he had been able to make from the figures supplied by the provinces, it appeared that the percentage of releases during the first six months after the promulgation of ordinance No. 3 was over 50. On Oct. 1, the number of persons undergoing imprisonment in connection with the Congress movement was 10,356.

The Council of State adjourned *sine die* after adopting a resolution moved by Sir Jogendra Singh, Member for Agriculture, regarding the constitution of the permanent food and agriculture organizations of the United Nations.

The Bengal Legislative Assembly passed, without much discussion, the Alienation of Agricultural land (temporary provisions) Bill as passed by the Legislative Council and the Murshidabad Bill, 1944.

In the Assam Legislative Assembly, Mr. Gopinath Bardoloi, Leader of the opposition, in the course of a statement on the floor of the Assembly, said: "The outlook of the Party in reference to work in the Legislature remains the same in spite of every kind of repression of the members. They shall continue to take advantage of their position in the Legislature to prevent harm being done by unwise legislation and at the same time, to work for the amelioration of the condition of the people in the countryside."

**22nd.** In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, statement on the situation arising out

of the strike by the workers of the Bengal Government press was made by the Finance Minister, Mr. T. C. Goswami.

The Earl of Listowel, under-secretary for India, told a Conference of London representatives of Indian Newspapers that he had intense belief in the right of Indians to choose their own form of Government and "decide for themselves whether they will eventually stay inside or go right out of the British Commonwealth."

**23rd.** The programme of the All-India Khaksar organization in regard to communal unity was discussed at an informal meeting of the Khaksars of Calcutta.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, a Bill to amend the Calcutta Improvement Trust Act of 1911 providing for the extension of its operations to the town of Howrah was introduced and referred to a select committee.

The Assam Legislative Assembly discussed Maulavi Abdul Bari Chaudhari's motion for consideration of the foodgrains procurement policy of the Assam Government.

**24th.** The Education Sub-committee of the Post-War Reconstructions, Bengal, recommended a scheme costing about Rs. 39 crores for introduction of free and compulsory primary education in the province.

The Viceroy prorogued the session of the Legislative Assembly.

**25th.** Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, in his address to the Convocation of the Nagpur University, made the suggestion that the internal differences regarding the Princes and the Muslims which had been advanced by British propagandists as standing in the way of Britain fulfilling her pledge to India to transfer power might be submitted to an Allied tribunal for arbitration.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha left Bombay for Delhi to see the Viceroy.

It was officially announced from New Delhi that the time for submission of comments and representations on the draft Hindu Code was extended up to Dec. 31.

**26th.** The C-in-C, India, Gen. Auchinleck, set up a Committee, known as the Reorganization Committee, to carry out a preliminary investigation of India's defence requirements after the war, and to make recommendations regarding the size, composition and organization of the future army in India.

The All-India and Ceylon Mayors' Conference, with the Mayor of Calcutta in the chair, at their sitting declared, in a resolution that the aims and objects of the conference were: "To do everything to promote and advance full, free and unhampered civic life of the people, and to remove all restrictions and controls of the full democratic powers of the local self-governing institutions."

Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew, a Congress Leader of the Punjab, at a meeting organized by the Civil Liberties Union to demand the release of all political prisoners in the province, made a plea for a united front of all parties."

A dozen resolutions covering various subjects were adopted at the concluding session of the All-India and Ceylon Mayors' Conference in Calcutta.

**28th.** Sir M. Viswesvaraya, in his presidential address at the first Bengal Provincial Indigenous Manufacturers' Conference in Calcutta, advocated establishment of village group organizations to increase the working power and productivity of the local population, particularly in industries.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, in answer to Press correspondents in New-Delhi, said: "No big constitutional change is likely till the end of the war. The Government favoured the maintenance of full Central control as long as the war lasted, and not even an agreement between Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah would bring about any change in that attitude."

The Standing Committee of the All-India Women's Conference at its meeting in New-Delhi, passed a resolution deeply regretting the "unfortunate breakdown" of the Gandhi-Jinnah talks and fully endorsed the joint appeals of the two leaders that there should be no bitterness in the country. The resolution appealed to all women to work for the creation of an atmosphere of goodwill and understanding so as to enable the leaders to evolve a common formula for national unity.

The death occurred of Mr. Ram Dayalu Singh, Speaker of the Bihar Assembly at Muzaffarpur.

**29th.** H. E. Mr. R. G. Casey, Governor of Bengal, at a Press Conference in Calcutta, observed: "My impression is that the discussions brought out the fact

that, although the provinces of North Eastern India are all considerably affected by war-conditions, Bengal (and of course, Assam) is undoubtedly affected, in practically every line of activity, to a considerably greater extent than other provinces or, indeed, probably greater than any other province in India."—H. E. the Governor reviewed the discussions which he had with the other Provincial Grovernors in Calcutta.—H. E. Sir Hawthorne Lewis, Governor of Orissa, and H. E. Sir Andrew Clow, Governor of Assam were present at the Press Conference.

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukerjee was nominated by the Gujrat Provincial Hindu Sabha for the presidentship of the annual session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha.

Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, writing in the *Indian Express* asked Government to constitute a board of arbitration and invite all parties in the country to plead their cases before it to solve India's political problem.

The Hindu Women's Association of Bengal decided to reject the Draft Hindu Code.

**30th.** Sir J. P. Srivastava, Food Member, at a Press Conference in New Delhi said that from January 1945, Calcutta would cease to be an exclusive charge on the food-grain resources of the Central Government.—Sir J. P. Srivastava announced that the Government of India undertaking to feed Calcutta having been withdrawn, more food-grains would be made available to Cochin and Travancore.

## December 1944

The 84th. birthday of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was celebrated in Allahabad, Benares, Calcutta and in many other places.

H. E. Mr. R. G. Casey, in a statement after a tour of Calcutta's bustee area, said : "I have been horrified by what I have seen."

Mahatma Gandhi decided to take complete rest from December 4 to 31.

The autumn session of the Punjab Legislative Assembly opened at Lahore.

The All-India States' Conference on Education, Medical Relief and Post-War Reconstruction opened with an address by the Chancellor, the Nawab of Bhopal, in New Delhi.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the Bengal Government's jute policy was criticized through a non-official resolution.

Mr. L. S. Amery made a statement in the House of Commons regarding the representations made by the Chamber of Princes to the Viceroy concerning the future development of their territories.

The Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, the Nawab of Bhopal issued a statement on Mr. Amery's reference in Parliament to the resignations from the Standing Committee.

Mr. Amery stated at the Commons that the authorities in India constantly had under review the cases of persons detained as the result of Congress disturbances of 1942.

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, in his presidential address at the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, said : "India's Voice must be heard at the Peace Conference not through hired agents of British Imperialism but through her chosen spokesmen."

At a Diwan of Sikhs in Calcutta, a resolution was adopted according support to the conciliation move sponsored by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu advised the All-India Students' Federation to close up their ranks and to work unitedly.

The All-India Radical Democratic Party adopted a "draft constitution of free India," prepared by Mr. M. N. Roy.

The All-India Educational Conference commenced at Cawnpore.

The 26th. South Arcot Harijan Conference was held at Chidambaram.

1st. H. E. Mr. R. G. Casey, Governor of Bengal, in a statement after a tour of Calcutta's bustee areas, said: "I have seen something of the way in which hundreds of thousands of the citizens of Calcutta are obliged to live. I have been horrified by what I have seen. Human beings cannot allow other human beings to continue to exist under these conditions."

Mahatma Gandhi issued a statement from Sewagram in which he said: "From Dec. 4 to 31, I have decided rigidly to discontinue all public activities, all interviews for public or private purposes and all correspondence of any nature whatsoever.

2nd. Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, Civil Supplies Minister, Bengal, in a statement on the question of the Central Government's responsibility for feeding Calcutta, said he thought that the position remained unchanged.

The Working Committee of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha recommended Dr. Shyama Prosad Mookerjee for the presidentship of the Hindu Mahasabha session at Bilaspur.

A Communique said: "The Special Committee of the Rulers met at New Delhi and took decisions on various questions relating to the setting up of the proposed Public Relations Bureau for the States."

3rd. The 20th. meeting of the Inter-University Board was held at Patna with Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha, Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University, in the chair. Twenty Universities including Ceylon and Rangoon were represented.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru in a statement to the Press from Allahabad announced the names of persons who intimated their acceptance of membership of the Conciliation Committee.

Mr. Somerset Butler, Special Officer, Department of Food, Government of India, in his report on Government monopoly in regard to procurement of grain, said: "Given the will and determination, a Government monopoly can be introduced successfully, inspite of administrative difficulties and the possible opposition of vested interests.

4th. The autumn session of the Punjab Legislative Assembly opened at Lahore. The Leader of the Congress Party, Chaudhri Mohamad Hassan sought leave of the chair to move a privilege motion to discuss an incident in which a C. I. D. police constable tried to stop Dewan Chamanlal, a member of his party, from entering the Assembly Chamber.—The Premier said that he would make inquiries.

Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan, former Minister, who was dismissed in April 1944 by the Punjab Governor, released the correspondence which he had with His Excellency the Governor and Premier.

The Standing Committee of the Princes, including the Chancellor, the Nawab of Bhopal resigned. For the first time in its history, the session of the Chamber of Princes was obliged to be postponed indefinitely.

5th. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in a statement (from New Delhi), on his talks with Sir Ghulam Hidayatullah, Premier of Sindh and Mr. G. M. Sayed, President of the Sind Provincial Muslim League, indicated that an agreement was reached on the question of Mr. Roger Thomas' appointment as a Minister.

The Bengal Legislative Assembly devoted 2 hours to the discussion of a point of order on certain amendments proposed by the Government to the Assembly Procedure Rules.

The formation by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru of a Committee to examine the whole communal question and the problem of minorities was welcomed by the "*Times*", in a leading article.

Mr. N. G. Ranga, M. L. A., (Central) who had discussions with Mahatma Gandhi at Sevagram regarding Kisan problems, issued to the Press from Madras a report of their talks.

7th. The All-India States' Conference on Education, Medical Relief and Post-war Reconstruction opened with an address by the Chancellor, the Nawab of Bhopal, at New Delhi. He made two declarations on the States' attitude to British Indian plans for post-war development and on the internal administration of the States.

The Bengal Legislative Assembly discussed the Finance Bill, 1944, introduced by Mr. T. C. Goswami, Finance Minister, to extend up to Marh 31, 1948, the

operation of the enhanced rates regarding entertainments, totalizator and betting taxes and the electricity duty levied under the 1943 Act.

The 4th. session of the Deccan States' Workers' Convention commenced at Sangli under the presidentship of Mr. B. G. Kher, ex-premier of Bombay.

Mr. Roger Thomas, Minister for Agriculture and Post-war Development in Sind resigned his office. His resignation was accepted by the Governor.

Questions relating to medical research and health survey in India were asked in the House of Commons.—Mr. Amery replied : "The Government of India is looking forward to receiving recommendations on these subjects from the Health, Survey and Development Committee under Sir Joseph Bhore and have already before them some valuable proposals made by Prof. Hill."

**8th.** In the Punjab Legislative Assembly, uproarious scenes marked the proceedings culminating in a walk-out by the Muslim League Party as a protest against the unwillingness of the leader of the House to agree to the League's suggestions that an adjournment motion, which had been admitted by the speaker, should be taken up either before or after the Jumma prayers and not at 1-30 p. m.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the Bengal Government's jute policy was criticised through a non-official resolution. The resolution urged immediate abolition of the statutory maximum jute price and its replacement by statutory minimum price to be fixed every year in consideration of the prices of staple food crops.

In the Bengal Assembly, Khan Bahadur Muhammed Ali, Parliamentary Secretary to the Chief Minister, informed the House that the action in regard to the arrest, interrogation and transfer out of Bengal of Mr. Sisir Kumar Bose, son of Mr. Sarat Chendra Bose (detention) was taken at the instance of the Government of India. He declined in public interest to furnish any further details.

**9th.** Mr. Habib Ibrahim Rahimutoola, presiding over the first Bombay Provincial Muslim Students' Conference, urged Muslim students to make supreme efforts to qualify themselves as a community to take their rightful place in the new world, which would be the inevitable outcome of the great war.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, addressing a meeting of the Progressive Club, Allahabad, said that differences and disagreements prevailed in the country, but he did not think them to be unbridgeable. These differences could be accomodated by placing certain internal safeguards in the constitution.

**10th.** The Bombay Provincial Anti-Pakistan Conference which met under the presidentship of Mr. N. C. Kelkar, concluded after adopting a resolution condemning the proposal for territorial division of India as "undemocratic and anti-national and ultimately bound to result in internecine war."

The 84th birthday of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was celebrated throughout India under the auspices of the All-India Hindu Dharma Seva Sangha.

**11th.** In the Punjab Legislative Assembly, the Speaker ruled out of order an adjournment motion sought to be moved by Raja Gaznafar Ali Khan (Muslim League) to discuss the failure of the Premier and the members of the Cabinet to resign when Captain Shaukat Hyat Khan was dismissed, thereby violating the principle of joint responsibility."

H. E. Mr. R. G. Casey, Governor of Bengal, in his speech at the annual convocation of the Dacca University said : "I believe it is right that we should take pride in our national traditions, not as something dead, not merely as a nostalgic yearning for the things of the past,—but as something living and ready to reassert itself in our future struggles."

A demand for the immediate release of India's democratic leaders was made by 127 prominent Americans in the course of a letter to Lord Halifax, the British Ambassador in Washington.

**12th.** The Mysore Legislative Council which reassembled under the presidency of Mr. D. H. Chadrasekharia, passed the Mysore Prison (Amendment) Bill and the Mysore Coffee Market Expansion (Amendment) Bill.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the need for applying the guillotine to cope with the growing volume of legislation in the Provincial legislature with reasonable expedition and to prevent the opposition from deliberately obstructing the passage of a Bill, was emphasized by Sir Nazimuddin, Premier, when the debate on his proposal to amend the Assembly procedure rules was resumed.

**13th.** Mr. Amery made a statement in the Commons regarding the representations made by the Chamber of Princes to the Viceroy concerning the future development of their territories.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, in an interview at Allahabad said ; "I am not going

to ask Gandhiji to appear before me but certainly I am writing to him to send a memorandum on the communal problem."

**14th.** The Bengal Legislative Assembly began consideration of the Legislative Chambers (Members' Emoluments) Amendment Bill, introduced by the Chief Minister, Sir Nazimuddin.

**15th.** Mr. M. A. Jinnah expressed his inability to meet the Sapru Conciliation Committee. He made it clear in the correspondence between him and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, questions regarding the export of food grains from India and the supply and import of rice into Bengal were asked.

At the Labour Party Conference in London, delegates carried a resolution on India which called for the release of Indian political prisoners to facilitate negotiations to end the deadlock.

The Punjab Legislative Assembly adjourned *sine die* after passing three official Bills including the Punjab Legislative Assembly (Allowances of Members) Bill which raised the monthly salary of members from Rs 200 to Rs. 300. The Bill was opposed by the Congress Muslim League parties.

**16th.** Sir Ardeshir Dalal, Member for Planning and Development, Government of India, at a Press Conference in Calcutta discussed the many problems facing post-war India.

Implicit faith in the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and undivided loyalty to the Congress High Command were pledged by nearly 400 Congressmen and leaders of the Punjab who met at Ludhiana.

**17th.** The Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, the Nawab of Bhopal published a statement on Mr. Amery's reference in Parliament to the resignations from the Standing Committee.

**18th.** Sir Homi Mody referring to the political situation in India in his presidential address at the annual general meeting of the Employers' Federation of India at Bombay declared: "Time is against us and that if a solution is delayed too long, irreparable injury might be done to the vital interests of India."

Allama Mashruqi, the Khaksar leader, sent telegrams to Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah suggesting to them to meet again to arrive at a communal settlement.

**19th.** The Bengal Legislative Assembly was prorogued. The only business before the House on the closing day was the introduction of the Private Forests Bill and the Tanks Improvement (Amendment) Bill.

Mrs. V. L. Pandit declared in an interview with the *New York Post* : "The desire for independence in India is not the result of the work of any political party or any superimposed propaganda. It is the natural result of world conditions."

**20th.** Mrs. Sarojini Naidu arrived in Calcutta.

**21st.** Mr. Amery stated in the Commons that the authorities in India constantly had under review the cases of persons detained as the result of the Congress disturbances of 1942, and releases were made so far as compatible with essential considerations of security.

A Government proposal for the formation of an autonomous Transport Board to control and run tramway and motor transport throughout Bengal was discussed with a deputation of the Calcutta Corporation which waited on Sir Nazimuddin, Chief Minister, in connexion with the question of purchase of the tramways undertaking by the Corporation.

**22nd** The Executive Committee of the Calcutta District Muslim League adopted a resolution condemning the appointment of the "Conciliation Committee" by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.

**23rd.** Sir Jogendra Singh, Member in charge of Lands, Health and Education, at a meeting of commercial men in Madras, expressed the view that to the merchants the promotion of health and education of the people and development of the resources of the country were of greater importance than political problems."

The Central Government's monthly accounts for September showed that, excluding periodical adjustments and transactions of Railways and Ports and Telegraphs, expenditure in the first six months of the financial year 1944-45 exceeded revenue by Rs. 82½ crores against Rs 58 crores in the corresponding period of the previous year.

**24th.** Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookherjee, in his presidential address to the 26th. annual session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha (at Bilaspur) declared: "India's will must be heard at the Peace Conference, not through hired Indian agents of British Imperialism but through her chosen spokesmen. It is for this

reason that I feel it urgent that there should be a cessation of hostilities among the Indian political parties themselves. It will be an act of supreme statesmanship if to-day there can be a combination of all the nationalist elements in the public life of India for the preparation of an invulnerable opposition to the continuance of the imperialistic designs of Britain."

Sir Ardeshir Dalal, in the course of discussions with officials and non-officials in New Delhi, explained the main lines of the Government of India's industrial development policy.

The 22nd. session of the Prabasi Bangya Sahitya Sammelan (Literary Conference) commenced at Cawnpore under the presidentship of Dr. Radha Kamal Mookherjee.

A resolution according support to the conciliation move sponsored by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, in order to solve the political deadlock, was adopted at a Diwan of Sikhs in Calcutta, in connection with the celebration of the birth annivesary of Guru Govind Singh.

**26th.** The 33rd All India Ayurvedic Congress was held at Satyanarayanpuram, a Suburb of Bezwada in the presence of a large gathering of delegates from various parts of India. Dr. M. K. Mukherjee presided.

The fundamentals of planning for the development of agriculture in India was dealt with by Sir Manilal B. Nanavati, presiding over the fifth conference of the Indian Society of Agricultural Economics at Naini.

The All-India Women's Conference submitted a memorandum to the Hindu Law Committee on the draft Hindu Code, supporting the Code.

The Hindu Mahasabha adopted the resolutions about the constitution of a Free India and the fundamental rights of citizens as passed by the Subjects Committee—Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherji presided.

Mr. M N. Roy, in his presidential address to the 2nd conference of the All-India Radical Democratic Party in Calcutta, said: "Political power must be the instrument for reorganizing society so as to free it from the domination of vested interests."

Sir Azizul Haque, Commerce Member of the Government of India, addressing the Rotary club of Calcutta, said that the various control measures instituted by the Government had undoubtedly checked the tendency to high prices and had, in quite a number of cases, definitely brought it down.

**28th.** Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, addressing the 8th annual session of the All-India Students' Federation in Calcutta, said: "Do not quarrel over slogans. Close up your ranks and work unitedly so that our country may take its proper place in the international federation of the world."

The All-India Radical Democratic Party adopted a "draft constitution of free India," prepared by Mr. M. N. Roy.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, President of the Non-Party Conciliation Committee which began its work in New Delhi, said: "Our essential duty is to apply our minds to the basis of a constitution, not to its detailed provisions."

A resolution urging the establishment of a peoples' Government was passed at the All-India Radical Democratic Party Conference in Calcutta.

At the Session of the All-India Students' Federation in Calcutta, a resolution was adopted stressing the need for evolving a common outlook as the basis for another meeting between Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah for a Congress-League united front to win power for the Indian people. Prof. Durjati Prasad Mukherjee presided.

The All-India Educational Conference commenced at Cawnpore. Sardar K. M. Panikkar, Prime Minister, Bikaner State, in his presidential address defined the objectives of National Education.

**30th.** Mr. J. Austin, Adviser to the Governor of Madras, stressed the importance of public archives in the study of history, when he opened the Indian History Congress in Madras. Dr. S. N. Sen, Director of Archives, Government of India presided.

The 26th South Arcot Harijan Conference was held at Omakkalam (Chidambaram). Mr. J. S. Pillai, ex-Mayor of Madras presided.

A manifesto issued by the Radical Democratic Party, appealing to all to join that organization and "help the formation of the people's front to fight the last battles in the struggle for the freedom of the Indian people" was adopted at the concluding session of the party's Conference in Calcutta. The manifesto outlined the party's programme.

# India in Home Polity

**Food scarcity in Bengal & Kerala**

The last three volumes of the *Indian Annual Register*, those dealing with affairs during the twelve months of 1943 and first six of 1944, have been taken up principally with food scarcity in Bengal and the pestilence that followed it. These caused the death from starvation and from diseases of more than three millions of men, women and children. The same conditions had obtained in certain limited areas of the neighbouring Province of Orissa and the distant areas of Malabar. We have seen an estimate that said that more than 12,000 men women and children had died in Orissa. We know next to nothing of how the people in Malabar, in British Malabar and those areas included in the States of Cochin and Travancore, fared on a ration of 4 or 6 ounces of rice during "non-famine" months and during "famine" months when the quota was 1½ to 2 ounces per head per day. Mr. Namboodiripad in his pamphlet *Food in Kerala* has said that this arrangement just managed to keep the people alive ; during the June-August of 1943, there were epidemics which carried away 30,000 people and those that remained, those that survived, live "as an emaciated, undernourished, epidemic-stricken mass of humanity, but nevertheless, a survival of living humanity." There had been at Kerala a food deficit in local production of about 50 per cent. Previous to the war, started by Japan in December 1941, this deficit used to be met by imports from Burma and Siam. In Bengal this war had created, according to official statistics, a deficit of 10 per cent only. But Kerala somehow managed to escape a greater disaster because her ruling classes had always been conscious of "the desperate position of her food stocks," while Authority in Bengal failed to understand the implications of the deficit food position in the area under its control. The question will naturally be asked—why should there have been careful husbanding of resources in Kerala and absence of it in Bengal ? We find it difficult to accept any explanation that suggests that the bureaucracy was more competent in Kerala than it was in Bengal. It is true that no single factor can be held mainly responsible for the scarcity of food in Bengal that had precipitated famine in it. As in other parts of India so in Bengal there had been the deterioration in the material life of the people incidental to British rule, the result of administration and exploitation for about two centuries. In the last three volumes of the *Annual Register* we have attempted to trace the evolution of this deterioration which with all the good will in the world, with all the equipments furnished by modern science, the British bureaucracy has failed to halt or modify. It is a result of that policy, framed at London mainly in the interests of the British people. The people of India are victims of that policy, helpless and unresisting. Not because they did not resent this deterioration. The history of Nationalism in India is a symbol of that resentment and the desire to end it.

But the modern State with its totalitarianism does not leave the units of the "sovereign people" any power of initiative to meet the

**The modern State & the people**

approach of a disaster like what devastated Bengal and Kerala during 1943-'44. The modern State has robbed the people of all ideas of self-help, made them dependent on the measures of the bureaucracy for their weal or woe. This helplessness of the people has become more explicit since the war that Germany started in 1914. Modern science and modern technical developments have made it possible for the State to usurp powers of direction and control of the people's life that could not be imagined in the years that preceded this war. The State now regulates how the citizens should live and move and have his being; it takes charge of him even when he is in his mother's womb and sees to it that he has a decent burial; from birth to death the State has undertaken to dictate the minutæ of his life; to control the distribution of food and cloth to him; look after him in employment and unemployment, in health and sickness; to guide his mating. The sense of individuality of the modern citizen is thus being weakened, and he has come te accept this dispensation as the mark and note of a progressive civilization. In the Soviet Union this development has reached its highest pitch. Even in democratic countries, in the United States for instance, the "New Deal" has demonstrated that private initiative could not pull out the country from the disorganization of the world slump of the early thirties; the State had to step in to find employment for the people, to create for them new avenues of employment. And if as a price for this help the State imperceptively to the people got away with certain of the rights and privileges of the individual citizen, robbed him of certain of the attributes of a free citizen, he does not challenge this usurpation; he appears to have lost the capacity to resist this tendency of things. World War II. of the 20th century has enabled the State to further encroach upon the rights and responsibilities of the individual citizen. The needs of a total war have made these subservient to the demands of a struggle to survive; the needs and necessities of the individual citizen have had to yield place to the over-riding considerations of survival in a war of continents and oceans out of which the world has not emerged during the months, July to December, 1944, with which we have been dealing in the present volume of the *Annual Register*.

This has been a world phenomenon. Even in independent countries, in democratic countries, the individual citizen has had to forego his freedom

**Regimentation of body and mind**

of initiative, to tolerate restrictions put upon it by the authority of the State. His food and cloth was rationed, his needs of nutrition was chemically met; his hours of work were regulated not in consideration of his individual inclination or requirement but of the need of a State engaged in a life and death struggle. He has had to accept these controls, and is being educated by these to be content with the rationing of his needs and necessities, both in the mental and material plane. He has been learning to appreciate the queue mind and the habits of the queue. This regimentation of body and of mind in the civil population of the different countries of the world, whether belligenent or neutral or indifferent, has become the characteristic of the modern world. All this is being done in the name of the progressive philosophy of life and conduct. Not even the greatest scientist or philosopher dares challenge its validity or effectiveness in the conflicts and competitions of the world as we have

it to-day. By it the State is being endowed with powers and prerogatives that reduce the individual citizen, whether in the class or mass, to the position of the soldier—"theirs not to reason why, theirs not to make reply, theirs only to do or die." The world has been asked to believe that this phenomenon is a short-lived one ; it cannot last beyond the war years ; that with the end of the war the rights and privileges of the individual citizen would be restored to him. We do not know on whose behalf this assurance is being given. The men and women who have during the war years controlled the machinery of the State will find it difficult to divest themselves of the powers to control and regulate the life of the commonalty of the world, they will find one excuse or other to retain these powers in the name of the State which will be called upon to handle the difficult problems of peace in a world that has burnt its resources in the fires of war. Re-building a better world from out of the debris of war that has directly ravaged the life of two continents will require the imposition of the same controls that have carried it through war.

**Position of India in the British State**

In a country circumstanced as India is, with a bureaucracy alien in personnel and alien in spirit, alien to the interests of the people, with such a bureaucracy in control of the Government, the people of India lost all significance in its eyes. Britain was engaged in a war of survival, challenged thereto by the aspiring imperialism of Germany and Japan. The human and natural resources of India could have had no better use than ministering to the needs of her fight. Without consultation with any body in India, with any individual or party in India, with any Legislature in India, India was pushed into both the wars, one started in Europe by Germany in September, 1939, and the other in Asia by Japan in December, 1941. Britain took the responsibility of exploiting India's resources to serve the needs of her wars. For about two years the war in Europe had been remote to us both physically and mentally. The majority of our people refused to ideologically align themselves with the British plan as it was being propagandized through the speeches of her war leaders and the writings of her publicists, not because they had any leanings towards the Nazi doctrines and practices, but because for about two centuries Britain had been practising the Nazi doctrine of the superiority of race. As soon as the war started the feelings and sentiments of Indian people were clearly and unequivocally expressed in the resolutions passed by the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress. The Congress Ministries in 8 out of 11 Provinces of India resigned in protest when the British Government failed to justify its action of dragging India into war without her consent or consulting her convenience or self-interest. The Governor General of India, Lord Linlithgow, failed to convince the leaders of the people of the justice of the action taken by him at the instance of the London Government. The roots of this failure are to be found in the whole history of Indo-British relation. It is true that Gandhiji had tried to take his people along with him beyond the narrowness of the argument that divided India and Britain. It is true that he has been the guide and philosopher of the Congress since 1920. But the leaders of the Congress assembled at the meeting of the Working Committee wrestled for 8 days to reconcile India's self-

respect and self-interest with those of Britain during one of the greatest crises of recent human history. They invited the British Government to reconcile these in the context of this particular war, so as to "make the people of India enthusiastic for war which is not theirs," to quote the words of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru used by him in course of a message sent to the London *News Chronicle*.

**Bengal come within war strategy**

There was no satisfactory response to this appeal. And the people in India have remained unreconciled to the cause represented by Britain in this war. The ruling authorities were also acting in the spirit of an "occupation army," trying to keep them down by the show of brute force made immeasurably stronger by the inventions of modern science. As long as the war was confined within Europe they could be a little considerate. But when the German army broke into Caucasus and erupted into the eastern Mediterranean, threatening Egypt and the Red Sea life-line, they had to draw the ring of their repressive machine more tightly round India's rebellious spirit. The situation took a more ominous turn when Japan rode into the Indian Ocean after having got possession of Singapore and the Bay of Bengal. Strategists began to talk of a link-up between German and Japanese forces in the Red Sea area. Eastern India came nearer to the Japanese forces, flushed with easy victory in Malaya and Burma and poised for an attack on Bengal Thus did this eastern Province of India come within the range of war strategy. But as its politically-minded people had during the last forty years and more made a name for themselves by their nationalist thoughts and activities, their Province came to have in the reports of administrators and the writings of British publicists a new characterization, as "anti-British" in a special sense of the term. The experiences of Burmese collaboration with the Japanese invaders imparted a new meaning to the difficulties of the situation as it will develop if and when Japan made good her threat of invasion of India which had become an arsenal of the Anglo-Saxon Powers in the battle-fields of Asia, in the island fights in eastern Asia. The setting up of the Eastern Supply Council with headquarters in India was an evidence of the importance that India came to occupy in this connection. It happened also that in Bengal were established industries under British auspices —jute mills, factories, mines, tea gardens—that were expected to play a significant part in the war, in fashioning the weapons of war. It happened also that through Bengal and over Bengal passed the life-lines of supply to China. These factors made Bengal a special concern of the strategists of the United Nations. The feelings of its people were resentful, various sections inimically disposed for various reasons. The Burmese had shown that the subject population could not be trusted to play other than a hostile part. It was a natural deduction for the military bureaucracy in India to make that in the event of a Japanese invasion people in Bengal would not be more helpful than the Burmese had been. It was natural for them to feel and to decide that sabotaging in Bengal could be successfully prevented if the food and the cloth supply of the people in the Province could be brought under Government control, and their freedom of movement curtailed These must have been the inspiring motive behind the measures which came to be associated with the "Denial Policy" Food grains were ordered to be surrendered by the people of the coastal districts at the head of the Bay of Bengal. Government agents

were let loose over the country-side to make purchases on its behalf, the commodities to be removed to safer custody. Boats were ordered to be surrendered creating havoc in the life of a people to whom boats were the means of transport ; bicycles only were ordered to be surrendered, and a watch was kept over all vehicular movements in particular areas of the Province. Food, boats and bicycles came thus to occupy a place in the plan of strategy that was being devised for defending Bengal, for foiling the evil designs of the victorious Japanese. Measures for "denying" the enemy really worked toward "denying" these to the people. This is an aspect of the causation of famine that has not received the consideration that was its due from the members of the Famine Commission who were taking evidence during the months of which we are speaking here. They were called upon to hold shortage of food grains and the natural calamity of October 16, 1942, the profiteering and black marketing to be principally responsible for the scarcity that created famine in Bengal.

**"Denial Policy" was the result**

But why these elements of the problem should have had such a devastating effect in Bengal demands an explanation. The "most brilliant members" of the Indian Civil Service who ruled Bengal even though Ministries were protecting them from criticism acted under instructions from the Central bureaucracy when signs and portents of famine were thrust upon their attention in the streets of Calcutta; they were instructed by the Central Food Department to "statistically prove" to the people that there was no deficit in rice ; the Minister of Civil Supplies in the Muslim League Ministry, Mr Surhawardy, took it upon himself to propagandize this brief sponsored by Major-General Wood, the Food Secretary in the Government of Lord Linlithgow. But when this falsehood could not be maintained, Mr. Surhawardy could turn round and declare that he did what he did with the laudable object of halting panic which would have worsened matters. He was either ignorant that reasons of strategy had been playing a part in disrupting the economic life of his people, or he was a partner in the game of deception, inspired by the temptations of office to hold back the truth from them. Any way, the deficit position of Bengal in the matter of food grains, the profiteering by traders, the dishonesty and incompetence of officialdom, do not explain the whole phenomenon. As Commander-in-Chief of India Sir Archibald Wavell had advised certain measures the consequences of which he was called upon to face as Lord Wavell, the Governor-General of India. The recognition of this fact can no longer be evaded. It teaches us that in total war food can be made to act as an explosive to the enemy or to people who are regarded as potential enemies. "Anti-British" Bengal belonged to the latter category, and was made to suffer for daring to stand up to the pretensions of the alien bureaucracy. In our innocence we had believed that no State could create conditions of famine. But total war, totalitarian war, the experiences gathered during it, should teach us that human lives whether of thousand or of millions, whether of the military or of the civil population, are as pawns in the game of power politics. And we live to learn. The Bengal famine has shown that the British bureaucracy was confronted with a dire choice in 1942 ; it had to weigh whether it would be more profitable to "scorch"

the norms and forms of life in Bengal and thus disable its people for mischief in case the Japanese succeeded in invading the Province or withdraw from it without disturbing the normal processes of life. Whether the first or the second method were selected, a successful Japanese invasion would cause dislocation, entailing suffering on the people. If the Japanese could be halted by "denying" them food and transport, the experiment was worth a trial. Wars could not be fought in modern times without causing the civil population sorrow. In weighing these considerations, the bureaucracy elected to adopt the "Denial Policy." The result was famine in Bengal. The measures ordered by New Delhi released over the Province forces of disruption where the official corruptor, the profiteer, and the contractor combined to give a rude shock to the delicate balance in the food position of the Province.

**Nazimuddin Ministry & famine**

The Muslim League Ministry under Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin added to the confusion of the things by trying to extract the utmost advantage out of this disaster for its members and its political supporters. In the pursuit of its narrow communal policy it thought that under the powers of control secured by the Administration under the Defence of India Rules their political supporters could be granted contracts and placed in the distributive trades of the country. And they used these powers to secure that end. If it could not find experience in these trades among their political supporters, the contracts and agencies could wait disposal while men, women and children were kept awaiting for the food to come. The Woodhead Commission let the Ministry off with mild reproof for this crime, and we make no apology for again reproducing here their words.

> "We recognise that the difficulties of recruiting and training the large staff and of acquiring accommodation were real and great, but we were of opinion that avoidable delay did take place. The delay in the recruitment was accentuated at one stage by an endeavour to maintain communal proportions. We consider this thing to have been particularly unfortunate. In an emergency, particularly one affecting the food of the people, administrative action should not be delayed by attempts to observe rules fixing communal ratios."

**It was a creature of British policy**

The quotation naturally suggests a question. Why did the Governor and his advisers in the Indian Civil Service, all of them British, connive at this narrowness and the crudely selfish activities of the Nazimuddin Ministry? Directors of the Civil Supplies Department were, all of them, higher-ups in the Service; they were by the rules of the Service free from interference by the Ministry. During the height of famine a member of this Service, Sir John Rutherford, was Governor of Bengal. Neither did he nor did his official advisers deem it necessary or found it possible to control or modify the rank communalist policy of the Ministry which was in office through the grace of officialdom and the support of the European members of the Bengal Legislature. Their failure or lack of inclination to guide the measures for famine relief in Bengal on right lines could only be traced to the policy of appeasing Muslim communalism which has become a sheet-anchor of British Imperialism. Divide and rule is implicit in every activity of a State that holds an alien people in subjection; it is the law of its being. So has it happened in India all through the period that Britain has been holding political sway over

this country. During the Morley-Minto regime it erupted into view with such crudity that the lesson could not be missed even by the most casual of observers. In Lady Minto's *Diary* recording some of her letters to and from Lord Morley, the then Secretary of State for India, is quoted a letter written by a Simla official to Her Excellency gloating over the success of the Aga Khan Deputation that was promised separate representation in the Legislatures of the country. He gleefully prophesied that the step taken on the occasion would have an influence on Indian affairs for years to come that would be beyond the imagination of the generation of officials that started the mischief. That prophecy has all but fulfilled itself in the plan of disintegration that the Muslim League politicians have sketched. Lionel Curtis of the Round Table Organisation is credited with framing the "Diarchy" that was given shape in the Montagu-Chelmsford constitutional changes. He indicated the way in which the evil of "separate electorate" will try to work itself out.

> "India will never attain unity and nationhood as long as communal electorates remain. The longer they remain the more difficult will it be to uproot them, till in the end they will be only eradicated at the cost of a civil war. To enable to attain nationhood is the trust laid on us, and in agreeing to the establishment of communal representation we have been false to that charge."

**Mr. Casey brought no change**

The year 1944 high-lighted the futility and frustration in India that were the products of the policy followed by the Imperial Government of Britain. The Bengal famine demonstrated that no communal Ministry can solve the problem that touched the every-day life of the people. A new Governor was appointed who belonged neither to the Indian Civil Service nor to the public life of Britain with their particular prepossession and prejudices with regard to Indian politics. Mr. Richard Casey was an Australian public man who chose to play a part in Britain's Imperial affairs by resigning from the position that he held as the Commonwealth representative at Washington. The Australian Prime Minister, Mr. John Curtin, started public controversy with the British Prime Minister on this account. Mr. Casey was appointed Resident Minister in the Middle East to oversee the organization of diplomacy at this centre of many interests that Britain has built up in this region. We cannot say whether he had any duties of co-ordination between diplomats and leaders of United Nations armed forces stationed in it. Why Mr. Winston Churchill chose him in preference to a British diplomat or administrator it is not difficult to understand. He wanted to enlist the services of the ruling classes of the "Dominions" in ruling the "dependent empire." Mr. Curtin might not have appreciated this compliment. Mr. Casey did not belong to his Party. And, perhaps, his affiliations were more with the Churchill school of politics than with the Labour Party in the Australian Commonwealth. Therefore was he unable to bring a new mind to the administration of Bengal, and continued to accord support to the Nazimuddin Ministry which had made such a sorry mess of the campaign against famine. So far as the civil population of the Province were concerned, Mr. Richard Casey proved as good or as disappointing as Sir John Herbert had been. Under his eyes the Ministry of Civil Supplies was allowed to bungle matters as woefully as under his immediate predecessors. The communalism of the Ministry showed no signs of decline, and the general public in Bengal found no reason to

congratulate themselves on a change from an I. C. S. Governor to an Australian public man leading their administration. The manner in which Mr. Casey reacted to the criticism of the famine relief operations in Bengal made by such an esteemed public man as Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru, President of the Servants of India Society, by Mrs. Vijay Lakshmi Pundit, President of the All-India Women's Conference, showed that it did not take Mr. Casey a long time to imbibe the bureaucratic habit of resenting criticism. His toleration of the Nazimuddin Ministry's way of handling affairs demonstrated that Mr. Casey could not rise above the imperialist policy of encouraging the narrowness of spirit that moved leaders of the Muslim League in the country. It may be that the instrument of instructions issued to him by Mr. Churchill contained directions that Mr. Casey was not to trouble himself with the internal affairs of Bengal, that he would be fulfilling the purposes of his appointment if he just saw that war activities were not hindered in any way, that the pathetic contentment of the masses in Bengal with the existing order of things was not disturbed by "outsiders" like Mr. Kunzru and Mrs. Pundit and that Congress people were kept in safe custody and Hindu Mahasabha agitators were ignored. When Mr. Casey came to Bengal the campaign round about Manipur and Kohima was mounting towards a crisis for the "United Nations," and his appointment had reference to the war efforts in the Province which he was expected to consolidate and keep intact. His success or failure in Bengal would be judged not by his efforts to pull out her people from the social disintegration that famines bring about but by his activities as a "War" Governor. Bengal's nearness to the Burma front imparted an importance to Mr. Casey's regime. The Province illustrated in one of the crises of the British Empire's history the success of the Morley-Minto policy of "Divide and Rule." This must have been one of the reasons why the breakdown in her economic life attracted the attention of India to such an extent. She represented in the League Ministry all the forces, personal and impersonal, that were being allowed to work towards weakening the People's Front in India, in disintegrating the unity of feeling and action that was trying to wrest from alien hands the authority of the State in India. Therefore did public men and publicists make Bengal's cause their own. For, Bengal left to the mercy of the communalist and the imperialist would be used as the lever of disruption in India. We know now that the leaders of the Congress interned behind prison walls were perturbed by what they had heard and read of happenings in Bengal indicating that the forces of reaction were having their innings at the expense of the Province's vital interests. They knew that the British bureaucracy would utilize the war to strengthen their stranglehold on the country's life, to kill the hopes for better life that we all entertained. But it appears that they were not prepared for betrayal of the people's cause by the leadership of the Muslim League.

**Gandhiji tries to meet Lord Wavell**

When Gandhiji was released in the second week of May, 1944, he was a sick man. He was confronted with this situation of political frustration and economic break-down in Bengal and other areas in India. With a view to end this deadlock he approached the Governor-General for a meeting and pleading for his permission to meet the

members of the Working Committee of the Congress, the supreme executive of the organization. Lord Wavell could not see his way to meet Gandhiji personally and granting his request for permission to meet the members of the Congress Working Committee as there were "radical differences in our points of view," and the "public adherence" of Gandhiji to the "Quit India" Resolution afforded no common meeting ground for discussion of the many issues that divided Britain and India. This rebuff did not stop Gandhiji from making an attempt to approach world opinion, explaining to it India's demand for independence, and justifying the August (1942) Resolution of the Congress centred round "Quit India." Mr. Stuart Gelder, special correspondent of the London *Daily Chronicle*, got into touch with him at Panchgani where he was beginning to "rebuild a broken body;" the anxiety of his editor "to help in solving the political deadlock in India" was conveyed to Gandhiji who responded with his usual eagerness to convert the opponent. It appeared that Mr. Gelder had approached Lord Wavell and returned from his mission to him "disappointed." He held three hours discussion with Gandhiji on three consecutive days. Two sets of notes were prepared after discussion. One of these was "intended for publication" after Mr. Gelder had "communicated" to Lord Wavell his impressions of Gandhiji's attitude; the other contained "notes of talks" to be discussed with any one who cared to understand how the mind of Gandhiji had been moving. Mr. Gelder had asked him straight what would he say to Lord Wavell if he met him and discussed politics with him? Gandhiji is reported as promptly saying:

"I will tell him that I sought the interview with a view to helping and not hindering the Allied war effort. But I can do nothing without seeing the members of the Working Committee, for, I believe, that my authority under the August Resolution ended with my imprisonment. It was not revived by my release....."

**British distrust and fear**

At this point Gandhiji appeared to have drawn the attention of Mr. Gelder to the fact that he was giving out his individual views, not as a representative man. Mr. Gelder got over it by saying that everybody, including Lord Wavell, would be interested to know his mind because of his "hold on the masses of India." The discussion appears to have been frank to the point of rudeness. Mr. Gelder asked to know how Gandhiji would influence the members of the Working Committee to underline his call to retreat from the position indicated in the August resolution.

"The Viceroy might feel that as you swear by the August Resolution and by the weapon of Civil Disobedience, your meeting the Working Committee members may only result in their re-investing you with authority to carry on Civil Disobedience in the name of the Congress, and the result will be that when you came out of the interview you will hold the pistol at the Viceroy's head and say, 'Do this or I start civil disobedience.' That would make things worse than they are today."

**Gandhiji's retreat from 1942 position**

To this direct charge Gandhiji could only plead that at the back of such a question stood the distrust of the British ruling classes of his "profession" that he was and has always been "a friend of the British". Mr. Gelder appears to have been treated by Gandhiji as a non-official negotiator, and to his declaration that the

British Government were not likely "to concede the demand for Independence while the war is on," Gandhiji explained how what he would be satisfied with today differed from that demanded in 1942. The economic break-down that was hidden behind war profiteering appears to have influenced him in making this concession. He was convinced that there could be no improvement in the food situation and no end to the sufferings of the people "unless power and responsibility" were transferred from "British to Indian hands." And he defined this transfer as "National Government in full control of civil Administration" The August Resolution had been pitched to a higher purpose. The betrayal by the Churchill Government of Indian hopes raised by the "Atlantic Charter", woven round the "Four Freedoms" preached by President Roosevelt, the ignominous failure of administrators in Malaya and Burma to protect the life, property and honour of the peoples, had created a mood of desperation in India that the Congress under the leadership of Gandhiji had tried to give a shape to in the "Quit India" movement. He had asked the British Government to honourably "quit India", to leave it to God, to anarchy if it came to that. The failure of that movement, the failure of the people to non-violently organize themselves, to prevent the outburst of chaos, their failure to violently wrest the authority of the State from British hands—this experience appears to have brought about this change of front on the part of Gandhiji, or a climb-down if one be tempted to use the word. He frankly indicated his present attitude thus:

"I have no intention of offering Civil Disobedience to-day. I cannot take the country back to 1942. History can never be repeated. Even without the authority of the Congress, if I wanted to do it, I could start Civil Disobedience to-day on the strength of my supposed influence with the masses, but would be doing so merely to embarass the British Government. This cannot be my object."

**Mr. Gelder's purpose in seeking the interview**

In more than one place in the explanatory statement he made to journalists, Indian and foreign, he told that the Gelder interview was really addressed to the powers that be, both here in India and in Britain, that as Lord Wavell had refused to meet him personally, Gandhiji hoped that the special correspondent of a well-known British daily, with his knowledge of Gandhiji's mind, would be able to plead with the British Governor-General with better effect the cause of the freedom of India and the cause of world peace that have become synonymous in his mind. Mr. Gelder also appears to have approached the problem from this larger view. He appears to have appreciated and respected the spirit of the words in which Gandhiji expressed his anxiety. There were many Indian critics who disliked Gandhiji's confession of defeat. But he asked them to enter into "the sufferings not only of the people of India but of those, whether engaged in war or not, of the whole world." But Mr. Gelder belonged not to this class. To British critics of his officiousness, he put the case in the light with which he had approached Gandhiji. He was interested in solving the political deadlock in India, it was true, but he was interested more in world peace with which somehow India's political status has had some relation. This was the main reason for "imposing a strain on a sick man."

"I told Mr. Gandhi that I was anxious for this not only for the sake of India, but for the sake of the peaceful future of my own country and for the future of my children and all English children who, I hope, will grow to adult life in a saner, happier world."

This point of view did not, however, appeal to the ruling classes of Britain. And the Gelder interview "misfired." The evidence of this came out in the speeches made in the House of Commons in course of which Gandhiji's new move naturally formed a subject of discussion. The impression left in the mind was that those who arrogated to speak in the name of the British people and, perhaps, did give voice to their inner feeling and belief, had persuaded themselves that what the people of India stood mostly in need of at this point of their history was economic re-construction and not political satisfaction. No body in India was deceived by this British pose. Leaders of industrial life in India, men like Mr. J. R. D. Tata and Sir Homi Modi, came out bitter with criticism of this attitude, because they could speak from experience that India's economic interests were systematically sacrificed at the altar of Britain's because the State in India was being run by British rulers who had to consult the convenience and comfort of their own people in preference to those of India's. The history of Indo-British relation during the last one hundred eighty-eight years since Britain secured political power over India has a record of the use of political power to strangle Indian industries and injure them. And the plea of British politicians on behalf of India's economic regeneration under British auspices is one of the major ironies of history, to put the matter mildly. We remember how the London *Times*, the London *Economist* and the *Manchester Guardian* toppled over one another in welcoming the appointment of Sir Archibald Wavell as Governor-General in succession to Lord Linlithgow as opening a new era of economic reconstruction. The humour of the situation will be better appreciated if it be remembered that during Lord Linlithgow's administration, acting under Sir Archibald Wavell's advice as Commander-in-Chief of India, measures were taken that created conditions of famine in Bengal that killed more than three millions of men, women and children. Again, history has often told us that alien rulers often try to silence their conscience and stifle criticism of their actions by holding forth on the virtues of economic well-being as a substitute for political freedom, as a sop to the subject population. Sydney Smith in his *Peter Plymley's Letters* had parodied this pose and exposed its hypocrisy about a hundred years back. British rulers were busy trying to persuade the Irish people that the cry for a Parliament at Dublin was all ineffective. Sydney Smith put this plea in all its absurdity when he said that

**British rulers reject it**

"The object of all Government is roast mutton, potatoes, claret, a stout constable and honest justice, a clear high way and a free chapel. What trash to be bawling in the streets about the Green Island, the Isle of the Ocean ; the bold anthem go bragh. A far better anthem would be Erin go bread and cheese, Erin go cabins that will keep out the rains, Erin go pantaloons without holes in them."

The present Prime Minister of Britain was not unaware how 'Tory Democracy" in his own island had attempted under the leader-

**Mr. Churchill's "Tory Democracy".**

ship of Benjamin Disraeli ( Lord Beaconsfield ) to divert the attention of the other "nation" in Britain, the poor and disenfranchised of the country, from their "wild longings for organic change". In the biography of his father, Lord Randolph Churchill, he had analysed the policy in no complimentary terms—the policy which begins with

"the little peddling Boards of Health which occupy and delight the Local Government Department, comprises Lord Salisbury's plan for the amelioration of the dwellings of the poor, carries with it Lord Carnarvon's ideal of compulsory national insurance, includes Sir Wilfrid Lawson's temperance propaganda, preserves and reclaims commons and open spaces favoured by Mr. Bryce, constructs people's parks, collects and opens to the masses museums and libraries, art galleries, and does not disdain the work-houses of Mr. Jesse Collins".

Lord Wavell's stiff attitude to Mr. Gelder's mission, undertaken at Gandhiji's instance, and the discussion in the House of Commons left no doubt in the mind that the British authorities were not prepared to share authority with responsible public opinion in India organized on a non-communal platform, to recognize "full independence qualified during the pendency of the War" as indicated in Gandhiji's discussions with Mr. Gelder—National Government in full control of civil administration that would render all aid and open all facilities to the Allied Powers, such as air bases, railways, ports etc., helping the war effort in all its branches and phases. The Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery, in replying to questions put by Labour members in the House of Commons on the 13th July, 1944, appeared to suggest that the British Government should wait developments in India till these become "clearer." By that time the Rajagopalachari formula for the settlement of the problem, as it has been raised by the Muslim League, appeared, and the ruling class of Britain wanted to watch how this "move towards a settlement between the two major communities" transformed affairs in India and forced the hands of the Government. The mind of this class was reflected in the question put by Earl Winterton who, perhaps, feared that the Churchill Government might be forced to commit itself in response to Gandhiji's new offer. He asked a question and had his reply.

**The unalterable Tory policy**

"Will Mr. Amery give an assurance that in any negotiations to which the Government of India is party, equal rights are given to the Muslim League as to the predominantly Hindu Congress which is unalterably opposed to the views of the Muslim League and the great majority of the Muslims in India ?"

"There will be no question of the Government of India exercising one-sided influence on these discussions in any manner."

Another member, Sir Herbert Williams, expressed concern for another element of India's life when he asked : "Will 50 million people, described as untouchables, have some consideration as well as Mr. Gandhi ?" Mr. Amery replied : "They do not enter into the present negotiations, if indeed negotiations are in progress." These two questions and the two replies given by Mr. Amery summarize the two problems that under British auspices and with British encouragement have created all the complexities that are supposed to halt the arrival of democratic freedom in India. We have referred to the long history of Anglo-Indian flirtation with the feelings, sentiments and interests of a section of the Muslim community in India. Since the days of Sir Syed Ahmed,

**Of setting community against community**

founder of the Aligarh College, the precursor of the Muslim University of today, official policy has been consistent in its support to all that stirred differences between the Hindus and Muslims of India, twisted these differences into permanent factors of communal conflict and competition. It does not require any deep research into the history of Hindu-Muslim relations to come face to face with the fact that Hindu and Muslim societies have differed in certain of the habits of their life and thought; they have agreed to treat these differences with a certain amount of toleration and on this tolerance lay the foundation of a common life. After the first flush of victory the ruling classes amongst the Muslims accepted India as their homeland and their Hindu neighbours as equal partners in the administration of the country. During the many dynastic revolutions that characterized the life of India since the eleventh century of the Christian era, Hindu and Muslim grandees and chieftains have been found co-operating with one another in putting up or pulling down rulers on the thrones of Delhi. During the seven hundred years antecedent to British eruption into India, aspirants to independence, Hindu or Muslim, in the various parts and provinces of India, never failed to recognise the primacy of the emperors of Delhi, to bear fealty to them, however insincere it might have been. In the anarchy of sovereignties that had been a mark and note of mediæval times in Europe and Asia, in almost every continent, this experience of India has been the expression of a deeply-recognized necessity that there must be a central Government to hold the discordant elements in check, to neutralize their chaotic conceits and ambitions. The British rulers being alien to the soil and refusing to identify themselves with the people of India have succeeded in imposing some sort of a centralized administration over the country. But when the classes educated by them refused to remain the standard-bearers of this alien rule, the new rulers tried to disrupt the unity of a common resentment under a common subjugation by setting community against community. One of the earliest of their administrators, Mounstuart Elphinstone, a student of Indian thought and culture and an admirer of these in his own way, set this pattern of rule in India when he recalled for the guidance of his fellow administrators the old Roman motto of "Divide et impera"—"Divide and rule"—which should also be theirs in India.

**Since the Birth of the Congress**

The difficulties created for the nation-builder in India by this policy, and their efforts to get over these or batter these down, make the history of Indian Nationalism since the days when 77 men, speaking different languages, wearing different apparels, living at distances as wide apart as Assam and Sind, the Punjab and the Presidency of Madras, assembled at Bombay in the hall of the Gokuldas Tejpal School to create out of these diversities a unity of purpose for the political redemption of their people. In Volume I of the *Annual Register* of 1936, we have traced the growth and rise of the many forces, personal and impersonal, that made the organisation of this institution inevitable. An Anglo-Indian administrator, the Lieutenant Governor of the North-West Province (now the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh), Auckland Colvin, had the insight to recognise that it would have "arrived in the consummation of time." The time of new birth was a narrow question....."the charm which had held the sleeper bound was to be

broken, and the time for breaking was at hand." So, it happened in 1885. History would bear testimony to the fact that the majority of the British administrators unconsciously to themselves had worked towards bringing this development near realization. But when it did arrive they could not welcome it. Even the highest of them, one of them, the Marquis of Dufferin, the successor of Lord Ripon, scented danger in it, he who had encouraged and inspired Allan Octavian Hume to organize the Indian National Congress. And to halt it he appealed to the narrow conceits of the higher classes amongst the Muslims of India to set their claims as a counterpoise to what they have described as Hindu ambitions for domination. Addressing members of the Mahomedan Central National Association of Calcutta on the eve of his departure from India, he uttered words that revealed the mind of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy, challenged by Indian Nationalism to justify its ways of rule over India He had spoken of the Congress as representing a "microscopic minority", of trying to "ride in the chariot of the sun". The farewell address presented by the Association afforded an opportunity to whip up opposition to the demands put forward on behalf of the people. It has to be remembered that the Indian National Congress was not the revolutionary organisation that it has become since 1905. The demands made in its resolutions of those days did not for twenty years rise much above the concern for "peddling Boards of Health" and such like things. But the British bureaucrat was prescient. And he could detect in the petition and protest and prayer of the early years of the Congress the first notes of the full-throated assertion of India's right to political independence. Therefore did he try to set up the 'baffle wall' of communal and sectional interests, therefore did he encourage these to hold up progress for as long a time as possible. Lord Dufferin was one of the cleverest of this tribe. How cleverly did he appeal to the Muslim grandees, to their pride, with a view to enlist their help in consolidating the position of the "external authority" in India !

"In any event, be assured, Gentlemen, that I highly value those marks of sympathy and approbation which you have been pleased to express in regard to the general administration of the country. Descended as you are from those who formerly occupied such a commanding position in India, you are exceptionally able to understand the responsibility attaching to those who rule."

**Sir Syed Ahmed's response to the Dufferin appeal**

His appeal did not take a long time to bear fruit. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan hastened to show that he and his class in India could not be ignored in the scheme of things that the Congress was trying to build up in India. He did it so crudely that no body could miss its inspiration to have come from Lord Dufferin's words. Or, it may be that both felt themselves bound together in mutual selfishness for the exploitation of India's weakness. Speaking at a meeing of brother grandees at the Kaiser Bagh in Lucknow (1888) he uttered words that were reminiscent of the days when Muslim kings ruled at Delhi.

"We the Mahomedans are those who ruled India for six or seven hundred years. From our hands the Government was taken by the English. Is the Indian Government so foolish as to suppose that in seventy years we have forgotten all our grandeur and all our glory ?"

Thus was the conceit stirred into life by the British bureaucrat for his own purposes that has taken shape today in the claim put forth by the

Muslim League for a separate State or States in India to be carved out of blocks of teritorries where the Muslims happen to find themselves in the majority. In successive volumes of the *Indian Annual Register* since 1936, we have tried to trace the movement of thought in the heart of a section in the Muslim community in India asserting their separateness from their neighbours and dreaming dreams of having this separateness given a distinct place in the future when the British authority will have faded out of India. In the latter part of 1938, from Prof. Abdul Latif, sometime professor of English in the Osmania University of Hyderabad (Deccan), we have had a picture of the country as a section of Muslim public men and publicists would like to have it drawn. Since then the Muslim League has made this scheme its own, and by appealing to the crudest of human feelings and the noblest at the same time it has been able to enlist the support of large bodies of Muslims to its plan of disruption. The protagonists of the index may have thrown overboard the lessons of Indian history in drawing up their ideology and disregarded the fact that Hindus and Muslims overlap themselves so intimately over wide areas of the country that without a vast exchange of population no coherent Muslim State or Hindu State for the matter of that can be formed within the unity that geography has made in this continental country of India. We know that history and geography have many times lost their appeal to human beings, and they have been disregarded in the pursuit of narrow conceits and ambitions. There is sage counsel yet in Muslim society in India that finds no virtue in the cry raised by the Muslim League, but it appears to be lost in the enthusiasm of the community. Venerated leaders like Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madani of Deobund in the United Provinces, a centre of traditional Muslim culture, like Mufti Kifayat Ullah of Delhi, like Khan Abdur Ghaffar Khan of the North-West Frontier Province, to name a few names, are ranged against the unwisdom implicit in the Muslim League cry. But their protests sound like cries in the wilderness.

**Evolution of the separatist idea**

A section in the leadership of the Indian National Congress represented by Mr. Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, sometime Chief Minister in Madras, appears to have accepted the position that the demands put forward by the Muslim League cannot be rejected with safety to the cause of Nationalism that the Congress claims to represent. When the Cripps Mission came to India with proposals for an Indian Union with right of secession promised to Units, Mr. Rajagopalachari had tried hard to have these accepted. He got defeated, and resigned from the Congress. For about two years he appeared to be ploughing a lonely furrow.

**Mr. Rajagopalachari persuades Gandhiji to accept it**

Gandhiji and members of the Working Committee of the Congress were put behind prison bars having registered their opposition to the Cripps Plan and all that it had stood for. Even during their absence when India appeared to be bereft of all leadership, Mr. Rajagopalachari was found making no headway with his propaganda. His contact with the Governor-General, his wooing of the President of the All-

India Muslim League, appeared to have borne no fruit. And politically-minded people in India appeared to rest satisfied with the failure of Mr. Rajagogalachari's attempts to appease the leadership of the League. Mahatma Gandhi was released in the second week of May, 1944. We have described above how he tried to retrieve the position with the help of Mr. Gelder, and how he failed. This happened during certain days in July, 1944. Coincident with the Gandhi-Gelder negotiations, which were carried on in full view of the public, there were certain negotiations that Mr. Rajagopalachari had beene arrying on with Mr. Jinnah. These also had failed. And the former regarded that the time was opportune to explain the causes of this failure. The public would not have been troubled if the Madras leader had related the story of his own failure. But they were startled to find that Mr. Rajagopalachari had the endorsement of Mahatma Gandhi to the terms that he had offered to Mr. Jinnah as a "basis for settlement" of the differences that stood between the Congress and the League. This endorsement was received as far back as March, 1943, when Gandhiji had been recovering from the effects of the "capacity fast" for 21 days he had under-taken in the middle of February, 1943. Thus for more than sixteen months Mr. Rajagopalachari had with him this endorsement. How he secured it during the time when Gandhiji was more than ill, we will, perhaps, never know. What new arguments did he advance to persuade Gandhiji to accept a proposal that had been regarded as disastrous to the cause of India's freedom and to her position in the comity of modern nations, we have not been told. The months since Mr. Rajagopalachari published (July, 10, 1944) his "Basis for Settlement" have not shown that even Gandhiji's endorsement has been able to reconcile the general body of politically-minded people in India to this idea of division of their country; it has not added to the number of men and women who are prepared to endorse this deal with the leaders of the League. For sixteenth months Mr Rajagopalachari has had occasion to discuss matters with representatives of various shades of opinion in India to remove the political deadlock. We have yet to know that he told any one of them of this endorsement by Gandhiji of his offer to Mr. Jinnah. This secrecy has not gained him any advantage; it has on the other hand antagonised people who would, perhaps, have given it greater consideration if the thing had been done above board. This secrecy has created an instinctive repulsion against the use of the name of a venerated man for the pursuit of a political deal. And it has to be recorded with regret that this repulsion has been touching Gandhiji's prestige as an elder statesman of India in whose hands the political future of the country could be unhesitatingly left. It has long been felt that Gandhiji has ceased to be an individual, that he cannot endorse or reject any proposal in his individual capacity; that before he did either of these he is expected to take counsel even with his known opponents. In the present instance he did less than this; and when the people's mind was perturbed over the outcome of his "capacity fast", and he was known to be less than his normal self, his counter-signature was given to a plan which the majority in India, not confined to any particular sect or community, regarded as a sacrilege, outraging the

deepest sentiments of hundreds of millions and as hurting the most intimate of their material interests.

These were the feelings that were at the back of the bitterness of the criticism that met the news of Gandhiji's endorsement of the Rajagopalachari formula. Gandhiji could only plead that he should be trusted not to consciously tolerate injury to any interest in the country. He did not try to argue his case. Did he ask Rajaji why should he feel that Mr. Jinnah's was the only interest that deserved consideration in India, who should be the other person, or persons who should be called upon to satisfy or could satisfy all the demands of all the minority interests—communal, racial, social, economic, linguistic—that have been clamouring for satisfaction from every part of India, from many hitherto unheard of corners of the country? Gandhiji tried to simplify the issue by saying that Mr. Jinnah's claim for separate States in India was identical to the demand for the partition of ancestral property by a brother or brothers. How is that brother to be treated or is treated in social life who refuses to consider the interest of his other brothers, major or minor? Mr. Jinnah has never cared to fit his plan of division into the general scheme that concerned all the interests in the country, to reconcile his claims with those of others. For twenty one days from September 9 to September 29 (1944) Gandhiji and Mr. Jinnah held almost daily discussions; they wrote letters to each other, summarising these, seeking clarification on various points. Almost the whole of this correspondence has been reprinted in book form. Nowhere do we find Mr. Jinnah prepared to apply his mind to the solution of the complex problems that have grown out of his particular claim. He appeared to be unconscious that for the satisfaction of his own claim the map of the whole country will have to be re-drawn, that many of the old land-marks will have to be erased and many new ones put up, that vast exchanges of populations will have to be arranged for, wrenching up by the roots many traditions round which the hearts of men and women have woven many patterns of common life. Nowhere did he show that he was ever troubled by thoughts of these complications. He appeared to be satisfied that he had at long last an opportunity to press for the recognition of the "fundamentals" of the Lahore (1940) Resolution of the Muslim League, appeared to be satisfied with his role as negotiator of equal status with Gandhiji, appeared to gloat over the fact that at long last circumstances have forced Gandhiji to come to his house in a suppliant mood.

**Rajaji-Jinnah irresponsibility**

That we are not far wrong in what we have said as to Mr. Jinnah's indifference to other interests except his own, came out prominently in his reply dated September 17 to a letter from Gandhiji's of September 15. This particular letter occupied the central position in the series; it focussed all the doubts that assailed his mind as Gandhiji came face to face with the complexities raised by Mr. Jinnah's crude presentation of his demands. It is best to reproduce the part of it that is most relevant to the issue.

**Gandhi challenges the "two nations" theory**

"You must admit that the Resolution (Lahore) itself makes no reference to the 'two nations' theory..... I find no parallel in history for a body of converts

and their descendants claiming to be a nation apart from the parent stock. If India was one nation before the advent of Islam, it must remain one in spite of the change of faith of a very large body of her children.

"You seem to have introduced a new test of nationhood. If I accept it I would have to subscribe to many more claims and face an insoluble problem....."

The more important part of the letter was that where Gandhiji addressed 15 questions to be clarified with regard to the "Pakistan" claim. Number 6 and sub-sections of Number 15 and the replies thereto showed how Mr. Jinnah did not recognize any interest but his own that has the right to have a say in making the changes to satisfy the conditions of his demands.

GANDHIJI'S QUESTIONS

(6) Are the constituents in the two Zones to constitute "independent States," an undefined number in each Zone?

**Gandhiji's questions & Mr. Jinnah's replies**

(15) (a) Are the people in the regions falling under the plan to have any voice in the matter of separation and, if so, how is it to be ascertained?

(c) There are many groups of Muslims who have continuously expressed dissent from the policy of the League. While I am prepared to accept the preponderating influence and position of the League and have approached you for that very reason, is it not our joint duty to remove their doubts and carry them with us by making them feel that they and their supporters have not been practically disenfranchized?

(d) Does not this lead to placing the resolution of the League before the people of the Zones concerned as a whole for acceptance?

MR. JINNAH'S REPLIES

(b) No. They will form units of Pakistan.

15 (a) Does not arise by way of clarification.

(c) The Muslim League is the only authoritative and representative organization of Muslim India.

(d) No. See answer (c).

In his negotiations with Gandhiji Mr. Jinnah avoided to present a full picture of the country as it would emerge out of the operation table, out of the process of vivisection. Gandhiji also did not ask him for this in a direct manner. He was already alarmed with Mr. Jinnah's "argument." He knew and Mr. Jinnah knew also that in the "dream" scheme of Pakistan, in the Muslim "Zones", there were elements which by the definition of the Lahore Resolution could not be included in it. To take a concrete case, that of the Punjab. Except in the North and Western districts of the Province, there was no "geographically contiguous units" where "the Muslims are in a majority." The same holds good in the case of Sind. Only in the North-West Frontier Province and in Beluchistan can the "fundamental principles" of the Muslim League Resolution be applied. So far as the "Eastern Zone" is concerned, the distribution of the population of the Hindu and Muslim population, takes away much of the value of the "Eastern Pakistan" of the League enthusiasts. The whole of Burdwan Division and parts of the Rajshahi and Presidency Divisions are continuous areas where the Hindus are in a majority; Calcutta is overwhelmingly Hindu. Except the district of Sylhet the Province of Assam is a Hindu majority area. But the geo-politicians of the Muslim League make no secret of their ambition that the Provinces of Bengal and Assam, as these are at present constituted, should form "Units" of Eastern Pakistan. We would be doing injustice to Mr. Jinnah's cleverness as a politician if we believed

**Lahore Resolution creates more complications**

that he was not aware of these difficulties. Therefore did he try to evade the prolongation of the argument when Gandhiji asked him the Question No. 6 in the letter dated September 15 (1944). It is to the same realization that we trace his refusal to accept Mr. Rajagopalachari's "Basis for Settlement" conveyed to him in a letter dated New Delhi, April 8, 1944.

**Rajagopalachari formula**

In the last volume of the *Annual Register* (P. 111) we reproduced this document. For facility of ready reference the readers of this study can conveniently turn to P. 129 of the present volume. In clause 6 of this document it is said that "the terms will be binding only in the case of transfer by Britain of full power and responsibility for the governance of India." In persuading Britain to agree to this transfer the Muslim League, according to clause 1 of the document, should endorse "the Indian demand for independence and will co-operate with the Congress in the formation of a Provisional interim government for the transitional period." In clause 2 is to be found the operative part of what is to be done to give "body" to the Muslim League Resolution (1940). A Commission will be appointed for

> "Demarcating contiguous districts in the north-west and east of India, wherein the Muslim population is in absolute majority (In the League resolutions the word used was "majority" unqualified). In the areas thus demarcated, a plebiscite of all the inhabitants, held on the basis of adult suffrage or other practicable franchise, shall ultimately decide the issue of separation from Hindusthan..... ....."

**Mr. Jinnah could not personally endorse it**

We know from a letter dated April 17 (1944) written to Mr. Jinnah by Mr. Rajagopalachari that the former did not "approve of the terms." It appears that the latter had been pressing on the League leader to personally endorse his formula. Mr. Jinnah found himself unable to promise anything more than "place" Mr. Rajagopalachari's formula before the Working Committee of the Muslim League; he wrote that he "could not personally take the responsibility of accepting or rejecting it". This attitude was in contrast to Gandhiji's who accepted the Rajagopalachari formula without consultation with members of the Working Committee of which he claimed to be the "adviser". Thereby he created difficulties for himself and for them also. Writing at the end of 1945, six months after the release of the members of the Congress Committee, after they have had occasion to meet in conclave once or twice, neither the Committee nor individual members of it have given their public support to the Rajagopalachari formula or Gandhiji's endorsement of it; they have avoided any reference to this episode. The Indian Press has interpreted it as an unspoken criticism or condemnation of this appeasement or attempt at appeasement of the dangerous policy of the Muslim League. It is significant also that Gandhiji has not once during these months opened his lips on this topic. He has been maintaining a studied silence that is significant in more senses than one. Since the failure of his negotiations with Mr. Jinnah he appears to have accepted the position that things must be allowed to get worse before they can get better; League crudity and narrowness must be allowed time to work themselves out.

Now to revert to the consideration given to the Rajagopalachari formula by the leader of the League and his Working Committee. This was done at a meeting of the Committee held at Lahore on July 29 (1944). Previous to it Gandhiji had written to Mr. Jinnah on July 17 to meet him whenever the latter chose. The letter expressed the sensitiveness of the writer to the developments of politics in India, to the evil of the estrangement that the policy of the League has been extending over India. The letter was written in Guzerati, the common mother tongue of Gandhiji and Mr. Jinnah. It and the reply to it showed that the former was a sentimentalist and the latter a realist. We share Gandhiji's letter with our readers.

**Gandhiji writes to Jinnah**

"Dilkush"
Panchgani, July 17.

Brother Jinnah,

There was a day when I could induce you to speak in the mother tongue. Today I take courage to write to you in the same language. I had invited you to meet me while I was in jail. I have not written to you since my release. But today my heart says that I should write to you. We will meet whenever you choose. Don't regard me as the enemy of Islam or of the Muslims of this country. I am the friend and servant of not only yourself but of the whole world. Do not disappoint me.

I am enclosing herewith a translation of this letter in Urdu.

Your Brother
GANDHI

To this letter Mr. Jinnah replied in language that lacked the warmth and cordiality of Gandhiji's letter. The older man should have been warned that he was dealing with a customer who did not allow sentiment or the memory of old relations to stand in the way of pressing for his pound of flesh. This is a new type of leadership to which we in India must get habituated. Mr. Jinnah's reply was as follows.

**Mr. Jinnah's reply**

H. B. "Queen Elizabeth"
Srinagar, Kashmir
24th July, 1944.

Dear Mr. GANDHI,

I received your letter dated July 17 here on July 22, and I thank you for it.

I shall be glad to receive you at my house in Bombay on my return which will probably be about the middle of August. By that time I hope that you will have recuperated your health fully and will be returning to Bombay. I would like to say nothing more till we meet.

I am very pleased to read in the Press that you are making very good progress, and I hope that you will soon be all right.

Your sincerely
M. A. Jinnah

This letter is a truer reflection of the spirit of Jinnah politics than any of the elaborate speeches that the League leader makes to his followers either during the annual sessions of the Muslim League or to the twenty or twenty-two of them who meet in their Working Committee. The speeches are tirades. The one made at the 29th July meeting was a long-drawn caricature of what Gandhiji had said or meant, twisting and misrepresenting him in the pursuit of a policy that can but lead to the creation of a civil war mind in India. Mr. Jinnah referred to Gandhiji's letter of more than a year back,

**An old episode recalled**

written on May 4, 1943. A few days previous Mr. Jinnah, in course of his address as President of the annual session of the Muslim League, had twitted Gandhiji about so often approaching the Governor-General, Lord Linlithgow, with various requests with so little satisfaction; he had asked why should not Gandhiji address a letter to him acknowledging his conversion to the idea at the back of the 1940 League resolution, and he almost challenged the Government to dare withhold such a letter. Gandhiji had taken him at his words and addressed a letter which the Government refused to deliver to Mr. Jinnah. When the Press had commented on this in rather a sarcastic manner, Mr. Jinnah turned round and suggested that Gandhiji's real purpose was to get him involved in a quarrel with the Government. In the context of Gandhiji's Panchgani letter (July 17, 1944) there was no necessity to recall this episode except to poison the well of inter-communal relations in India. He gloated over the fact that Gandhiji had so often to seek interviews with Lord Linlithgow and Lord Wavell and to get snubbed for the trouble. And when he asked his followers to draw lessons from the consideration he had received at the hands of the British bureaucracy, he failed to appreciate its significance. Gandhiji's letter was not delivered to Mr. Jinnah but its "substance" was made available to him. And as it did not show any "change" in Gandhiji's "heart", Mr. Jinnah refused to visit Gandhiji in his prison home.

**Spirit and technique of Jinnah politics**

The same spirit of intransigence marked his criticism of the Rajagopalachari formula. He called it as "offering a shadow and a husk, a maimed, mutilated and moth-eaten Pakistan and thus trying to pass off as having met our Pakistan scheme and Muslim demand." He did not care to subject the formula to analysis in the light of the Lahore Resolution. He objected to the procedure of a "plebiscite", suggested as it had no "mention" in the Lahore Resolution; he characterized as "ridiculous" the proposal of "demarcating contiguous districts in the north-west and east of India", as the Lahore Resolution had only made mention of "geographically contiguous units" where the Muslims happened to be in majority. When Mr. Fazlul Huq sponsored this resolution at the open session of the League at Lahore in March, 1940, its framers evidently had not realized the full implications of the proposal they were putting forward, that geographically contiguous units may not sweep into the Muslim League State or States areas where Hindus or Sikhs happen to predominate, as is the case in the Punjab and Sind, or where the Hindus predominate, as is the case in Bengal and Assam. They thought, perhaps, that they would be allowed to walk away with such areas as these happen to be included within the present boundaries of the Provinces. As these are the creation of British policy or want of policy, Mr. Jinnah and his followers believed, perhaps, that the British bureaucracy in India would not be prepared to take the trouble of plebiscites, but as friends and patrons of the Muslim League would try to expedite matters by leaving the territorial divisions as these were on the present map. The Lahore Resolution did not trouble to think or explain how the terrritorial changes implicit in it could be made to fit in with the condition of other "nations" or "peoples" that inhabit the country. The criticism to which it has been subjected

since then, the Rajagopalachari formula that tried to give some sort of a shape to it, have disturbed the complacency of the League visionaries. They have come to realize that the "principle" on the strength of which they claim to divide the country may be used by other "nations" or "peoples" of India for the advance of their particular interests. Gandhiji's letters written to Mr. Jinnah during the September (1944) negotiation brought this realization home to them. But they were not prepared to accept the logic of their own theory of nationalism. If "religion" be the only corner-stone of a State, the "religion" or "religions" that differed from Islam has and have as much right to claim to build up their State or States on the foundation of the differences in faith and practice that characterized their life and distinguished them from Muslims. The marks and notes of nationalism in the name of which the Muslim League proposes to vivisect the north-western and north-eastern "Zones" of India have within them germs that will dissolve the Punjab and Sind, Bengal and Assam as the Provinces are constituted today. The Muslim League leaders have begun to shy at this prospect. But the forces of disruption and the enmities that they have released over India must seek expression in further estrangement between neighbours whom every other tie in life except religion bind together. The report of the speech, the summary of it, that Mr. Jinnah delivered before members of his Working Committee, show that he has grown aware of the difficulties in the path of his scheme that history and geography, economic relations and common life for centuries have set up. This is the significance of the language of personal abuse and raillery that he used on the occasion that took up so large a part of it. Having a bad case to advance and defend, Mr. Jinnah fell to the usual practice of lawyers of abusing his opposite number in the leadership of the country. As we have said before, this spirit will not win him his case; this technique of political warfare can only lay the foundation of warring community life in India. Even separate States will not be able to divide the peoples whom history have brought together. Mr. Jinnah's own life history of nationalism and communalism will be an episode which future generations of Muslims would contemplate with sorrow as the betrayal of a great promise.

**Poisoning human relations in India**

We are certain in our belief that Mr. Mohammed Ali Jinnah is what he is in Indian politics, its spoilt child, because since his youth he has been petted and made much of as the rising hope of India's composite Nationalism, as the bridge of reconciliation between Hindus and Muslims in India, as the ambassador of Hindu-Muslim union, as the "Muslim Gokhale". This position acquired so easily has made his way smooth for political life, Hindu politicians doing everything possible to make his way smooth as the fighter against separatist feelings and conceits that lurk in his community's heart. This has developed in him an arrogance that is uncommon with the Indian politician. Since Mr. Jinnah emerged into the leadership of the Muslim League and threw overboard his earlier political affiliations, he has ceased to have to depend on Hindu help for the advancement of his political ambitions. We are prepared to believe that he is incorruptible. But he is ambitious. And as "separate electorates"

required him to woo the Muslim voters alone, it became easier for him to flower into the most rabid of Muslim politicians in India of recent times. If the franchise arrangements had required that candidates to legislative honours and responsibilities would have to approach every voter in their constituency, irrespective of credal or colour differentiations, Mr. Jinnah could not have afforded to indulge in ribaldry at the expense of Hindus and of the Indian National Congress that he does at present; the simplest of political instincts would have advised him to keep a decenter tongue in the cheek in his references to the politics and politicians of his neighbouring community. As it is, there is no legal hindrance to his being rabid and arrogant, and Mr. Jinnah would be less than the politician that he is if he ever thought of imposing moral restraint on himself in his political thoughts and activities. His Pakistani demands, good or bad, may from certain points of view be regarded as less harmful than the steady stream of hatred that he and the members of his organization have been directing against the Hindus and other communities, big or small, that are opposed to them ideologically and politically. They do not appear to appreciate that for good or for evil the Muslims of India, Leaguers or non-Leaguers, will have to live side by side with their neighbours of other religious persuasions, and that the evil that they have been spreading at present will live after the present frenzy of unreason and arrogance have died. They appear to forget that the British will not always be here to tip the balance in their favour, that their activities have been sowing seeds of disruption which will sprout into the poison tree under the shadow of which the Hindu and the Muslim of India will have to live whether within common boundaries or without.

**Oath against oath**

Human relations are being poisoned in India, a development which is of far more ominous significance to the future of India than any politics. Distrust of one another's sincerity is abroad; no reliance can be put on the value of words, spoken or written. An episode during the period under discussion threw light on this deterioration in manners. Almost simultaneously with the publication of the Rajagopalachari formula there appeared in the columns of the *Pioneer*, the Lucknow daily, a statement over the signature of Raja Maheswar Dayal Seth of Kotra in the United Provinces. The statement revealed that sometime in 1942, in September, 1942, Mr. Jinnah had proposed certain terms for the settlement of the political deadlock in India. He has since repudiated the authenticity of the story told by the Raja Saheb who happened to be holding at the time the position of General Secretary of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha. And to the Indian public this repudiation make the story a case of an oath against oath. Mr. Jinnah simply contented himself by saying that he had authorized no deputy of his in the Muslim League to carry on negotiations with Raja Maheswar Dayal Seth, General Secretary of the Hindu Mahasabha The Raja Saheb, on the other hand, has given such detailed description of the circumstances and the occasion of the negotiations that his statement was accepted at the time as a true version of the affair. The only point on which he continued to observe secrecy was the names of the two "common" friends, both

holding important positions in the Muslim League organization. The cause of this reticence has yet to be explained. Except the two "common" friends none has gained by it—another example of secret diplomacy creating more complications than helping to solve existing ones. Mr. Rajagopalachari securing Gandhiji's endorsement of his formula and wooing so unsuccessfully the leader of the Muslim League, and keeping the whole thing secret for more than fifteen months, even from leaders of public opinion in India who were as anxious as he to help remove the obstacles in the way of building of a united front against the alien State in India—this was another instance of the betrayal of public confidence and trust.

**Raja Maheswar Dayal Seth's statement**

Since this particular statement appeared in the Press, there have been the Gandhi-Jinnah negotiations—a failure of these. In their context the statement of Raja Maheswar Dayal Seth has an importance. We, therefore, share it with our readers. Here is it as it appeared in the *Pioneer*.

The proposals made by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari for a communal settlement with the approval of Mahatma Gandhi are none other than those which Mr. Jinnah himself had proposed, and are in accordance with the famous Pakistan resolution of the Muslim League passed at its Lahore session in 1940.

I may take the public into confidence and state that the Working Committee of the A-I. Hindu Mahasabha in August, 1942, appointed a Special Committee to negotiate with leaders of principal political parties and to mobilise public opinion in support of the national demand. I was then General Secretary of the Hindu Mahasabha and, on behalf of this Committee carried on negotiations with Mr. Jinnah, and through the help of a common friend who holds a very important position in the Muslim League, the following terms were offered by Mr. Jinnah for compromise:

MR. JINNAH'S TERMS

The leader of the Muslim League endorses the national demand for freedom as adumberated in the resolution of August 30, 1942, of the Working Committee of the A-I Hindu Mahasabha and expresses the League's readiness to join other parties to fight for and win freedom immediately, provided a settlement is reached with the League guaranteeing certain broad principles. In the event of such a settlement being reached the League will co-operate in the formation of provincial composite governments.

The broad principles to be agreed to are that after the war:

(a) A commission shall be appointed to mark out contiguous areas in the north-west and north-east of India where the Muslim population is in majority.

(N. B.—Mr. Jinnah personally told Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerji, Chairman of the Special Committee, when he met him in September, 1942, that the majority did not actually mean 51 per cent. It should be more, say, 55 per cent.)

(b) In these two areas there shall be a universal plebiscite and if the majority of the population vote in favour of a separate sovereign State such a State shall be formed.

(c) In the event of separation Muslims shall not demand any safeguard for the Muslim minority in Hindustan. It will be open to the two Indias to arrange on a reciprocal basis safeguards for religious minorities in the respective States.

(d) There shall be no corridor between the two Muslim areas in the north-west and north-east of India but the two areas shall constitute one sovereign State.

(e) Indian States shall be left out of consideration.

(f) A government machinery shall be provided for giving due facilities for transfer of population, absolutely on voluntary basis.

So it will be seen that there is practically no change in the proposals made by Rajaji.

Of course, neither I nor the Hindu Mahasabha could accept these proposals as we could not possibly be a party to any proposals for the vivisection of the country in any shape or form. But at the conference held by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru at his place at Allahabad in December, 1942, which was attended among others by Mr. Rajagopalachari, I simply read out the terms offered on behalf of the League for settlement and I gave a copy of it to Mr. Rajagopalachari as well who showed it to

Mahatmaji during his 21 days' fast in March. 1943, and got his approval to the proposals.

Rajaji called me to Delhi, on March 26, 1943, and I again got into touch with Mr. Jinnah through another common friend holding an equally important position in the League but, to my great surprise, Mr. Jinnah was unwilling to accept the terms which he himself had offered in September, 1942.

**Gandhiji cannot ably negotiate on equal terms**

As Mr. Jinnah has denied that he ever made any such offer, one need not subject it to criticism showing where it is identical with the Rajagopalachari formula and where not. Raja Maheswar Dayal Seth has said that the Hindu Mahasabha refused to be a party to any such disruptive proposal, and this has remained the position of the organization even when Gandhiji endorsed it. We know that Dr. Syama Prasad Mukherjee, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, saw Gandhiji at Sewagram in his *Ashram*, argued the matter with him, and failed to persuade him that his endorsement of the Rajagopalachari formula was harmful to the abiding interests of the people. Gandhiji appears to have made it a question of the prompting of the "inner voice" which could not be disregarded. Against this there could be no argument. The bitterness of controversy, roused by this method of solving the political deadlock in the country is so deplorable that even Gandhiji's leadership has come to be challenged by increasing numbers of men and women among the political-minded people of India. Expression has been given to the feeling that Gandhiji is handicapped by his ideal and practice of non-violence to be applied to affairs of nations ; he cannot, therefore, be a safe negotiator with a politician that has had no such handicap. Those who remember the whole process of the rising temper of communal Muslim feeling in the country, how from "separate electorates" as a minority right has evolved the separate State demand of the Muslim League, they have reason to support their contention that the League leadership has been exploiting one concession after another with a view to satisfy their ambitions at the expense of the interests of the whole of India. In such a game Gandhiji can be no match for the shrewd bargainer who is today President of the Muslim League. But the evil effects of concession made by Congress leaders do not end here. Dr. Syama Prasad Mukherjee, presiding over the 26th annual session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha held at Bilaspur during the last week of December, 1944, expressed the feeling of exasperation of all lovers of India when he said that "Gandhiji's commitment, however, remains" to add to the difficulties of the future course of events ; Mr. Jinnah and his League followers will refuse to consider *de novo* the whole problem of India's constitutional requirements ; they will refuse to let go the advantages secured under the Rajagopalachari formula with Gandhiji's endorsement to add strength and plausibility to it. The suddenness with which the news of these commitments was thrust on the people has not removed the confusion in their minds, and as the year closed a mood of sullen despair appeared to have settled over India. Instead of being directed against the seat of the disease which was the policy of the British Administration, the mind of the people appeared to be distracted by suspicion of one another's *bona fides*, by resentment with the leadership of Nationalist India as represented in the Indian National Congress with Gandhiji as its guide and philoso-

pher. Of course, there were public men and publicists who never let momentry failure to lose their sense of the reality of politics in India, of the evil of the influence of the ruling bureaucracy in encouraging and spreading dissensions amongst India's millions. Dr. Syama Prosad Mukherjee tried to recall his people to this inescapable fact when in course of this speech he exposed the hypocrisy of British administrators calling for a settlement among Indians as a pre-condition of their resigning their "trust" in India.

"Separate electorate based on caste and religion has been the gift of British diplomacy in India. Having itself sown seeds of disruption which have grown now into the monstrous demand of Pakistan, the British Government with apparent innocence asks for united communal front as a condition precedent to fuller political powers."

**The minorities in India**

This is the un-ending argument between India and Britain that can have *finis* written to it only when India attains political freedom and Britain facilitates the process by pulling down with her own hands all the obstacles her administrators have placed in the way. It would be foolish to ignore the fact that in the heart of India's society there are elements that have nursed separatist conceits and ambitions, seeking for opportunities to assert their claims even if this selfishness meant the postponement of the arrival of democracy and freedom. The alien State has allowed these to live under its patronage to be used for the defence of its particular interests and directed against the common interests of India. The majority of our politicians and publicists have been content to ignore the existence of these disrupting tendencies ; many of them were ignorant of the presence in the minds of their neighbours of thoughts and ideas that were detrimental to the general good. The alien administrators were driven by the law of their being to find out these centres of narrowness, to keep watch over these and to encourage or discourage these as it suited their policy. No country in the world can be or are free from these elements of disruption ; in the heart of every society lurk narrowness of vision, smallness of mind, selfishness of individual or group desires and ambitions. It is the duty of the ruling authorities one in spirit with the people, one in the conception of interests, to control and guide the people, to educate them by precept and practice out of such narrownesses. But the State in India as we have it today, being alien to the spirit of the people and alien to their interests, has never felt it to be its duty to work for the weakening of the elements of separatism. On the other hand, it has done its best and worst to encourage these, to let these gather strength by direct help. The majority of us appear to have had no idea of their number and variety, and of the many shapes they assume. And because of this ignorance we are complacent with regard to the threat that they hold to the peace of the country and to its progress. In our ignoranace we think that as these are minorities, their claims should be met as these are met in other countries This done, we dismiss the difficulties created by them as due either to some original sin in our society or to the policy of the State. We have a certain feeling that if we had cared to devote attention to the problem as its importance deserved we would have been startled to find that minorities are so many in India and their claims are so contradictory that when we have done separately with each one of them, hardly an India remains. In the

anguish of his heart Gandhiji had once written of this peculiar phenomenon in the pages of his weekly, the *Harijan*. The article was entitled —"The Fiction of Majority". A small extract from it will illustrate the point. He asked—

"And who are the minorities ? They are religious, political, and social : thus Mussalmans (religious) ; Depressed Classes (social); Liberals (political); Princes (social), Brahmins (social); Non-Brahmins (social); Lingayats( social); Sikhs (social ?) ; Christians—Protestants and Catholics (religious): Jains (social ?) ; Zemindars (political ?). I have a letter from the Secretary of the All-India Shia Conference registering their claim for separate existence.....I have drawn no fanciful picture of the minorities. It is true to life. The Congress has been obliged to deal with every one of the groups I have mentioned. My list is not exhaustive. It is illustrative. It can be increased *ad libitum*".

**The position in the Punjab**

Gandhiji had at one time regarded claims made by the Muslim League and the vivisection of the country that these would lead to as "sin". The gathering momentum of communal frenzy appears to have worked a change in his opinion in this matter. Otherwise he could not have endorsed the Rajagopalachari formula. But this has not brought agreement in the country. The Hindu Mahasabha and institutions with kindred purpose have been bitter in criticism ; more so are the many organisations amongst the Sikhs. An all-Party Hindu Conference was held at Lahore on August 13, 1944. All shades of political opinion amongst the Hindus of the Punjab were represented at it. The proceedings of the Conference appear to suggest that the participants did not trouble themselves about the principle or principles involved in the issues raised by the Muslim League demands. They were concerned with the shape of things to be in the area that is known today as the Punjab. Lala Brij Lal, Secretary of the Hindu Vigilant Board, gave a picture of it at this Conference. In terms of economic life the division of the Province on the basis of religion can be understood when we realise that 17 districts will have a Muslim majority, 12 a Hindu-Sikh majority. More of the canal irrigated land would pass into the former. The total of such land was 1,14,57,098 acres : the 17 districts contain 88,80,746 acres ; only 25 25,052 remaining for the 12 districts in eastern Punjab. The whole of the Multan and Rawalpindi Divisions and the Lahore Division except the district of Amritsar will go into the scheme of the new State. On the basis of population the picture will be as follows : Of the total population of the Punjab—2,84,18,819—1,62,17,242 are Muslims, 84,44,176 are Hindus and 37,57,401 Sikhs. In the 17 districts, 1.23,63,669 will be Muslims, 28,23,276 will be Hindus, and 16,83,953 Sikhs ; in the 12 districts 56,20,800 will be Hindus, 38,53,593 will be Muslims and 20,73,546 will be Sikhs.

**The Sikh Revolt**

These figures show that the position of the Sikhs becomes worse under the Jinnah scheme of partition. They are a minority in the 17 districts ; they will be a minority in the 12 districts also. This bifurcation of their strength by the Jinnah scheme or by the Rajagopalachari formula is a possibility against which almost all sections of the Sikh community have risen in revolt. In the All-Parties Sikh Conference held at Amritsar on August 22, 1945, their opposition was voiced forth in no uncertain language. Sardar Mohan Singh, Jathedar of Akhal Takhat Sahib, "the most authoritative" of the seats of community life amongst the Sikhs from where "orders"

could be issued to them, presided over the Conference. The first resolution condemned the Rajagopalachari formula and its endorsement by Gandhiji. By another resolution, the demand for a Sikh State with Amritsar, their holy city as its capital, to be carved out in the centre of the Punjab was put forth, if the Jinnah scheme of a separate Muslim State or States were conceded. The Central Akali Dal, an organization that under the leadership of Baba Kharak Singh was invariably opposed to the Akali Party of Master Tara Singh which had organised the Amritsar Conference, was no less against the Rajagopalachari formula, and at a Conference held at Lahore it determined to oppose the Jinnah plan. A conference of the Sikh Communist Party held about a month later at Lahore expressed confidence in Gandhiji's leadership in his attempts to solve the Hindu-Muslim differences. But their being a party in the formative stage did not appear to have had any weight in their community's counsels. And the Sikh position appeared to be one of bitterness by what may be characterized as betrayal by Gandhiji just as more than three years ago, during Sir Stafford Cripps' Mission (March-April, 1942), they had felt towards British policy. In course of a "Draft Declaration" issued in the name of a Sikh All-Parties Committee the feeling of outrage to moral prestige and injury to material interests had been expressed in the following words:

"Ever since the British advent our community has fought for England in every battle-field of the Empire and this is our reward that our position in the Punjab which England promised to hold in trust, and in which we occupied a predominant position, has been finally liquidated."

**Their scheme of division of the Punjab**

Gandhiji's acceptance of Mr. Jinnah's demand for the division of the country to accommodate his State or States where the Muslims would be in a majority has revived in their minds their idea of a separate State for the Sikhs. To Sir Stafford Cripps they were reported to have presented a scheme for the division or redistribution of the Punjab districts with a view to make it possible for them to have their desire fulfilled and their fears removed In that scheme they recalled the present generation to the fact that "the Punjab proper extended up to the banks of the Jhelum", that it was Maharaja Ranjit Singh that added the trans-Jhelum area, the districts of Jhang and Multan, which by their heavy concentration of Muslim population contributed towards making the Muslims the majority community that they are today in the Punjab. This history of a hundred years back appears to suggest that in the Sikh scheme the two districts would have no place in the Punjab of the future. To fully understand the trend of their mind the following from their memorandum to Sir Stafford Cripps is revealing. It shows that as a reaction to Mr. Jinnah's disruptionist tactics, the Sikh could go one better. They were for a State in India, India, one, whole and indivisible. But if Mr. Jinnah is allowed to have his way, the *Panth*, the Sikh religious-nation, must be secure in the possession of its own State. Something more they proposed in their Memorandum. With the elimination of the Jhang and Multan districts from the Punjab the Muslim position in the Province from the Jhelum to Delhi would be that of a minority. Muslims 82,88,000; Sikhs, Hindus and others—93,48,000. From the boundary of Delhi to the river Ravi, the position would be the same. Muslims—45,05,000; Sikhs, Hindus and

others—76,46,000. If the population of the Sikh States of Patiala, Nabha, Jhind, Kapurthala and Faridkote—26,00,000—are added to these the ratio of the Muslim population is further reduced, they being only 20 per cent in these States.

**Muslim League caught in its own logic**

The facts stated above and the claims built thereon by the Sikh leaders would require the re-drawing of the map not only of the Punjab but of every Province in India. To persuade the people to accept such a major operation in the body politic, the Muslim League politicians have neither the vision nor the sense of reality. They expect to be allowed to walk away with areas that have a majority of Hindus and Sikhs as the case may be on the plea that in the British-constituted Provinces there are some where they happen to be in a majority. They pretend not to understand that as they do not desire to be in a Federal State where the Muslims will happen to be in a minority, so may Hindus, Sikhs and others object to live in a State or States where the Muslims will happen to be in a majority. They have no reasoned reply to this contention of the Sikhs and Hindus in the Punjab, of the Hindus in Bengal, of the 27 to 30 per cent of the Hindus in Sind. This particular scheme has proved that the difficulties inherent in the constitution of States in India on the basis of religion opens out possibilities of division of the country that even the Muslim League enthusiasts have begun to jibe at. This is the reason why Mr. Jinnah tried to dismiss the Rajagopalachari formula as a caricature of their Lahore resolution. Evidently the League leaders and their immediate followers were not prepared that vast areas should be taken out of the Punjab and Bengal leaving their "Pakistan" States in the North-Western and North-Eastern "Zones" of India such truncated affairs. They appeared to have got more perturbed as the various schools of thought and political parties began to analyse the implications of the League resolution.

**Communist solution**

Of these the Communist Party in India appear to have tried to build up a scheme inspired by the example and experiences of the Bolshevik Party of Russia whose leaders captured political power in the country and organized the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, U. S. S. R., as it is more popularly known. The doctrine of nationality was defined and amplified, and each unit of the many nationalities was secured its autonomy, although these were inhabiting the Union from the Baltic Sea to the Pacific Ocean, occupying almost half the eastern part of the continent of Europe and the whole of the northern half of Asia. A geography of the Soviet Union can give us the following information.

"The U. S. S. R. first came to consist of seven Constituent 'Union Republics.' They were Russia, White Russia, Ukraine, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Ujbekistan and a Transcaucasian Federated Soviet Socialist Republic, comprising of Armenia, Georgia, and Ajerbaijan, three 'Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics. The Autonomous Republics were altogether sixteen in number, and the National Regions seventeen. Within the seven Union Republics were other divisions, Autonomous Areas and National Districts."

This quotation does not, however, indicate the complexities of the problem that the Soviet Union has attempted to solve. The Soviet experi-

**Soviet Union and its experience**

ment being only of a period of about 30 years, we can only hope that it has solved for as long a time as is humanly possible the intractable problems raised by diversities of race, colour, religion, culture and economic inequalities—the few mental and material explosives that have been disrupting and re-making human society since immemorial times. We summarize from an article by an Indian author, Dr. Radha Kumud Mukherjee, Head of the Department of History in the University of Lucknow, the relevant facts and ideas of this experiment which will enable our readers to get a background of their own problem as it has been disturbing all their conceptions of democracy and the norms and forms of State life. The U. S. S. R. has began its life with the declaration which in the words of the present leader of the Communist Party in Russia, M. Stalin, may be expressed as: "The Soviet State is a multi-national State." It comprised a population that was nearer 200 millions than 170 ; it has 180 different nationalities, 157 languages, 11 National Republics and 22 Autonomous Republics. The Union, the Federation, that we have at present has grown by degrees and stages into its "present status as an integral State", beginning with "eleven National Republics" called the "Constituent Union Republics." These came together as "Sovereign States with the full rights of sovereignty retained by each jealously and intact"—including the important right to secede. This right is not, however, allowed as "a general right" to the other States of the Union. It is not granted to any of the 22 Antonomous Republics nor to any of the numerous other antonomous formations—Provinces, National Circuits, National Districts and other racial groups. Even as regards this right Dr. Mukherjee quoted from Stalin's address on the new Soviet constitution made on November 14, 1936, indicating the limiting factors. The following excerpts are relevant to the issue with which our minds are being troubled since the Lahore resolution of the Muslim League (1940) and the Declaration of the Churchill Government made through Sir Stafford Cripps in March, 1942.

"..... there is not a single Republic in the U. S. S. R. that wants to secede from the U. S. S. R."

"..... none of our Republics would actually raise the question of seceding from the U. S. S. R....."

Particular areas "are surrounded on all sides by Soviet Republics and Regions; they have nowhere to go if they secede from the U. S. S. R."

"..... the nationality which gives name to a given Soviet Republic must constitute a more or less compact majority within that Republic" to be able to assert the right to secede.

"..... the Republic must have not too small a population because it would be wrong to assume that a small Soviet Republic with a very small population and a small army can hope to maintain an independent State-existence....."

This realistic approach to the many complexities inherent in their Lahore resolution, the League leaders have never shown any inclination to follow and profit by. Dr. Mukherjee quotes from Stalin's *Kamf* (Struggle) an elucidation of "three groups of circumstances which render the amalgamation of the Soviet Republics into a single confederate State inevitable." It is a long quotation, but its importance deserves its re-print.

**Material ties binding the Soviet Union**

"..... the meagreness of economic resources remaining at the disposal of the Republic after years of war obliges us to combine these meagre resources so as to employ them more rationally."

"..... the historically determined natural division of labour, the economic

division of labour, between the various Regions and Republics of our Federation" cannot be ignored.

"For instance, the North supplied the South and East with textiles; the South and East supply the North with cotton, fuel and so forth. The division of labour thus established between the regions cannot be eliminated by a stroke of the pen: it has been created historically by the whole course of economic development of the Federation. And this division of labour which renders the full development of individual Regions impossible so long as the Republics lead separate existence, is obliging our Republics to knit themselves into a single economic unit. Thirdly, there is the fact that the principal means of communication in the Federation which are the nerve and backbone of any possible Union, constitute a single system. It goes without saying that the means of communication cannot be left in a divided State in the hands of, and subordinate to, the interests of the individual Republics; for that would convert the main nerve of economic life—Transport—into a conglomeration of separate parts utilized without regard to a plan. This circumstance also induces the Republics to favour amalgamation into a single State. Finally there is the meagreness of our financial resources.

These quotations indicate the material causes that have forced Soviet leadership to build up a centralized State over an area that covers almost half of Euro-Asia. But men and women do not live by bread alone. They require mental food that is supplied by inherited traditions, vital matters that fall under one or other of the categories—Race, Religion and Language. In the Soviet State the men and women of the many races and creeds, speaking 157 different languages, find satisfaction and self-respect under the scheme of "The Cultural Autonomy of Communities", to use Stalin's expressive words. It secures to them

**"Cultural autonomy of communities**

"..... their Native Schools, Courts, Administration and Government bodies recruited principally from among the native peoples. Such an autonomy is inconceivable without the widespread organisation of local schools, without the creation of courts, administrative bodies, organs of Government etc., recruited from among people acquainted with the life and language of the population. But to conduct the schools, the courts, the administration and organs of Government in the native language means precisely putting Soviet autonomy into practice."—(Stalin's *Kampf*, P. 195).

Stalin's presentation of the case, as in the above extract, has to be filled up with more intimate details. Dr. Mukherjee supplies these as follows: Every community will be entitled to the preservation and promotion of those manners, customs or personal laws which give expression to its racial individuality. Similarly, it goes without saying that every community will be free to cultivate and foster its own language and mother tongue which must be used as the medium of instruction for its children. The religious protection of a community is an established right in every civilized state. The problem of religious protection is not confined to communities. It is as much needed within a community by its different sects. The larger a community the greater will be its internal differences in regard to religious views, giving rise to different schools of doctrines and sects, based on different practices calling for their protection. The Muslim League brief would have had a more responsive hearing if it had been prepared with an eye to the totality of Indian life characterized by many differences and diversities that have got to be reconciled by respect and consideration shown to every one of these. As it is, the Indian world is being treated to an exhibition of narrowness in

**Illustrating this "autonomy" for the solution of India's problem**

the League demand, unconcerned with how it can be fit into the general scheme of things. The Communist Party of India has not also tried to show a way in this line. It has contented itself with propagandising its slogan—Congress and League Unite—with a view to presenting a 'united front' against British imperialism. It has asked the Congress to recognize that "Pakistan" represents the freedom urge of the Indian Muslims; it appears to be dimly aware that there are innumerable communities, classes, tribes and groups in India's continental space that are disturbed by the same "urge", and that they have been trying to give voice to it and will in the fullness of time do so in as full-throated a manner as the Muslims have been afforded the opportunity by British policy. The Party has not indicated how these units will be held together if the Muslim League is to have its way.

British administrators may appear to feel that one dissident voice has been enough to halt India's progress towards the full development of democratic freedom in India. The more narrow-visioned among them may rest satisfied with this work. But the more far-seeing have seen to it that there should be other dissidents kept in reserve to be thrust into view as occasion required. We have quoted from Gandhiji's article the number and nature of the minority interests that are clamant for recognition as separate and autonomous units in India's social and constitutional system. The list is illustrative as Gandhiji has said; to make it exhaustive a few hundred names will have to find a place in it, making a jig-saw maze of the Indian scene. British administrators, so far as we can understand their policy, are not prepared to take a hand in the solving of this difficult problem of inter-communal or inter-group relations in India. This attitude shows that they have remained both in spirit and in action alien to India; by making the "communal problem" a concern of the subject population alone to wrangle about and fight around in which they proposed to maintain an aloof attitude of insincere disinterestedness, they but add to the bitterness of the controversy between India and Britain, strengthening the suspicion of their *bonafide* in Indian affairs and making it as wide as the whole country. Even after six months of Gandhiji's persuasion, Lord Wavell has not found it possible to play a more helpful hand than his predecessor in office. In his letter dated August 15, 1944, His Excellency repeated the Linlithgow apologia, the same insistence on conditions that would "ensure the fulfilment of their (the Government's) duty to safeguard the interests of the racial and religious minorities and the depressed classes and their treaty obligations to the Indian States." Any transitional Government to succeed must be preceded by "agreement in principle.'

**British administrators disavow responsibility**

"between Hindus and Muslims and all important elements as to the method by which the new constitution should be framed. *The agreement is a matter for Indians themselves.* (*Italics ours*). Until the Indian leaders can come closer together than they are now, I doubt if I myself can do anything to help. Let me remind you that minority problems are not easy. They are real and can be solved only by mutual compromise and tolerance."

One can start a controversy by asking the question—apart from the natural differences that divide class and community in every country

**Contribution of other parties to the solution of the problem**

in the world, as these do in India, has not State policy in India had something to do to irritate these into new shapes, to make these intractable to human reason as these appear to have done in India? As we do not expect British administrators to own up their responsibility in the matter and repent of it, we do not propose to follow it further in the present study. We have seen how Indian public men, Gandhiji and Mr. Rajagopalachari for instance, have tried to straighten out the tangle twisted ever more by British policy; we have seen how the Communist Party of India have plied their 'prentice hands in it, drawing inspiration from the example of their spiritual home, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Their acceptance of the Muslim League brief does not appear to have in any way softened the rigidity of the attitude of that organization. The "Scheduled Castes" of India, organized in the All-India Depressed Castes Federation, under the leadership of Dr. Bhim Rao Ambedkar, a member of Lord Wavell's Executive Council, have not been more helpful than imitating the heroics of the League leaders, hurling the thunders that have a familiar ring to us. We fully recognize that these castes and tribes have reason on their side when they rebel against the social disabilities of which they have been victims at the hands of Hindu society. We do not know that the State in India now or before has ever tried to take this injustice by the neck and wring the life out of it. Following other ideas of the duties and functions of the State, it had left to society to solve problems like what we know today as untouchability and other kindred injustices to be found in Hindu, Muslim and Christian communities in India. Saints and sages in different parts of India have striven to point out ways through the help of spiritual ministration. But they have not been able to break through the ideals of social conduct based on the belief in *Karma*, *Kismet* or pre-destination. And more than sixty or seventy millions are there in India who are socially degraded and economically poor. Every community, Hindu, Muslim and Christians, have these outcastes in their midst. The Hindus being in the majority have their story of social degradation more blazoned forth than of their neighbouring communities. Social reformers since Ram Mohun Roy to Mahatma Gandhi have been breaking their heads against the walls that Hindu society has raised between man and man, between class and class, and tribe and tribe. Rebels like Dr. Ambedkar have rung this shame throughout the world. During the last decade or so we have been hearing of Momins and Ansars in Muslim society who have grievances against their higher classes as deeply felt as any that have been uttered by "Scheduled castes" leaders. Hindu and Muslim "outcastes" have begun to assert their claims to recognition in any scheme of political reconstruction that may be undertaken in the country. They have come to feel that in the modern world, saintly life and sage advice do not influence the seat of authority which has departed from society to the State, that it is organized classes or parties that can bend the ruling classes to recognize and reform injustices, social, economic and political. This is the meaning of the words that Dr. Ambedkar uttered when he was addressing his party members of Madras on September 24, 1944. It was during this tour that he

challenged the authority of the Vedas, of the Upanishads, of the Gita to act as guides to human conduct; in speeches made during this tour he challenged the wisdom of social legislators like Manu whose polity was held responsible for the degradation and shame of millions of men and women who have had the misfortune of being born in Hindu society. And it was at this particular meeting that Dr. Ambedkar laid down the platform of his party, claiming a place in the inheritance of Swaraj, a share in the "sovereign power" that appeared to be slipping from British hands.

".....I should like to serve a notice upon them that the Swaraj Government must be a Government in which the Hindus, the Muslims and the Scheduled Castes will be heirs to sovereign power....."

".. .....We shall never allow a Swaraj Government to come into existence in which we have no place, in which we have no power. We shall do anything to achieve this object. There will be no limit to our sacrifice. There will be no limit to the sanctions that we may use. The constitution must be a tripartite constitution, a constitution in which the Hindus, the Scheduled Castes and the Muslims will have equal place and equal authority. If you want freedom you have to accept these terms. If you don't accept these terms, you will not get your freedom. If you don't get freedom the blame will be entirely on your shoulders not on ours. Make no mistake about this."

**Non-Party Leaders' Conference**

Those who for years have had experience of Jinnah politics do not find anything new in the spirit of these words. They have a certain feeling that these brave words would have no application on the people who have in their hands the reins of political power over India. Dr. Ambedkar has shown that it is easier to bargain with the Indian than with the Britisher. Therefore he and his predecessor in parochial politics, Mr. Mahommed Ali Jinnah, cannot be expected to take part in the struggle for Swaraj; their names will live in history as unconscious instruments of the imperialist policy that thrives on disunity in India. Their strength being derived from British encouragement in its initial stages, they can only play the part of obstructionists. During the months under review they have shown that they have no more helpful a part to play than this. And between British policy of anxious helplessness as exposed by Lord Wavell, and the intransigence of Mr. Jinnah and Dr. Ambedkar, they have managed to produce a deadlock in Indian politics out of which there appears to be no way. Like drowning men catching at any straw the Non-Party Leaders' Conference leapt forward to ease the situation. Its Standing Committee decided to appoint a Committee "to suggest a solution of the communal and political problems" in India. The "basic conception" of the Committee was to lift the discussion of these problems from "the partisan level to the scientific and judicial level." The Rt. Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru is President of this organization, and he was authorized to appoint members of the Committee and announce their names in due course. At a Press Conference (November 19, 1944) he described the genesis of this idea of his and how it had secured from Gandhiji promise of co-operation. As the result proved, this consultation with the latter led to Mr. Jinnah and Dr. Ambedkar non-co-operating with the Committee's work. The former appears to have been ruffled by the fact that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru had not cared to share his idea with the League leader at the time that he had done with Gandhiji; this discrimination he

resented, and, therefore, did he refuse to co-operate in any way with the Committee set up by the Non-Party Leaders' Conference ; he appeared to treat it as a conspiracy hatched by the opponents of his politics in the guise of impartiality. Sir Tej appeared to have been prepared for some such development The Hindu Mahasabha also non-co-operated, as well as the Scheduled Castes' Federation. Still did he go ahead with his plan, and enlisted the services of jurists, economists, men of practical affairs who were not bound by any party affiliation. He worked in the belief that as the Committee would try to understand the views of each party, and "act as a sort of Conciliation Board by establishing contact with all parties," the result could not be one-sided. The Committee would be recommending a solution that it thought "good." Gandhiji had advised him that the members of the Committee should not belong to any political party or should not be persons who had committed themselves to any particular views since the failure of his talks with Mr. Jinnah. The constitution of the Committee since announced has tried to fulfil as far as possible this particular condition.

**Their criticism of suggestion to Government**

The Standing Committee of the Non-Party Leaders' Conference did also try to focuss public attention on the ways in which the British Government have shown its satisfaction with the existing deadlock in the country. Its war activities were going ahead with the exploitation of India's resources ; vast financial commitments were being made without submitting these to the scrutiny of the legislature ; important decisions were being made with regard to recruitment to the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police Service; military officers were being employed to many civilian posts thus introducing a new spirit and technique into the administration of the country. In this statement issued on December 3 (1944) they made a special appeal to members of the Legislatures in the Sec. 93 Provinces where Governors ruled with the help of "Advisers"—the United Provinces, Bihar, Orissa, Central Provinces & Berar, Madras, and Bombay—to resume their duties and thus put a stop to the "irresponsible and autocratic rule of Governors." This they can do by helping to constitute "composite ministries wherever possible". If the majority parties in the Assemblies felt disinclined to form Ministries, they should observe benevolent neutrality if minority parties could coalesce and form "temporary expedient" Ministries. We do not understand what good these Ministries could have done to the people ; they could have only supplied a facade of respectability to the irresponsible authority exercised by the Governor and the permanent officialdom. They would have enabled Mr. Leopold Amery to propagandize the pretence that there were "self-governing" administrations in the Provinces of India. Bengal had a Ministry when famine struck the people, and this Ministry could not do anything more than serve as a screen to the doings of the bureaucracy who in fact though not in law held the reins of power. With this criticism we leave this episode. Neither Lord Wavell nor the majority parties in the Assemblies of the Provinces named above could accept the suggestion of the Conference of Non-Party Leaders.

The failure of this intervention on behalf Indo-British amity by men who belonged to none of the political parties in India, men who

**British excuse and the American public**

have helped British administration and have been recognized as constituting centres of stability and sobriety in the country, the failure of their intervention high-lighted the deep difference that divided the two countries. The only excuse that the British Government could offer was that in the midst of a war of survival they could not think of distracting their attention and energies to a political controversy in which the real contestants were the different elements that made up the Indian population. This excuse the British administrators appeared to have raised into a rationalized policy, which they have succeeded in making acceptable to world opinion, specially to the opinion of the politically-minded people of the United States. They have cleverly used their racial and cultural affinities with the great republic to put across this story of Indian disunity and make it the justification for the continuance of their irresponsible rule over India. That this propaganda is taken with the proverbial pinch of salt by American men and women who are in a position to judge matters in the light of special knowledge became evident by the controversy raised by the Phillips episode. The outburst of feeling occasioned by it makes interesting reading, though owing to the Press censorship the Indian public did not know of the details of the affair.

**The Johnson episode of 1942**

From what appears in the present volume of the *Annual Register* (P.P. 271-'80) we can piece together the story. Drew Pearson, an American publicist, has made a name for himself as a news-hound who can scent out the most well-preserved of State secrets. On the 6th. July, 1944, appeared in the columns of the *New York Daily Mirror* in its "syndicated column" entitled "Washington Merry Go Round" diclosures of the causes of the "recall" of Mr. William Phillips, special political adviser to General Eisenhower, Supreme Commander of the Anglo-American forces invading Europe. Drew Pearson suggested that Mr. Phillips had offended the British official world by criticism of British policy in India in course of a letter to President Roosevelt while he was acting as his Special Representative to New Delhi. He is reported to have written this particular in the spring of 1943, sometime in the middle of May, 1943. To understand the significance of this letter, a little background history has to be related of American intervention in Indian affairs. Since the United States got entangled into the war started by Japan, and India became an arsenal of the Anglo-American forces and a base of operations against Japan, the Government and the people of the United States have got interested in Indian affairs ; Indian politics as it reacted to British policy and to various international developments became a subject of deep concern to them. It became necessary for them to get authentic pictures of the Indian scene, authentic reports of Indian news and views. The Grady Mission in the early months of 1942 was sent to go through a check-up of the possibilities of the industries of India to serve as the arsenal of the Allied cause in the fight against Japan. The political head of the Mission was Colonel Louis Johnson, President Roosevelt's first Special Representative to New Delhi. He was drawn right into the middle of the Cripps negotiations when these were being wrecked by the military bureaucracy in India unwilling to introduce

Indian public men into the mysteries of their profession. Colonel Johnson tried to build a bridge between the powers-that-be and the distrustful Indian politician. For taking this trouble he was forced to pack up and go, evidently at the direction of his Chief, the President of the United States of America, who could not like the idea of rubbing the British imperialist the wrong way. He vanished from India as quickly as he had come, and we have been waiting to have "the Johnson version of the Cripps mission" with which he threatened the New Delhi bureaucrats, civil and military.

**Mr. William Phillips—President Roosevelt's second Personal Representative**

Six or seven months after when the August (1942) Movement had been ruthlessly suppressed and India was "quiet", President Roosevelt sent a man of different calibre and temper, a "career diplomat", as his Personal Representative to New Delhi. He was Mr. William Phillips, who had been U. S. A. ambassador to Italy. He was almost an Englishman to the manner born. He was about six months in India during which he made it his business to contact every leader of life in India—public men, publicists, industrialists, financiers, soldiers, administrators, and the rulers of Indian States. This enabled him to clarify his own ideas about the settlement of the Indian problem. He must have sent many an epistle on the subject to the President, one of which leaked out and created a sensation when Drew Pearson had it published. It appears that following this disclosure, other American papers began to feature Mr. Phillips' letters. The question has been asked—how came there to be so many leakages in the State Department which is the repository of all correspondence received from all parts of the world from American diplomats and men of affairs who cared to intimate to the Department their experiences of men and matters with a view to indicate the ways that would serve best the particular interests of the ruling classes of the Republic? The Secretary of State, Mr. Cordell Hull, is reported to have told in reply to enquiries from the British Embassy that "Mr. Phillips' letter had leaked out through the Under-Secretary, Mr. Sumner Welles." This report of Mr.Hull's giving away a subordinate of his is unbelievable. British anger with regard to Mr. Phillips' report to his President was caused by two criticisms that reflected on British honour and on the loyalty and capacity of the fighting forces recruited in India. These are reproduced from the New York *Journal American*.

"Assuming that India is known as an important base of our future operations against Burma and Japan, it would seem to be of the highest importance that we should have around us a sympathetic India rather than one indifferent and hostile. It would appear that we will have the prime responsibility in the conduct of the war against Japan. There is no evidence that the British intend to do more than give token assistance.

"At present, the Indian people are at war only in the legal sense, as for various reasons the British Government declared India to be in conflict without the formality of consulting Indian leaders or the Indian Legislature. Indians feel they have no voice in the Government and therefore no responsibility in the conduct of the war. They feel that they have nothing to fight for, as they are convinced that the professed war aims of the United Nations do not apply to them. The British Prime Minister in fact has stated that the provisions of the Atlantic Charter are not applicable to India, and it is not unnatural, therefore, that Indian leaders are beginning to wonder whether the Charter is only for the benefit of the white races.

"The present Indian Army is purely mercenary, and only that part of it which is drawn from the martial races has been tried in actual warfare, and these martial

soldiers represent only 33 per cent in the Army. General Stilwell has expressed concern on the situation and in particular in regard to the poor morale of Indian officers.

"The attitude of the general public towards the war is even worse. Lassitude, indifference and bitterness have increased as a result of famine conditions, the growing high cost of living and continued political deadlock. While India is broken politically into various parties and groups, all have one object in common—eventual freedom and independence from British domination."

*Persona non grata* —person not in good grace

The report sent by Mr. Phillips to President Roosevelt was true to India's reaction to the present war. The British Government knew it; India's public men and publicists have given it voice on innumerable occasions; non-British observers, even British observers, have felt in India's atmosphere the sting of hostility directed against the cause for which Britain has been fighting. The British bureaucracy had been used to pocketing such criticism, Mr. Phillips' report also, even the "stronger" ones that he was known to have sent to White House, Washington. But when the mildest of them got published in the American Press, and the "Personal Representative" of the leader of the United Nations was found dealing out "anti-British" opinions, and an Under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs in Mr. Roosevelt's Administration was found facilitating their publication in the Press, the matter could not be so lightly treated. And the British bureaucracy both at New Delhi and at London reacted violently against the exposure before all the world by the hands of a near-Englishman and the representative of the greatest Anglo-Saxon Power. Drew Pearson made a colourful story of it.

"In London Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden (Foreign Minister) put the heat on on the United States Ambassador, Mr. John Winant, and had that official ask Mr. Phillips if he still held the same views. Mr. Phillips said he did more than ever, but was sorry his letter was published, adding 'I hope my other reports, even stronger, will not leak.' Mr. Eden called his Embassy (Washington) to inform the State Department that Mr. Phillips was *persona non grata* in London, observing: India is more important than a thousand Phillips."

Sir Olaf Caroe's cable to India office

The British Ambassador Lord Halifax emphatically denied that Mr. Phillips had been recalled at London's request from his assignment as General Eisenhower's special political adviser; a spokesman of the British Embassy said in answer to an enquiry made in the Senate that it was not true that the British Government had described Mr. Phillips as *persona non grata*. To the confusion of these denials, Senator Chandler of Kentucky made public a telegram on September 3, 1944, which, he said, had been sent by Sir Olaf Caroe, Secretary to the External Department of the Government of India, informing the London India Office that Mr. Phillips could not expect to be welcomed. The telegram was in 'code language'; its presence in Senator Chandler's hands, deciphered, showed that the U. S. A. State Department had its spying arrangements on the inner activities of the British Government. The British Foreign Office also could not afford to be less inquisitive. The public in India were kept ignorant of these goings-on by censorship regretfully used for defence against attacks by "our ally", to use Sir Olaf's words. His telegram, the part of it that Mr. Chandler had got published, ran as follows:

"We feel strongly that the British Embassy should be supported in carrying

this matter further with the State Department. We are doing our best to prevent the entry of newspapers or letters, carrying the text of Mr. Pearson's article (first published on July 25, 1944). We understand that the designation of Mr. Phillips is still the President's personal representative to India. Whether or not he was connected in any with the leakage of the views he has stated, it would make it impossible for us to do other than regard him as *persona non grata*, and we could not receive him. His views are not what we are entitled to expect from a professedly friendly envoy. The Viceroy has seen this telegram."

Thus ended a controversy between British and American officialdom. The former had its way—Mr. Phillips did not return to India, and the resolution moved in the House of Representatives by the Republican member Colvin Johnson that the British Minister at Washington, Sir Ronald Campbell, and the Government of India's Agent-General in the United States, Sir Girija Sankar Bajpai, should be declared *persona non grata* to the Government of the United States was not pressed home or encouraged by the Roosevelt Administration. Why the officialdom of the U. S. A. bowed before the storm of anger of their opposite number in Britain, we do not know. But the episode was taken as an opportunity by the British Press to lecture their Anglo-Saxon brothers on the other side of the Atlantic on the beam in their eyes, represented by the Negro problem, on their "colour prejudice" which carried the implication of the superiority of the white-pigmented men and women over those of other colours. But we in India who have had for about two hundred years experience of the conceit of white colour in the life and conduct of the British personnel of the civil and military administration can but be amused spectators of this friendly debate between the two white peoples. During the months the events and developments of which we have been discussing in this study, this conceit of the white-coloured in a country belonging to the British Commonwealth was again brought home to us. About a quarter million of men and women of Indian birth happen to live in the Union of South Africa. How the ancestors of the majority of these people came to be in this land beyond the Indian Ocean has a history of a hundred years only. When in the middle of the 19th century, sugar, tea and other crops, requiring careful tillage, began to be cultivated in Natal, the planters, mostly British, found the indigenous field labourers inefficient for those plantations On their first attempt to secure labourers from India they were refused by the Government in India. Other countries were approached with the same failure. At last under pressure from the London Government the Government in India agreed to send Indian labourers to South Africa. The first batch of indentured labourers reached Natal in 1860. Their salary was Rs. 7 a month, food, shelter and medical attention being provided. After the terms of 3 years ( later extended to 5 years ), the labourers could be re-indentured, could become free settlers in South Africa with a plot of land or could return to India. The majority chose to remain as free settlers in the country, though the piece of land was rarely granted, and thus they began to compete with labourers of European birth. When in 1893 Natal was given responsible Government, the opposition to Indian settlers found expression in measures that would discourage Indian settlement in Natal. The parliamentary franchise was taken away from

**Colour prejudice in U.S.A. & British Empire**

them in 1896 ; the municipal franchise in 1924. But these could not deter the increase of the Indian population in Natal where in 1913 they out-numbered the Europeans by 6,000. By the Gandhi-Smuts agreement of 1914 further Indian emigration to South Africa was strictly limited. But even now the Indian population of this State of the Union is only less than 6,000 of the Europeans, 90 per cent of them Britishers. Thus it happens that in a Dominion of Britain discrimination against "fellow members of the Empire" is rampant even today when a war is being fought for democracy and the decencies of civilized life, for equality between man and man, between nation and nation. But we know what a hypocrisy it all is. And this feeling found angry expression in the Central Assembly at New Delhi on November 30 (1944) when Dr. Khare, the Commonwealth Relations member in Lord Wavell's Executive Council, moved that the position of Indians in South Africa and East Africa be taken into consideration. Dr. Khare gave it out that all his colleagues in the Executive Council including the Governor-General shared "in the fullest measure the indignation and resentment which this exhibition of racialism on the part of a fellow-member of the British Commonwealth has created in this country". On behalf of the European Party in the Assembly Sir Frederick James met the South African contention that the position of Indians in the Union was a "domestic concern" with which no outside authority had any right to interfere. As 85 per cent of these were born and bred up in Union territory and have but a sentimenal kinship with India, the Prime Minister of South Africa was right in claiming: "Indians are our people ; they belong here." But this generous declaration is vitiated by the fact that these men and women are not granted citizenship rights, are put in segregated locations apart from their white neighbours, a mark and stigma of inferiority. This discrimination is in keeping with the policy of the Union that in Church and State there cannot be any equality between the white and the non-white. The insult implicit in it became rabidly apparent when the Natal Provincial Council passed a law limiting the right of Indians to hold property for residential and business purposes to certain areas only. The Government in India has hesitatingly agreed to use the powers of the Reciprocity Act, that is, treating the 125 South African whites found in India as good or as bad as the quarter million Indians are done in South Africa. The demand of the Indian people to impose economic sanctions against men and things South African found no support from the Government in India, as it would have touched on inter-imperial relations, relations between members of the British Dominions and the "Dependent' part of the British Empire. The London Government could not sanction such a family quarrel, and the Government in India subordinate to it could not do it on its own responsibility. This was the meaning of the words that Dr. Khare so often used during the debate on the grievances of South African-born Indians, expressing the helplessness of the Government of which he was the spokesman.

This study of events during the last six months of 1944 may end here with the note that the political subjection of India leaves her

**Failures of our past**

a prey to internal dissensions and a victim to insults in intemational world. We have seen how a section of the Muslims of India under the guidance of the Muslim League has helped to bring about this shame, how a section of the "Scheduled castes" under the leadership of Dr. Ambedkar has been as unhelpful, without contributing any constructive suggestion to the removal of the deadlock in political developments in the country. We know how British policy has created this intransigence and how it has been exploiting it for the service of its own particular interests. There has been in the heart of Indian society disequilibrium in matters socio-religious and economic. During the six hundred years when Muslim Kings ruled over the country from Delhi, there were attempts made to reconcile the many diversities in thought and conduct that stood in the way of evolving a coherent life in the country. The leadership in this noble endeavour was often taken up by men who were not rulers of States. Kings and emperors distracted by the details of their administrative duties and engrossed in power politics appeared to have never had any comprehensive idea of the problem of social re-organization which the presence of Islam in India created. The Emperor Akbar represented a noble exception who failed in his endeavour to build up a synthesis of the many cults and creeds that had their home in India or had sought and found asylum in her bosom. We do not believe that he was the first or the last of the mediaeval Kings in India who strove towards this great work of social integration. The misfortune of India is that we do not know the history of the measures that sought to heal up the fissures that marked society in India during this period of our country's life. In other countries, in Europe for instance, they did use the power of State to break down dissenters and non-conformists. This was how the Roman Catholic values of life were all but erased from social life in Britain, Holland and Germany; this was how Islam was stamped out of Spain. It would be claiming a special kind of goodness in Indian humanity if we are to claim that in our history no such attempt at suppression or modification was ever made, that Brahmanism or Buddhism did never try this art or Islam did not try it in India.

**Islam in India**

But it is also an undeniable fact that in the various altitudes of Indian life, high or low, there is a tolerance of differences, an appreciation of different ways of life as leading to its supreme goal—the sublimation of human instincts and the transformation of human desires—that has struck the most cynical of the observers of the drama of human history. It is to this spirit of India that we can trace the fact that so many diversities have survived in her society, have been allowed to survive in India by the many conquerors of many races and creeds and colours that have had their day of power and glory in the country. Historians have told us of this great work. They have also told us that the present difficulties in India, social and political, is traceable to the other fact that Islam has neither been able to submerge the values of life that it found when it first came to India nor have the latter been able to absorb it wholly and transform its unique characteristics. It is this mutual failure that is responsible for

the present controversy that masquerades under the demand for separate States made by the Muslim League, claiming to give voice to the inmost feelings and deep-seated aspirations of the separate "nation" that the Muslims are at present and have always been in this country. Mr. Mohommed Ali Jinnah loves to bring forward an argument to establish his thesis that Muslims constitute a separate "nation" in India. He asserts that the persistence with which his community has been holding fast to the "separate electorate" arrangement during all the mutations of India's constitutional history under British regime proves that the Muslims in India have always regarded themselves as a separate element in the life of this country, they have always felt themselves to be distinct and separate from their neighbours. If there be any validity in this interpretation of the Muslim mind in India, then we are taken back almost to the middle of the 19th century when one of the minstrels of Muslim renaissance in India, Altaf Hossain "Hali," had compared his community to "guests who had outstayed their welcome" and had lamented that they had left "their native homes for India". An Anglo-Indian writer, Theodore Morrison, who was for sometimes Principal of the Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh, the nucleus of the Muslim University of today, in his book entitled—*Imperial Rule in India*—opined that the Muslims did not regard "India as their own country." And in proof of this opinion he quoted the following lines of "Hali" :

"Morning and evening our eyes now behold that which we thought would be the end of thy gracious acceptance."
"Quickly has thou broken all thy promises and pledges, O India ! we were told aright that thou wast faithless."
"From every side we hear thee say that the guest is unwelcome who tarries long."

* * * * *

Here we find Muslim separatism in India at its clearest expression. It might have represented the mood of the generation after the failure of the 1857 revolt; it might be the "song of a defeated nation." But the present generation of Muslims have got over that mood of defeatism; and they are speaking of their "homelands" in India where they happen to be in a majority. They cannot think of the whole of India as their "homeland"; they cannct get over the feeling that the areas where they are in a minority are as much their homeland as of their neighbours of other creeds. The Hindus being more unconsciously than consciously assured of their majority position are not afflicted by this mood. India is their homeland and holy land. Not so with the Muslims. This is in the ultimate analysis the seed-plot of the heated argument that is loud in India today where a section of the Muslims claim to be a separate "nation" which must have a separate State or States of its own. If this interpretation be an approach to truth, then the duty devolves on the leaders of thought among Indian Muslims to re-educate their community into the significance of a new nationalism wherein Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Sikh, Parsi will find fulfilment and realize their particularities in the setting of universal life—(*Specially contributed by Sri Suresh Chandra Deb.*)

**Genesis of "Pakistan" idea**

# Proceedings of

# The Council of State

# The Central Legislative Assembly

# and

# Provincial Conferences

# The Council of State

## Autumn Session—New Delhi—8th. to 21st. November 1944

### Adjournment Motions Disallowed

The Council of State began its Autumn Session in New Delhi on the 8th. November 1944 with Sir *Maneckjee Dadabhoy*, the President, in the chair.

After interpellations, the *President* disallowed two adjournment motions tabled by *Pandit H. N. Kunzru* and Mr. *Hossain Imam* to discuss HMG's share in the financial responsibility for the explosions in Bombay docks in April last. In the course of the debate that preceded the President's ruling, Sir *Satyendranath Roy*, War Transport Secretary, said that the Government would be prepared to give a day for the consideration of the report on the explosions. But the second report had not yet been published, and he did not think it would be possible to have a debate before the end of the session. The House then adjourned.

### Payment After Demobilisation

**9th. NOVEMBER :**—Sir *David Devadoss* withdrew after discussion his resolution recommending to the Governor-General-in-Council the desirability of withholding one-third of the monthly pay of combatant, non-combatant and other services, including clerical and menial services, and paying after demobilisation such withheld amounts in monthly instalments extending over a period of three years. Sir David estimated on the basis of Mr. Churchill's statement that the war with Japan would continue up to the year 1947 and that demobilisation would take place in 1948. Thereafter, they should have time, say, three years, to adjust themselves to the conditions in which they found themselves after demobilisation. During these three years, he proposed that the demobilised persons be given something to sustain them. Otherwise, Sir David feared, there would be discontent in the country, and they might be convenient material for political agitators. The Government should, therefore, take steps before it was too late. He suggested payment in monthly instalments because if a lump sum payment was made, there was the danger of its being mis-spent.

Sir *Feroz Khan Noon*, Defence Member, said that the basic pay of the Indian soldier was recently raised from Rs. 16 to Rs. 18. The extra two rupees was known as deferred pay : that is, it was not being received by him now, but would be paid at the end of the war. In addition, the Government of India were putting aside a fund for the common benefit of the demobilised men, which at present amounted to Rs. 7 crores. When the soldier got home, with the money which the Government give him he could buy himself a wife (laughter) or a house or enter into a trade. Sir Feroz did not consider it a practicable measure to give a small amount of money to the soldier every month. If a third of the pay was withheld the men would not look upon it as if it was so much money saved. They would regard it as a cut in their pay, and future recruitment would be affected. This was, therefore, a grave responsibility on the part of the Government to take. If any soldier wished to save money, he could put his money in the savings bank account or invest it in Defence Savings Certificates. To set aside one-third of his pay would be disastrous for every low-paid man. You simply could not take away Rs. 6 from a man who earned Rs. 18.

### Coal Shortage

Mr. *Hossain Imam* next moved a resolution recommending to the Governor-General-in-Council "to appoint a Committee to enquire into the coal situation and report on the means to increase production, including compulsory amalgamations or nationalisation, if necessary." Mr. Imam referred to the importance of coal and asked why Government were not giving any statistics in regard to coal output. Quoting from official reports published before 1937, Mr. Hossain Imam declared that the number of collieries to-day had been reduced. Coal output in Raniganj and Jharia had fallen from 18.8 to 16.6 million tons. Only 72 out of 385 collieries had a raising of more than five thousand tons per month. If this was compared with the position in other countries one would be surprised to see the number of collieries which were engaged in uneconomic production in this country.

Mr. *P. N. Sapru* said he was in favour of State ownership of the industry. He was against compulsory amalgamations which, he said, would lead to the establishment of monopolistic concerns. Deploring conditions of labour in coal

mines, Mr. Sapru said that the inadequate wages paid was one of the reasons why men welcomed the employment of women underground. As a member of the Health Survey Committee he had occasion to visit some coal mines. Housing conditions of labour were extremely bad. Any society allowing such a state of affairs to exist deserved to be indicted.

*Pandit H. N. Kunzru*, supporting the resolution, said that one of the main factors responsible for the low production of coal was labour. Miners were paid inadequate wages and their increased earnings in 1943 were not commensurate with the increased cost of living. Miners worked only four or five days a week and their monthly earning could not be calculated on their daily earnings. Housing conditions were bad and medical relief was inadequate. Pandit Kunzru urged that mine labour should be treated as skilled labour. Another reason for the low production of coal was that he understood some employers were unwilling to raise more coal because of the Excess Profits Tax which, they considered, was a levy on capital. They thought it would be better to exploit the mines after the war. Pandit Kunzru said that the Government should make themselves responsible for the proper consumption, conservation and production of coal. That could be done by the Government taking over the management of coal mines.

Sir *A. Ramaswami Mudaliar*, Supply Member, agreed that there was room for improvement of labour conditions in the collieries. He wanted, however, to ask the House to consider the prices which coal fetched a few years ago and to-day. The Government had now fixed the rates for certain qualities of coal from Rs. 9-8-0 to Rs. 10-0-0 per ton as against the average price till 1942 of about Rs. 3 per ton. The needs of the war had brought about a rationalisation of the coal industry and he hoped it would continue even after the war.

Referring to the agreement of the high prices which colliery shares fetched, the Supply Member said that in present days it was not an indication of the relative prosperity of the trade. People had a lot of money and share values went up. In regard to the allegation that production had been slowed down to evade E. P. T., Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar said that he had inquired into the matter and found no truth in the allegation. On the contrary production of coal had gone up. The Government had given them certain inducements by way of bonus, etc., for stepping up coal production. One of the foremost causes for the low production of coal, he explained, was lack of essential equipment. Till recently the purchase of cutters and other equipment was a matter for private negotiation between the colliery owners and their agents in the United Kingdom. The Government gave them import licences, the Supply Member added, but they did not know if the colliery owners' agents in England were able to get the necessary priority required there for the manufacture of the equipment needed and for their shipment. When the Government came to know of this they took up the matter in December last and made themselves responsible for the import and supply of machinery. A special officer who had been sent to the United States had recently returned with some of the machinery which included certain special cutters. The Government had also recruited a certain number of Americans to train Indians to use those cutters. Other kinds of machinery from U. K. and U. S. A. were probably well on their way here. He pointed out that some of the collieries had not enough safety lamps. The Government had placed an order and they were being despatched by air from the U. K., so that production here should not suffer. Just as fragmentation of agricultural lands had become a problem, fragmentation of collieries also had raised a serious problem. Plans were being considered for the prevention of fragmentation and the Government were taking steps in this regard. The Supply Member maintained that by the steps which the Government took they were able to arrest further deterioration of the coal position, which otherwise would have led to a serious calamity. In regard to the publication of the figures of output of coal, Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar said it was withheld not for reasons which were supposed to be embarrassing to the Government, but purely because the defence authorities thought publication should be stopped owing to security reasons.

The Government of India were now considering the various aspects of the coal industry. They had already fixed the price of coal at pitheads. Other control measures which had been taken would, doubtless, improve labour conditions. If a colliery was not playing fair the Government had power to take over management of the colliery. In the post-war period, he said, coal would come to play an important part in the national economy. Its consumption would go up to feed the new industries.

Mr. Imam's resolution was put to the vote and was lost by 23 votes to 7.

SPECIAL TRIBUNALS

Mr. *M. N. Dalal*, after discussion, withdrew his resolution recommending to the Governor-General-in-Council that all special tribunals for the trial of offences be forthwith transferred from the administrative control of departments of the Government of India and placed under the administrative control of High Courts or at any rate of a neutral department like the Legislative Department. Mr. Dalal said that, according to the principles of English Jurisprudence it was essential not only to give a fair trial to a man but to see that he feels he is getting justice. Ordinary courts were subject to a certain amount of control by a higher court but, said Mr. Dalal, special tribunals were not subject to any control. How could these tribunals be under the control of departments, he asked, which were themselves responsible for prosecutions. The Finance Department should not control the income-tax appellate tribunals and the War Department should not have control over tribunals which heard cases in the prosecution of which they were interested.

RIGHTS OF INDIANS OVERSEAS

Mr. *P. N. Sapru* moved a resolution recommending to the Governor-General-in-Council to take steps to protect and safeguard the rights of Indians by bilateral agreements between the Government of India and the Governments of the Dominions, colonies and protectorates in which Indians are resident or domiciled and to which in future emigration may be permitted by the Government of India. Mr. P. N. Sapru explained why India, which aspired for joint leadership of Asia along with China, should establish diplomatic relations with all the countries mentioned in the resolution, countries in which Indian nationals lived. "I have excluded South Africa because speaking for myself, South Africans are no better than the Japanese or the Germans" declared Mr. Sapru. He continued: "I consider General Smuts and Dr. Malan just as bad as Hitler or Mussolini and the rest of the gang. If we had our way we would bring them to book. There is no difference between the Germans persecuting the Jew and South Africans persecuting the Indians. There is no question of any agreement or understanding with the South African, until he becomes a reasonable creature, until he comes to learn that the Indian is just like any other human being entitled to rights and privileges." (Cheers). The House then adjourned till the 13th.

INDUSTRIALISATION OF INDIA

13th. NOVEMBER:—The Council rejected to-day, by 24 votes to 12, Pandit *H N. Kunzru's* resolution recommending to the Governor-General-in-Council to appoint an Industrial Commission, with a non-official Indian chairman and a majority of non-official members, "to review the existing industrial situation, to recommend measures for the full and rapid industrialisation of the country with the object of raising the general standard of living of the masses and to indicate the lines along which State-ownership and control of industry should be extended. The resolution had been moved by Pandit Kunzru during the last budget session of the Council.

Mr. *Hossain Imam* moved an amendment that the proposed Commission should devise a scheme for the immediate nationalisation of all the key industries in British India, but later withdrew his amendment.

Mr. *M. N. Dalal* said that the industrial expansion in India did not favourably compare with the progress made in the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia and other empire countries during the war. He deplored that the Government of India had turned down the Indian industrialists' plea for the starting of heavy industries, such as, shipping and aircraft. The Government's policy was such that Indian industries suffered. In the importing of consumer goods, Government had not ascertained the views of Indian manufacturers. The Government appointed an all-White Commission to inquire into the establishment of a Fertiliser industry and more and more foreign experts were imported. Such actions of the Government, Mr. Dalal said, were viewed with apprehension in this country.

Mr. *P. N. Sapru* said that planning required much control and regimentation of life and only a Government which had its root in this country and was responsible to the people of this country would be able to carry it out. On ideological grounds, he favoured State control and State ownership of industries. However, under the existing conditions and without knowing what the constitutional future of this country would be, he was not prepared to hand over the industries to the control of the present Government, who would be amenable to no other parties except to the authority of His Majesty's Government. Mr. Sapru urged the need

for the collection of proper statistics of our own production and our own needs, before embarking on planning. There should be a small reviewing Commission to go into the working of the present industries and to suggest steps for their improvement.

Mr. *V. V. Kalikkar* said that if Sir Ardeshir Dalal, Member, Planning and Development, was "free from interference from Whitehall" he would help in the establishment of basic industries. But so far, the industrial policy of the Government was not encouraging. He asked whether the Government had taken any steps for the manufacture of agricultural implements and tractors which were badly needed. He supported the resolution.

Mr. *Hossain Imam* said that he was not specifying what industries should be nationalised, but left it to the proposed Commission to decide. The aims and objects of the Post-war Reconstruction and Planning Committees were desirable aims but his objection was that they were not executed. The Industrial Committee of the Government appeared to be a private preserve of the industrialists alone. Urging State ownership of industries, Mr. Hossain Imam said that the Railways, Posts and Telegraphs, which were owned and managed by the State had substantially helped the State by contributing over Rs. 66 crores, while the Corporation tax and the E. P. T. of privately managed industries in the country had not totalled Rs. 50 crores for the year 1943. Under the present order, there was no equitable distribution of the nation's wealth.

*Raja Bahadur Govindlal S. Motilal* said that soon after the last war, an Industrial Commission was appointed, but by the time the Commission reported, other countries were well on the way of industrialisation. Not only for the good of the people but in the interests of the Government also, Mr. Govindlal said, India should be industrialised. But for the Indian textile industry, war efforts would have been hampered and the people in this country would have been without clothes. Referring to State ownership of industries, Mr. Govindlal said he was not opposed to the principle provided the State belonged to Indians and it was amenable to Indian interests, but that was not the case at present.

*Sir Ardeshir Dalal*, Member, Planning and Development, reiterating Government's intention to foster industries to the largest extent possible, said that there was no question of Government not being in sympathy with the resolution. The war had shown up gaps in our industrial structure, such as lack of certain industrial machinery, machine tools, etc. While he shared general disappointment that the industrial progress of India had not been on the same scale as that of Canada, Australia and other countries during the war, he must point out that substantial progress had been made during the war. The Government, he said, were in fullest accord with the demand that measures should be taken for the complete industrialisation of the country. As to the part which the State should play in the control of industries, it was an important subject, and was engaging the serious attention of the Government. It was not possible, as yet, for the Government to come to any decision on the subject. The Government might have to take over industries which were beyond the resources of private enterprise, such as, essential industries which might not be remunerative. The Fertiliser industry was one such. In respect of important basic industries, a larger measure of control would have to be exercised by the Government in future. In regard to protection of industries, Sir Ardeshir Dalal referred to his previous statement made on the subject in the General Policy Committee recently, that it was Government's intention to liberalise protection and, in order to avoid delay, to set up a permanent Tariff Board.

Sir *Ardeshir* said that Government consulted the industries concerned before importing consumers goods in this country. It was not Government's intention to hand over the fertiliser industry to the I. C. I. In any scheme of industrialisation, the nationals of the country would have a full share, he said. Opposing the Industrial Commission proposed in the resolution, Sir Ardeshir said that Government had neither the personnel just now for the Commission nor could they wait for a long period for the Commission's report. The last Industrial Commission took two years to report. What was at present wanted was quick and practical recommendations. The Government, Sir Ardeshir pointed out, had already appointed the necessary committees and the various Provincial Governments had been asked to set up reconstruction committees. The Government had also set up over 20 panels for the respective industries. The Government's method was more effective and expeditious, and he urged Pandit Kunzru to withdraw his resolution.

*Pandit H. N. Kunzru*, replying to the debate, said that his object in moving the resolution was to accelerate the pace of industrialisation and to ensure sufficient

publicity to the steps taken by the Government in this regard. He was sure that Sir Ardeshir Dalal would do his very best to press the Government to industrialise the county and thus raise the standard of living of the people. He was primarily concerned, Pandit Kunzru said, with the actual achievements of the Government and not with their intentions. He wished Sir Ardeshir were in a position to say that certains plans had been completed and their execution would soon start. The first report on Planning, Pandit Kunzru said, enunciated general principles, but laid down no definite plan in regard to any aspect of industrialisation. The Government did not seem to be proceeding with reasonable despatch. During the last eight months, they had not proceeded far beyond the stage reported in the first report on the progress of Planning. In regard to nationalisation of industries, Pandit Kunzru said that he was anxious that certain basic industries should be controlled by the State. The term "basic industries" appeared to have a limited meaning, and according to official interpretation, it meant those industries connected with Defence. His object was wider, and Goverument had shown by their own example that they could control and manage industries. Concluding, Pandit Kunzru said that the Industrial Commission would be a better agency for the achievement of the objects in view than the methods suggested by the Government.

The resolution was put to vote and was declared lost, 24 voting against and 12 voting for. The Council then adjourned.

### DEBATE ON FOOD POSITION

**14th. NOVEMBER** :—Initiating the food debate to-day, Mr. *B. R. Sen*, Director-General for Food, declared that the last twelve months' working of the basic plan gave the Government the feeling that, at both the Centre and in the Provinces, they had now a much clearer idea of the minimum needs of the deficit areas and they could hope that in no area, in future, would they be taken completely by surprise unless there were any unforeseen developments or any unpredictable natural calamities. The success of any basic plan, Mr. Sen said, such as the one formulated by the Government of India, must clearly be dependent, very largely, on an adequate system of procurement. The problem of procurement, however, was one which was much bigger than mere extraction of grains for export under the basic plan. Though a few provinces has surpluses of all the major foodgrains, in other cases a province might be surplus in one foodgrain and deficit in all others, or deficit in one and surplus in all others. Again, though a province might be self-sufficient on balance, some of its districts might be surplus and others again deficit, so that inter-district procurement might be of the utmost inportance to that province. The essence of the problem was thus not moving of supplies from a surplus province to deficit areas, but of acquiring from the cultivator the maximum amount to be obtained from every part of India. The only completely satisfactory solution of the problem of procurement from the standpoint of principle, according to the Food Grains Policy Committee, therefore, was a central food-grains monopoly, but the problems of organisation and administration involved were so great, that they could not recommend its adoption immediately. During the last twelve months, Mr. Sen said, the most outstanding feature in the field of procurement monopoly had been the steady and progressive development of Government monopoly both in British India and in the Indian States. Most areas had started with compartively simple schemes and, as experience had been gained, had developed the schemes further and, further towards complete monopoly. Speaking generally, the idea of a Government monopoly for procurement of the entire surplus of the producer had taken a firm root in the provinces and States, and the Government of India were following the policy they had laid down for themselves and exercising a close watch over the system. Referring to the problem of storage, Mr. Sen said that, apart from the new storage accommodation which had been constructed by several provinces on their own initiative, the Food Department had formulated a scheme of construction of storage at various strategic points in the major surplus areas with a view to facilitating procurement and ensuring an even flow of rail movement throughout the year. The capital cost was to be advanced on a fifty-fifty basis by the Provinces and the Centre. The Government of India had undertaken another scheme of construction of storage at the main ports and consuming centres for holding a portion of the Central Government Reserve to be built out of the wheat imports. It was expected that about 140,000 tons of storage accommodation under the scheme would be ready before long. In addition to these new constructions, godowns were also being hired and it was estimated that at certain periods of the year, as much as 300,000 tons of space would be available for hire. In this connection, Mr. Sen pointed out the information in a poster in the Pusa Agri-

cultural Institute which stated: Total annual production of foodgrains and pulses in India 67.5 million tons; total annual wastage, 5 per cent, 3.35 million tons; valued at a flat rate of Rs. 10 per maund, the total annual loss over Rs. 90 crores. The quantity wasted was sufficient to feed seven million persons.

On the question of price control, Mr. Sen said that the Government of India had already set up a Price Advisory Committee consisting of experts who were constantly bringing the level of prices in different foodgrains under their review. The Government of India adhered to the policy that the prices fixed from time to time for the foodgrains should represent a just and reasonable compromise between the interests of the producers and the interests of the consumers. The question arose as to what was to be done with regard to those classes of consumers who found the present level of prices beyond their reach; in other words, to what extent the Government were prepared to pursue the question of subsidy. Mr. Sen said that already several Provincial Governments had adopted schemes of subsidy. In Orissa, for instance, the scheme of subsidised sales was in operation whereby in rural areas families of persons belonging to the landless classess and in urban areas families of persons with an income of less than Rs. 40 per month could purchase rice at a retail rate of four and three-quarter seers per rupee. The question of subsidy however was one of immense complexity, and its financial implications far-reaching. The whole question was now under the examination of the department, and if necessary, would be pursued in an inter-departmental committee consisting of the Economic Adviser and representatives of the Food, Finance, and Education, Health and Lands Department.

Mr. Sen observed that Bengal's supplies for 1945 would be determined on the same basis as the supply for other parts of India. The reasonable needs of the Government of Bengal, he said, would be reviewed in the light of all the relevant facts and allocations would be made, as necessary, from the stocks available for the purpose. Due regard would be had to any special circumstances in Bengal, especially such as might arise from its proximity to the scheme of active operations, as well as to the special need of other parts of India.

Speaking on long-term planning, Mr. Sen said that the food problem in the country was not one of solution of crisis from day to day only. Even in normal times, a large majority of the population of this country did not have a balanced diet, while the supply of protective food for children, pregnant women and nursing mothers of the poorer classes had always been too inadequate. It had not been possible to undertake any long-range planning so far, as Government had all their energies concentrated on preventing local shortages and keeping the country going at least on its pre-war consumption levels; nor did they have, so far, the control over the food distribution machinery so necessary for effecting any permanent improvement in the country's food economy. Now that food rationing had been extended to forty-two million persons and was still being extended, and now that procurement was approaching a monopoly basis in most of the deficit areas, Government thought that the time had come for an assessment of the requirements on a proper nutritional basis, an examination of the existing supplies and prevailing food habits, particularly in the deficit regions, on the basis of those requirements and with special reference to the vulnerable classes, and finally the formulation of a policy that would effectively secure for the people of the country, at least in the post-war period, a decent standard of food supply. For that purpose, Government proposed to appoint immediately a Planning Adviser who would be a wholetime officer working on those problems, collecting and analysing data and formulating preliminary proposals for the evolution of a planned food economy in India.

*Rai Bahadur Sri Narain Mahta* said that he had received a telegram from the Secretary of the Collieries' Association complaining that the collieries were forced to buy foodgrains at a price higher than the controlled one and again, that the controlled price was higher than the market price. The ruling prices, the Rai Bahadur said, were far beyond the reach of the poor people in the country and the steps taken to prevent and eradicate corruption had proved abortive. The handling of the food problem during the last three years had disclosed a great amount of ineptitude. There did not appear to be a sound and dependable machinery, even to-day, for procurement of foodgrains from surplus areas and for supply to deficit areas. The failure of the Government to subsidise food for the poorer consumers and to eliminate the middleman and the profiteer had made the prices uneconomical for the grower. The Rai Bahadur contrasted the food situation in Great Britain and India and said that Great Britain had built up huge stocks of food long before the idea crossed the mind of the Government of India. Referring to the report of

the Gregory Committee, he said that the Committee had made it clear in 1943 that the Government must procure one and a half million tons of foodstuffs within a year. The Government were, however, able to import only 800,000 tons. The plea put forward was want of shipping space. The Rai Bahadur said that if the Government had taken care to eliminate the import of luxury goods, there should have been enough shipping space available to bring the one and a half million tons of foodstuffs recommended by the Gregory Committee.

The *Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga* referred to the situation prevailing in North Bihar and particularly in Darbhanga and Purnea districts and said that even according to Government estimates, the rice crop would be below the average in these districts. These were essentially rice-producing and rice-eating regions and had suffered for want of rain during the last rainy season. Towards the end of the season, however, it rained heavily and many rivers were flooded and the paddy crop was severely damaged. Referring to epidemics in North Bihar the speaker said that he had been told that several patients brought to the hospital were cured by feeding alone. Pleading the cause of the growers, he said that the Food Member had cited the steady fall in the prices of rice and wheat as the main proof of the success of the Government policy, but, he asked, if the Food Member had taken into consideration the plight of the growers who had to provide for the necessities of life from the produce of their land. He urged the Government to fix minimum prices, just as they had fixed maximum prices of principal foodgrains and protect cultivators from the unfair demands of other sections of the community who sold their goods and services to cultivators.

The *Maharajkumar of Nashipur* said that the food situation in Bengal was far from satisfactory. He thought Government propaganda only attempted to minimise the evil. The Province was getting deeper and deeper into the depths of misery in the form of economic ruin, deprivation in health, mass destitution and widespread depopulation. He could not understand why the Government had chosen to sell rice at Rs. 16 per maund, while private sellers in the mofussil were offering it for sale at Rs. 10. The Maharajkumar said that huge stocks of rice and other food commodities were being allowed to rot without being distributed to the needy and the hungry at the opportune time. He admitted that some amount of relief had been brought about, but the ruling price of rice was still beyond the reach of a very large percentage of people. The quantity of wheat allowed to each individual, he said, was too meagre and "Ata" was, in most cases, unfit for human consumption.

*Pandit Kunzru* deplored the lack of information on food and urged that the Government should furnish members of the Legislature with a publication giving adequate information on the production, procurement and distribution of food. The House ought to be informed of the steps taken to import more foodgrains into India, whether transport arrangements were satisfactory, whether the provinces and States were taking steps to popularise wheat and what were the subventions given by the Central Government to the Provinces and the purposes for which these were given. In regard to Malabar and Cochin, Pandit Kunzru said that no concession was being shown to them in respect of rice. Rice rations allowed were inadequate, and the common man had to buy food at market rates even though he could not do so at prevailing rates. This brought him to the question of subsidising the poor man's food. He knew that the financial burden would be serious, but the present State of things was so unsatisfactory that immediate steps should be taken to relieve the sufferings of the poor people. Pandit Kunzru complained of the poor quality of rations supplied. The foodgrains sold contained an appreciable quantity of dust, stones and grit. He referred to an instance in Ajmer where wheat sold, on examination by the U. P. Government Chemical Analyser, was found to contain 10.7 per cent of dirt, 12.3 per cent of barley and 2.5 per cent of other stuffs. Dealing with the import of foodgrains, Pandit Kunzru said that greater pressure should be brought to bear on H. M. G. to send more foodgrains to this country.

*Sir Jwala Prasad*, the Food Member, intervening explained that already over 658,000 tons of foodgrains had been received and a further 95,000 tons were on the high seas bound for India.

*Pandit Kunzru* asked why no steps had been taken to approach the UNRRA authorities for importing food-grains to India. The Food Department, Pandit Kunzru said, was a more efficient department to-day than it was a year ago and was endeavouring to face the problems in a realistic spirit. But it had to go a long way yet in order to deal with the problems of production, procurement and distribution more effectively. He welcomed the idea of setting up a Planning Section of

the food Department. The food difficulties of India would not end with the conclusion of the war. If more food was to be grown, procured and distributed, it was necessary that the Food Department should be continued for many years to come. Pandit Kunzru said that more jaggery should be produced and transport arrangements should be provided. Adequate steps should be taken to popularise wheat in the rice consuming areas. Referring to the situation in Bengal, Pandit Kunzru asked why Government was lavishing all their attention on that province ? It indeed required all assistance last year, but Government should now help the people in the South and particularly those living in the West Coast.

*Sir Buta Singh* complained that large surpluses of wheat, rice and gram were not immediately purchased and removed from the Punjab. That showed that in practice the Government of India was unable to fulfil their obligations and they failed to take over surpluses. The most noticeable example was that of gram. A large quota of gram was accepted for export in 1944-45 by the Government of India. But necessary despatching instructions were not sent and a number of provinces repudiated their quotas. The result was that the entire exportable surplus from the province was locked up, resulting in the deterioration of valuable foodgrain. There was a strong rumour, Sir Buta Singh said, and he wanted the Government of India to deny it, that the Bengal Government was selling in the Punjab railway receipts for gram, which the Bengal Government had stored in the Punjab for being taken to that province, at Rs. 7-12. per maund when the market price of gram in the Punjab was about Rs. 6-4 per maund only. Sir Buta Singh referred to the disparity in prices as between neighbouring provinces. Normally, difference in the prices of wheat and rice between the Punjab and the United Provinces was a few annas per maund, but, now, whereas the prevalent price of wheat in the Punjab was about Rs. 8-4-0 a maund, the price in the United Provinces was Rs. 3 to Rs. 4 higher. "This situation deprives the Punjab grower and trader of his legitimate profits and deprives the U. P. consumer of the opportunity of getting his requirements at a reduced price."

Mr. *K. A. Mealing* (Bengal Chamber of Commerce) said that there were three main and several subsidiary problems relating to food. They were firstly, the growth and distribution of enough food of all types to stop starvation ; secondly, the prevention of the pendulum from swinging to the other extreme and prices falling below production cost ; and thirdly, planning for the future of a better diet, both quantitative and qualitative, for the masses of the country. The first difficulty that faced them was, Mr. Mealing said, the lack of correct figures and the utter unreliability of the statistics available. No business, however small, could be run successfully in the absence of reliable figures of output, cost, market value, sales and profit and loss. The Government of India had, with the Provincial Governments perforce, entered the biggest business in the country, and he regretted that he could place no reliance whatsoever in their so-called statistics which they had so far produced. He urged that immediate steps should be taken to rectify the position. With correct statistics, Mr. Mealing said, it should be possible for a definite plan to be evolved, and the co-ordination of the provinces in that plan secured. That plan should decide what was, under present circumstances, a fair and proper price, both to the producer and consumer, which should not be allowed to fluctuate to the detriment of one or the other. He said that if Government were to set up a special section with wide powers and adequate finance for the sole purpose of encouraging the supply of milk and milk products, it should be a great boon to the people. Speaking on the situation in Bengal, Mr. Mealing said that he did know that the Ministry and officials in Bengal were honestly doing their best to improve the food situation in the province. No other province, except Assam, had been so near to or so much affected by the impact of war. He asked the other and more fortunate provinces that had not been through the experience of Bengal and Assam to have some sympathy for the two provinces.

**15th. NOVEMBER :**—The two-day food debate in the Council ended this afternoon without any votes being taken. This was because there were no amendments by the Opposition to the formal Government motion asking the House to take the the food situation into consideration. The President declared the debate closed after the Food Member's reply.

Replying to the debate this afternoon, *Sir J. P. Srivastava*, Food Member, referred to the suggestion for fixing the minimum price for foodgrains, and said that there was conflict between producers and consumers and the Government were trying to hit the golden mean between the two interests. Sir J. P. Srivastava said that the needs of India had been placed before the British Government and the

London Food Council with all the emphasis the Government of India could command. He thought the future prospects of imports from overseas were bright. Answering points raised by Opposition speakers, he said that Government had in hand a comprehensive scheme for the provision of storage godowns in order to avoid deterioration of foodgrains held in reserve. As to the surcharge imposed by the United Provinces Government on the export of mustard oilseeds and oil from Province to Bengal, he said that the view of the Provincial Government was that, unless the Bengal Government exercised proper control on retail prices, they were not justified in asking the United Provinces Government for removing the surcharge. The Government of India were, however, discussing the question with the two Provincial Governments concerned. On the question of food supplies for Calcutta next year he reiterated his view that it would not be fair to place the entire burden on the Centre.

Mr. *B. R. Sen,* Director-General of Food made a long statement refuting allegations made in the Assembly last week, that a loss of Rs. 70 lakhs had been incurred as a result of the Central Government purchasing rice from Nepal at a price higher than that arranged by the Bengal Government. He pointed out that the entire loss in the transaction was not more than Rs. 5 lakhs. The Government of India, he said, stepped in because the Maharaja of Nepal preferred that the procurement should be made by an agent of the Central Government rather than by an agent of the Government of Bengal. The price paid was not higher than the price arranged by the Bengal Government.

Sir *Jogendra Singh,* Member, Education, Health and lands Department, replied to criticisms levelled against the Grow-More-Food campaign. Giving figures to prove the success of the campaign, Sir Jogendra Singh said that during the pre-war period, the acreage under rice in India was 73,8 million acres. After one year's campaign, the area rose to 75 million acres and last year, 1943-44, the acreage rose to about 30 milions, six and quarter millions more than the pre-war acreage. The total acreage under all the major food crops for the three pre-war years was about 195 millions and as a result of the Grow-more-Food Campaign to-day, it was over 206 3 million acres, and thus there was an increase of six per cent in land under cultivation. Besides, there were areas in the country for which no statistics were yet available. Referring to the disparity in production estimates and procurement figures, Sir Jogendra Singh explained that three-fourth of the population lived in villages and thus the largest consuming population should have some reserves for their own consumption. In regard to protective foods, such as milk, vegetables and meat, Sir Jogendra Singh explained the many schemes which the Government, in co-operation with the Provincial Governments, were now working. The army was producing its own vegetable requirements. Arrangements had been made to procure diesel engines which would be fitted to country craft for the quick transport of fish. Government were making arrangements for the import of dairy machinery and had schemes for the production of more milk. He, however, thought it was extremly unlikely that during war time, Government would be able to meet milk demands. For some years to come they would have to popularise facts. Government, Sir Jogendra Singh added, were attempting to procure about 1,700 tractors for the cultivation of reclaimed waste lands. They had assisted the Provincial Governments and States in the shape of loans and grants for the production of more food and had so far spent over Rs. 5½ crores in this regard. Sir *Jogendra* emphasised that India was in a position to produce all her food needs, and the Government had worked out a programme which, if carried out in 15 years, promised substantially to increase both the cereal and protective food to the extent needed to meet the requirements of the country. Sir *Jogendra Singh* added that he did not wish to depend on imports for food. India must produce all the food she required within the country itself. He emphasised the urgent need to find industrial employment for at least 30 per cent of the population so that there could be a balanced economy. At present there was less than one acre for cultivation per head of the population in the country. That land should not only feed him, but feed his cattle as well. The urgent need at present was to improve the physical and mental health of the people so that they could double the present production. He appealed to the Press and the Legislature in India to devote attention to the problem of education and agriculture and to make constructive suggestions for the improvement of the standard of living in the country. Mr. *P. N. Sapru* said that stronger measures should be taken against anti-social activities such as profiteering and hoarding. Government must bring down the prices of all foods within the reach of the average man. Britain, he said, would not have suc-

ceeded in this war but for the good work of her Ministry of Food. They had vision and foresight and they planned their country's food programme long before the war.

The *President*: You refused to co-operate here.

Mr. *Sapru* replied that they never refused to co-operate. What they refused to do was to co-operate on subordinate terms. So far as India was concerned she was under "one man rule" to-day. The Food Member might delude himself that he controlled the food situation in India. He knew who controlled it and therefore for everything that happened they were entitled to blame the system that allowed the "one man rule".

Mr. *Sapru* added that if Government had imported in time the one million tons of foodgrains and built up the Central reserve, they could have dealt with the hoarders and profiteers more effectively. Government, he suggested, should inspire confidenee in the agriculturist. They should purchase from surplus provinces and pay a fair price to the cultivators and should transport the grains to deficit areas at Government's cost. They should also increase the quantity of rations supplied and improve the quality.

Mr. *Hossain Imam*, Leader of the Muslim League Party, referred to the Bengal calamity and said that the famine was not God-made but man-made and war-made. He expressed delight at Government's promise of monetary grant. Mentioning the destruction of hundreds of thousands of maunds of foodgrains, Mr. *Hossain Imam* asked the Government to realise that food was not a factory produce, which could be increased or decreased by shifts. He referred to the low prices in Bengal and warned that if the prices fell below a certain level, production would suffer. Mr. *Hossain Imam* castigated the Government for paying more attention to the industrial population and the urban population as against the agricultural population. He demanded that the prices of the articles purchased by the grower should be brought down to the level of those of his own produce. The Muslim League Party leader criticised the U. P. Government's decision to levy a surcharge on mustard seed and stated it was scandalous for the Government of India to connive at it. He also mentioned the rising price of vegetable ghee and said that it was beyond the reach of the average consumer. The speaker referred to India's cattle-wealth and said that India's cattle population was one-third of the whole world but he felt sorry that the quality was poor. He complained that cattle were moved to foreign countries. In conclusion, Mr. *Hossain Imam* expressed the view that he was not in favour of rationing in surplus areas.

Refuting the allegation that in the matter of purchases of Nepal rice, the Government of India brought it at a higher price than had been arranged by the Bengal Government, Mr. *B. R. Sen*, Director-General, Food, made the following statement :—

In April 1943 the Nepal Government placed an embargo on the export of rice and paddy from their territory as in view of the difficult rice situation in north-east India they apprehended depletion of their stocks. In October 1943, H, H. the Maharaja kindly offered to release 1,00,000 tons in terms of rice from the 1944 crop. Bengal's agent, being on the spot, negotiated prices for this offer and the Government of Nepal fixed Rs. 6·8 and Rs. 12 as minimum for paddy and rice respectively with the condition that, the prevailing market rate across the border in Bihar would be fixed if it happened to be higher than the minimum. It had been alleged that the Government of India made purchases at a "higher price than had been arranged by the Bengal Government", resulting in a loss of Rs. 40 lakhs. The statement was incorrect and misleading. The Bengal Government's agent had not arranged to purchase at a certain price. He had only bound the Bengal Government to pay a particular minimum and had further bound them to pay the market price prevailing across the border if that happened to be higher. About the time when Bengal's agent agreed to these terms the prices in Bengal ranged from Rs. 10 to Rs. 15 per maund for paddy and Rs. 20 to Rs. 32 per maund for rice. With the prices in Bengal at this level and Nepal being entitled to ask for the prevailing market rate with no maximum limit, it was evident that Bengal's agent would have procured at a higher rate than that paid by the Government of India's agent. The alleged loss was therefore imaginary. Some stocks purchased by the Government of India's agent were damaged by exposure to rains. It has been alleged that this wastage amounted to about Rs. 30 lakhs and that the Government of India are trying to say that this loss is not to be borne by the agent. So far about 2,500 maunds of damaged paddy have been buried as they were not fit for any purpose and an equal quantity has been disposed of for brewing local beer as it

was not fit for consumption as food. The price of these quantities would not be more than Rs. 40,000. Approximately another 34,000 maunds in terms of rice are also involved in such damage, the price of which would be about Rs. 4,50,800.

Mr. *J. M. Gibbons* said that even after the war Government would have to continue and probably expand the controls which they had already established over the production procurement and distribution of foodgrains. He urged Government to take steps for the prevention of adulteration of foodstuffs, the continuance of which would cause serious menace to public health. He referred in particular to the extent of adulteration of milk and said, "I am horrified at the degree of adulteration by dishonest traders who are sacrificing the health of the people for their own gains. Government must pay proper attention to this."

Sir *N. Gopalaswami Iyengar* said that there could be no doubt that the food position to-day was becoming definitely better than what it had been last year this time. However, there was much ground yet to be covered till the ideal of providing the people with an adequate supply of food and an adequate nutritional standard was reached. The achievements of the Food Department so far were laudable and their achievements had been accomplished under difficult conditions. Behind the implementation of their policy, Sir *Gopalaswami* said, there had not been moblised that amount of popular support which could be had. That was an unfortunate state of things in this country. Mr. *Sen* told the House of the attempts made to associate public opinion with the Food Department. Association was not enough. What he wanted was actual co-operation and unless other Departments of the Government of India co-operated in producing an atmosphere in which the co-operation of a body of public workers, who were the only people who could mobilise public support, was given, the large scale food policy of the Government would not yield the result which it might otherwise do. On the subject of fixing prices, Sir *Gopalaswami* said that prices should be limited to the purchasing power of the people and within those limits the producers should make profits but should not profiteer. He suggested that other Provinces and States might follow the example of Madras in the collection of proper statistics. Sir Gopalaswami pleaded for giving effect to the Foodgrains Policy Committee's report. The food problem must be squarely faced and considerations of finance should not deter the Government. Financial pussilanimity or chicken-heartedness would be unforgiveable in a matter of life and death to the people.

Replying to the debate, Sir *J. P. Srivastava*, the Food Member, thanked the House for the many suggestions the members had mads and which would be of extreme help to the Food Department. However, many of the points raised in the debate were local problems which should have been raised with the respective Provincial Governments. He deplored the tendency of introducing politics into the sacred sphere of food." "I agree," the Food Member said, "that if there was a National Government, they would have done probably better. But within our limited sphere, we are trying to do our best. If the National Government is not here, it is not my fault and we must all agree that in the circumstances we find ourselves we cannot leave the starving man alone." As to why the Government of India did not approach the United States and Empire countries direct for their food imports, Sir *Jwala Prasad* said that they could not do so. India's requirements would be placed before the Food Council in London which was the appropriate body which co-ordinated the surpluses and demands of the Empire countries. There was a Food Council in Washington composed of the United Nations who allocated limited supplies. The London Council approached the Washington Council for foodgrains. Replying to the point as to why the Government of India had not approached the UNRRA, the Food Member said that the House should bear in mind that the UNRRA had no foodgrains. The UNRRA, also would have to go to the Food Council in Washington for its needs. India was already getting allocations direct from Washington and she could not duplicate her demands. It might be that India might be able to get some additional quantities for areas near Burma and Chittagong due to their nearness to the war area and the distress caused in those areas on account of the war but the quantity that might be received would be meagre. Dealing with the situation in Bengal, the Food Member said that Government felt extremely doubtful of their being able to feed Calcutta which they did last year. The demand for rice from other parts of India especially the south, was great. Last year Government undertook to feed Calcutta in order to restore confidence but he did not feel the same treatment should be accorded this year. He was prepared to consider the demands of Calcutta on the same basis as the demands of other parts of India. Sir *Jwala Prasad* explained the steps taken by the Government for the proper storage of foodgrains and its equitable distribution. In

regard to the fixing of proper prices he had heard two views expressed. There were those who wanted a rise in the prices in the interests of the growers and others who wanted a further lowering of the prices. Government, however, as in the case of wheat, had not yet fixed a minimum price for rice. The price level of rice had not yet come down and Government were watching the trend. When the price registered a sharp fall Government would fix a minimum price. The Council at this stage adjourned.

RIGHTS OF INDIANS OVERSEAS

16th. NOVEMBER :—The Council discussing non-official resolutions to-day, agreed to Mr. *P. N. Sapru's* resolutions recommending to the Governor-General-in Council to take steps to protect and safeguard the rights of Indians by bilateral agreements between the Government of India and the Government of the Dominions, Colonies and Protectorates in which Indians were resident or domiciled and to which, in future, emigration might be permitted by the Government of India.

Pandit *H. N. Kunzru*, supporting the resolution, said that in view of the experience gained in Ceylon and South Africa, His Majesty's Government must be approached to permit India's agents to be appointed in other parts of the Empire as well.

Mr. *R. N. Banerjee*, Secretary, Commonwealth Relations Department, said that efforts had already been made by the Government of India to bring about bilateral arrangements with countries in the Commonwealth into which our nationals had immigrated. In recent years, agreements had been negotiated with the Government of Burma and the Government of Ceylon. The agreement with Burma encountered the strongest opposition in this country and remained practically a dead letter owing to the Japanese occupation of Burma. In regard to Ceylon, the agreement was still-born as the Lower House refused to extend its endorsement, subject to which it had been negotiated. In spite of the fate of the previous efforts, the Government of India were still exploring the possibility of fresh agreements with those countries—particularly in the light of the close inter-dependence of those countries and India, which had been so vividly and painfully demonstrated by the present war.

Mr. *Banerjee* referred to the appointment of India's representatives in South Africa, Australia, Ceylon and Burma, and said that, whenever favourable opportunities for a better understanding presented themselves, the Government of India had made the fullest use of them to consolidate our relations with Commonwealth communities. The method of improving our relations with Commonwealth countries by entering into bilateral arrangements had, however, its limitations. Efforts made to establish closer and direct relations with a number of colonies and protectorates which were now under the direct control of His Majesty's Government had not been successful. Mr. Banerjee said that overtures made by the Government of India to appoint Agents or Representatives in the three Carribean Colonies, in Fiji and in East Africa had not met with a favourable response so far. Bilateral understanding pre-supposed the existence of a bilateral disposition to enter into such understanding. Mr. Sapru's reason for advocating bilateral agreements, he understood, was that it was desirable to enter into direct relations with those countries, particularly, after they had attained a wider measure of self-government. "Events and our experience do not", Mr. Banerjee said, "however, justify such optimism about the willingness of self-governing units of the Commonwealth to enter into bilateral agreements. The House will appreciate my anxiety to avoid any reference to the unpleasant details of this aspect of the history of Indian immigration into the Commonwealth countries. But, during the last two generations, the position of Indians in certain countries has deteriorated in direct proportion to the measure of self-government attained by them. With increasing powers of self-government, some of these countries have deprived our nationals domiciled in them of civil rights which they had already enjoyed." Mr. Banerjee said that he was only drawing attention to them to emphasise that bilateral agreements would not be feasible in the case of several of Commonwealth countries. The Government of India, Mr. Banerjee continued, could not possibly divest themselves of their moral responsibility for the welfare of those Indians, particularly so long as the governments of those countries persisted in denying them the rights of full citizenship. Mr. Banerjee, concluding, said that Mr. Sapru's proposal was in consonance with the policy which the Government of India had already been pursuing, and he assured the House that Government would examine all his suggestions for making a fuller and more extensive use of the method of bilateral understanding.

Mr. *P. N. Sapru*, replying to the debate said that Government should press upon His Majesty's Government for the appointment of an Indian representative in Jamaica. He regretted that His Majesty's Government had not agreed to our suggestions, but pointed out that it was necessary, in the wider interests of India for her representatives to be in those regions in which her nationals were settled and in which she had interests. Mr. Sapru continued that Indian interests should not suffer and her nationals should have due safeguards in the future constitution of those countries. He, however, warned Indian nationals settled overseas that they should eschew imperialistic outlook and they should not stand in the way of attainment of independence by countries like Malaya, Burma and Ceylon.

The House agreed to the resolution.

### ARMY OFFICERS FOR CIVIL POSTS

Mr. *V. V. Kalikkar* then moved a resolution recommending to the Governor-General-in-Council to drop the scheme of temporary reinforcement of the civil administration by transfer of army officers and to recruit the required personnel for civil administration through the agency of the Federal Public Service Commission. Mr. Kalikkar said that the right type of officers required for the administration could be had "from the open market" and there was no need to recruit army personnel.

Mr. *Conran-Smith*, Home Secretary, emphasised that the postings were only temporary. They were being posted to the Provincial Governments to hold posts where they were most needed and to which their qualifications were best suited. The Home Secretary said that there was a clamour from the Bengal Government for officers, and those loaned from the army took over duties in the Supply Department or the Indian Police service and relieved the regular members of the Indian Civil Service to go back to their original jobs. The army needed more officers, and it was not correct that they could spare officers. It was only done to meet the insistent demands of the Provincial Governments. In regard to the selection of such officers, Mr. Conran-Smith said that the method of selection was more searching and thorough than ordinary recruiting.

*Sir N. Gopalaswami Iyengar* said that the Government should have recruited members from the Provincial Services to fill in the posts. The present method of recruitment was unfair to the members of the Provincial Services. There were enough men in the country who could man the posts for which army men were recruited.

*Pandit Kunzru* said that he was not against the appointment of Indian officers of the army to civilian posts. But as far as possible, candidates for civil post must be chosen from among the civilians, especially at a time when the army was not in a position to spare officers. He, however thought, in the present case, Government were only trying to test public opinion. He was afraid that the military officers would be permanently added to the civil cadre and it was an effort, to a certain extent, to militarise the administration.

Mr. *Kalikkar*, replying to the debate, said that many persons without any special qualifications were given emergency commissions in the army during the war and he was against recruiting for the civil administration men who had not the requisite qualifications.

The Home Secretary, Mr. *Conran-Smith*, replying to some of the objections raised in the course of the debate, emphasised the temporary nature of the appointments. He gave the assurance that provincial officers were being used to the fullest extent, but the ability of the Provincial Governments to spare such officers must be taken into account. Mr. Conran-Smith further stated that the officers now recruited could not have any superior claims for permanent posts, and they would be on equal footing with the rest of the officers in the army with requisite educational qualifications for competing for the war reserve posts. He said he was distressed at the raising of the racial issue. It should not be forgotten that it was part of a common effort in the war against a common enemy.

The House rejected the resolution by 20 to 14 votes.

### RELIEF OF DISTRESS IN NORTH BIHAR

The Government accepted Mr. *Sri Narain Mahtha's* resolution recommending immediate and adequate relief to the people of North Bihar, suffering from epidemics and to remove the causes of the recurrence of epidemics after due investigation. The mover said that this was the second time during eleven years that Bihar was faced wiih a major disaster. Up to the end of the first week of August, he said, 1,96,000 deaths from epidemics were reported. He complained that

the Government had not made suitable arrangements for the treatment of cholera. He demanded that more doctors should be released for relief measures and adequate milk-supply be made.

*Sir Jogendra Singh*, Member for Health, accepting the resolution, said that he did not wish to minimise the disaster in Bihar. Cholera, he added, had assumed the form of a virulent epidemic this year and the cholera mortality was higher than in any year in the past 30 years except 1918 and 1930. He also referred to the wave of Malaria in certain parts of the province. "The main responsibility for measures to deal with epidemics." said Sir Jogendra Singh, "rested with the Provincial Government. But we had done what we could to assist them." The difficulty of the Provincial Government, he declared, was the lack of personnel. The military authorities had given assistance by lending 22 army doctors. Sir Jogendra Singh described the relief measures of the Bihar Government and the assistance given by the Government of India in respect of the supply of quinine and anti-malaria drugs. He said that cholera could not be eliminated till water-supply and sanitation were vastly improved. In this connection, he referred to the Provincial Government's schemes for the improvements of the rural water-supply and the drainage of water-logged areas. Sir Jogendra referred to the Bhore Committee, which was investigating the problem of health, and said that housing and sanitation were the most important factors in what was known as "social medicine." He hoped that the Government, in co-operation with the provinces, would evolve a public health policy thereby securing better living conditions for the people.

The resolution was passed unanimously. The House then adjourned.

### Position of Indians in S. & E. Africa

**17th. NOVEMBER** :—The struggle for obtaining recognition of the rights of Indians as full citizens would be kept alive and would not stop till the goal was reached. declared Mr. *R. N. Banerjee*, Secretary, Commonwealth Relations Department, initiating the debate on South Africa in the Council of State to-day. Mr. Banerjee explained that the Government of India had not spared any efforts to avoid the situation that had arisen in South Africa. The Government had throughout maintained the maximum possible pressure on the Union Government on six occasions and left them in no doubt that unless a satisfactory solution was evolved, we would have no alternative to taking counter-measures. Mr. Banerjee emphasised that this was not the first time that such discriminatory measures had been adopted against Indians. The present was only one of a long series of discriminatory measures though it had the effect of the last straw on the camel's back. "It is true", said Mr. Banerjee, "that South Africa is formally a unit in the British Commonwealth. But, even as such, theirs is virtually an independent Government and the House will realise that such a Government is not likely to be amenable to advice or pressure even from His Majesty's Government in matters affecting the self-interest of the ruling classes. The House is aware that most, if not all, of the discriminatory measures in South Africa apply formally to all Asiatics. There is a sprinkling of Japanese and Chinese nationals in the Union who are also affected by these measures. It is interesting to note that the Governments of these two countries have not so far been able to protect their national measures involving racial discrimination." Referring to the measures taken by the Government, Mr. Banerjee said that the Indian Legislature had passed the Reciprocity Act and all the effective provisions of the Act had been enforced. He spoke of the demand for the recall of the High Commissioner and the severance of trade relations. The Government. he said, had not decided not to resort to these measures. They were considering them most energetically day by day. He asked the House to realise that the decision about the severance of trade relations would be a momentous one. Mr. Banerjee concluded : "That we have made a beginning in the enforcement of retaliatory measures should be some evidence that we can take such other measures as may be open to us. I can repeat the Hon'ble Member's assurance in the Lower House that our inability to make an immediate announcement should not be attributed to any lukewarmness on our part and that no undue delay will occur in taking a decision."

*Pandit H. N. Kunzru* deplored that the Government of India should have agreed to the Pretoria Agreement. He urged that the Government of India should give notice of termination of the Indo-South African Trade Agreement and impose economic sanctions against that country. Nothing, he said, could be worse than the humiliation imposed upon India by the legislation passed by the Natal Council. Unless the Government of India were prepared to retaliate with all the powe

their command, Indians would be treated with contempt in every part of the world. By the imposition of economic sanctions, Pandit Kunzru said, India might suffer, but financial considerations should not be allowed to weigh in the matter of India's self-respect and national honour. He also urged the recall of India's High Commissioner. Whether it would be possible for India to compel South Africa to change her racial policy or not, it was incumbent on India to vindicate her self-respect. India, he said, was not fighting for herself alone, but for the whole of Asia.

*Dr. N. B. Khare*, Member, Commonwealth Relations, denied that the Government of India were a party to the Pretoria Agreement. No doubt, Government gave their moral support to the Agreement. If the South African Indian Congress came to an agreement with the Union Government, how could the Government of India prevent it? After all, there was some kind of occupational segregation of a voluntary character even in this country, though there was no law against anyone acquiring property anywhere. In big cities, one saw, either by a natural process of selection or convenience or agreement, that people belonging to the same class or profession lived in particular areas. Dr. Khare asserted that there was no delay on the part of the Government of India in taking steps against the South African Government. On the contrary, Government acted promptly as soon as the third reading of the Occupation Order was passed by the Natal Council. "Have you imagined," Dr. Khare asked, "anything so prompt with the Government of India before now?" On Government's part, there never was any lack of vision. If the Government of India had the necessary powers, they would have acted differently. They had, however, taken the necessary steps and were watching the results. "The tragedy of the situation is," Dr. Khare said, "that Indians are allowed to fight for the liberty of every other country in the world, but India can do nothing to better the condition of her own kith and kin." The major part of the African campaign, he said, was borne by Indians who fought to save South Africa. Replying to the criticism that the Government of India should not interfere in the domestic issues of South Africa, Dr. Khare said that if full citizenship rights were given to Indians, then, India would have no cause to interfere. This war, he said, was being fought against Nazism and Fascism and these should be rooted out not only from Italy, Germany and Japan, but from South Africa, or America or India. In regard to economic sanctions, Dr. Khare said that the Government were studying the question. The difficulties of India not getting an adequate supply of wattle bark had been pointed out . He thought we could do without them. "I am not satisfied with mere barking," Dr. Khare concluded, "but I want to bite."

The *Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga* said that it was true that we were not in a position to retaliate. He asked H. M. G. to take a bold stand and tell General Smuts that, if he persisted in following the policy of racial discrimination, the forces of the rest of the Empire would be arrayed against him to bring him to submission. "If H. M. G. were to justify the South African Government's action", the speaker asked, "can we not legitimately ask what benefits we derive by being within the Empire? What protection do we get by belonging to the British Commonwealth of Nations?"

Sir *N. Gopalaswami Iyengar* said that the European Group had blessed the application of the Reciprocity Act and apparently approved of the suggestion to recall the High Commissioner, but were opposed to imposition of economic sanctions. He said that application of economic sanctions would be prejudicial to European interests and not Indian interests. Sir N. Gopalaswami also contended that war efforts would not be impaired and the liberation of Indians from the Japanese occupied territories could be carried out with the resources we have. India, however, was not going to solve the problem until she was Independent and able to deal with the South African Government on equal terms.

Mr. *P. N. Sapru* said that the position of Indians in South Africa raised the fundamental issue of the relationship between white and non-white races of mankind. He wanted to know what the Secretary of State for India had done in the matter. He knew it would not be constitutionally correct for HMG to veto the Natal Council's decision but even then they could do a great deal. He urged that the Government of India should not entertain any South African white national in their departments. The trade agreement with that country should be terminated and economic sanctions should be imposed, he said.

Mr. *Hossain Imam* asked whether India was getting a fair deal in the British Commonwealth of Nations. Nearly 78 per cent of the population in South Africa were non-Whites and yet they were treated as slaves. He asked why HMG

did not move in the matter. The reason to him appeared obvious. None of the United Nations had clean hands. America had her colour problem. France had her colonials to exploit and India was an example of the British rule. The USSR alone, it appeared to him, had showed justice and equity to other nations.

Mr. *Gibson* said that the European community fully supported any measures that might be considered fit to be taken in support of Indian claims, but with some qualifications—qualifications which were very largely in the interests of Indians themselves. In a matter in which feeling ran extremely high, it was of great importance that very careful consideration should be given before any steps were actually taken so as to make perfectly sure that such action would not eventually be prejudicial to the very people whom they set out to protect. He thought that no action should be taken which might prejudicially affect the war effort. While agreeing that South Africa was responsible for the situation, he asked the House to remember that, among the objects of the Allied armies was the liberation of countries such as Burma, Malaya and the many Indian prisoners of war in Japanese hands. Subject to those considerations their sympathies were for the Indians in South Africa in their 'struggle for the establishment of full democratic and civic rights.'

Mr. *R. N. Banerjee*, Secretary, Commonwealth Relations Department, winding up the debate, gave the assurance that Government attached the greatest importance to the sentiments expressed in the House. Explaining the Government of India's point of view towards the Pretoria Agreement, Mr. Banerjee said that it was entered into between the committee of the Natal Indian Congress, as representing four-fifths of the Indian population, and the Union Government. Out of 81 members of the committee only 14, said to be Communists, dissented. The Government of India did not feel called upon to interfere. It was a voluntary agreement and Government did not commit themselves in any way.

*Pandit Kunzru* asked whether the Government would once more press His Majesty's Government to allow them to apply economic sanctions.

Mr. *Banerjee* replied that the Government would take a decision on the matter as soon as possible.

*Pandit Kunzru* asked whether it meant that the Government of India were going to take a decision themselves without reference to his Majesty's Government.

Sir *Firoz Khan Noon*, Defence Member, intervening, explained that in his experience during the last two years, there had not been a single instance in which they had not taken a decision in accordance with their own opinions. Pandit Kunzru's suggestion, he thought, was an insult to the members of the present Government and they could not tell him anything more.

*Pandit Kunzru*: I am not asking you. I am putting the question to Mr. Banerjee.

Mr. *Banerjee* replied that some margin of discretion should be left to the Government in the framing of the rules and coming to a decision. He also considered that it might not be in our own interests to divulge them at the present stage. The House adjourned till November 20.

OFFICIAL BILLS PASSED

**20th NOVEMBER** :—The Council held a brief sitting to-day, at which it passed the Bills temporarily to amend the Indian Patents and Designs Act 1911, the Bill further to amend the Coffee Market Expansion Act, 1942, the Bill further to amend the Delhi Joint Water and Sewage Board Act 1925, and the Bill to consolidate and amend the law relating to Government Securities issued by the Central Government and to the management by the Reserve Bank of India of the Public debt of the Central Government. These Bills had been passed by the Legislative Assembly.

The Council then adjourned till the next day, the **21st November** when it adjourned *sine die* after adopting a resolution regarding the construction of a permanent food and agriculture organisation of the united nations.

# The Central Legislative Assembly

## Autumn Session—1st. to 21st. November 1944

### Misuse of National War Front Funds

The Central Legislative Assembly, which commenced its autumn session at New Delhi on the 1st November 1944, rejected without a division *Nawabzada Liaqat Ali's* adjournment motion to discuss "the failure of the Governor-General-in-Council to prevent and stop the misuse of the National War Front organisation by the provincial leader of the Punjab branch, *Malik Khizar Hayat Khan*, who has been utilising the National War Front organisation for propaganda in favour of collection of funds for a political party, the Zamindara League, thereby creating a great deal of hostility among a large section of the people against the National War Front."

Speaking on his motion, the *Nawabzada* explained that according to Lord Linlithgow who inaugurated it, the National War Front was to be non-communal and non-political in the sense that no propaganda in favour of a particular political party was to be conducted from the platform of that organisation and all parties who were willing to strengthen the Home Front were entitled to join that organisation. But unfortunately, now that the war was coming to a close, there were people who were making this organisation into a political party machine. He was sorry that the Government of India had failed in its duty to stop the misuse of this organisation.

Mr. *Ghiasuddin* congratulated the National War Front on winning Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan as a well-wisher and supporter, (laughter). He pointed out that the Punjab Legislature had given the fullest support to the war effort of the Allies and the Punjab Premier as the servant of the people and of the legislature was bound to carry out the orders of the Legislature. Mr. Ghiasuddin contended there was nothing wrong if the Premier of the Punjab, who held more than one public position, received addresses from more than one organisation at one and the same meeting or was presented with purses on behalf of different organisations. The Leader of the Punjab National War Front derived the commendation of the House, declared Mr. Ghiasuddin.

*Captain Dalpat Singh* opposing the motion spoke strongly in support of the Punjab Premier. He attributed the motion to the quarrel between the Unionists and the Muslim League.

Mr. *Nauman* asserted that even if Mr. Churchill used for his Conservative Party in England the funds of any organisation similar to the National War Front he would be condemned.

*Moulana Zafarali* declared that Malik Khizar Hayat Khan was doing immense harm to the war effort for the purposes of the Zamindara League. He said that Rs. 20 lakhs had been collected under the National War Front movement and it was wrong if anything of this was used to strengthen the Unionist Party or the Zamindara League. The Mussalmans of the Punjab were no whit less anxious for the successful prosecution of the war than Malik Khizar Hayat Khan. Even Mahatma Gandhi, said Maulana Zafarali, had declared himself to be pro-British and wished their victory against the Germans and the Japanese.

Mr. *Lal Chand Navalrai* thought it had not been proved that the money collected for the National War Front had been used for the Zamindara League.

Sir *Sultan Ahmed*, Member for Information and Broadcasting (under whose Department the National War Front came) said there was nothing to show that the Front was not doing its legitimate work, nor was there any evidence of hostility between the people and the Front. With regard to the allegation of misuse of the National War Front for party purposes, Sir Sultan said he got in touch with the Punjab Premier who was leader of the Front. Malik Khizar Hayat Khan had given the assurance that there was no such misuse at all. No further action was, therefore, taken on the allegations. An unduly violent difference of opinion existed between the Punjab Premier and the Muslim League, Sir Sultan went on. He urged, therefore, that the House should consider the question from a disinterested point of view. Malik Khizar Hayat Khan had given a categorical denial of the allegations and Sir Sultan was happy that the denial had been supported by three members of the House. The National War Front and the Zamindara League had a common aim so far as support to the war effort was concerned, but there were

other things in the Zamindara League which had no place in the National War Front. No funds were collected at the National War Front meetings and the fact that addresses from different organisations were presented at these meetings did not militate against Malik Khizar Hayat Khan acting as the leader of the National War Front or as Premier. The House, Sir Sultan asserted, should not be influenced by party troubles, which unfortunately existed in that province.

*Sardar Sant Singh* said he would not ask why the Deputy Leaders of the Moslem League Party did not raise question in North-West Frontier, Bengal, Assam or Sind and why the Punjab alone was chosen. The motive behind the motion might be questionable, but, said Sardar Sant Singh, on merits the motion was sound and the Government of India should turn its attention to them. Sardar Sant Singh took special exception to Civil Servants being used for the purpose of Partisan propaganda and for the collection of party funds. The facts given by the mover were correct; people in the Punjab saw them and knew of them but were not vocal because of Defence of India Rules.

Closure was moved at this stage and the House agreed by 50 votes to 38.

*Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan*, replying to the debate, said he was sorry that members of the House should have thought fit to drag in political quarrels of the League and the Unionist Party. "I have not brought forward this motion because it is a quarrel between the Premier of the Punjab and the Moslem League. Let me assure the leader of the House and other members of the House that the Muslim League, thank God, to-day does not need the support of members of this House to fight its political quarrels with others (cheers). The Moslem League has brought down bigger men than Malik Khizar Hayat Khan." He brought the motion forward because he felt this was a matter which was going to affect the public life and the working of the democratic parliamentary system of Government in this country very seriously. It seemed to be the Government's intention to continue this organisation even after the war. If this organisation was used for such purposes, as he had described, then it would indeed be a sad day for this country.

The motion was put and negatived without a division.

### Debate on Food Position

**2nd. NOVEMBER**:—*Sir J. P. Srivastava*, Food Member, initiating the Food Debate in the Assembly to-day, announced that 650,000 tons of foodgrains had already been received, 95,000 tons had been shipped and an additional 300,000 tons had been promised for the quarter ending December 31, 1944. "The Government of India are acutely conscious of the need for securing an adequate amount of wheat imports for successfully handling the problem of the country," continued the Food Member, "and I can assure the House that we shall spare no efforts to urge upon H.M.G. the need for their taking appropriate measures for giving us the imports we require." Sir Jwalaprasad also informed the House of his proposal to set up in the Food Department a food planning section, the main purpose of which would be to study the whole question of long-range food policy and planned development of food economy in India, so that in post-war India, the people of this country could look forward to having more food, better food and balanced food. The Food Member proceeded: "I claim we have been able to do four things. Firstly, we have secured the recognition of an all-India policy steadily pursued with a common direction and a common aim. In spite of constitutional and other difficulties—to overcome which a good deal of tact and patience was required—we have been able to secure the acceptance of the broad test that those who have must share their supply with those who have not. Secondly, we have controlled prices. Thirdly, we have been able to prevent the occurrence of serious local shortages and improved the stocks of grain in the hands of Governments and administrations all over India. Fourthly—and I attach the greatest importance to this—we have been able to restore confidence in the ability of Government to control the situation. Confidence is perhaps best reflected in prices. The steady downward movement of prices of the principal food grains is to my mind proof positive of the returning confidence." He concluded: "While food has clearly demonstrated the need for central direction, it has, if anything, more clearly demonstrated the economic unity of the country, the interdependence of the provinces and States and the need and capacity for common effort in a common cause. Nothing can be achieved if food is regarded as something which really does not matter or as something which can be made the sport of private or political profit or privilege. We can only succeed if the nation as a whole is determined as if it believes in possibility of success."

Earlier in his speech the Food Member dealt with the situation in the provinces. The end of last year, he said, saw the appearance of perhaps the biggest harvest that Bengal had ever seen. The Government of India undertook to feed Calcutta for a period of 12 months and up-to-date a total quantity of 4,75,000 tons of food-grains had been moved to Calcutta. The Government of Bengal anticipated being able to procure a total of 700,000 tons and the quantity they had so far succeeded in procuring was well in excess of that amount. The food situation as far as rice was concerned was now easy over practically all the areas in Bengal and the subdivisional average of rice prices in the province was to-day in the neighbourhood of Rs. 13 per maund as against the level of Rs. 15 it had reached in the first-half of March 1944. It was the set policy of the Government of India, the Food Member added, to try its best to see that the statutory ration throughout the country did not fall below 1 lb. a day. To-day the number of towns rationed was 460 and the population affected was 42,00,0,000. This was in addition to the rural areas in places like Travancore, Cochin, Bombay province and now Malabar. The successful execution of rationing, he said, depended upon two factors, viz., the willingness of the surplus administrations to fall into line and the willingness of deficit administrations to accustom their people, if necessary, to the use of food-grains other than those to which they had been normally accustomed. He could see visible signs of progress in both those directions. Dealing with the prospects for the coming year, Sir *Jwala Prasad* said that no indications could be available at the moment of the prospects of the Rabi harvest of 1945 but Government had some information about the Kharif prospect of this year. He believed that while we could not expect a bumper harvest of either rice or millets in any part of the country, taking the country as a whole, the *Kharif* crops would be about average, perhaps a little less in some areas and a little more in other areas. Even that statement could only be made with great caution, as much would depend upon weather conditions in the next two months. But enough was known to make them emphasise the need for care and caution in the administration of the food policy in the coming 12 months. The silver-lining in the situation was the more optimistic position regarding imports and if that position was maintained he thought we should be able to go through next year without having to face any calamity of a major magnitude. But much would turn upon the efficiency and successful conducting of procurement operations both in the deficit and surplus regions, he continued, and if possible increased willingness of surplus administrations to share in the all-India food burden, the further extension of rationing, the maintenance of price control, the easing of transport conditions, the vigilance of the department and above all the understanding and co-operation of leaders of non-official opinion.

### THREE AMENDMENTS MOVED

Three amendments were moved. One running to about 500 words was in the name of Sir *Ziauddin*. It suggested various measures to control the entire production of foodgrains in India, to collect statistics and to associate non-officials in distribution. The second amendment moved by *Haji Essak Sait* criticised the Government's measures and declared, among other things, that co-ordination between surplus and deficit areas was entirely wanting. The third was a Congress party amendment moved by Prof. Ranga, declaring that grain prices in most places were uneconomically low for producers and the failure of the Government to subsidise food consumption of the poorest consumers in towns and villages was hitting hard the producers and consumers.

*Prof. Ranga* condemned the Government's food policy as inimical to the peasants and favourable to the profiteers. There was a clamour for lowering the prices of foodstuffs and he wished that the same amount of pressure was exerted on the industrialists to lower the prices of their goods and services. He charged the Provincial Governments with profiteering in collusion with the middleman. He strongly criticised the way in which the procurement plan was being carried out by the village officers who wrung foodgrains from the hands of the peasants without regard to whether they produced those foodgrains or not. He declared that the epidemics in Orissa and Bihar and Malabar were due to malnutrition. He urged that steps be taken to eliminate the middleman and to give a fair price to the producer.

Mr. *Govind Deshmukh* supported the plea that the Government, which gave dearness allowance to its servants, should come to the help of the agriculturist by giving him a subsidy. If we wanted the agriculturist to grow more food we should see that he got better prices. There could be no better inducement to the agriculturist to grow more food than to assure him economic prices, so that he might be

able to pay off his accumulated debt of many years. Mr. *Deshmukh* alleged that the Provincial Governments compulsorily procured foodgrains from the agriculturist at a low price and when the agriculturist himself wanted food, he had to get it from the Government at a higher price. In some areas millets which was the ordinary food of the people had been procured with such throughness that the people had to live on groundnut, oil cake and gur.

### The Bakhtiarpur Ry. Station Accident

The Assembly next carried, by 50 votes to 49, Mr. *Nauman's* adjournment motion to censure the Government on the E. I. Railway administration's failure to provide lights at Bakhtiarpur junction station resulting in an accident in which nine persons were run over and killed on September 26. Mr. Nauman (Moslem League) said he personally went to the station after the accident and made enquiries. He got the evidence of 12 or 13 persons of all communities and all of them said there was no light of any variety on the platform except one in the Assistant Station Master's office. He asserted that was the position not only on that night but it had been the case for some months. People on the platform had not been given any warning of the approach of any up train. Mr. Nauman declared that Government had paid no heed to the public demand for an enquiry.

### Discussion on Bombay 15 Years' Plan

**3rd. NOVEMBER** :—The Assembly to-day took up *Sir Ziauddin Ahmad's* resolution recommending to the Governor General-in-Council "not to entertain the programme of fifteen years' plan prepared by the capitalists of India. Discussion on it had not concluded when the House rose for the day. Sir Ziauddin said that the plan failed in two important aspects, namely, that it failed to provide for increasing the purchasing power of the masses and for the elimination of unemployment. Quoting Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru he said that an essential pre-requisite of planning was complete freedom and independence of the country and the removal of external control. Sir Ardeshir Dalal had told the House to-day that the Government of India had accepted the objectives of the 15-year plan. But, asked Sir Ziauddin, had he accepted the conditions precedent to such a plan ? Referring to the position of rupee to-day Sir Ziauddin said that purchasing power of the rupee was five annas and asked what happened to the remaining eleven annas ? The plan claimed to treble the income. The Finance Member, Sir Ziauddin said, could do it by issuing an Ordinance that wherever there was one rupee it should be treated as three rupees. If the purchasing power was not considered an important factor then the trebling of the income was of no value. The real object should be that the purchasing power of the individual should be increased. If money was a measuring rod then it must have a definite purchasing power. Sir Ziauddin proceeded to say that it looked as though industrialists who had got a certain standard of profit during the war wanted to stabilise it after the war. The question of agriculturists who formed 92 percent of the population had not been examined. Land for agriculture was very important as the population of the country was increasing at the rate of five millions per annum and at the end of 15 years the population would have increased by 75 millions. Cottage industries had been neglected, Sir Ziauddin continued. He asked whether the big manufacturers would part with 50 per cent of their yarn production for cottage industries. Concluding, Sir Ziauddin said: "Our industrialists are not interested in the stabilisation of prices but stabilisation of profits and are not interested in the greater problems in finding employment, or in the development of cottage industries." As regards the object of the plan, they wanted priority for basic industries and to use the sterling balances for the import of heavy machinery.

Mr. *T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar* moved an amendment on behalf of the Congress Party recommending to the Governor General-in-Council that an elected committee of the House consisting of not more than 15 members be appointed for the purpose of considering the several plans for post-war economic development of India, agricultural and industrial, with instructions to report to the house. Mr. Chettiar declared that any scheme of economic development of the country must be on the basis that it should be administered entirely from the point of view of the masses of this country. The sole aim of the plan should be the raising of their economic status. The people should have greater purchasing power ; not more money but more comforts. Planning should not create big industrial establishments which made the rich richer and the poor poorer. Big industrial establishments, such as the automobile, aircraft and railways, must be state-owned and run

from the point of view of the development of the country as a whole and not for profit-making. The development aimed at must be mainly agricultural.

Sir *Vithal Chandavarkar* congratulated the Viceroy on his courage in inviting one of the authors of the Bombay plan to join his Executive Council. It meant in his view that the Government of India were serious and sincere in their effort to promote and prepare a scheme which when a National Government came into office could be put into effect.

Mr. *Nauman*, disputing the suggestion that a strong Centre was needed to carry out economic controls, declared that what success had been achieved in the matter of control was achieved because of the co-operation of provinces in their own interests, and control was defeated by the very section or group of capitalists who were the authors of the Bombay plan, whose interest was not served by control, throve on black marketing and wanted to make hay while the sun shone.

Mr. *Venkatachalam Chetty* thought that the Bombay plan was an answer to the cry that the country was missing the bus because of the absence of constructive planning. The Bombay plan, in his view, had been fully justified by the number of other plans which followed its publication; even Government thought it necessary to appoint one of the authors of the plan as a member for post-war development.

Further debate on the resolution was adjourned till the next non-official day.

### PROTECTION OF NEW DELHI MOSQUES

Earlier the Assembly rejected, by 30 votes to 17, *Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan's* resolution asking for proper repair and protection of mosques in New Delhi. The resolution recommended to Government to instruct the department concerned to allot all those bungalows in the compound of which mosques were situated only to Muslim employees of Government, who should be instructed not to obstruct or stop their Muslim servants or visitors from saying prayers in such mosques; and to instruct the New Delhi Municipal Committee that they should give permission, without delay, on presentation of applications by the Muslims for the repair of or restoration to the old position or re-building with some altered designs of mosques situated either in the compound of any Government bungalow or on any place surrounded by Government or Municipal property.

### ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA

**6th. NOVEMBER**:—The Assembly to-day passed without a division Dr. *Khare's* motion that the position of Indians in South Africa and East Africa be taken into consideration, with the amendments moved by the Congress Party and by Mr. Hooseinbhoy Laljee asking that powers under the Reciprocity Act be applied against South African nationals in India, that the Indian High Commissioner in South Africa be recalled and that economic sanctions be enforced against South Africa and East Africa.

In the course of the debate, *Nawabjada Liaquat Ali Khan*, Deputy Leader of Moslem League Party, and Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, Leader of the Congress Party, demanded that in addition to the enforcement of economic sanctions and the recall of the High Commissioner, the Reciprocity Act should be amended so as to remove the provision exempting from the operation of the Act South African nationals who were in the defence services in India.

Dr. *Khare* made it clear, in his reply, that a decision on the amendments would be left entirely to non-official members of the House and the Government would not vote.

In the course of his speech while initiating the debate on the situation in South Africa, Dr. *N. B. Khare*, Commonwealth Relations Member, said : "Let me tell the House at once that the Government of India as a whole, and in this I include all my honourable colleagues and His Excellency the Viceroy, have been as amazed as the House and our countrymen at the Union Government going back on an agreement into which they solemnly entered with the Indian community. The Government of India share on the fullest measure the indignation and resentment which this exhibition of racialism on the part of a fellow member of the British Commonwealth has created in this country.

"Sir, our patience is now completely exhausted and the whole nation is in a mood of desperation. We have already told the Union Government in the plainest and most unequivocal terms, that the Government of India now hold themselves free to take such counter-measures as they can. Had our nationals been really accepted and treated as full citizens of the country of their adoption—towards the

growth and property of which they have made vast contributions—the attitude of the Union Government might have been intelligible. In view, however, of their latest exhibition of callousness, the Government of India cannot possibly divest themselves of their moral responsibility for the welfare of their nationals in this ill-fated country. They, therefore, refuse to be a helpless spectator of the decision of the Union Government to delegate the large and progressive Indian population in Natal to a position of permanent inferiority."

Dr. Khare then referred to Government decision to enforce the Reciprocity Act and mentioned that the question of enforcing economic sanctions was under consideration. Referring to East Africa, Dr. Khare said the present position arising from representations made by the Government of India was, firstly, that the Colonial Governments have agreed that entry of permits will be granted to all 'bona fide' residents in the Colonies even though they may have been absent from the Colonies for more than two years from the date of the enforcement of the regulations, and secondly, that the Secretary of State for Colonies, after consultation with the three Colonial Governments, has now given us the assurance—through the Secretary of State for India—that the regulations in question in all the three Colonies are purely for meeting war-time conditions and not intended to be permanent. He realised that there was public apprehension that these regulations were a prelude to a further attempt at the permanent exclusion of Indians from the Colonies but for the present, there was no reason to question the genuineness of the assurance that the regulations would not be made permanent. He assured the House that the Government would keep a vigilant eye on all future developments and step in to take remedial measures as soon as there were indications that the regulations were being prolonged unduly.

Dr. Khare said his department had taken up with the Colonial Governments hard cases in which permits had been refused and they had been successful in securing permits in certain recent cases.

The Government of India, Dr. Khare added, had urged upon the Colonial Governments that there were no valid reasons why normal residents of the Colonies should even have to submit to the necessity of obtaining permits for returning to their homes or for looking after their interests in the Colonies. The Government had also forwarded to the Secretary of State for India copies of the debates in the Council of State on the subject and had strongly urged that the following action must now be taken by the three Colonial Governments:—(1) all normal residents (including their families and dependents) in the Colonies as well as Indians, possessing vested interests in the Colonies should be immediately exempted from the operation of the regulations irrespective of their periods of absence from the Colonies: (2) Such new personnel as has to emigrate to the Colonies to replace or or reinforce the business staff of Indians should be immediately exempted from the operation of the regulations: (3) Even as regards other entirely new entrants the regulations should be withdrawn as soon as possible. In any case the regulations should not be renewed after the expiry of their present term.

"It is suggested in some quarters," said Dr. Khare in conclusion, "that one of the reasons why the British Government went to war against the Boers in South Africa in the early part of this century was the bad treatment they were giving to Indians there and therefore, the British Government should now repudiate the dominion constitution conferred upon South Africa and appoint a Royal Commission to enquire into the maladministration and the injustices done by the South African Government against Indians, Africans and even against Europeans. It is not for me to suggest measures to be taken by H. M. G. They claim to be our trustees and I am bound to say that no trustee in the world can afford for any length of time to look on with supreme indifference while his ward is being insulted and assaulted for the very simple reason that in the very process of natural evolution as time goes on the ward is bound to attain the status of an independent entity himself." (Cheers).

### Two Amendments

Two amendments were moved to Dr. Khare's motion. Dr. *G. V. Deshmukh* moved the Congress party amendment asking that the powers under the Reciprocity Acts should be exercised against the nationals of South African Union not being of Indian origin and the Indian High Commissioner in South Africa should be recalled immediately.

Mr. *Hosseinbhoy Lalljee* (unattached) moved an amendment calling upon the Government of India to enforce economic sactions against South Africa and East Africa and exercise the powers under the Reciprocity Acts.

Dr. *Deshmukh* commending his amendment asked what India's High Commissioner was going to do there. The High Commissioner had been able to achieve absolutely nothing. The High Commissioner had been looked upon in that country as someone who represented a population which could be trampled upon. The course, he (the speaker) suggested, would be good for the honour of India and would show that we were earnest and had no faith either in their Government or in their pledges. The questions raised were painful and shameful. He was not sorry that the South African Government had raised the issue at the present time because it had been raised while the fight for freedom was going on and the position of Indians and that of Asiatic nations in the framework of the so-called Commonwealth of Nations would be settled. At the same time he could not resist a sense of shame at the weak-kneed policy of the Government of India." It was astonishing that the Government of India should have kept such childish and blind faith in the South African Government. Dr. *Deshmukh* suggested the taking of extreme steps and asked whether the Government would be prepared to send Indian troops "to drive some sense into South African whites" in the way that they did to Italians. Even in this war Indians had shed their blood to save South Africa and he was sorry that in spite of the Government having a warrior Viceroy Indians had to suffer humiliations. Indians who enjoyed Parliamentary franchise were deprived of it in 1896 and instead they were given municipal franchise. Even that franchise, Dr. *Deshmukh* said, had been taken away in 1925 and more repressive measures had been taken of late. Field-Marshal Smuts had not had the courtesy even to receive an Indian deputation. Concluding, Dr. Deshmukh urged the recall of the Indian High Commissioner and said: "This withdrawal must be accompanied by an aggressive attack, namely economic sanctions. We would wish to send Indian regiments but I know it is not possible".

Sir *Frederick James* (European Group), confining his remarks to South Africa said: "We fully support the powerful remonstrance which the Hon. Member (Dr. *Khare*) has directed to the Union of South Africa. This is not the way to treat an important and valuable minority grown on matters which vitally affect their interests. It is certainly not the way to lay the foundations of racial harmony throughout the Union and Indian reactions in this country are fully justified". Referring to the complaint that it was improper for India to take any interest in the matter but that Indians in Natal should look to the Union for protection, Sir Frederick said if that was the case, the Indian community should be granted the municipal and parliamentary franchise, which it once had. "There will never be any racial harmony in the Union so long as important racial groups are excluded from every form of political representation and denied representation even on local bodies. These are fundamental rights and as long as these are denied to Indians in South Africa, there will be trouble. Without representation, to whom can the Indian community in South Africa look if not to India? If they are forced to do this what can India do to help them, except to remonstrate? If that fails, boycott; and if that fails, impose sanctions". No minority problem was solved by sending the minority to Coventry, Sir Frederick declared. Referring to the amendments, Sir Frederick said the Reciprocity Act had been applied or was in process of application. Recall of the High Commissioner, he said, was justified by the way in which the High Commissioner had been treated in these present measures. His party were not in favour of the imposition of economic sanctions at present, he added. They were not prepared to agree to any measure which might jeopardise any part of the war effort. India and South Africa were supply bases for the United Nations, and imposition of economic sanctions would really mean the opening of economic warfare as between these two great supply bases and would most certainly interfere with the war effort.

Several members called upon Sir Frederick to give an instance to show how the effort would be interfered with.

Sir *Frederick* gave the instance of wattle bark imported from South Africa.

Sir *Raza Ali*: That can be replaced.

Sir *Frederick* said he understood the Supply Department made an enquiry into that and found other material could not be used for the purpose. India could not at present give up South Africa wattle bark without serious interference with war production. He suggested that the House should claim fulfilment of the promises made during the Cape Town Agreement.

Sir *Syed Raza Ali*, who spoke on behalf of the Muslim League Party, said that Government's disinclination to recall the High Commissioner from South Africa made it appear that they were willing to swallow the camel but strained at

a gnat. Action under the Reciprocity Act which included the imposition of economic sanctions was a much more serious step than the recall of the High Commissioner. He paid a tribute to Dr. Khare for his "manly, courageous and lucid statement" and urged that it was their duty not to let their ranks be divided in this issue. The history of our relations with South Africa, he said, was very sad. The Ordinance adopted by the Natal Council, Sir Raza Ali asserted, was the result of the anti-Indian legislation sponsored by the Britishers who formed 95 percent of the white population in Natal. "This is the most unfortunate part of it. This Ordinance which has caused the greatest offence to India a repressive, offensive and objectionable Ordinance—is the result of the endeavours of pure Britishers," Sir Raza Ali said. Our cause was right. Whatever might be the position of Indians in other parts of the British Commonwealth, it looked as though as far as South Africa was concerned that might was right and might was just. The whole issue, Sir Raja Ali said, was a moral issue. "Is it not the duty," Sir Raza Ali asked, "of all the countries forming the British Commonwealth of Nations to take up Indian's cause? "I am quite clear that if this matter is allowed to go any further and no compromise is found then this might mean the death-knell of the British Commonwealth of Nations." Referring to Sir Frederick James' remark that the imposition of economic sanctions might impede the war efforts, Sir Raza Ali asked whether Sir James expected Indians to be more loyal to the King than others. "Does he expect us to have greater regard to the solidarity for the Commonwealth of Nations than these English settlers in Natal have," he asked. He was glad that at long last the Government of India applied the Reciprocity Act against South Africa but he was afraid Government were just twelve months too late with their measure. The real point was that the South Africans believed that the Government of India would not support the people of India in their efforts for the removal of their grievances. It was unfortunate that their action was so much delayed. He did not know how long it would take to frame the rules for the imposition of sanctions. "It is a question of India's honour" Sir Raza Ali concluded, "and it is the duty of every Indian to do what he can to vindicate India's honour even if such vindication results in the infliction of injuries on our people in South Africa."

Sir *Sultan Ahmad*, Leader of the House, intervened unexpectedly and made a forceful speech in reply to some of Sir Frederick James' remarks. Sir Sultan said that one sentence in Sir Frederick's speech would be read with great concern by the people of this country. Sir Frederick had said that India should appeal to the Union Government and the provincial Governments on this issue. "He has not realised," said Sir Sultan, "that this momentous issue is one of sentiment, of honour, of respect and even of principle, affecting four-fifths of His Majesty's subjects. After all, he asks us to appeal to the defendents, to the accused. I submit to the House, it is a most extraordinary request. (hear hear). I wish Sir Frederick would ask H.M.G., his own people in this country, to appeal to their countrymen in South Africa to be reasonable and to be sensible and not to ask us to appeal to them." (cheers).

*Sir Frederick James*, interrupting, pointed out that the Leader of the House had misunderstood him. He certainly did not recommend to the House to appeal either to the Union Government or to H.M.G. What he did say was that if any words of his in the House reached those quarters they might be reminded of the solemn pledges given in the past which they now disregarded.

Sir *Sultan* requested Sir Frederick to call a meeting of the European community in the different centres of India and appeal to the South Africans to be reasonable. Referring to Sir Frederick's observation that war efforts would suffer if certain steps were taken by the Government of India, Sir Sultan said, of course, they will suffer but who is responsible for this? (voices: South Africa). If South Africa is responsible, I suggest to H.M.G., to the United Nations, to go to South Africa (a voice: and smash them) and tell them to be reasonable." (renewed cheers), Sir Frederick had said India could not do without wattle bark. "Let me tell him that India can, (cheers) for the simple reason that nine-tenths of the population do not use boots or shoes and the remaining one-tenth can manage, or walk barefooted. Thy are prepared for it (more cheers).

Mr. *Govind Deshmukh*, supporting the two amendments, said that one race wanted to suppress the other; one wished to persecute the other. He thought that it would be useless to appeal to His Majesty's Government. They never listened. They never paid any heed when representations were made. Referring to Sir Frederick James' statement that war effort would suffer, Mr. Deshmukh

asked if the war effort meant that Europeans must be saved even if Indians were to go to dogs. Mr. Deshmukh gave the warning that there was very little chance of peace if the question was not settled amicably and rightly. Mr. Deshmukh said that General Smuts had gone back on the Cape Town Agreement. He suggested that South Africans should be prohibited from travelling in trains as this would produce a great psychological effect.

Sir *Abdul Halim Ghaznavi* said that they were fully satisfied with the attitude of the Government. Sir Sultan Ahmed had told them plainly what they should expect from the Government.

*Sardar Sant Singh* congratulated Dr. Khare and commended Sir Sultan Ahmed on his "Churchillian speech." Sardar Sant Singh said : "Let it not be made to appear that we have retraced the steps we have now taken. The Leader of the House has said that if the war effort is affected, the responsibility is that of the United Nations and not of India's. Certainly the responsibility is of those who have declared this war against Indians."

Mr. *N. M. Joshi* said that the speeches of Dr. Khare and Sir Sultan Ahmed were "a pleasant surprise" and an "encouraging sign." They showed what a grave situation Field Marshal Smuts had created in India by going back on his plighted word in the Pretoria Agreement.

Mr. *Banerji* strongly favoured the enforcement of economic sanctions. *Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan*, Deputy Leader, Moslem League Party, said : This was not the first time that when questions of vital importance to the people of this country were raised, we had been confronted with the war and the consequences of interference with it. He did not care, he asserted, for the war effort and the Commonwealth of Nations, if his position in that Commonwealth was to be that of a hewer of wood and drawer of water. By Commonwealth the Whites meant that the wealth of the nations was the whites' own common property. (laughter). The application of the Reciprocity Act was good as far as it went. But it was not of much use without the application of economic sanctions. He entirely agreed that unless and until the Government was really earnest about this matter it should not take this action, because if the intention was only to show to the people in this country that the Government of India had done something, then this action would have done incalculable harm to our nationals abroad. "The United Nations have made India their main base of operation in the East. The Government of India should tell H. M. G. it is a fit case for their intervention and if H. M. G. will not put pressure on the Government of South Africa then this Government, if it has any responsibility to the people of this land should tell them that India will not give any help in the prosecution of the war." In the present circumstances, the Nawabzada declared, it was not only futile but degrading to keep a representative of India in South Africa. He would go further and ask for an amendment of the Reciprocity Act so as to remove the exemption given to South African nationals who were members of the armed forces. "I say, I don't want any South African to be in India whether he be in the armed forces or not. A man who belongs to a country which humiliates my countrymen has no right to be in my country or in my army. How can they protect a country whose nationals they are treating in this disgraceful fashion ?" He asked the Commonwealth Relations Member to go full speed ahead and he would have the support of every man, woman and child. (cheers).

Mr. *Bhulabhai J. Desai*, Leader of the Congress Party, expressed gratification at the support the resolution received at the hands of the non-official members of the House, "barring the European group, and supported not in half hearted, but full throated language even by the Leader of the House". So far as the Indians overseas were concerned the problem of South Africa had now raised a much larger issue than the issue of the Pegging Act under suspension or the Pretoria Agreement or the manner in which it had now been broken. The issue now raised was what was going to be the position of Asiatics as they were described in the Pegging Act, and particularly the Indians, in the future of the world. That was the way in which he wanted the issue to be considered by the Government of India, unless they were prepared to tell the House which, he said, they would not, that in future whatever happened in this war, whoever won or whoever lost—and he believed the Britisher hoped to win—the position so far as the Indians were concerned was going to remain exactly the same vis-a-vis Britain and vis-a-vis the rest of their colonies. If that was the position which they were going to get, all the eloquent words that were uttered with reference to post-war reconstruction and post-war arrangements had better not be uttered in the House at all. He

refuted the fears expressed by Sir Frederick James in regard to economic sanctions and said : "No greater insult could have been offered to the Indians who had made at all events Natal what it was. There were 195,000 domiciled Indians in Natal alone to-day as against 205,000 Europeans." The fifth section of the Reciprocity Act, Mr. Bhulabhai said, should not be made any excuse to tolerate any individual greater freedom here than Indians enjoyed there. After all what was India's contribution in this war. Two million men had been raised and they were good enough to fight so far as the security of this land was concerned.

Dr. *Khare*, replying to the debate, said he could only claim he had done what he could within his limited powers and resources. "I wish", he added, "that India was in a position to declare war against South Africa here and now. Had it been, I assure the House I would have lost no time in taking an army and being in the forefront of the field myself. On the question of the withdrawal of the High Commissioner, Government had not come to a decision ; the question was open. But before an withdrawal took place he would have to think twice. As regards the "Natal Mercury's" observations to which Sardar Sant Singh had referred, Dr. Khare said he would wait and see what reprisals they would take. They might themselves find it necessary to declare our High Commissioner 'persona non-grata'.

Sir *Raza Ali* : Are you waiting for him to be kicked out ?

He had asked the House to give advice, said Dr. Khare, and he, therefore, proposed to leave the matter of the amendments entirely to the decision of the House, Government would not take part in the voting. The House thereafter, passed the motion with the amendments and adjourned.

### GOVT. BAN ON "SATYARTHA PRAKASH"

**7th. NOVEMBER** :—The *Assembly* rejected by 55 votes to 15 *Bhai Parmanand's* adjournment motion to discuss the Sind Government's ban on chapter 14th. of the "Satyarth Prakash," the sacred book of the Arya Samajists.

Among those who voted for the motion were Sir *Vithal Chandavarkar* Mr. *N. M. Joshi*, (unattached) and four Congress members, namely, Dr. *Deshmukh*, *Raizada Hansraj*, *Lala Sham Lal* and *Chaudhuri Raghubir Narain Singh*. The other members of the Congress Party who were present did not vote.

The *chair* intervened once or twice in the later stages of the debate to prevent members from straying into a political discussion or references to the merits of the book itself. The chair ruled that the debate should be confined to the strictly legal and constitutional issue of the use of the Defence of India Rules to ban the book and indicated that the motion had been admitted only because the use of the Defence of India Rules was in question and the Government of India might have some concern in the matter. The chair also held that passages from the book could not be quoted in the house nor reference made to Pakistan and kindred issues.

*Bhai Parmanand*, moving the motion, said his object was not to raise any political issue, but to demonstrate that the Defence of India Rules were misused. It had not been established that the book had endangered public safety, order or peace in any way. The book dealt with religious matters. The object of the book was not to abuse anybody, it was a mere criticism of various religions. It had been in the market for the last 77 years. An Urdu translation appeared in 1940 and there was controversy about it, but nothing serious had occurred. Even before that there had been controversy about the book. It was considered by the Arya Samajists a sacred book and it was not proper for the Sind Government to ban portions of it.

*Khan Bahadur Piracha* considered it unfortunate that the motion should have been brought before the House. The allegation had been made in the country that the 14th chapter was not originally part of the book but that it had been added later by one of the author's followers. (A voice. Who told you that ?). The language used in the chapter was most shameful and offensive. When he read the book his blood boiled and he realised how disturbances arose out of such writings. He asked why the Central Government had not stirred all this time, although there had been a strong demand for banning the book. The Sind Government, he declared, deserved the appreciation of Muslims in the country. (Mr. A. M. Dam: No.) He appealed to other ministries to take up the matter and follow the Sind Ministry's lead.

*Mr. Lalchand Navalraj* said the question was whether the Defence of India Act could be applied and whether an order under it in this case was legal. The

Defence of India Rules, declared Mr. Navalrai, did not apply to religious matters. The book was neither likely to assist the enemy, nor was it a prejudical report nor confidential information, the publication of which could under the rules be prohibited. He declared that unless the Government of India expressed their disagreement with the Sind Ministry, other ministries would follow the previous speaker's advice and ban the book in their territory too. He knew how the Sind Government was acting ; it had established virtual Pakistan in the Province.

The *chair* intervened and remarked that references to Pakistan were not permissible.

*Sir Vithal Chandavarkar*, speaking in a purely personal capacity, asked if the Sind Government or any Provincial Government was entitled to take action against a book, which had been there for over 60 years and had nothing to do with the war and could that action be taken under a measure enacted for the purpose of maintaining law and order with special reference to the conduct of the war. If the Government of India felt there was something objectionable in the chapter the unilateral action of the Sind Government would not carry them far. If the book was obnoxious, then it was for the Government of India to ban it all over India. Government should go further and appoint a committee to scrutinise all the ancient books and see whether there was anything in them, which offended public morality or public policy as we understood them today. (laughter). The scriptures of all religions contained passages which offended modern ideas of morals and public conduct. As far as he saw at present the Sind Government was unjustified in its order and he therefore, supported the motion.

Mr. *Ananga Mohan Dam*, strongly supporting the motion, declared that the book was a commentary and general criticism but was not scurrilous. After all it must be remembered all religious books had a certain amount of violent condemnation of certain points of view. The Bible, for instance, attacked Scribes and Pharisees. Were we to ban the Bible ? Books of criticism had a certain freedom of expression. The Koran said a lot of things against infidels. On the other hand, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan had written in strong terms against certain portions of the Koran (Voices. No. no.), The Sind Government, he declared, had passed their order under the inspiration of the Muslim League's resolutions. He asked why the Sind Government should not go to a court of law before banning the book.

*Sardar Sant Singh* observed that the real issue was what was the Government of India to do in a matter like this where a Provincial Government used powers given to them under the Defence of India rules in a manner which was prejudicial to a large section of the people. Incidentally he deprecated the Home Member's statement, that the action was presumably taken under Defence of India Rule 41. The House expected that the Government Member should have made enquiries and found out exactly under what section the action had been taken. As regards the question what the Government of India should do, Sardar Sant Singh said, after reviewing the work of the rules, the Government of India could instruct Governors to see that the minorities were protected under the safeguards provided for the purpose. Further if the Provincial Governments did not agree with the Government of India's view of the rule in question, then it should be amended and powers under it should be vested in the Government of India, Sardar Sant Singh declared that the peace in Sind would be disturbed not by the book but by the action taken against the book: if any one had invited disturbance it was the Sind Government and early action should be taken by the Government of India to prevent it. He strongly criticised the attitude of the Congress Party on the motion. "I do not approve of their action in spiriting themselves away when the time comes to show their love of democracy and freedom. They have fled away because they are afraid of displeasing the Muslim League. This neutrality ought to be condemned." In a democracy one should have the courage to stand by one's convictions.

*Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan* said that the chapter in question was very offensive and provocative. He would read some passages in order to show how the chapter would disturb peace and order in Sind.

The *chair* indicated that the point for debate was not the character of the book and, therefore, passages could not be read.

*Nawab Siddiq Ali* said the Sind Government deserved thanks (Mr. Navalrai : condemnation) for taking action against the book and thereby following the resolution passed by the Moslem League at its Karachi session. He said there was a precedent for such action. In the Central Provinces the late Dr. Raghavendra Rao ordered the prosecution of a poet who wrote poems against the Prophet. As a

result of the prosecution the composer was fined and copies of his book were forfeited.

The Home Member, *Sir Francis Mudie*, opposing the motion said the action that the Central Government was being condemned for was the action of the Sind Government, and it was not clear from the speeches in the House what the Government of India should do if they examined the matter and came to the conclusion that the Sind Government's action was illegal. The Sind Government's action was presumably under the Defence of India Rule 41 ; it banned the printing and publication of a fresh edition of the Satyartha Prakash. The Sind Government did not take action under the Criminal Procedure Code, and there was no question of stopping the circulation of the book.

The *Home Member* thought that the mover had raised a provincial question to the all-India level and the whole debate could only do harm. He concluded by making it clear that unless an extraordinary change in circumstances occurred, there was not the least chance of the Government of India following Sir Vithal Chandavarkar's advice and banning the book all over India.

Closure was then applied to the debate and the House divided to reject the motion by 55 votes to 15.

### Factories Act Amend. Bill

Earfier the House agreed to Dr. *Ambedkar's* motion to refer to the Select Committee his bill further to amend the Factories Act, so as to give workers in perennial factories the benefit, after a year's service, of at least six consecutive holidays with pay.

### Cultivation of Rice

The Assembly took up Mr. J. D. Tyson's motion for reference to the Select Committee of his bill to provide for the creation of a fund to be expended by a committee for the improvement and development of the cultivation and marketing of rice. The debates on it had not concluded when the House adjourned.

### Debate on the Food Situation

8th, NOVEMBER :—When the Food Debate was resumed in the Assembly to-day Mr. *P. J. Griffiths* (European Group), in a vigorous speech said his purpose was, first, to give sober and careful consideration to the Government's food policy ; secondly, to examine and appraise the administration of that policy, and, thirdly, to suggest changes which, in the European group's view, were required both in policy and administration. His group, he observed, were satisfied with the policy but not with the administration of that policy. In the sphere of enforcement of its policy, the administration had been lamentably weak. The biggest task now was to do something to strengthen the food administration both in the Centre and in the provinces in every way possible. If that meant getting in more people then those people must be got in ; if they could not be got from elsewhere, then they should be got from the army. Indian and British officers should be brought in to strengthen the administration. Contrasting the relative efficiency of the food administration in England and in India, Mr. Griffiths referred to his experience during his last visit to England. Two things which impressed him there were the success achieved in bringing about complete equality of sacrifice and efficiency in small matters of food administration. He reached the railway station nearest his home at 9-30 in the morning and by 5 minutes past ten he had secured his ration card, clothes coupon, etc. As against that, it took his servant in India three weeks, a series of visits to the rationing authority and three personal letters from himself before he could get his ration card. Mr. Griffiths vigorously criticised both the administration and public apathy in India. In this country we had had a long period of hesitation, confusion and vacillation and another period of trial and error which meant death to many people, whereas in Britain the food policy had been thought out, the staff selected and machinery kept ready before the onset of war. It was the Foodgrains Policy Committee that laid the foundation of a rational and coherent food policy and his group associated itself with that policy. His group opposed the removal of regional control.

Mr. *T. C. Avinashilingam Chettiar* (Congress) moved a lengthy amendment advocating revision of prices fixed for paddy and other foodgrains and suggesting measures to prevent corruption and reduce middlemen's profits and steps of a permanent character such as new irrigation schemes, manufacture of fertilisers, etc.

Mr. *A. C. Datta* dealt with Bengal and said that people were still dying of starvation there ; figures were being published daily of deaths in Calcutta. The

only difference was that in 1942 people died as it were, on the spot, while this year they were dying inch by inch. Mr. Datta referred to the high price of vegetables, milk, fish, ghee. He severely condemned "wastage" of food in the various parts of the country.

Mr. Satyanarayan Sinha, describing the conditions in Bihar, stated that for the last two years, some people in his province were living on sweet potatoes, which, he said, only animals ate in normal times. People were dying of malaria and cholera like flies. Medical experts were unanimously of opinion that this was due to malnutrition. Expidemics in Central Bihar were still playing havoc. More than two lakhs had died in North Bihar. Hundreds of villages had been depopulated and hundreds of families had been wiped out completely.

Sir *A. H. Ghuznavi* said that shortage was not restricted to foodgrains only but extended to other foodstuffs such as meat, vegetables, milk and poultry. Sir Abdul Halim said that the presence of large numbers of American troops in the province had added to the difficulty. Their agents came to the markets with instructions to buy up vegetables at any price. While he admitted the situation in regard to foodgrains had improved, he maintained that foodgrains alone were not sufficient. During the last famine they saw people dying on the streets. Now there were deaths in many house due to lack of protein. The devitalisation of the people in general had played havoc in Bengal, according to the Calcutta Corporation Executive Health Officer.

Mrs. *Renuka Ray* said that she recently toured the interior of Bengal. In many villages she found men, women and children utterly destitute. Many families in the villages sold their daughters to get food. Malnutrition was taking a heavy toll.

Mr. *K. S. Gupta* stated that in Orissa, the Government were exporting rice in large quantities. In his own constituency, there were some places where the ration was five tolas of rice per head per day. In Vizag when cholera broke out medical experts conferred and said that it was due to the rice supplied. The rice was stopped, and cholera also disappeared. Concluding, Mr. Gupta said that Mahatma Gandhi had suggested a splendid solution of the food problem in his letters to the Viceroy. The Congress leaders should be released so that they might help in solving the food difficulties.

Mr. *K. C. Neogy* thought that the Food Member's speech was perhaps intended to be sent to the India Office, as the basis for one of those self-righteous speeches of Mr. Amery, that assure the world that all is well with India. According to calculations, 83 lakhs of people lost their lives from sheer hunger in Bengal last year. The Governor was good enough to refer to the epidemic situation. He said that malaria had unfortunately reappeared in epidemic form. At least 40 per cent of the people in the province were stricken by this disease. The *Food Member* had stated, he added, that the Food Committee of the Executive Committee were considering various matters relating to food "at a very high level." (laughter). The level, remarked Mr. Neogy, might be so high as not to enable the Hon. Member to realise the miseries of the lowly. The quality of the foodstuffs was worse even than last year. People were accustomed to a fair proportion of stone chips in rice. He should ask the Food Member to explain the vitamin value of pebbles (laughter). Bad food, he declared, was being rammed down our throats with the help of Defence of India Rules; because these Rules had been held to supersede the municipal rules under which the municipal health authorities were empowered to examine foodstuffs supplied to the people.

Mr. *Azhar Ali* quoting from the "Indian Information," said that at a conference in Delhi, presided over by the Food Member himself, it was reported that the controversy centred round the questions of quality of foodgrains in the deficit areas. He had himself seen that they were unfit for human consumption. But when one tried to find out the reason for all this, the Central Government shifted the responsibility to the provincial Government and the provincial Government to the Central Government.

### AMENDMENTS TO FOOD DEBATE

**9th. NOVEMBER**:—The Assembly to-day concluded the Food Debate after passing two amendments to the Food Member's motion that the situation be taken into consideration.

One was by Mr. *Sathar Essak Sait* declaring that co-ordination of procurement and distribution between surplus and deficit areas is entirely wanting; that transport is not adequate and timely; that prices are beyond the means of the mass of the poor in the country; that steps taken by Government for exercising

vigilance over eradication of corruption among those engaged by Government in the matter of the execution of food work are poor and ineffective.

The House passed the amendment by 61 votes to 45, the Congress, the Moslem League and Nationalists voting together in favour of it.

The other amendment was in the name of *Prof. Ranga* and it expressed the opinion that grain prices in most places are uneconomically low for producers and that the failure of Government to subsidise food consumption of the poorest consumers both in towns and villages is hitting hard both the producers and consumers of food. The House passed this amendment by 58 to 46 votes.

Of the remaining three amendments one was withdrawn and the other two were declared lost without a division.

The Assembly to-day dispensed with the question hour and decided to sit for half an hour longer than usual in order to complete the debate on the food situation.

Mr. *Sathar Sait* spoke of the sufferings in Malabar and said that part of the country did not get the same publicity as Bengal received and, therefore, the people there suffered silently.

Mr. *J. D. Tyson*, Education, Health and Lands Secretary, gave figures to refute the criticism that the grow-more-food campaign had been a complete failure. The average area under rice in India in the three pre-war years was 73·8 million acres. After one year of the grow-more-food campaign the area increased to 75 million and last year it was practically 80 million acres. The pre-war average of the area under all foodgrains was 195 million acres; after one year of the grow-more-food campaign it was 204·5 million acres and last year it was 206,3 million acres.

Mr. *E. C. Gwilt*—"What is the increase in population ?"

Mr. *Tyson*—"I am not responsible for the increase in population" (loud laughter).

Mr. *Abdul Qaiyum* quoted figures to suggest that there had actually been a decrease in the production of rice compared to 1930-31, when the quantity was something like 32 million tons as against the 30.5 million tons which Mr. Tyson had given for last year.

Several official members : Does your figure include Burma ?

Mr. Qaiyum replied that even if it included Burma, it would not make a great deal of difference (voices : It will). The black market could, in his view, be suppressed if the Government of India took up monopoly purchase of foodgrains direct from big landowners and eliminated the middleman. By refusing to adopt this expedient the Government of India were aiding and abetting black markets. It should not be beyond the power of the Government of India, he declared, to set up a special investigation department to track down corrupt officials or the middleman who corrupt those officials. He called upon the Government to find out whether there were any state lands which could be cultivated and what crops could be grown there.

Mr. *C. P. Lawson* (European group) thought it fair to say that the criticism levelled at the Food Department was largely levelled at the provincial administrations.

Sir *Cowasji Jehangir* strongly pleaded for equality of food ration for all people in surplus as well as in deficit provinces.

Dr. *V. K. R. V. Rao*, Director, Food Statistics, in a maiden speech, gave the assurance that the Food Department would investigate any complaint if details were given. (Mr. Lalchand Navalrai : I made a complaint to the Food Member but never got a reply). Mr. Rao went on to declare that the principle of subsidy to the cultivator, which had been suggested by some of the previous speakers, was under Government's active consideration. He explained why it was not possible for Government to come to a quick decision on this question.

Dr. *P. N. Banerji*, Leader of the Nationalist Party, complained against the Food Member's commission to make adequate reference to the Bengal famine which was one of the greatest calamities in India. A heavy toll of life had been taken by the famine and now disease was taking an equally heavy toll; medicine was unavailable. Price control in Bengal had become a joke and the quality of foodgrains supplied had deteriorated greatly. He asked for greater financial assistance to Bengal and pleaded that normal trade channels should be utilised and the administration raised to a higher standard of efficiency.

*Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan*, Deputy Leader, Moslem League Party, asserted that the responsibility for the food situation in India was that of the British

people. All the key posts in the administration were controlled not by the Indian members of the Executive Council but by members of the steel frame." It is true that in that steel frame we do find some men made of Tata Steel (laughter) but it is British steel which is ruling this country; and so if there is any defect in the administration of food in this country the blame lies entirely on the British people and the British Government."

Mr. *Bhulabhai Desai*, Leader of the Congress Party, criticised the Government for bringing forward a "most neutral and non-committal motion. "When an important question came up before the House relating to food, the Member-in-charge said that the question might be taken into consideration, as if it was not part of their responsibility to state what their policy was. Hence it was that in future he commended to the House that they would demand that whenever the Government put forward a proposal, it should be in terms affirmative and it should be in terms definite, and it should be in terms in which one was able to say to what extent there was an alternative to that policy. Referring to what Mr. Bhulabhai called "the immediate background of this situation", he said that during the last year there had been a famine of an unprecedented character in the country. It had now been followed by epidemics, which were not just merely an aftermath of that famine alone but the aftermath of the actual under-nutrition of the country during the last century. "If there had been in this country," Mr. Bhulabhai said, among the men who really represent the country you would not find the spectacle that you find today. You cannot blame if the machinary goes into the condition into which it has gone now and hence it is that the whole system of Government in this country has got to be overhauled. We have said it so often in the past. I do not say it on any political ground whatever nor on any racial ground. We are saying it on one and one ground alone—that as long as you do not have an administration in this country which responds to the people and to which the people respond, you may be quite certain you will never be able to tackle the problem that has come before this House and you cannot solve one iota of it."

The Food Member, Sir *Jwalaprashad Srivastava*, replying to the debate said he would follow the principle that truth must be told and faults must be owned. I am happy to say that although boquets and cocoanuts have both been thrown at me, nobody has thrown rotten eggs (laughter and a voice: they are five annas each)—I was going to say because eggs have become too expensive." (more laughter). (A voice: thanks to you). He could not say that the charges made against him had stunned him or dazed him, but he claimed that his speech made at the beginning of the debate held the field: he had not heard one definite criticism of the policy which he enunciated in that speech (ironical laughter from Congress and Moslem League benches). There had been a great deal of criticism on details, but the policy remained unassailed and he was happy that the House as a whole recognised that the policy followed by Government was right. (A voice: You are wrong). He was sorry to say that politics had been imported into this debate (more laughter). He himself had kept food away from politics.

After opposing all the amendments in their present form, but expressing general agreement with some of the points contained in them, the Food Member thanked non-official members for the suggestions made in the course of the debate. The Government, he said, would examine them, "Our main object is one," he said, "Food for all. Whatever Government may be in power, it cannot have any other objective. Without the support of the chosen representatives of the people, my Department can achieve nothing worthwhile. With your help, nothing is impossible. Let that task be not marred by political rivalry." (cheers).

After passing the motion with the two amendments, the House adjourned.

### Swagotra Marriages Among Hindus

**10th. NOVEMBER** :—A 2-hour speech by Dr. *G. V. Desmukh* enlivened the debate in the Assembly to-day on the Bill brought forward by his brother Mr. *Govind Deshmukh* to remove the existing prohibition on marriages in Hindu society between persons of the same Gotra (spiritual ancestry) Dr. Deshmukh argued with sustained vigour in favour of the proposed reform by reference to eugenics as well as to what he regarded the true spirit of Hinduism. He had not concluded when the House rose for the day. He will continue his speech when the debate is resumed in the next session.

The motion before the House was that the Bill be referred to a select committee. Mr. *Govind Deshmukh*, moving the motion, said his Bill had been pending

for a long time. At first he was assured that the principle of the Bill would be embodied in the codified Hindu Law and later that it would be included in the revised code which, at present, was in circulation. He however was not prepared to wait indefinitely.

Mr. *Sri Prakasa* supporting the Bill emphasised its necessity in the present-day India. A particular system might have been good at a particular stage and in course of time it became part of religion. Prohibition of Swagotra marriages was one of these pseudo-religious injunctions which were unsuited to modern times. Under it parents were finding it more and more difficult to marry off their children and the time had come for the legislature to intervene. It was time not only to remove this but also other harmful customs including the present practice among some sections of the Hindu community permitting marriage with such close relatives as maternal uncle's daughter and so on.

Mr. *Rangiah Naidu* strongly urged that Hindu society should move with the times and fresh laws should be enacted to make Hindu society strong and virile.

Dr. *Deshmukh* criticised leading women's associations which, on measures for marriage or other reform affecting them, invariably went first to lawyers to obtain legal opinion on them before deciding what attitude to adopt. Lawyers, declared Mr. Deshmukh, were far from creative in their profession and outlook, (many voices: no no) and therefore, looked at every reform from the point of view of whether it came within the frame-work of existing law and they generally advised women that if they accepted piecemeal reforms, it would stand in the way of getting larger rights. Though collectively these women's associations might oppose Bills like the one before the House, individually these women leaders admitted they were in favour of them. People of the same Gotra might be found in places as far apart as Madras and the United Provinces: yet they could not marry. In his view Gotra could not be interpreted to mean that the families bearing one Gotra were the direct descendants by blood of the Rishi. Most of the Rishis were Brahmacharis (bachelors) and so the only sense in which the present-day families could be said to be the descendants of those Rishis was that they were descendants of the disciples of the same Rishi. That, said Dr. Deshmukh, did not involve blood relationship and, therefore marriages among them were no offence even against the religious injunction. From the eugenics standpoint, there was nothing to prove that inbreeding and marriages of blood relatives were harmful. Darwin was born of parents who were intimately related by blood both on the mother's and the father's side. The Bedouin Arabs, even in the present-day and the royal dynasties of Egypt in ancient times married very close relatives and no race deterioration had taken place as a result of it. The Bill, however, did not go so far as to permit marriages of this kind. It was very limited in scope. Dr. Deshmukh refused to accept the suggestion that those who wanted to contract marriages which were not permitted by Hindu religion as understood now had the alternative of marrying under the Civil Marriage Act. "I am a Hindu and am proud to be a Hindu, and why should anybody ask me to go out of the Hindu fold and marry under some other law ? I am not going to detach myself from the Hindu fold ; I want to dig my toes in and reform, rejuvenate and purify Hindu society. That is my sacred duty". (cheers)

Earlier the House passed Mr. *M. A. Kazmi's* Bill to amend the Criminal Procedure Code as reported by the Select Committee. The main amendment proposed in the Bill relates to the grant of bail and it empowers the court convicting a person accused of a bailable offence to release him on bail for the period requisite to enable him, in a case where an appeal lies to make his application to the appellate court. The Assembly then adjourned till Monday.

### Official Bills Passed

**13th. NOVEMBER** :—The Assembly to-day passed *Sir Azizul Haque's* Bill temporarily to amend the Indian Patents and Designs Act and his Bill further to amend the Coffee Market Expansion Act and Mr. *J. D. Tyson's* Bill further to amend the Delhi Joint Water and Sewage Board Act.

The Finance Member, *Sir Jeremy Raisman's* Bill, to consolidate and amend the law relating to Government securities issued by the Central Government and to the management by the Reserve Bank of India of the public debt of the Central Government as reported by the Select Committee, was under discussion when the House adjourned.

### Public Debt Bill

**14th. NOVEMBER** :—The Finance Member, Sir *Jeremy Raisman*, announced in the Assembly to-day that on all the three points of the Public Debt Bill, on which

criticism in the House had centred, he was prepared to maintain the existing position. That meant, he said, that on the first point, namely, receiving notices of trust, no change would be made. The present position was that as provided in the Bill no notice of any trust in respect of any Government security shall be receivable by the Central Government ; nor shall the Central Government be bound by any such notice even though expressly given, nor shall the Central Government be regarded as a trustee in respect of any Government security. As regards the other two points, namely, first recognition by the bank of no title to the Government security other than that of the executor or administrator of a deceased sole holder and the holder of a succession certificate ; and second, the twelve-year limitation of the Central Government's liability in respect of Government securities, the Finance Member signified his readiness to reintroduce the position as it actually existed at present. He sought permission to let further consideration of the Bill stand over so as to enable him to consider the drafts put forward by members and produce an amendment which would be acceptable to the House. The Assembly agreed to the proposal.

## NATIONALISATION OF INSURANCE

Nationalisation of Insurance was urged by Prof. *Ranga* and supported by Mr. *A. Chettiar*, Mr. *Hussainbhai Lalji* and Mr. *Manu Subedar* in the course of the debate on Sir *Aziz-ul Haque's* motion to refer his insurance Act Amendment Bill to a Select Committee. The House eventually rejected without a division Mr. *Krishnamachari's* motion to circulate the bill and passed Sir *Aziz-ul-Haque's* motion.

During the debate Mr. *Krishnamachari* said his motion was a dilatory one. He wanted circulation, because otherwise it might have to be amended again and again in the light of public criticism. He generally welcomed many of the provisions of the bill. Sir *Vithal Chandavarkar* pointed out that insurance interests were quite satisfied with the bill and insurance experts had told him that there should be no delay in passing the bill. Prof. *Ranga* pointed out that the State even now was running a postal insurance scheme for its employees and was actually running it more efficiently than private insurance companies ; its expense ratio was the lowest about 10 per cent as compared to some 20 per cent for the most efficiently run private insurance company. Prof. Ranga remarked it was true that only a Swaraj Government could give the best satisfaction : but even the present government was preparing schemes in anticipation of the advent of a Swaraj Government and he suggested it should give thought to this subject also. He referred to the fact that the various insurance companies were concentrated mainly in the big cities, with the result that the large sums collected as premium from all corners of the country were used only in these cities and were denied to the provinces from which they were collected and where they were urgently required for development. This evil, he suggested, could only be cured by making insurance a State enterprise. He referred to the Mysore State where he indicated State insurance was working well. Mr. *Avinashilingam Chettiar* supported the circulation motion. Sir *Aziz ul-Haque* replying said his objective was quite the same as Prof. Ranga's but he would hesitate to take steps to nationalise insurance till a National Government was established. It was no use saying that he and other members of the present Government of India did not represent the people and at the same time asking him to take steps to nationalise insurance. He was not expressing any views on the question whether he represented the people or not. In any case, he suggested, no legislature could look too far forward ; if it could deal with problems of today and the next few years that should suffice. He agreed that insurance should cover a wider field, and include crops, cattle, sickness, old age, etc. but these not for the immediate present It was not his intention to rush the bill through or to delay it unduly. the Commerce Member proceeded. He proposed that the Select Committee should not meet earlier than January next year and in the meantime he would circulate the bill to members of the insurance advisory committee and place their views before the Select Committee and also the views of important All-India Insurance Associations. Thereafter if the Select Committee concluded its labours, he would take the bill up in the next session.

Mr. *Krishnamachari's* motion for circulation was negatived and Sir *Aziz-ul-Haque's* motion was passed.

## CULTIVATION OF RICE

The House took up further debate on the Health and Lands Secretary, Mr. Tyson's motion to refer to a select committee his Bill for the creation of a fund to

be expended by a committee constituted for the improvement and development of the cultivation production and marketing of rice and rice products.

Prof. *Ranga*, continuing his speech from the last day of the debate, criticised Government on its failure to make any provision for contribution from the Central Government or provincial Governments towards the funds. He objected to placing the whole burden of the contribution on the grower. He protested against this increase in the financial burdens of the peasants. The interests of commerce and industry, it was Government's practice to provide funds themselves, but not in the case of research in the interest of agriculture. The proposed excise duty of six annas a ton was to be levied from the rice mill owners but in actual practice he was sure it would be passed on to the grower and the consumer; and it was possible that Government might increase the duty in the future. He criticised the composition of the proposed committee and asked why the Associated Chambers of Commerce would get a seat. European interests, he knew, had rice mills in Burma but not in India. He pleaded for a non-official President for the committee. Prof. Ranga said there was a body of public opinion in the country which was opposed to the House proceeding with the Bill. Mrs. *Radhabai Subbaroyan* opposed the Bill and asked the House to reject it; but if the House felt this suggestion to be too drastic, then it should circulate the Bill. The Bill, in her view, did not suggest the correct method of encouraging research in rice. At the present moment when the country was going through a food crisis, Government's duty, she said, was to give all attention and energy to the supply of food and other necessities of life.

Mr. *Essak Sait* that the country should have an opportunity of expressing its views on this important matter since everybody was interested in producing more rice, better rice and to produce rice more easily. He was therefore, in favour of circulating the Bill. He had not concluded when the Assembly adjourned.

## PUBLIC DEBT BILL

**15th. NOVEMBER** :—The Assembly to-day passed the *Finance Member's* public Debt Bill with amendments framed by agreement between the Government and the Opposition. The first such amendment was moved by Mr. *Krishnamachari* as a proviso to clause seven which lays down that the executors or administrators of a deceased sole holder of a Government security and the holder of a succession certificate shall be the only persons who may be recognised by the bank as having any title to the Government security. The proposed proviso was to the effect "that nothing in this section shall bar the recognition by the bank of the manager or the sole surviving male member of a Hindu undivided family governed by the Mitakshara law as having a title to a Government security, when the security appears to the bank to stand in the name of a deceased member of the family and an application is made by such manager or sole surviving member for recognition of his title and is supported by a certificate signed by such authority and after such enquiry as may be prescribed to the effect that the deceased belonged to a Hindu undivided family governed by the Mitakshara law, that the Government security formed part of the joint property of the family and that the applicant is the managing or sole surviving male member of the family."

An explanation added to the proviso laid down that the expression "Hindu undivided family governed by the Mitakshara law shall, for the purposes of this section, be deemed to include a Malabar Tarwad.

The amendment was intended to continue the existing concession given to the member of a joint Hindu family governed by the Mitakshara law with regard to the recognition of his title to a Government security.

In the course of the debate on the amendment. Mr. *Chapman-Mortimer* registered a mild protest that Government and Congress always made some arrangement over our heads and we were supposed to agree to it (laughter). He added that he did not want to oppose the amendment but to draw attention to the fact that he received notice of it only last night The *chair* asked if anybody objected to the amendment being moved. *Sir Cowasji Jehangir* suggested, that in order to waive the standing order requiring sufficient notice of amendments, the permission of the House be taken by a vote. The chair held no vote was necessary and that since no objection had been taken the amendment could be discussed. Eventually the amendment was passed.

An amendment was also accepted to clause nine which provides summary procedure on the death of a holder of Government securities not exceeding Rs. 5,000 face value. The clause as it stands gives power to the bank to determine who is the person entitled to a security or securities, if within six months of the

death of the original holder, probate of his will or letters of administration of his estate or a succession certificate is not produced to the bank. The amendment seeks to add a further provision that the bank could so determine the title of proof to the satisfaction of the bank that proceedings have been instituted to obtain a probate or letters of administration or a succession certificate is not furnished.

The House passed Mr *Sri Prakasa's* amendment providing that "where no shorter period of limitation is fixed by any law for the time being in force, the liability of the Central Government in respect of any interest payment due on a Government security shall terminate on the expiry of six years from the date on which the amount due by way of interest became payable."

After Mr. Sri Prakasa's amendment, a few consequential amendments were accepted.

The *Finance Member*, moving the third reading, took the opportunity to pay a tribute to the work of the late Sir James Taylor, who, he said, did most of the spade work underlying this useful and necessary measure. Mr. *Azar Ali* associated himself with the tribute to Sir James. The House passed the bill as amended.

### RICE FUND BILL

During the resumed debate on Mr. *Tyson's* motion to refer the Rice Fund Bill to a select committee, Mr. Tyson announced that he was prepared to accept Mr. Esaak Sait's amendment that the bill be circulated for the purpose of eliciting public opinion thereon by February 28, 1945. Speakers on the bill today were Mr. *Esaak Sait*, *Sir Jogendra Singh*, Mr. *Sami Venkatachalam Chettiar*, Mr. *T. T. Krishnamachari*, Mr. *Hussainbhai Laljee*, Mr. *Abdul Qaiyum*, Mr. *Govind Deshmukh*, Mr. *Azar Ali*, and Mr. *Akhil Chandra Datta*. Further debate was adjourned till tomorrow.

Earlier the House agreed to refer to a select committee a draft amendment proposed by Mr. *Esaak Sait* for the addition of a new standing order of the Assembly to provide that a standing committee shall be constituted separately for every department of the Government of India to advise on the activities of the department concerned. Sir Sultan Ahmed made it clear that Government would not oppose reference to a select committee but would oppose the amendment in the select committee. The Assembly adjourned.

### OFFICIAL BILLS PASSED

**16th. NOVEMBER** :—The Assembly agreed to the circulation of two official bills, namely, Mr. *J. D. Tyson's* bill to create a rice research fund and a committee to administer the fund, and Dr. Ambedkar's bill to amend the Payments of Wages Act.

The *Finance Member* introduced a bill to consolidate and amend the law relating to banking companies. The Statement of Objects and Reasons explains that the need has been felt for some time for separate legislation for the regulation of banking in India. This need has become the more insistent on account of the considerable development of banking in recent years, especially the rapid growth of banking resources and of the number of banks and branches.

The main features of the Bill are : a simple definition of banking with the object of limiting the scope of the legislation to institutions in which the funds are deposited primarily to ensure their safety and ready with-drawability ; prescription of minimum capital standards ; prohibitions of trading with a view to eliminating non-banking risks : inclusion in the scope of the legislation of banks incorporated or registered outside British India ; provision of an expeditious procedure for liquidation ; inspection of the books and accounts of a bank by the Reserve Bank when necessary ; empowering the Central Government to take action against banks conducting their affairs in a manner detrimental to the interests of the depositors ; and prescription of a special form of balance-sheet and conferring of powers on the Reserve Bank to call for perodical returns. The Assembly adjourned.

### POST-WAR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

**17th. NOVEMBER** :—The Assembly to-day passed without a division a Congress Party motion that an elected committee of the House consisting of not more than 15 members be appointed for the purpose of considering the several plans for post-war economic development of India, agricultural and industrial, with instructions to report to the House. The motion had been moved by Mr. *Avinashilingam Chettiar* as an amendment to *Sir Ziauddin Ahmed's* original resolution opposing the Bombay Plan.

An exciting situation developed before the House voted on the amendment and passed it. Towards the close of the debate Mr. *Bhulabhai Desai*, Leader of the Opposition, spoke in support of the amendment. After him the Supply Member, *Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar* got up where-upon there were cries from the opposition benches asking for closure of the debate. The Government challenged a division on the closure motion but the House passed the motion by 55 votes to 46. The Congress, Moslem League and some members of the Nationalist Party combining to vote for it.

During the voting there were hurried consultations among members on Government and opposition benches and much turning over of the rules of procedure to see whether a Government member could speak after closure had been applied. *Sir Ziauddin Ahmed*, mover of the original motion, was replying to the debate when Mr. Bajoria, on a point of order, asked if closure could be applied to the debate without hearing the Government Member on the issue before the House. As it was, no one knew what the attitude of the Government was to the motion or to the amendment or the views expressed during the debate. The *President* indicated that there did not appear to be any rule under which in the case of a resolution a Government speaker could be called upon to speak at any particular stage of the debate. Mr. *Abdul Qaiyum*, Deputy Leader of the Congress Party, explained that before the Leader of the Opposition stood up, he (Mr. Qaiyum) had spoken to the Planning and Development Member and understood that Sir Ardeshir Dalal would speak after Mr. Bhulabhai Desai. But actually the Supply Member got up instead of Sir Ardeshir (several voices: Why didn't the Supply Member get up earlier in the debate.

Eventually, after *Sir Ziauddin's* reply, Mr. *Krishnamachari's* amendment and Mr. *A. N. Chattopadhyaya's* amendment were negatived and Mr. Chettiar's amendment was passed. The House adjourned till Monday.

## Law Relating to Banking Companies

**20th. NOVEMBER**:—The Assembly to-day agreed to the *Finance Member's* motion to circulate his bill to consolidate and amend the law relating to banking companies.

During the debate on the Banking Bill, the *Finance Member* moving circulation, gave an account of the efforts made from time to time to frame comprehensive banking legislation and said the present Bill represented an earnest effort on the part of the Government to ensure, in so far as it could be done by legislation, the protection of the depositor and the growth of banking in India on sound lines. Mr. *A. C. Datta* while generally supporting the bill complained that it gave not only too many powers to the Reserve Bank but gave it control as well as certain advantages without any corresponding advantages to other banks. Deposits to be made by rural banks to the Reserve Bank, he suggested, should be in promissory notes and not in cash. Mr. *Avinashilingham Chettiar* asked for a more elaborate definition of banking and said that banks taking short term deposits should be debarred from giving long term loans. Mr. *T. T. Krishnamachari* made detailed comments on the bill and said that the supreme position which the mperial Bank enjoyed by virtue of its having once been the Government's central bank was no longer justified. He urged that the Imperial Bank Act should be repealed and the bank brought within the scope of the present bill. Mr. *Abdul Ghani* welcomed the bill but cautioned that care should be taken to see that small banks did not suffer under this legislation. Mr. Sami Venkatachalam Chettiar suggested that banking legislation should be liberal enough to help the growth of four different types of banks, namely, industrial banks, agricultural banks, commercial banks and banks for small borrowers. The bill, in his view, looked more like a policy measure meant to penalise small banks if they failed to conform to the rules. He favoured nationalisation of banking. Mr. Mohammed Nauman was against the Imperial Bank enjoying a monopoly of agency for the Reserve Bank. Mr. Chapman Mortimer (European group) stressing the importance of the bill said that sound banking needed firstly good banking law and secondly good bankers and while no law could produce good Bankers, he was hopeful that the bill would go some way to ensure that good banking law was established in this country Prof. *Ranga* urged that banking should be socialised in the same way as he had suggested in connection with insurance. He opposed what he described as the attempt made in the bill to check the growth of joint stock banks. The Finance Member expressed gratification at the measure of support given to the bill. He made it clear that he could not be expected to bring forward

a measure for the complete nationalisation of banks in India, such as had been suggested by some speakers.

The Finance Member's motion was passed.

### FOOD AND AGRICULTURAL ORGANISATION

Mr. *J. D. Tyson* moved a resolution accepting the constitution of the permanent food and agriculture organisation of the United Nations. The objects of the proposed body, he said, were to raise the level of nutrition among the peoples of the world, to secure improvements in the efficient production and distribution of all foodgrains and agricultural products, to better the conditions of the rural population and thus contribute to the expanding world economy and promotion of research. By joining that organisation, Mr. Tyson said, we would accept the liability to contribute to the budget of the conference. The budget for the first year was about two and a half million dollars and India's share had been fixed at 4. 25 per cent which came to about Rs, 3,00,000 a year.

Two amendments were moved to the resolution, one by Mr. *K. C. Neogy* which supported the resolution on the understanding that the Central Government would implement the recommendations of the organisation in regard to all important questions of policy subject to the approval of the legislature and the other by Mr. N. G. Ranga which wanted the proposed organisation worked for the interests of agricultural producers no less than those of the consumers.

21st NOVEMBER :—In the course of the resumed debate on Mr. Tyson's motion, Mr. *Ananga Mohan Dam* said that India expected good results from the proposed International Food and Agriculture organisation and India, in consideration of the vastness of her territory and her importance, should contribute more than the four per cent, allotted to her. Why, he asked, was U S. A. expected to contribute 25 per cent, as against India's 4 per cent? Mr. *B. Das* said that the experience of international bodies during the last 20 years had been disappointing. Mr. *K. C. Neogy* moving his amendment, thought that from a report of the proceedings of the Hotsprings conference that the Atlantic Charter was sought to be applied to India, but among the articles of that Charter so to be applied was the one giving access to raw materials of the world. He could not but feel alarmed therefore, at the possibility of India's unexplored resources, particulary mineral, being exploited by other nations of the world. Mr. *Ramrattan Gupta* urged that India's representatives at international gatherings should be real representatives and the Government should take the House into confidence in selecting them. He thought it was because the delegation to the Bretton Woods conference, for instance, did not have the confidence of the country they could not get a seat for India on the Executive. Mr. *Abdul Qaiyum* supported the motion but asked that the suggestion made from the Congress benches should be conveyed to the international organisation. He suggested that organisation should consider the credentials of a Government like that of India, which had allowed chronic malnutrition, famine and destitution, illiteracy, absence of medical relief to prevail in the country while the officers of the Government were busy issuing ordinances, laying down how much the tailoring charge of coats and trousers should be. Mr. Qaiyum demanded that foreign Governments should not be allowed to buy raw materials cheaply in the Indian market. Mr. *N. H. Joshi* insisted that India's representatives in these conferences should be entirely Indian, selected not on racial grounds because the inclusion of Europeans was often misunderstood by other countries to mean that the European was there to dominate over the Indian. Prof. *N. G. Ranga* feared that the main object of the proposed body might be to produce enough food for western consumers; but he, nevertheless, favoured India's participation in all international conferences not because he hoped to gain much thereby but would be able to see what the others were up to. Mr. *Lalchand Navalrai* asked what was the value of joining an organisation like this and what had other nations done to help India in the present situation. Mr. *Nauman* complained that the Government had avoided selecting any Muslim representative to international organisations: there was, he felt, some sinister purpose in this.

Closure was moved by Government; there was a tie, 40 voting on either side: and the Chair gave its casting vote in favour of the "status quo" and the debate was, accordingly, continued.

Mr. *Govind Deshmukh* asked that we should not bind ourselves to pay our contribution for four years but on a yearly basis so that we should have an opportunity once a year to examine what was going on. Dr. *P. N. Banerji* hoped that the Government of India would insist on India being represented on the Execu-

tive Committee of the organisation. He did not object to the initial contribution of Rs. three lakhs but asked that future contributions should not be heavy. Mr. *Tyson* replying to the debate referred to the demand made by some speakers that India should insist on having representation on the Executive Committee How he asked, could we insist on it as a condition of our joining : under the constitution, the executive committee would be elected by the Governing Body of the conference and we would have on the conference the same voting power as any other member of the nation and we must try to get representation by the exercise of that vote and by influencing our friends. To insist on a seat as a condition for joining would be tantamount to refusing to join. As regards financial liability, he gave the assurance that the contribution to the organisation would be a voted expenditure and it would be in the budget or would come as a supplementary grant : in any case it would come up before the House. As for the suggestion that there was an ulterior motive in fixing India's share at a low figure, Mr. Tyson explained that the assessment of contribution was fixed very largely on the basis of ability to pay and he mentioned that Canada, for instance had been assessed at 5.6 per cent. and France at 5.69 per cent. In any case, voting did not go by contribution and even if we paid 35 per cent, it might remove suspicions but would not give any more voting power. He opposed Mr. Neogy's amendment and declared that no Government could bind itself in advance to carry out all the recommendations of an outside body on which we had only one vote, subject only to the approval of the legislature. The recommendations were addressed to a group of nations and would be only partially suitable to India's conditions ; further we might have to consult the provinces because the greater part of the recommendations would lie in the provincial field.

Mr. *Neogy* intervening said he wanted the Central Government to set the example in the areas under their authority.

Mr. *Tyson* reiterated that consultation with the provinces would be necessary. He gave the assurance that the legislature would be kept informed of the developments in the organisation. He was prepared to accept Prof. Ranga's amendment. Both the amendments were put to vote and carried and the resolution, as amended, was carried. The House then adjourned *sine die*

# Laws Passed in 1944

## Provincial Acts passed by Legislatures, Governors' Acts, Bills introduced by Provincial Governments and Ordinances promulgated by Governors.

*Title of Act or Bill and date of Assent or Introduction in Italics.*

### Government of Bengal

*The Bengal Finance (Sales Tax) Amendment Act, 1944 (Bengal Act 1 of 1944) (28 3-1944)* :—To amend the Bengal Finance (Sales Tax) Act, 1941, in order to raise the rate of tax leviable under the said Act from one quarter to one half of an anna; but at the same time provision has been made to exempt from tax "the poor man's cloth".

*The Bengal Non-agricultural Tenancy (Temporary Provisions) Extending Act 1944 (Bengal Act II of 1944) (27-5-1944)* :—To extend the operation of the Bengal Non-agricultural Tenancy (Temporary Provisions) Act, 1940, for one year more from May 29, 1944, pending the introduction of permanent and more comprehensive legislation on the subject.

*The Bengal Orphanages and Widows' Homes Act, 1944 (Bengal Act III of 1944) (23-6-1944)* :—To provide for the better control and supervision of orphanages and widows' homes and marriage bureaux in Bengal.

*The Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944 (Introduced in the Legislative Assembly)* :—To provide for the regulation, control and development of secondary education.

*The Bengal Diseases of Animals Bill, 1944 (Introduced in the Legislative Council)* :—To provide for the prevention of contagious diseases amongst animals in Bengal.

*The Coroners and Criminal Procedure (Bengal Amendment) Bill, 1944, (Introduced in the Legislative Council)* :—To amend the Coroners Act, 1871 and the code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, in order to dispense with the inquiry to be held by the Coroner or by a Police Officer in cases of deaths caused by enemy action unless the Provincial Government so directs.

*The Hindu Women's Rights to Property (Bengal Agricultural Land) Bill, 1944. (Introduced in the Legislative Council)* :—To extend the operation of the Hindu Women's Rights to Property Act, 1937, to agricultural land in Bengal, with retrospective effect, in order to give widows the full measure of the benefit which the framers of the Act contemplated, and to protect transactions already entered into on the faith of the Act with certain savings.

*The Bengal Destitute Persons (Repatriation and Relief) Bill, 1944. (Introduced in the Legislative Council)* :—To make special provision for dealing with persons wandering about in a destitute condition as a result of the prevailing economic distress.

*The Bengal Alienation of Agricultural Land (Temporary Provisions) Bill, 1944. (Introduced in the Leg. Council)* :—To provide for the restoration to 'raiyats' and under-raiyats' of agricultural lands alienated by them during the year 1943 as a result of the prevailing economic distress.

*The Bengal Embankment (Amendment) Bill 1944. (Introduced in the Legislative Council)* :—To further amend the Bengal Embankment Act, 1882, so as to give Collectors power to have necessary repairs done to a private embankment where considered necessary without taking charge of its future maintenance and to recover the cost thereof from the people benefited by the work.

### Government of the Punjab.

*The Punjab Maternity Benefit Act 1943. (15-11-1943)* :—To regulate the employment of women in factories for certain periods before and after confinement and to provide for the payment of maternity benefit to them.

*The Punjab Urban Immovable Property Tax (Second Amendment) Act, 1943. (15-11-1943)* :—To make clear that it is not necessary for assessing authority under Section 18 of the Act to call for a return when the current valuation list is to be amended.

*The Punjab Tobacco Vend Fees (Amendment) Act 1943. (17-11-1943)* :—To effect certain amendments in the Act which have become necessary as a result of the imposition of a central excise duty on tobacco.

*The Sugarcane (Punjab Amendment) Act 1943. (25-11 1943)* :—To amend the Indian Sugarcane Act, 1934, in its application to the Punjab with a view to protecting the growers of sugarcane to provide for the better organisation of cane supplies to sugar factories and to prevent unhealthy competition between them.

*The Punjab Trade Employees (Amendment) Act, 1943. (6-1-1944)* :—To remove certain difficulties brought to light in the working of the Punjab Trade Employees Act, 1940. by amending the Act, so as to empower the employer to take overtime work from his employees subject to certain restrictions and by omitting sections 11 and 14 (2) which empower an employer to impose fine and require notice from the employee before quitting service, respectively.

*The Punjab Court of Wards (Amendment) Act, 1944. (11-4-1944)* :—To make it obligatory for a decree holder to file a certificate of his having notified his claim under section 26, in order to continue a suit or resume or institute execution proceedings against a ward and to make it clear that no suit or execution proceedings shall be maintainable to set aside or modify the order of a Deputy Commissioner fixing a date for payment of a claim or regulating the order in which claims are to be paid.

*The Epidemic Diseases Punjab (Amendment) Act, 1944. (11 4-1944)* :—To empower a Deputy Commissioner to issue regulations as to medical inspection and disinfecting water supplies etc. in a district threatened with an outbreak of epidemic disease.

*The Punjab Land Preservation (Chos) (Amendment) Act, 1944. (11-4-1944)* :—To apply the principles of the Land Preservation (Chos) Act II of 1900, to the whole Province and to empower the Government to require land owners to take positive measures necessary to arrest erosion, failing which the Government shall have the power of executing those works themselves.

*The General Sales Tax (Amendment) Act, 1944. (11-4-1944)* :—To remove certain minor discrepancies and defects in the text of the Act of 1941, which have come to light in the course of its administration.

*The Punjab Pre-emption (Amendment) Act, 1944. (15-5-1944)* :—To add a new section to the Act to restore the status quo in the case of pre-emption suits wherein the vendee seeks to improve his position by means of a voluntary acquisition of right of property made after the institution of the suit.

*The Colonization of Government Lands (Punjab) (Amendment) Act, 1944. (27-5-1944)* :- (i) To amend section 27 of the Act so that in future in the absence of any provision to the country in the relevant statement of conditions nothing in section 24, 25 and 26 shall apply to a scheduled tenancy.

**(ii) Imposition of certain restrictions** on the rights of alienation in respect of and rule of succession to certain proprietory rights acquired by a female.

*Government Bills pending before the Punjab Legislative Assembly.*

*The Punjab District Boards Bill* :— To repeal the District Boards Act, 1883. The proposed Bill gives full liberty to the Boards to elect non-official Chairmen, and extends their life to five years. A provision has also been made for prompt discharge of executive duties by the Executive authority.

*The Punjab Electricity Duty Bill* :— To levy a duty on electrical energy consumed for lights and fans and other appliances.

*The Punjab Alienation of Land (Amendment) Bill* :—To remove number of defects which have been revealed in the actual working of the Punjab Alienation of Land Act, 1900, and of making a number of consequential amendments which were not carried out when the amending Acts of 1938 and 1940 were passed.

*The Punjab Agricultural Produce Markets Amendment) Bill* :—To remedy certain defects and to make other suitable provisions which have been found to be necessary in the light of experience.

*The Acquisition of Land (Punjab Amendment) Bill* :—To exempt compensation awarded under the Land Acquisition Act from attachment.

*The Punjab Cotton Ginning and Pressing Factories Bill* :—To provide for the licensing of ginning and pressing factories in order to eradicate the malpractices of mixing, watering, adulteration with seed etc,, prevailing among certain cotton producers.

## Government of Orissa

*The Hindu Women's Rights to Property (Extension to Agricultural land in Orissa) Act, 1944 (8-4-1944)* :—To give the Hindu women in the province of Orissa the same rights in respect of agricultural land as they enjoy under the Hindu Women's Rights to Property Act, 1937, in respect of other property.

*The Bihar and Orissa Motor Vehicles Taxation (Orissa Second Amendment) Act, 1944 (8-4-1944)* :—To exempt from taxation the road rollers and plants owned by the local and public authorities in North Orissa.

*The Orissa Legislative Assembly Members' Salaries and Allowances (Amendment) Act, 1944 (26-4-1944)* :- To increase the salaries of M.L.A.'s from Rs. 75 to Rs. 100 a month and daily allowance from Rs. 2-8 to Rs. 10 during

the continuance of war and six months thereafter.

*The Central Provinces Tenancy (Orissa Amendment) Act, 1944 (26-4-1944)* :—Construction of the period of one month laid down in section 85 (2) of the Central Provinces Tenancy Act, 1898, to mean a period of one month from the date of service of the notice on the tenant for ejectment on account of arrears of rent.

*The Orissa Hindu Religious Endowments (Amendment) Act, 1944 (3-5-1944)* :—To give the Commissioner of Hindu Religious Endowments power to modify or cancel schemes concerning certain endowments in North Orissa just in the same way as he can modify or cancel a scheme settled by himself under the Orissa Hindu Religious Endowments (Amendment) Act, 1939.

*The Madras Estates land (Orissa Amendment Act, 1944 (26-4-1944)* :—To extend the period prescribed U S 172 of Madras Estates land Act, 1908, for filing applications for revision of records of rights from two to four years and to provide a special commission to hear revision application after they have been heard by the Revenue Commissioner.

*The Orissa Legislative Assembly, Salaries and Allowance (Temporary Repeal) Act, 1944 (27-7-1944)* :—To stop payment of salaries and allowances to Speaker, Deputy Speaker and members of the Assembly for so long as Proclamation under Section 93 of the Government of India Act, 1935, remains in force.

## Government of Assam

*The Assam Hindu women's rights to property (Extension to Agricultural Land) Act, 1943 (7-12-1943)* :—To extend the operation of the Hindu Women's Rights to Property Act, 1937, and the Hindu Women's Rights to Property (Amendment) Act, 1938, to agricultural land in the Province of Assam in order to give better rights to women in respect of agricultural land.

*The Assam Debt Conciliation (Amendment) Act, 1943 (9-12-1943)* :—To Amend the Assam Debt Conciliation Act, 1936 in order to make it possible to enforce agreements on the heirs of debtors and also to enforce attendance of creditors before Debt Conciliation Boards.

*The Assam Maternity Benefit Act, 1944 (Act I of 1944) (14-1-1944)* :—To regulate and to provide for maternity benefits to women workers in certain classes of employment.

*The Assam Nurses', Midwives' and Health Visitors' Registration Act, 1944 (Act II of 1944) (27-3-1944)* :- To provide for the registration and better training of nurses, midwives and health visitors in Assam.

*The Assam Finance Act, 1944 (Act III of 1944) (30-3-1944)* :—To fix the rates at which agricultural income shall be taxed under the Assam Agricultural Income-Tax Act, 1939.

*The Assam Local Board Elections (Emergency Provisions) Act, 1944 (Act IV of 1944) (30-3-1944)* :—To provide for the postponement of Local Board Elections.

*The Assam Municipal (Amendment) Act, 1944 (Act V of 1944) (6-4-1944)* :—Further to Amend the Assam Municipal Act, 1923, in order to empower Municipal Boards to issue licences for short-term cinema shows, dramatic performances circuses, variety shows etc.

*The Assam Motor Vehicles Taxation (Amendment) Act, 1944 (Act VI of 1944) (6-4-1944)* :—Further to amend the Assam Motor Vehicles Taxation Act, 1936, in order to exempt the extra weight of the Producer Gas Plant fitted to a motor vehicle from taxation and to reduce the the tax for vehicles propelled by this form of fuel by 50 per cent.

*The Assam Dadans Act, 1944 (Act VII of 1944) (8-4-1944)* :—To gather information about, and settle claims in respect of dadans or advances to cultivators on crops.

## Government of Sind

*The Bombay Finance (Sind Second Amendment) Act, No. XXVII of 1943 (19-8-1943)* :—To rectify with retrospective effect, the omission in Sind Act II of 1943 which provided for the levy of duty on energy consumed for lights and fans in respect of industrial undertakings but omitted to levy duty on energy consumed for industrial power and also domestic power.

*The City of Karachi Municipal (Amendment) Act, No. I of 1944 (25-3-44)* :—To restrict the power of the Corporation to alter names of streets and public places vested in the Corporation.

*The Bombay Local Fund Audit (Sind Amendment) Act, No. II of 1944 (25-3-44)* :—To remove certain practical difficulties which the Audit Department had experienced in working the Bombay Local Fund Audit Act, 1930.

*The Bombay Local Boards (Sind Amendment) Act, No. III of 1944 (25-3-44)* :—To widen the franchise for the Local Board elections and bring it into line with the franchise prescribed for the Assembly elections in the territorial constituencies.

*The Bombay Finance (Sind Amendment) Act, No. IV of 1944 (25-3-44)* :—To

discontinue the levy of duty on electricity consumed for industrial purposes.

*The Sind Police Rifles Force (Amendment) Act, No. V of 1944 (28-3-44)* :—To make certain acts not specifically mentioned in the Act punishable and to make certain offences cognizable.

*The Sind Medical Act, No. VI of 1944 (28-3-44)* :—To constitute a separate medical Council for Sind and to provide for the registration of medical practitioners.

*The Bombay District Police (Sind Amendment) Act, No. VII of 1944 (30-3-44)* :—To provide for the appointment of the Principal of the Central Constables (Recruits) Training Schools established in the Province and invest him with power to punish officers subordinate to him.

*The Bombay Co-operative Societies (Sind Amendment) Act, No. VIII of 1944 (30-3-44)* ;—To provide that the dispute between a society and a surety of an officer, etc. of the society shall also be decided by arbitration.

*The Sind Shops and Establishments (Amendment) Act, No. IX of 1944 (1-4-44)* :—To vest Provincial Government with power to appoint a Chief Inspector and to make some minor amendments.

*The Sind Suppression of Hur Outrages (Amendment) Act, No. X of 1944 (7-4-44)* :—To extend the life of the Act by one year.

*The City of Karachi Municipal (Amendment) Act, No. XI of 1944 (5-4-1944)* :—To discontinue for the period of war the publication of quarterly accounts of the corporation in the official Gazette with a view to effect economy in paper.

*The Bombay Town Planning (Sind Amendment) Act, No. XII of 1944 (8-4-44)* :—To remedy certain defects in the Bombay Town Planning Act, 1915, which came to notice in the working of the Act.

*The Sind Deti Leti (Amendment) Act, No. XIII of 1944* :—To remove certain defects which came to notice in the working of the Act.

*The Sind Money-Lenders Act, No. XIV 1944 (Assented to by the Governor-General on 27-5-44)* :—To regulate the transaction of money-lending in the province and to provide for the registration of money-lenders.

*The Hakim and Vaidyas Act, No. XV of 1944 (Assented to by the Governor-General on 5-7-44)* :—To raise the standard of practice in Indian systems of medicine in the province by giving Hakims and Vaids necessary training on modern lines and thereby raising their status.

*The Bombay Municipal Boroughs (Sind Amendment) Act, No. XVI of 1944 (21-8-44)* :- To abolish the system of joint electorate introduced by Sind Act XV of 1940.

*The Bombay Local Boards and Bombay Municipal Boroughs (Sind Amendment) Act, No. XVII of 1944 (21-8-44)* :—To amend the Municipal Act in order to provide that only such persons as actually possess the appropriate qualifications under the Assembly franchise on the date with reference to the Municipal or local Board roll is prepared should be included in the rolls.

*The Karachi Small Causes Court (Amendment) Act, No. XVIII of 1944 (24-8-44)* :—To amend section 29 of the Karachi Small Causes Court Act and to state more clearly the extent to which section 94 of the Civil Procedure Code shall be applicable to that Court.

*Bill No. XI of 1944* :—To make better provisions for preventing the adulteration of foods and the sale of such foods. It is proposed to repeal the Bombay Prevention of Adulteration Act, 1925, and to enact in its place a more comprehensive and effective measure.

## Government of Bombay

*The Arnold Marriage Validating Act, 1943 (Bombay X of 1943) (2-12-1943)* :—To validate the marriage solemnized in good faith but without authority between Albert Charles Arnold and Gwendoline Ethel Scanlon.

*The Bombay Betting Tax (Amendment Act, 1943 (Bombay XI of 1943) (12-12-1943)* :—To provide for the increase of a totalisator tax and a betting tax to 10 per cent in each case.

*The Bombay Weights and Measures (Amendment) Act, 1943 (Bombay XII of 1943) (16-12-1943)* :—To make it obligatory on traders to produce for Inspectors all weights or measures or weighing or measuring instruments kept on any premises used for trade whether such weights etc., are used or are in their possession for use for trade or not.

*The Bombay Entertainments Duty (Amendment) Act, 1943 (Bombay XIII of 1943) (23-12-1943)* :—To increase the rates of duties under the Bombay Entertainments Duty Act, 1923.

*The Bombay Increase of Stamp Duties Act, 1943 (Bombay XIV Of 1943) (28-12-1943)* :—To increase by a surcharge of 50 per cent the stamp duties leviable under the Indian Stamp Act, 1899.

*The Bombay Increase of Court Fees Act, 1943 (Bombay XV of 1943) (28-12-1943)* :—To increase by a surcharge of 25 per cent the fees leviable under the Court Fees Act, 1870.

*The Bombay Co-operative Societies (Amendment) Act, 1943 (Bombay XVI of*

*1943*) (*19-12-1943*) :—(a) To give arbitration awards or liquidators' orders the status of a decree, and

(b) To provide for a summary procedure for settlement and recovery of the defaulted instalments in respect of debentures guaranteed by Government of land mortgage banks and to take precautionary measures provided in Chapter XI of the Bombay Land Revenue Code, 1879, for the recovery of these dues.

*The Bombay Public Conveyances (Amendment) Act, 1943* (*Bombay XVII of 1943*) (*17-1-1944*) :—To make the Act applicable to cycle rick-shaws.

*The Bombay Legislature Members (Removal of Disqualifications) (Amendment) Act, 1944* (*Bombay I of 1944*) (*29-2-1944*) :—Not to disqualify a person for election or continuance as a member of either Chamber of the Bombay Legislature by reason only that he holds or accepts any office in the service of the Crown in India certified by the Government of Bombay to be an office created for a purpose connected with the prosecution of the war.

*The Bombay Land Improvement Schemes (Amendment) Act, 1944* (*Bombay III of 1944*) (*28-3-1944*) :—(a) To empower the Board to make regulations for carrying out the objects of the scheme ;

(b) To prescribe a penalty in addition to the liability for the cost of maintenance and repair of works so that cases of failure to maintain and repair the work should be as few as possible.

(c) To extend the scope of the existing Section 25 (1) to cover schemes subsidized by the Provincial Government or by any trust and schemes necessary in the interest of members of His Majesty's forces, either serving or retired and of their dependents.

*The Bombay Finance (Amendment) Act, 1944* (*Bombay IV of 1944*) (*4-8-1944*) :—To extend the life of the Bombay Finance Act of 1932 by one more year.

*The Bombay Rent Restriction (Amendment) Act, 1944* (*Bombay V of 1944*) (*24-8-1944*) :—To extend the life of the Bombay Rent Act of 1939 by one more year.

*The Bombay Non-Urban Labour Housing, Sanitation and Provision Shops Act, 1944* (*Bombay VI of 1944*) (*16-4-1944*) :—To provide for the opening of provision shops for and regulating the housing and sanitary conditions of non-agricultural labour in areas outside the municipal and cantonment limits.

*The Bombay Rents, Hotel Rates and Lodging House Rates (Control) Act, 1944* (*Bombay VII of 1944*) (*8-5-1944*) :—To regulate the supply of accommodation whether residential or non-residential furnished or unfurnished and with or without board in certain areas in the Province and in particular to provide for controlling the rents or rates chargeable for such supply of accommodation and for preventing in certain areas eviction from the accommodation supplied.

*The Bombay Growth of Food Crops Act 1944* (*Bombay VIII of 1944*) (*20-5-1944*) :—To provide for regulating the cultivation of crops with a view to growing more food crops in the Province.

*The City of Bombay Municipal Corporation (Extension of Term) Act, 1944* (*Bombay IX of 1944*) (*9-6-1944*):—To extend the life of the Corporation for a further period of two years i.e. till April 1, 1947.

*The Mussalman Wakf, Bombay Public Trusts Registration and Parsi Public Trusts Registration (Amendment) Act, 1944* (*Bombay X of 1944*) (*3-7-1944*) :—To dispense with the publication in newspapers of the lists and statements of sums standing to the credit of the trusts' administration funds to save paper and cost of publication.

*The Bombay University (Amendment) Act, 1944* (*Bombay XI of 1944*) (*3-8-1944*) :—To provide that casual vacancies shall be filled only for the residue of the term of office of the persons who have ceased to be members and that the casual vacancy of an elected Fellow shall not be filled if it occurs within six months preceding the date on which his term of office expires.

*The Bombay Irrigated Crop Regulation Act, 1944* (*Bombay XII of 1944*) (*23-8-1944*) :—To provide for the maximum cultivation of and the maximum use of water in, lands under command of irrigation works in the Province and for increased cultivation of food crops in such lands.

## Government of Madras

*The Madras Local Boards (Second Amendment) Act, 1943* (*Madras Act XIX of 1943*) (*5-10-1943*) :—To provide for the appointment of executive officers in panchayats notified by the Government and to define the duties and powers of such officers.

*The Madras Co-operative Societies (Amendment) Act, 1943* (*Madras Act XX of 1943*) (*13-10-1943*) :—To amend the principal Act to facilitate the recovery of sums due to co-operative societies in Orissa from members of such societies who are residing in this Presidency.

*The Madras Proprietory Estates' Village Service and Hereditary village-offices, (Amendment) Act, 1943* (*Madras Act XXI of 1943*) (*15-10-1943*) :—To allow a minor registered as heir to a village office under the two principal Acts, a period of five years from the termination of his war service to qualify for the office.

*The Madras Prohibition (Suspension) Act, 1943 (Madras Act XXII of 1943)* (*3-11-1943*) :—To provide for the suspension of the operation of certain provisions of the Madras Prohibition Act, 1937, in the districts in which it was in force and the revival of the Madras Abkari Act, 1886, in those districts.

*The Madras Pawnbrokers Act, 1943 (Madras Act XXIII of 1943)* (*6-11-1943*) :—To regulate and control the business of pawnbrokers in the Presidency by licensing pawnbrokers and fixing the maximum rate of interest chargeable bythem.

*The Tambaram Tuberculosis Sanatorium (Regulation of Buildings) Act, 1943 (Madras Act XXIV of 1943)* (*22-11-1943*) :—To provide for the control of the construction of buildings in the neighbourhood of the Government Tuberculosis Sanatorium at Tambaram, and for the exclusion, modification, or restriction of enactments relating to public health from or in such neighbourhood.

*The Andhra University (Amendment) Act, 1943 (Madras Act XXV of 1943)* (*3-12-1943*) :—To remove the prohibition imposed by section 26 (c) of the Andhra University (Second Amendment) Act, 1942, in the case of vacancies in seats on the Syndicate and the Finance Committee to which nominations are made by the Chancellor

*The Andhra University (Second Amendment) Act, 1943 (Madras Act XXVI of 1943)* (*3-12-1943*) :—To omit the reference to Ganjam in the Andhra University Act, 1925.

*The Madras University (Amendment) Act, 1943 (Madras Act XXVII of 1943)* (*13-12-1943*) :—To enable the Madras University to institute, maintain and manage colleges and laboratories of its own outside the limits of the University and to confer degrees and other academic distinctions on students who have pursued approved courses of study in such colleges and laboratories and passed the prescribed examinations.

*The Madras Elementary Education (Amendment) Act, 1943 (Madras Act XXVIII of 1943)* (*23-12-1943*) :—To amend section 34 (i) of the Elementary Education Act to make it clear that exemptions from the water and drainage, lighting or scavenging tax under the Madras District Municipalities Act or the Madras City Municipal Act should not be taken into account when determining the education tax levied under that section.

*The Criminal Tribes (Madras Amendment) Act, 1943 (Madras Act XXIX of 1943)* (*23-12-1943*) :—To substitute the expression "notified tribe" for "criminal tribe" in the criminal Tribes Act, 1924, to enable the Government to issue a notification applying certain provisions of the main Act and not necessary all its provisions to persons addicted to the commission of non-bailable offences and also to amend the main Act in certain other respects.

*The Madras Restriction of Habitual Offenders Act, 1943 (Madras Act XXX of 1943)* (*23-12-1943*) :—To provide for the application of the provisions of the Criminal Tribes Act, 1924, to individual habitual offenders so that, where necessary, restrictions may be placed on the movements of such offenders or a duty laid on them to notify their residences etc., as provided in that Act.

*The Madras Debt Conciliation (Second Amendment) Act, 1943 (Madras Act XXXI of 1943)* (*31-12-1943*) :—To authorise the Government to direct (a) that a Debt Conciliation Board should not receive fresh applications after a specified date and (b) that the applications received after a specified date and not disposed of before the date referred to in (a), should not be proceeded with.

*The Madras Estates Land (Temporary Amendment) Act, 1944 (Madras Act I of 1944)* (*9-1-1944*) :—To provide for the temporary assignment subject to certain conditions, of ryoti land situated in an estate and not already in the possession of a ryot or tenant, for periods ranging from 3 to 5 years for the purpose of raising food crops, during the present emergency.

*The Madras District Municipalities and Local Boards (Amendment) Act, 1944 (Madras Act II of 1944)* (*17-2-1944*) :—To provide for the removal of difficulties experienced in the administration of district municipalities and local boards in cases where the Chairman or Vice-Chairman or the President or the Vice-President is not likely to exercise or discharge some or all of his powers and duties.

*The Madras City Municipal and District Municipalities (Amendment) Act 1944 (Madras Act III of 1944)* (*28-2-1944* :—To amend the Madras City Municipal and District Municipalities Acts so as to make it clear that the deduction of 10 per cent made from the gross annual rent of lands and buildings, when assessing them to property tax, should be allowed only in respect of the building and not in respect of the site on which it stands or the adjacent lands occupied as an appurtenance thereto.

*The Madras Public Health (Amendment) Act, 1944 (Madras Act IV of 1944)* (*28-2-1944*) :—To make separate provision in the principal Act for the treatment and control of leprosy which is now regulated along with other infectious diseases.

*The Madras Hindu Religious Endowments (Amenument) Act, 1944 (Madras Act V of 1944)* (*7-3-1944*) :—To provide for the abolition of temple committees, the appointment of Assistant Commissioners to discharge certain duties now performed by Temple Committees and the grant of additional powers to the President of the Board to improve its working.

*The Madras Local Boards (Amendment) Act, 1944 (Madras Act VI of 1944)* (*23-3-1944*) :—To amend section 80 (i) of the main Act to empower district collectors to require land-holders in proprietary estates to furnish lists of the lands held by them in the fasli years 1350, 1351 and 1352 for the purpose of fixing the rent value of such lands for the triennium comprising fasli years 1353, 1354 and 1355.

*The Madras Commercial Crops Markets (Amendment) Act, 1944 (Madras Act VII of 1944)* (*24-3-1944*) :—To provide for the postponement of the elections to market committees for the period of the present war in view of the labour and expenditure involved in the preparation of electoral rolls and holding of elections and also of the present acute shortage of paper.

*The Madras District Municipalities (Amendment) Act, 1944. (Madras Act VIII 1944)* (*27-3-1944*) :—To enable the Government to direct such of the municipal councils as are levying the property tax at comparatively low rates to raise the tax to a reasonable level.

*The Madras Regulation of the Sale of Cloth (Repeal) Act, 1944 (Madras Act IX of 1944)* (*25-4-1944*) :—To repeal the Madras Regulation of the Sale of Cloth Act, 1937, with effect from April 1, 1944, as the labour involved in the administration of the Act was out of all proportion to the revenue derived from the licensing fees levied under it.

*The Madras General Sales Tax (Amendment) Act, 1944. (Madras Act X of 1944)* (*25-4-1944*) :—To amend the main Act (i) to provide that dealers whose annual turnovers are between Rs. 10,000 and Rs. 15,000 should pay sales tax at the rate of Rs. 8 per month and those whose turnovers are between Rs. 15,000 and Rs. 20.000 should pay at the rate of Rs. 12 per month, and (ii) to withdraw the exemption from tax, of sales of bullion and specie.

*The Andhra University (Amendment) Act, 1944 (Madras Act XI of 1944)* (*1-7-1944*) :—To amend section 15 class III, clause (4) of the main Act to enable the headquarters of recognised secondary schools in areas which originally formed part of the Ganjam district but were transferred to the Vizagaptam district consequent on the formation of the Orissa Province, to take part in the election of two members to the Senate of the University.

*The Madras Tobacco Taxation of Sales and Licensing (Repeal) and General Sales Tax (Amendment) Act, 1944 (Madras Act XII of 1944* (*1-7-1944*) :—To repeal the Madras Tobacco (Taxation of Sales and Licensing) Act, 1939, and to exclude all forms of tobacco from the provisions of the Madras General Sales Tax Act, 1939.

*The Tirumalai-Tirupati Devasthanams (Amendment) Act, 1944 (Madras Act, XIII of 1944* (*3-7-1944*) :—To amend section 56 of the main Act to enable the Tirumalai-Tirupati Devasthanams Committee to establish and maintain a first grade residential college at or near Tirupati.

*The Legal Practitioners (Madras Amendment) Act, 1944 (Madras Act, XIV of 1944)* (*14-7-1944*) :—To amend the main Act to provide for the constitution, where necessary, of a committee of legal practitioners (i) for any taluk at any place other than its headquarters or (ii) for two or more taluks.

*The Andhra University (Second Amendment) Act, 1944 (Madras Act XV of 1944)* (*1-9 1944*) :—To amend the main Act to give the Maharajah Saheb of Jeypore a right to nominate two members to the Senate and the Chancellor a right to nominate on the recommendation of the Maharajah two members to the Syndicate.

*The Andhra University (Third Amendment) Act, 1944 (Madras Act XVI of 1944)* (*24-9-1944*) :—To Amend section 22 (ii) of the main Act so as to enable the Academic Council to co-opt members from the staff of University colleges also.

*The Perundurai Tuberculosis Sanatorium (Regulation of Buildings) Act, 1944) (Madras Act XVII of 1944)* (*23-9-1944*) :—To provide for the control of the construction of buildings in the neighbourhood of the Tuberculosis Sanatorium at Perundurai and for the exclusion, modification or restriction of enactments relating to public health from or in such neighbourhood.

*The Madras Village Panchayats Bill, 1940* :—To make better provision in a separate enactment for the administration of village affairs by panchayats.

*The Madras Local Boards (Second Amendment) Bill, 1941* :—To remove panchayats from the scope of the Madras Local Boards Act, 1920, and confine the operation of the Act to District Boards and to make certain other amendments to the Act either for the purpose of removing certain difficulties encountered in working the Act or for the purpose of improving the administration of District Boards.

*The Madras Industrial Disputes Bill, 1942* :—To make provision for the promotion of peaceful and amicable settlement of industrial disputes by conciliation and arbitration.

*The Annamalai University (Second Amendment) Bill, 1943* :—To amend the principal Act so as to secure the more efficient working of the Act, the main changes being abolition of the Academic Council, alteration of the constitution of Senate so as to make it a more representative body, grant of effective powers to the Vice-Chancellor, etc.

*The Madras Forest (Amendment) Bill, 1944* :—To amend the Madras Forest Act to enable the Government in certain cases to place a private forest or waste land under the control and management of an officer appointed by the Government and to make provision for the successful preservation of game in reserved forests and the regulation of the felling of standing trees on lands outside reserved forests.

*The Madras City Improvement Trust Bill, 1944* :—To provide for the constitution of a Board of Trustees for the improvement and expansion of the City of Madras by opening up congested areas, laying out or altering streets and by framing and executing improvement schemes.

*The Madras Irrigation Works (Repairs, Improvement and Construction) (Amendment) Bill, 1944*:—To amend the main Act (i) to make the landholder liable only for so much of the cost of the irrigation work constructed by the Government on his lands, which is proportionate to the extent of the lands in his estate served by the work and to limit his liability to an amount which would yield a net return of 4 per cent and (ii) to make provision for cases where an irrigation work is intended to serve partly lands situated in two or more estates and partly ryotwari lands.

*The Madras Estates Land (Amendment) Bill, 1944* :—To amend section 3 (2) (d) of the main Act so as to make it clear that where a grant as an *inam* is expressed to be of a named village, the area which forms the subject matter of the grant should be deemed to be an estate although it did not include certain lands in the village of that name which have already been granted on service tenure or been reserved for communal purposes or the like.

*The Madras District Municipalities (Property Tax Validating) Bill, 1944* :—To validate the levy which had already been made by municipal councils of property tax on lands used exclusively for agricultural purposes in accordance with the provisions of sub-section (2) of section 81 of the main Act instead of under sub-section (4) of that section.

*The Madras General Sales Tax (Second Amendment) Bill, 1944* :—To amend section 14 of the main Act so as to empower inspecting officers to enter the place of business of a dealer and seize accounts, registers and other documents if necessary, and to authorise gazetted officers specially empowered by the Government to search premises other than those used for the conduct of business where there is reason to believe that true account books etc. are secreted and to seize them.

*The Malabar Tenancy (Amendment) Bill, 1944* :—To amend section 51 of the main Act to define clearly the scope of that section in regard to rent or michavaram payable in kind and to provide for a fair and equitable way of determining the money equivalent of the commodities specified in the section, during the period of the war in view of the abnormal rise in their prices.

*The Madras District Municipalities (Second Amendment) Bill, 1944* :—To amend the main Act to provide that the governing body of a college maintained by a municipal council and affiliated to a University shall exercise in respect of the teaching staff and establishment of the college, the powers of appointment, control and punishment.

*The Madras Irrigation Cess (Amendment) Bill, 1944* :—To amend the main Act so as to make it clear that the water cess levied under the Act is not a tax on land, but a fee levied for the water supplied or used for the irrigation of land.

*The Madras Prevention of Begging Bill, 1944* :—To provide for the prevention of begging in mofussil areas and to commit offenders in certain cases to workhouses or special homes.

## Govt. of United P Madr ces

*The United Provinces Municipalities (Amendment) Act, 1943 (2 clear 943)* :—To avoid discrimination in regard to security of appointment and conditions of service between certain educational officers of the Municipal Board and the other employees of the Board who enjoyed such security under section 68 of the UP. Municipalities Act, 1916.

*The United Provinces Sugar Factories Control (Amendment) Act, 1943 (1-12-1943* :—To secure three main objects : (1) to extend the operation of the Sugar Factories Control Act, 1938, which was due to expire on June 30, 1944, upto June 30, 1947, (2) to set up a com-

mittee to advise the Government regarding the suitability of the various varieties of cane so as to bring about an all round improvement in sugarcane cultivation. (3) to provide that cane grown in the reserved area of a factory shall not be sold without the permission of the Cane Commissioner to another factory.

*The Co-operative Societies (United Provinces) Amendment Act, 1944 (18-3-1944)* :—To impose an obligation on the employer to make deductions from the salary of his employees who take loans from Salary Earner's Co-operative Societies.

*The Police (United Provinces Amendment) Act, 1944 (26-7-1944)* :—To provide for the punishment of withholding of increments or promotion on the subordinate police force.

*The United Provinces Fire Service Act,1944 (26-7-1944)* :—To give responsibility to Provincial Government for the adequacy and efficiency of the peacetime fire-fighting organisations in the towns of Agra, Allahabad, Benares, Cawnpore and Lucknow and any other town to which the Act may be applied.

*The United Provinces Nurses, Midwives, Assistant Midwives and Health Visitors' Registration (Amendment) Act, 1944 (31-7-1944)* :—To improve the status and conditions of service of the nursing profession and to secure for them wider representation in the Nurses and Midwives Council.

*The Court Fees (United Provinces Amendment Act, 1944 (27-9-1944)* :—By section 49 (1) of the third schedule of the Arbitration Act. 1940, the provisions of the Code of Civil Procedure had been repealed and thus the reference to paragraph 17 and 20 in Article 18 of schedule II of the Court Fees Act had become irrelevant. By this act the reference to paragraph 17 and 20 C.P.C. has been substituted by a reference to the Arbitration Act, 1940.

*The United Provinces Town Improvement (Amendment) Act, 1944 (6-10-1944* :—To provide for better representation of various interests in the Cawnpore Improvement Trust.

## Central Provinces and Berar

*The Central Provinces and Berar Finance (Annual) Act, 1944 (I of 1944) (26-3-44)* :—To continue the operation of certain taxation Acts, and to provide for the levy of a surcharge on court-fees and stamp duties and increase in entertainments duty with a view to secure additional revenue to the Province and to check wide-spread inflationary tendency.

*The Central Provinces and Berar Regulation of Couching Act, 1944 (II of 1944) (26-3-44)* :—To prohibit the practice of couching of cataract by persons who are not registered practitioners or by persons who do not possess qualifications entitling them to be registered as such.

*The Central Provinces and Berar Motor Vehicles Taxation (Amendment) Act, 1944 (III of 1944) (29-3-44)* :—To change the basis of taxation on goods vehicles partly to check inflationary tendency and partly to meet changed conditions.

*The Central Provinces and Berar Municipalities (Amendment) Act, 1944 (IV of 1944) (9-6-44)* :—To penalise public begging within the municipal limits and to make it obligatory upon municipal committees to maintain poor-houses.

*The Central Provinces and Berar Prohibition (Amendmeat) Act, 1944 (V of 1944) (7-8-44)* :—To empower Government to exclude a particular area from the operation of the Central Provinces and Berar Prohibition Act, 1938 (VII of 1938).

*The Berar Land Revenue Code (Amendment) Act, 1944 (VI of 1944) (4-9-44)* :—To enhance the maximum rate of jaglia and Mahar cess to enable Government to recover the increase sanctioned in the emoluments of jaglias and Mahars to meet the increased cost of living.

*The Nagpur Improvement Trust (Amendment) Bill, 1944* :—To remove certain doubts regarding the powers of the Nagpur Improvement Trust to undertake schemes for expansion and development within the municipal limits; to provide for powers in respect of sewage disposal, and to remove defects revealed by the operation of the principal Act.

## Government of Bihar

*The Bihar Entertainments Duty (War Surcharge Amendment) Act. 1943 (Bihar Act VIII of 1943) (5-11-1943). The Bihar Court-fees (War Surcharge Amendment) Act, 1943 (Bihar Act IX of 1943) (5-11-1943). The Bihar Stamp (War Surcharge Amendment) Act, 1943 (Bihar Act X of 1943) (15-11-1943)* :—To combat inflation by imposing a surcharge not exceeding the amount of the tax payable under the Bihar Entertainments Duty Act, 1937, and of approximately 25 per cent on all court-fees and stamp duties leviable respectively under the Court Fees Act, 1870, and the Indian Stamp Act, 1899, as in force in Bihar, and to increase the fund created to provide money for Post-war Reconstruction.

*The Bihar Local Self-Government (Temporary Extension of Term of Office)*

*Act, 1944 (Bihar Act I of 1944) (3-2-1944)* :—To secure power to postpone for the duration of the war all general elections in District Boards by extending the term of office of members of District and Local Boards.

*The Bihar Tenancy (Amendment) Act, 1944 (Bihar Act II of 1944) (5-2-1944)* :—To empower officers other than the Collectors of districts to dispose of appeals in rent commutation cases under the section 40 (6) of the Bihar Tenancy Act, 1885.

*The Jharia Water-Supply (Amendment) Act 1944 (Bihar Act III of 1944) (14-2-1944)* :—To repeal a provision of the Jharia Water-Supply Act, 1914, which experience has shown to be unnecessary and a source of uncertainty.

*The Bihar Agricultural Income-tax (Amendment) Act, 1944 (Bihar Act IV of 1944) (10-3-1944)* :—To fix a uniform basis for exemption from taxation under the Bihar Agricultural Income-Tax Act, 1938, by removing the existing provision regarding exemption on acreage basis and to raise, in view of the high prices of food crops, the multiple of the rent or cess valuation on the basis of which the assessee may have his income calculated.

*The Jharia Water-Supply (Second Amendment) Act, 1944 (Bihar Act V of 1944) (23-4-1944)* :—To enable the Jharia Water Board to invest its surplus funds in Government securities or in other securities.

*The Bihar Sales Tax Act, 1944 (Bihar Act VI of 1944) (29-5-1944)* :—To levy a tax on the retail sale of goods with a view to supplement the revenues of the province and to provide adequate funds for schemes of the nation-building department which may be undertaken as a part of Post-War Reconstruction.

*The Bihar Municipal (Amendment) Act, 1944 (Bihar Act VII of 1944) (27-6-1944)* :—To empower municipalities to impose a tax on bicycles.

*The Bihar Provincialisation of Roads and Hospitals Act, 1944 (Bihar Act VIII of 1944) (30-6-1944)* :—To empower Government to take over and provincialise selected roads and hospitals now vested in local authorities for the efficient maintenance of communications in the Province and for the provision of adequate medical facilities to the people of the province.

*The Bihar Local Self-Government and Cess (Amendment) Act, 1944 (Bihar Act XI of 1944) (21-7-1944)* :—To fix the rate of cess on annual profits at the present maximum rate of one anna on each rupee of such profits and to increase the cess income of District Boards by raising the rate of local cess on the annual value of lands to a minimum of one anna and six pies on each rupee which may be increased by the District Board or by the Provincial Government to two annas on each rupee and to empower Government to prescribe the minimum expenditure to be incurred by District Boards on objects within their competence.

*The Patna University (Amendment) Act 1944 (Bihar Act IX of 1944) (29-7-1944)* :—To make amendments in the Patna University Act, 1917, rendered necessary by the enactment of the Utkal University Act and to make provision for the retention of the existing strength of the Senate and the Syndicate of the Patna University.

*The Bihar Co-operative Societies (Amendment) Act, 1944 (Bihar Act X of 1944) (4-8-1944)* :—To introduce a scheme extending the activities of the Bihar Provincial Co-operative Bank on the lines adopted by the Credit Agricole d' Egypt under which advances of improved seeds, manures, and implements and advances, against the pledge of produce, will be made to cultivators on a large scale.

*The Bihar Local Self-Government Laws (Amending) Act, 1944 (Bihar Act XII of 1944) (18-9-1944)* :—To exclude the application of local laws relating to local self-government and the jurisdiction of local authorities from cantonments and at the same time enable such local self-government functions as may be desirable to be carried on in those areas.

*The Bihar Tenancy (Second Amendment) Act. 1944 (Bihar Act XIII of 1944) (23-9-1944). The Chota Nagpur Tenancy (Amendment) Act, 1944 (Bihar Act XIV of 1944) (23-9-1944)* :—To encourage the landlords to settle on temporary emergency wartime lease as much of surplus lands as possible by providing that occupancy and non-occupancy rights shall not accrue therein so as to promote the the Grow More Food Campaign.

## N.-W. F. Province

*The N.-W.F.P. Legislative Assembly (Members' Allowances) (Amendment) Act, 1944. (25-3-1944)* :—To authorise the Parliamentary Secretaries to draw the daily allowance permissible to other M.L.A.s during the session of the Legislative Assembly.

*The N.-W.F.P. Entertainments Duty (Amendment) Act, 1944. (25-3-1944)* :—To provide for the withdrawal of the concession of issuing duty-free complimentary tickets by the management as well as by the lessor of the building.

# The Rajagopalachariar Formula

## Jinnah—Rajagopalachariar Correspondence

The Muslim claim of self-determination was espoused by a prominent Congress leader, Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar and on the *10th of July 1944*, he published a formula which had been discussed with, and approved by, Mahatma Gandhi in *March 1943* and which he had communicated to Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, on the *8th of April 1924*. The formula was intended to serve as a basis for settlement between the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League.

Mr. Jinnah, while willing to place the formula before the Working Committee of the Muslim League, stated that he could not personally take responsibility "for accepting or rejecting it."

Mr. Rajagopalachariar, however, being of the view that "it was futile to allow Mr. Jinnah, if he could not himself wholeheartedly back it, to put my proposal before the Muslim League", the negotiations were closed.

The following is the text of the exchange of correspondence between Mr. C. Rajagopalachari and Mr. Jinnah :—

**Letter from "C.R." Dated New Delhi, April 8, 1944.**

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Here is the basis for a settlement which I discussed with Gandhiji in March, 1943 and of which he expressed full approval. He then authorised me to signify his approval of these terms should I be able to convince you of their being just and fair to all. As the Government have refused to relax any of the restrictions imposed on him to enable him to discuss or negotiate terms of any settlement, II write this to you on his behalf and hope that this will bring about a finae settlement of the most unfortunate impasse we are in. You are aware of the intensity of my desire for a settlement. I was very glad when I found it possiblr to obtain Gandhiji's approval of these terms. I hope that you will bestow youe fullest thought to the justice and fairness of these proposals and help to terminate a condition of affairs which is steadily causing all round deterioration in the country.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) C. Rajagopalachari.

**Basis for Settlement**

**Basis for terms of settlement between the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League to which Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah agree and which they will endeavour respectively to get the Congress and the League to approve.**

**(1) Subject to the terms set out below as regards the constitution for Free India, the Muslim League endorses the Indian demand for independence and will co-operate with the Congress in the formation of a provisional interim Government for the transitional period.**

**(2) After the termination of the war, a commission shall be appointed for demarcating contiguous districts in the north-west and east of India, wherein the Muslim population is in absolute majority. In the areas thus demarcated, a plebiscite of all the inhabitants held on the basis of adult suffrage or other practicable franchise shall ultimately decide the issue of separation from Hindustan. If the majority decide in favour of forming a sovereign State separate from Hindustan, such decision shall be given effect to, without prejudice to the right of districts on the border to choose to join either State.**

**(3) It will be open to all parties to advocate their points of view before the plebiscite is held.**

**(4) In the event of separation, mutual agreements shall be entered into for safeguarding defence, commerce and communications and for other essential purposes.**

(5) Any transfer of population shall only be on an absolutely voluntary basis.
(6) These terms shall be binding only in case of transfer by Britain of full power and responsibility for the governance of India.

**Letter From "C.R." Dated New Delhi, April 17, 1944.**

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

"The proposal I gave you in writing when we last met in Delhi must be still with you and perhaps you have read it over again and given further thought to it. I was much disappointed, as you are aware, at your inability to approve of the terms. But I hope you may perhaps reconsider your position. I sincerely believe that the proposals form a fair and satisfactory basis of settlement. I shall be grateful to hear from you as to whether you have reconsidered the matter.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd). C. Rajagopalachari."

**Telegram from "C. R " from Poona Dated June 30, 1944.**

Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah, Guest House, Srinagar.

"My letter dated 17th April touching matter personally discussed on 8th April remains yet unanswered. Have now met Gandhiji who still stands by formula presented to you by me. I would like now publish formula and your rejection. This telegram is sent with Gandhiji's approval. I would like you at this juncture to reconsider your rejection. C. Rajagopalachari, "Dilkhush," "Panchgani."

**Telegram from Mr. Jinnah to "C.R." Dated July 2, 1944.**

Your request to publish your formula. Your wrong version our talk that I rejected your formula is unfair and surprising. True facts are—I was willing place your formula before Working Committee Muslim League, although it was not open to any modification, but you did not agree allow me to do so. Hence no further step was taken. My reaction was that I could not personally take responsibility of accepting or rejecting it and my position remains same to-day. If Mr. Gandhi even now sends me direct his proposal, I am willing place it before Muslim League Working Committee."—Jinnah".

**Telegram from C.R." from Panchgani Dated July 4, 1944.**

"Thanks telegram, My letter 17th April showed how I felt over what I thought was rejection of formula so far as you were personally concerned. Shall be glad indeed if, as your telegram suggests you did not reject it. Gandhiji, though not vested with representative or special authority in this matter, definitely approved my proposal and authorised me to approach you on the basis. Now again, he reaffirms his assent. Weight of his opinion would most probably secure Congress acceptance. You were un-willing to place it before League Council. I think no purpose served by such procedure so long as it does not have your own support.—C. Rajagopalachari."

**Mr. Jinnah's Telegraphic Reply from Srinagar Dated July 5, 1944**

"Regret unable go beyond my telegram 2nd July.—Jinnah."

**"C.R.'s" Telegram from Panchgani Dated July 8**

"Your telegram of 5th received to-day (July 8.) With it private negotiation ends. It is necessary take public into confidence now. I am accordingly releasing entire correspondence ending your wire 5th.—Rajagopalachari."

## Rajagopalachari's Reply to Critics

The publication of the Rajaji formula raised a furore of conflicting opinions in the country. In this article specially contributed, Rajaji answers his various critics—the British, the Hindu Sanghatanists, the Indian States and other Minorities.

"Do you agree with inference drawn in England that you favour full entry of the free Indian Government into the war against Japan." To this question put to Gandhiji by the journal "*Cavalcade*" the answer was an unambiguous three letter word "Yes." To a second question put to remove the apprehensions of Anglo-American capital, Gandhiji's answer was equally clear. He said that his advice would be to respect all such interests and to honour all agreements entered into. This sets at rest all specious excuses.

The "*New Statesman*" has well pointed out the two distinguishing factors in

the present situation. Gandhiji has met the central demand of the Muslim League and he advises Indian co-operation during the war-period. The journal rightly warns the British Government that this chance for friendship may not come again and that, if Britan should ignore the present chance, it would confirm Indians in their distrust of British good faith. No wiser words were uttered. Let us hope that the intoxication of victory and good news in the war-zone may not cloud the intellect in the judgment of the no less important situation in Asia.

The formula to which Gandhiji has consented concedes the maximum content of the League resolution of 1940. It can hereafter only be a case of obstruction for obstruction's sake. To make that kind of obstruction a justification for inaction is inconsistent with Britain's claims of responsibility for India. The League has asked for the right to separate for certain tracts, and this has been fully conceded. The limitations by way of territorial re-adjustment with respect to composition of inhabitants and the plebiscite are inherent in the very claim made by the Muslim League. We cannot create states in the twentieth century at the bidding of politicians without asking the people concerned. A refusal to accept this offer because one cannot be sure of the result of a referendum is worse than Ulsterism and cannot be a ground for putting off an Indo-British settlement which is needed for the peace of the world.

There is a chance now for the healing of all sores. My appeal to Britain, to the Muslim League and the people of India of all creeds and communities is that we should not lose this opportunity. If we miss it again, we shall be where we are, which now is a continent-wide bog of corruption and degradation of spirit. Let us be practical and let us help one another. Not one of us can be happy or find our soul and our self-respect if we do not help one another now. Mr. Savarkar has stated that it is the duty of every Hindu Sanghatanist to denounce my proposal. Mr. Savarkar may thus define the duty of his Hindu Sanghatanists. But what about the duty of Indian Sanghatanists whose aim is to be free, and not only to organise against Muslims? We see no alternative but violence and civil war if we do not support just self-determination. Civil war and violence may have a theoretical place in evolution, but it will not be permitted by the British. They will prevent it as long as they have power and hold Hindus and Muslims in full freehold.

It is said that I am far away from the Punjab, and Bengal, and that I should leave it to the people of those parts. We are leaving it to them. That is the meaning of the plebiscite: And if I am far away, is Gandhiji also far away? And is Britain nearer, on whom you must depend, my brothers, if this controversy should be kept unsolved? Do you not realise that all the horrors you associated with Pakistan are already there? What we propose will reduce the scope of existing wrong.

The argument of vivisection has been taken up by even some ministers of Indian States. Draw an outline map of India and insert all the Indian States on whose behalf these Ministers claim sovereign right and treaty obligations from the British Crown. One can then understand the meaning of 'Vivisection'.

We have all read the statement of the Chancellor of Princes' Chamber as well as the occasional contributions of esteemed ministers. There is nothing in these pronouncements beyond vague generalities. There is no offer in them on the main point required for Indian Freedom and self-rule—the substitution of loyalty to Indian democracy for the 'paramountcy' of the British Parliament. When Sir Stafford Cripps met the Princes, far from being responsive to national tendencies or falling into harmony with the national demand the Princes drove the eminent lawyer-ambassador to a tight corner by referring to the treaty-rights they held as against the British Government rights which they proposed to requisition not against foreign enemies or the mutual attacks of one Prince against another, but against the movement of democracy in their own territories as if that were insurrection! The use of terms like allegiance to the British Crown cannot alter the fait that it is the British Cabinet and Parliament that exercise paramountcy.

One cannot but be amused at the use of the phrase 'treaty' when there is not a shred of independence on the side of these Princes but only subservience, as of subordinates, and terror of the Political Department of the Viceroy. Cannot the Princes see that it would be far more honourable and consistent with the dignity of their position to accept the true paramountcy of the Indian people, among whom they live in cultural, moral and material unity? The suzerainty of Indian democracy is the logical corollary of political progress. Surely, more consideration, more sympathy and more justice can be expected from the representatives of the

Indian people than from the proud representatives, of the might of Great Britain, from whom they are divided as much in spirit and material interests as in distance. The claim of the Indian States based on so-called treaties is not founded on any popular feeling in the States but is conceived only as a barbed-wire defence against democracy. Here is a continent-wide disturbing factor before which Pakistan pales into comparative insignificance. Every Indian State will, if this be granted, be an island under British suzerainty. No progress towards democracy is possible if this attitude on the part of the Princes is adhered to. Let us hope and pray that the generalities occasionally indulged in by them will be converted into withdrawal of this anamolous claim, if only because of the irresistible trend of feeling among their subjects, that they should not be in a worse position than the people of British India to whom they are equal in every respect.

Be this as it may, it does not lie in the mouth of those who stand for and press these so-called treaty rights of Princes to raise a discordant note in the name of unity and object to a scheme that places the decision as to the Muslim League's claim in the hands of the people and seeks to respect the ascertained wishes of the people in the areas concerned.

There are important minorities outside the Muslim and Hindu communities. They make no territorial or separatist claim. Their anxieties are in respect of equal civil and political rights with other citizens. This problem of just treatment of minorities is nothing new. It was threshed out at each stage of Indian constitutional reform. Let us not invent and exaggerate distrust, as those who seek to divide us may wish. Let not the new technique of atrocity reports tempt us. The ambition of Indian democracy will be to set an example to the world on just government if not in Industries and Armaments. In this ancient land of immemorial culture, the Kings bowed before Dharma, and the people of India will not be less noble than the ancient Kings. This is an assurance planted in the genius of the land and of better value than the overlordship of Britain or the terms of any paper charter.—(*National Press Syndicate*).

## Opposition to Rajagopalachari Formula

No public man of our country or generation, certainly no public man of outstanding influence and authority, has ever found himself in a position of such extreme difficulty as that in which his association with what has come to be known as the Rajagopalachariar formula for a Congress-League settlement has placed Mahatma Gandhi. In spite of differences, Mahatma Gandhi has hitherto been held in universal regard and esteem, indeed commanded unbounded influence with all sections of the people of India, except those represented by the Muslim League. While the esteem and regard in which he has hitherto been held remain undiminished and while his leadership for general political purposes is still unquestioned, in the vitally important matter of a Congress-League settlement based on Mr. Rajagopalachari's formula, the Mahatma found himself at loggerheads with a large proportion of these sections if not indeed with most of them. It was not the case, as Mr. Rajagopalachari once tried to make out, that the opposition to his formula was confined only to the Hindu Mahasabha. The Sikhs in the Punjab was much and as openly up in arms against the formula as the Hindu Mahasabha while in the two major provinces that were directly and immediately affected by the formula a large majority of Congressmen, all in fact except those who instinctively support any and every action taken by the Mahatma, had through their accredited spokesman publicly expressed their dissent from and their determination not to accept the formula.

Next to the Congress the most important non-communal political party in India is the Liberal Party and the leaders of that party condemned the formula in scathing terms. Mr. Srinivas Sastri, than whom it is impossible to think of a statesman who is more singularly free from communal bias and whose relations with Mahatma Gandhi had always been

as friendly and cordial as those of any other non-party public man, subjected the formula to merciless criticism, though, of course, in his usual courteous and dignified manner.

## Mr. Sastri Condemns the Formula

"My motive is real union—not the union to-day only to drive out the Britisher—but that kind of union which will sustain and remain in the land and make each one regard the other as brotherly, as friendly and as conjoined in the pursuit of common tasks that devolve on statesmen and patriots of a great country," observed the Rt. Hon'ble *V. S. Srinivasa Sastri*, making an exhaustive and critical analysis of Mr. C. Rajagopalachari's formula for a communal settlement at a largely attended public meeting held on the 13th. August 1944 at the Ranade Hall, Madras under the auspices of the Madras Nati nal Liberal Party.

Mr. Sastri felt sure that a plebiscite conducted only in those areas where the Muslims were in "absolute majority" would result in favour of Pakistan and there was no doubt about it.

At the outset, Mr. Sastri read out the Pakistan resolution of the Muslim League and the formula of Mr. Rajagopalachari for a communal settlement and said that the Pakistan resolution did not contemplate one single coherent Pakistan, and the words used in the resolution were in plural, namely, "autonomous units." It meant that, while in the north-west there might be a Muslim province which was sovereign, in the north-east there might be another such State and these two were not intended, so far as the resolution went, for one political sovereign State. Secondly, there was also no corridor mentioned in that resolution. The language of the resolution seemed to imply that, while there would certainly be two Muslim States, there was the possibility of a third or a fourth State as well if the contiguous areas referred to were not so contiguous as to form one unit.

Referring to the question of plebiscite, Mr. Sastri said that it would be more or less, a pre-determined matter. The plebiscite had to be taken in the areas where the Muslims were in an 'absolute majority' and the expression 'absolute majority'—in political matters meant majority over all other communities put together; this plebiscite being confined only to those areas, it would declare in favour of Pakistan and there was no doubt about it. That was perhaps the reason why Mr. Rajagopalachari had been saying frequently that there was no rise which the Muslims need fear in giving to the minority the fairness of a plebiscite also.

"Mr. Jinnah, so far as the formula goes, has triumphed," continued the speaker. He (Mr. Jinnah) has got the principle of Pakistan admitted by those who have the greatest influence with the Congress and with the country. He is a lucky man amongst the politicians. Four years ago he got from Lord Linlithgow a declaration in which it was emphatically stated that no changes would be made in the future constitution of India unless beforehand the Muslim community had been consulted, and that community had also agreed to those changes. Mr. Jinnah can also pride himself on that point. He has got two great points—one from the regular Viceroy of India and the other from the "un-official Viceroy" (laughter).

There is a third thing which he has got: it is not so clear on the face of it; but we have to infer it. The Congress has always been claiming that the Muslim League is not the only representative of the Muslim community and in the latest step taken, the Mahatma and Rajaji have, without using these words, it seems to me, accepted that position."

Adverting to the forthcoming Gandhi-Jinnah meeting, Mr. Sastri said: "Supposing Mr. Jinnah and Mahatma Gandhi come to an agreement, the Mahatma is going to talk to the Congress and, through the Congress, to the country and Mr. Jinnah is going to talk to the League and the matter will be settled for India. The Hindu Mahasabha is protesting strongly and the Sikhs are doing the same in the Punjab. If these two persons, Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah agree, however, what can the Hindu Mahasabha and the Sikhs do afterwards? So far as I can see, they are saying that they will make trouble, and if they make trouble, it is a curious position in which we are landing ourselves. If there is a decision arrived at between the Congress and the League, and supposing the Government accept it, this decision will have to be enforced, and enforced against the bitter opposition of the Hindu community and the Sikh community, and these two great leaders, Mr. Jinnah and Mahatma Gandhi, should help the Government in putting down all the dissidents in the country."

Mr. Sastri added that it was not right that any one community merely by putting its feet down and saying "I won't, I won't" should get its own way.

"What are the steps that will be taken in order to enforce the agreement, if it is arrived at?" Mr. Sastri asked and said: "There will be no agreement at all, but, if there is one, how will it be enforced? First of all, having agreed, Mr. Jinnah and the Mahatma, with their most important followers, have to ask the Viceroy for an interview, for, one of the conditions here, is that this agreement cannot take effect unless twe British Government agrees to transfer power to the Indian. Therefore, that point must be secured and it cannot be secured until the matter has been submitted to the Muslim League and the Congress; it cannot be submitted to the Congress without its leaders being set free. For that purpose and for the purpose of ascertaining the minds of the British Government regarding their readiness to transfer power, these two people who have agreed should ask for an interview with the Viceroy.

"What the Viceroy's response would be it was highly problematical," Mr. Sastri said. He felt that the Viceroy might say "well, look here. Do not come and ask for independence. We have already offered you the Cripps scheme." He went on: "I do not think, so far as human extends can be foretold, that there is a likelihood at all, or even a five per cent chance of the Government saying yes, you will have independence."

When a national Government was asked for, continued the speaker, the British, who were very clever people, would raise fresh questions during the discussion of which the war would come to an end. (Laughter) Supposing the British Government did agree to the demand of the two leaders, they would have to go to the areas to be demarcated and begin demarcation. Before demarcation could take place there would be an interval during which the Hindus and the Muslims there—those who were for separation and those who were against it—could make their propaganda and they, as practical people, would have to consider whether that plebiscite would be conducted in a peaceful atmosphere. If Mr. Jinnah and his party from Bombay and other Pakistanites from the rest of India could go to those areas to help their co-religionists, would not our Hindu friends there, already in hopeless minority, ask for help from the Mahatma and Rajaji, because both of them had said that they did not want to give Pakistan, but they were compelled to do so. "These people (Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Rajagopalachari) ought to go there in my opinion, observed Mr. Sastri and added: "But they dare not go, having agreed to the principle of Pakistan. It may not be quite proper for them to go."

Mr. Sastri added: "The princes in the Indian States would also have to be consulted in such matters of great importance. They must have a guarantee of protection which they were having from the paramount power." He remarked: "if they are to look for protection, are they to look for protection to Hindustan or to Pakistan, in the west or in the east?" The princes might, therefore, like India to be one and undivided.

Mr. Sastri further observed: "The Government of India who do not want to part with power may say twenty things to frighten the princes. We do not know what lines the princes will take. Very probably they will oppose the new movement altogether."

"Whether the princes oppose it or not, there is one man in the centre who is certain to oppose and say the worst things he can say and that is Dr. Ambedkar. He is certain to make trouble" Mr. Sastri continued.

Mr. Sastri said that he had a shrewd idea that the British people were sincerely divided in their opinion as to Pakistan. There were the Viceroy and the Governors of provinces who were entrusted with the daily task of administration. The tremendous Bengal problem had taught them a very bitter and severe lesson. Unless they had the resources of the whole country in their own hands and managed them as occasions required their position would be made impossible. That was why Lord Linlithgow in the end quietly said: "I think India must be one, and Lord Wavell was obliged to make that declaration early enough.

Mr. Sastri did not want that India should speak with four or five competing, perhaps contesting, voices at the peace conference. He declared that that was the reason why he had been saying for some years now that they could never allow India to be broken up. At that conference there must be one who would be able to say "I represent the 400 millions of India. They all trust me. I am the Prime Minister of the dominion of India." If he was able to say that he was sure that his voice would prevail and general Smuts would hang down his head.

Mr. Sastri continued: "I dread this idea of division of India. I dread it

like poison. It is not going to bring you what you want—the independence of India—even I may be willing to say 'yes', though I think it will be better for us to have one independent India instead of being four independent Indias quarreling with each other. However, such a thing is not going to happen"

Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Rajagopalachari seemed to think, Mr. Sastri said, that the British people professed to fight for freedom of all and for the establishment of democratic principles and therefore when they asked for freedom it would not be possible for them to say "no". "It is no more than a slender string that will snap at the first touch of reality" and it has already snapped. Only when the present British Government was displaced and another Government like the Labour Government came they might hope for something: but the Labour Government was not going to come in on its own merits", he added.

In conclusion Mr. Sastri said: "If we make mistake of a serious kind in the distribution of the provinces and in their arrangements we will be putting ourselves and our children into serious trouble and the mischief that we now do cannot be easily rectified".

## The Gandhi—Jinnah Correspondence

Since all these were happening Mr. Jinnah received a letter from Mahatma Gandhi dated July 17 and he replied to him on July 24. The following is the full text of the Gandhi-Jinnah correspondence released to the press on Wednesday September 29, 1944 :—

**Letter from Gandhiji dated Panchgani, July 17.**

Brother Jinnah,—There was a day when I could induce you to speak in the mother tongue. Today I take the courage to write to you in the same language. I had invited you to meet me while I was in jail. I have not written to you since my release. But today my heart says that I should write to you. We will meet whenever you choose. Don't regard me as the enemy of Islam or of the Muslims of this country. I am the friend and servant of not only yourself but of the whole world. Do not disappoint me. Your brother.—Sd. M. K. GANDHI.

**Letter from Mr. Jinnah dated Srinagar, July 24**

Dear Mr. Gandhi,—I received your letter dated July 17 here on July 22 and I thank you for it.

I shall be glad to receive you at my house in Bombay on my return, which will probably be about the middle of August. By that time I hope that you will have recuperated your health fully and will be returning to Bombay. I would like to say nothi g more till we meet.

I am very pleased to read in the press that you are making very good progress, and I hope that you will soon be alright. Yours sincerely,—Sd. M. A. JINNAH.

The proposed Gandhi—Jinnah meeting could not take place in August as scheduled owing to Mr. Jinnah's indisposition. It however took place at Mr. Jinnah's residence in Bombay on the 9th. September and continued till the 29th. September. The talks between the leaders centred round the Rajagopalachari Formula. The following is the text of the correspondence released to the Press after the negotiations had broken down :—

**Letter from Mr Jinnah dated September 10**

Dear Mr. Gandhi,- With reference to our talk yesterday, September 9, I understood from you that you had come to discuss the Hindu-Muslim settlement with me in your individual capacity and not in representative character or capacity on behalf of the Hindus or the Congress, nor had you any authority to do so. I naturally pointed out to you that there must be someone on the other side with authority holding a representative status with whom I can negotiate and, if possible, come to a settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question ; that for the position you had adopted there was no precedent ; and that this raises great difficulties in my way. As you know, I can only speak on behalf of the Muslim League, as the President of the organisation which I represent, and as such I am subject to, and governed by, its constitution, rules and regulations. I think you realise and will admit that the settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question is the foremost and the major hurdle,

and unless the representatives of these two nations put their heads together, how is one to make any headway with it ?

**Points for Clarification**

Nevertheless, I explained to you the Lahore resolution of March 1940, and t ied to persuade you to accept the basic and fundamental principles embodied in that resolution, but you not only refused to consider it but emphasised your opposition to the basic demand indicated in that resolution and remarked that there was "an ocean between you and me." When I asked you, what is then the alternative you suggest ? you put forward the formula of Mr. Rajagogalachari, approved of by you. We discussed it, and as the various matters were vague and nebulous, and some required clarification, I wanted to have a clear idea of what it really meant, and what were its implications, and asked you for explanation and clarification regarding the proposals embodied in that formula. After some discussion, you requested me to formulate in writing the points that I thought required or called for explanation and clarification, and to communicate with you and that you would reply in writing before our next meeting on Monday September 11. I am therefore submitting to you the following points which require clarification :—

(1) With regard to the preamble, in what capacity will you be a consenting party if any agreement is reached between you and me ?

(2) Clause 1 : With regard to "the constitution for free India" referred to in this clause, I would like to know, first, what constitution do you refer to, who will frame it, and when it will come into being.

Next, it is stated in the formula that "the Muslim League endorsed the Indian demand for independence." Does it mean the Congress demand for independence as formulated in the August resolution of 1942 by the All-India Congress Committee in Bombay or, if not, what is the significance of this term ?—for you know the Muslim League has made it clear not only by its resolutions but also by its creed, which is embodied in its constitution, that we stand for the freedom and independence of the whole of this sub-continent, and that applies to Pakistan and Hindustan.

Next, it is stated that the Muslim League "will co-operate with the Congress in its formation of a provisional interim Government for the transitional period." I would like to know the basis or the lines on which such a Government is to be set up or constituted. If you have a complete and definite scheme, please let me have it.

(3) Clause 2 : Who will appoint the commission referred to in this clause and who will give effect to their findings ? What is the meaning of "absolute majority" referred to in it ? Will the contemplated plebiscite be taken district-wise or, if not, on what basis ? Who will determine and decide whether such a plebiscite should be based on adult franchise ? Who will give effect to the decision or verdict of the above-mentioned plebiscite ? Would only the districts on the border, which are taken out from the boundries of the present provinces by delimitation, be entitled to choose to join either state or also those outside the present boundaries would have the right to choose to join either state ?

(4) Clause 3 : Who are meant by "all parties" in this clause ?

(5) Clause 4 : I would like to know between whom and through what machinery and agency will the "mutual agreements" referred to in this clause be entered into ? What is meant by "safeguarding defence and commerce and communications and for other essential purpose" ? Safeguarding against whom ?

(6) Clause 6 : "These terms shall be binding only in case of transfer by Britain of full power and responsibility for the Government of India." I would like to know to whom is this power to be transferred, through what machinery and agency, and when ?

These are some of the important points that occur to me for the moment, which require explanation and clarification, and I hope that you will let me have full details with regard to the various points that I have raised, in order that I may be better able to understand and judge your proposals before we can deal with satisfactorily. Yours sincerely,—Sd. M. A. JINNAH.

## Gandhiji's Demand

**Letter from Gandhiji dated September 11 :—**

Dear Qaid-i-Azam,—I received your letter yesterday at 8-30 p. m. I was in the midst of appointments. I hasten to reply at the earliest opportunity.

I have said in my letter to you that it is implied in the Rajaji formula and I have stated publicly, that I approached you as an individual. My life-mission has

been Hindu-Muslim unity, which I want for its own sake but which is not to be achieved without the foreign ruling power being ousted. Hence the first condition of the exercise of the right of self-determination is the achieving of independence by the joint action of all the parties and groups composing India. If such joint action is unfortunately impossible, then too I must fight with the assistance of such elements as can be brought together. I am glad therefore that you did not break off our talks when I refused to assume or accept representative capacity. Of course, I am pledged to use all the influence I may have with the Congress to ratify my agreement with you. May I remind you that the Rajaji formula was designed in the first instance for your acceptance and submission thereafter to the League?

It is true that I said an ocean separated you and me in outlook. But that had no reference to the Lahore resolution of the League. The Lahore resolution is indefinite. Rajaji has taken from it the substance and given it a shape.

Now for the points raised by you :—

(1) I have already answered this in the foregoing.

(2) The constitution will be framed by the provisional Government contemplated in the formula or an authority specially set up by it after the British power is withdrawn. The independence contemplated is of the whole of India as it stands. The basis for the formation of the provisional interim Government will have to be agreed to between the League and the Congress.

(3) The commission will be appointed by the provisional Government. "Absolute majority" means a clear majority over non-Muslim elements as in Sind, Baluchistan or the Frontier Province. The form of the plebiscite and the franchise must be a matter for discussion.

(4) "All parties" mean parties interested.

(5) "Mutual agreement" means agreement between contracting parties. "Safeguarding defence, etc.," means for me a central or joint board of control. Safeguarding means safeguarding against all who may put the common interests in jeopardy.

(6) The power is to be transferred to the nation, that is, to the provisional Government. The formula contemplates peaceful transfer by the British Government. So far as I am concerned, I would like the transfer to take place as early as possible. Yours Sincerely,—Sd. M. K. GANDHI.

### MUSLIM LEAGUE STAND

**Letter from Mr. Jinnah dated September 11 :—**

Dear Mr. Gandhi,—I received your letter of September 11 at 5 p. m. today. I note that you have approached me as an individual, and I have already expressed my views about it. Please do not take that I acquiesce in the position that you have adopted, for which there is no precedent. Nevertheless, I proceeded to discuss matters with you, naturally because I am anxious to convert you to my point of view, if possible. I urged on you that the only solution of India's problem is to accept the division of India as Pakistan and Hindustan, as briefly laid down in the Lahore resolution of March, 1940, and proceed to settle the details forthwith. You say the Lahore resolution is indefinite. You never asked me for any clarification or explanation of the terms of the resolution, but you really indicated your emphatic opposition to the very basis and the fundamental principles embodied in it. I would therefore like to know in what way or respect the Lahore resolution is indefinite. I cannot agree that Rajaji has taken from it its substance and given it shape. On the contrary Rajaji has not only put it out of shape but mutilated it, as I explained in my speech which I delivered at the meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League at Lahore on July 30, 1940.

You say "the first condition of the exercise of the right of self-determination is the achieving of independence by the joint action of all the parties and groups composing India. If such joint action is unfortunately impossible, then too I must fight with the assistance of such elements as can be brought together." This, in my opinion, is, as I have repeatedly said, putting the cart before the horse and is generally opposed to the policy and declarations of the All-India Muslim League. You are only holding on firmly to the August resolution of 1942. In order to achieve the freedom and independence of the people of India, it is essential, in the first instance, that there should be a Hindu-Muslim settlement.

Of course, I am thankful to you when you say that you are pledged to use all the influence that you have with the Congress to ratify your agreement with me: but that is not enough in my judgment, although it will be a very valuable help to me.

I once more ask you please to let me know what your conception of the basis for the formation of a provisional interim G vernment is. No doubt it will be subject to agreement between the League and the Congress, but I think that in fairness, you should at least give me some rough idea or lines of your conception, for you must have thought it out by now. I would like to know your proposals or scheme for the formation of a provisional interim Government, which can give me some clear picture to understand it.

You have omitted to answer my question as to who will give effect to the findings of the commission. Also it is not clear to me what you mean by absolute majority when you say it means "a clear majority over non-Muslim elements as in Sind, Baluchistan or the Frontier Province." You have not even replied to my question as to who will decide the form of the plebiscite and the franchise contemplated by the formula.

The answer does not carry any clear idea when you say "all parties' means 'parties interested'.

You say "'mutual agreement means agreement between contracting parties'." Who are the contracting parties once a provisional interim Government of your conception is established? Who will appoint the central or joint board of control, which will safeguard defence etc.? And on what principle? Through what machinery and agency? And subject to whose control and orders will such a central or joint board be?

You say, "The power is to be transferred to the nation, that is, to the provisional Government". That is all the greater reason why I would like to know full details of the provisional Government as contemplated by you and of your conception. Yours sincerely,—Sd. M. A. JINNAH.

**Letter from Mr. Jinnah dated September 13 :—**

Dear Mr. Gandhi,—When you arrived here on the morning of the 12th to resume our talks, you were good enough to inform me that you had not had time to attend to my letter of September 11, which reached you the same day at 10-30 p. m. We met again to-day without having received your reply, and I am still waiting for it. Please therefore let me have your reply as soon as possible with regard to the various points mentioned in my letter to you of September 11. Yours sincerely,—Sd. M. A. JINNAH.

**Letter from Gandhiji dated September 14 :—**

Dear Qaid-i-Azam :—I have your letter of the 13th inst. I understood from our talks that you were in no hurry for my answer. I was therefore taking the matter in a leisurely fashion, even hoping that, as our talks proceeded and as cordiality increased, mutual clarification would come of itself and that we would only have to record our final agreement. But I understand and appreciate the other viewpoint. We should take nothing for granted. I should clarify your difficulties in understanding the Rajaji formula and you should do likewise regarding yours, *i. e.*, the Muslim League's Lahore resolution of 1940.

With reference to the Lahore resolution as agreed between us, I shall deal with it in a separate letter.

Perhaps, at the end of our discussion, we shall discover that Rajaji not only has not put the Lahore resolution out of shape and mutilated it, but has given it substance and form.

Indeed in view of your dislike of the Rajaji formula, I have at any rate for the moment, put it out of my mind, and I am now concentrating on the Lahore resolution in the hope of finding a ground for mutual agreement.

So much for the first paragraph of your letter.

As to the second, I do hold that unless we oust the third party we shall not be able to live at peace with one another. That does not mean that I may not make an effort to find ways and means to establishing a living peace between us.

You ask for my conception of the basis for a provisional interim Government. I would have told you if I had any scheme in mind. I imagine that if we two can agree, it would be for us to consult the other parties. I can say this that any provisional Government, to inspire confidence at the present moment, must represent all parties. When that moment arrives, I shall have been replaced by some authoritative person, though you will have me always at your beck and call when you have converted me or I you, or by mutual conversation we have become one mind functioning through two bodies.

As to the third point, the provisional Government being the appointing

authority, will give effect to the findings of the commission. This, I thought, was implied in my previous answer.

Rajaji tells me that "absolute majority" is used in his formula in the same sense as it is used in ordinary legal parlance wherever more than two groups are dealt with. I cling to my own answer. But you will perhaps suggest a third meaning and persuade me to accept it.

The form of the plebiscite and franchise must be left to be decided by the provisional interim Government unless we decide it now. I should say it should be by adult suffrage of all the inhabitants of the Pakistan area.

As to the fourth, "all parties" means that you and I and every one else holding views on the question at issue will and should seek by peaceful persuasion to influence public opinion as is done where democracy functions wholly or in part.

As to fifth, supposing that the result of the plebiscite is in favour of partition, the provisional Government will draft the treaty and agreements as regards the administration of matters of common interest, but the same has to be confirmed and ratified by the Governments of the two States. The machinery required for the settlement and administration of matters of common interest will, in the first instance, be planned by the interim Government, but subsequently will be a matter for settlement between the two Governments acting through the agencies appointed by each for that purpose.

As to sixth, I hope the foregoing makes superfluous any further reply, Yours sincerely,—Sd. M. K. GANDHI.

**Letter from Mr. Jinnah dated September 14 :—**

Dear Mr. Gandhi,—I received your letter of September 14 at 4-45 P.M. today in reply to my letter of September 11, (and not of September 13, as you state, which seems to be a mistake), and I thank you for it.

Please let me have, as soon as you can, your promised letter indicating in what way or respect the Lahore resolution is 'indefinite".

With regard to the provision in the Gandhi-Rajaji formula that "the Muslim League endorses the Indian demand for independence," I asked you, in my letter dated September 10, 'Does it mean the Congress demand for independence as formulated in the August 1942, resolution by the All India Congress Committee in Bombay or, if not, what is the significance of this term." To this you replied by your letter of September 11, that "the independence contemplated is of the whole of India as it stands". Hence, I again ask, does it mean on the basis of an united India ? I find that you have not clarified the point satisfactorily.

As regard the next part of this clause, the formula proceed to lay down that "the Muslim League will co-operate with the Congress to the formation of the provisional interim Government for the transitional period". I requested you, by my letter of September 10, to let me know "the basis or the lines on which such a Government is to be set up or constitutetd. If you have a complete and definite scheme, please let me have it". To this you replied, by your letter of September 11, under reply, that "the basis for the formation of the provisional interim Government will have to be agreed to between the League and the Congress." But that is not meeting my request for clarification or giving me at least the outlines of such a Government, and that is what I have been asking for. I hope that you do appreciate my point when I am requesting you to let me have rough outlines of the proposed provisional interim Government according to the formula, so that I may have some idea.

Of course, I can quite understand that such a provisional interim Government will represent all the parties and would be of a character that will inspire confidence at the present moment, of all the parties. I can quite understand that, when the moment arrives, certain things may follow ; but before we can deal with this formula in a satisfactory manner, I repeat again that, as it is your formula you should give me a rough idea of the provisional interim Government that you contemplate and of your conception. What I would like to know would be, what will be the powers of such a provisional interim Government, how it will be formed, to whom it will be responsible, what its composition will be, etc. You, being the sponsor of this Gandhi-Rajaji formula, should give me some rough idea and picture of it, so that I may understand what this part of the formula means.

In your letter of September 14, in reply to my letter of September 11, you inform me that you would have told me if you had any scheme in mind. "I imagine that if we two can agree it would be for us to consult the other parties". you say ;

but that is just the point. Unless I have some outlines or scheme, however rough, from you, what are we to discuss in order to reach any agreement ?

As regards the other matters which you have further explained, I have noted the explanation, and I do not think I need press you further, although some of them are not quite satisfactory, Yours sincerely.—Sd. M. A. Jinnah.

### No Reference to Pakistan

**Letter from Gandhi dated Sept. 15 :—**

Dear Qaid-i-Azam—This is in terms of our talk of Wednesday, September 13.

For the moment I have shunted the Rajaji formula and, with your assistance, am applying my mind very seriously to the famous Lahore resolution of the Muslim League.

You must admit that the resolution itself makes no reference to the two nations theory. In the course of our discussions you have passionately pleaded that India contains two nations i.e., Hindus and Muslims and that the latter have their homeland in India as the former have theirs. The more our argument progress the more alarming your picture appears to me. It would be alluring if it was true. But my fear is growing that it is wholly unreal. I find no parallel in history for a body of converts and their descendants claiming to be a nation apart from the parent stock. If India was one nation before the advent of Islam it must remain one in spite of the change of faith of a very large body of her children.

You do not claim to be a separate nation by right of conquest but by reason of acceptance of Islam. Will the two nations become one if the whole of India accepted Islam ? Will Bengalis, Oriyas, Andhras, Tamilians, Maharashtrians, Gujaratis, etc., cease to have their special characteristics if all of them became converts to Islam ? These have all become one politically because they are subject to one foreign control. They are trying today to throw off that subjection.

You seem to have introduced a new test of nationhood. If I accept it I would have to subscribe to many more claims and face an insoluble problem. The only real, though awful, test of our nationhood arises out of our common political subjection. If you and I throw off this subjection by our combined efforts, we shall be born a politically free nation out of our travail. If by then we have not learnt to prize our freedom we may quarrel among ourselves and, for want of a common master holding us together in his iron grip, seek to split up into small groups or nationalities. There will be nothing to prevent us from descending to that level, and we shall not have to go in search of a master. There are many claimants to the throne that never remains vacant.

### Elucidation of Pakistan

With this background I shall present you with my difficulty in accepting your resolution.

(1) Pakistan is not in the resolution. Does it bear the original meaning Punjab, Afghanistan, Kashmir, Sindh and Baluchistan, out of which the name was mnemonically formed ? If not what is it ?

(2) Is the goal of Pakistan Pan-Islam ?

(3) What is it that distinguishes an Indian Muslim from every other Indian, if not his religion ? Is he different from a Turk or an Arab ?

(4) What is the connotation of the word "Muslim" in the resolution under discussion ? Does it mean the Muslims of the India of geography or of the Pakistan to be ?

(5) Is the resolution addressed to the Muslims by way of education, or to the inhabitants of the whole of India by way of appeal or to the foreign ruler as an ultimatum ?

(6) Are the constituents in the two zones to constitute "independent States" an undefined number in each zone ?

(7) Is the demarcation to take place during the pendency of British rule ?

(8) If the answer to the last question is in the affirmative the proposal must be accepted first by Britain and then imposed upon India, not evolved fr m within by the freewill of the people of India !

(9) Have you examined the position and satisfied yourself that these "independent States" will be materially and otherwise benefitted by being split up into fragments ?

(10) Please satisfy me that these independent sovereign States will become a collection of poor States, a menace to themselves and to the rest of India.

(11) Pray show me by facts and figures or otherwise how the independence and welfare of India as a whole can be brought about by the acceptance of the resolution ?

(12) How are the Muslims under the Princes to be disposed of as a result of this scheme ?

(13) What is your definition of "minorities" ?

(14) Will you please define the "adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards" for minorities referred to in the second part of the resolution ?

(15) Do you not see that the Lahore resolution contains only a bare statement of the objective and does not give any idea as to the means to be adopted for the execution of the idea and the concrete corrollaries thereof ? For instance :—

(a) Are the people in the regions falling under the plan to have any voice in the matter of separation and, if so, how is it to be ascertained.

(b) What is the provision for defence and similar matters of common concern contemplated in the Lahore resolution ?

(c) There are many groups of Muslims who have continuously expressed dissent from the policy of the League. While I am prepared to accept the preponderating influence and position of the League and have approached you for that very reason, is it not our joint duty to remove their doubts and carry them with us by making them feel that they and their supporters have not been practically disfranchised ?

(d) Does not this lead again to placing the resolution of the League before the people of the zones concerned as a whole for acceptance ?

As I write this letter and imagine the working of the resolution in practice, I see nothing but ruin for the whole of India. Believe me, I approach you as a seeker. Though I represent nobody but myself, I aspire to represent all the inhabitants of India, for I realise in my own person their misery and degradation which is their common lot irrespective of class, caste or creed. I know that you have acquired a unique hold on the Muslim masses. I want you to use your influence for their total welfare, which must include the rest.

In this hastily written letter I have only given an inkling of my difficulty. Yours sincerely,—(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

### Freedom First—Plebiscite And Partition Afterwards

**Letter from Gandhiji dated September 15 :**

Dear Qaid-i-Azam,—I have yours of the 14th inst. received at 9-40 a. m. I woke up at 3 a. m. today to finish my promised letter on the Lahore resolution. There is no mistake about the date, for I wrote in answer to your reminder of the 13th inst.

Independence does mean as evisaged in the A.-I. C. C. resolution of 1942. But it can not be on the basis of a united India. If we come to a settlement, assuming of course that it secures general acceptance in the country, the process will be somewhat like this. We reach by joint effort independence for India as it stands. India, become free, will proceed to demarcation, plebiscite and partition if the people concerned vote for partition. All this is implied in the Rajaji formula.

As to the provisional interim Government, I am afraid I cannot carry my answer any further than I have done. Though I have no scheme for the provisional Government, if you have one in connection with the Lahore resolution, which also I presume requires an interim Government, we can discuss it.

The formula was framed by Rajaji in good faith. The hope was that you would look at it with favour. We still think it to be the best in the circumstances. You and I have to put flesh on it, if we can. I have explained the process we have to go through. You have no objection to it. Perhaps you want to know how I would form the provisional Government if I was invited thereto. If I was in that unenviable position, I would see all the claimants and endeavour to satisfy them. My co-opertion will be available in that task.

I can give you full satisfaction about your inquiry, "What I would like to know would be : what will be the powers of such a provisional interim Government ? How will it be formed ? To whom will it be responsible ?" The provisional interim Government will be responsible to the elected members of the present Assembly or a newly elected one. It will have all the powers less than that of the Commander-in-Chief during the war and full powers thereafter. It will be the authority to give effect to the agreement that may be arrived at between the League and the Congress and ratified by the other parties. Yours sincerely,—Sd. M. K. GANDHI.

**Letter from Mr. Jinnah dated September 17**

**Dear Mr. Gandhi,—I have your letter of September 15, and I thank you for it.**

I note that you have for the moment shunted the Rajaji formula and are applying your mind very seriously to the Lahore resolution of the Muslim League. It is my duty to explain the Lahore resolution to you today and persuade you to accept it, even though you are talking to me, as you have often made it clear, in your individual capacity. I have successfully converted non-Muslim Indians in no small number and also a large body of foreigners, and I can convert you, exercising as you do tremendous influence over Hindu India, it will be no small assistance to me, although we are not proceeding on the footing that you are carrying on these talks in your representative character or capacity, and my difficulties remain until you are vested with a representative status and authority in order to negotiate and reach an agreement with you.

You have stated in your letter dated September 11 that the Lahore resolution is "indefinite." I therefore naturally asked you please to let me know in what way or respect the Lahore resolution is indefinite. And now I have received your letter of September 13 under reply.

The third paragraph of your letter is not seeking clarification but is a disquisition and expression of your views on the point whether the Mussalmans are a nation. This matter can hardly be discussed by means of correspondence. There is a great deal of discussion and literature on this point which is available, and it is for you to judge finally, when you have studied this question thoroughly, whether the Mussalmans and Hindus are not two major nations in this sub-continent. For the moment I would refer you to two publications, although there are many more,—Dr. *Ambedkar's* book and M. R. T.'s *Nationalism in Conflict in India*. We maintain and hold that Muslims and Hindus are two major nations by any definitions or test of a nation. We are a nation of a hundred million, and, what is more, we are a nation with our own distinctive culture and civilisation, language and literature, art, architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of value and proportion, legal laws and moral codes, customs and calendar, history and traditions, aptitudes and ambitions—in short, we have our own distinctive outlook on life and of life. By all canons of international law we are a nation. Now I shall reply to your various points :—

(1) Yes, the word "Pakistan" is not mentioned in the resolution, and it does not bear the original meaning. The word has now become synonymous with the Lahore resolution.

(2) This point does not arise, but still I reply that the question is a mere bogey.

(3) This point is covered by my answer that the Mussalmans of India are a nation. As to the last part of your query, it is hardly relevant to the matter of clarification of the resolution.

(4) Surely you know what the word "Muslims" means.

(5) This point does not arise by way of clarification of the text of the Lahore resolution.

(6) No, They will form units of Pakistan.

(7) As soon as the basis and the principles embodied in the Lahore resolution are accepted, the question of demarcation will have to be taken up immediately.

(8) In view of my reply to (7) your question (8) has been answered.

(9) Does not relate to clarification.

(10) My answer to (9) covers this point.

(11) Does not arise out of the clarification of the resolution. Surely this is not asking for clarification of the resolution. I have, in numerous speeches of mine and the Muslim League in its resolutions, pointed out that this is the only solution of India's problem and the road to achieve freedom and independence of the peoples of India.

(12) "Muslims under the Princes." The Lahore resolution is only confined to British India. This question does not arise out of the clarification of the resolution.

(13) The definition of "minorities": You yourself have often said "minorities" means "accepted minorities."

(14) The adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards for minorities, referred to in the resolution, are a matter for negotiation and settlement with the minorities in the respective States, viz. Pakistan and Hindustan.

(15) It does give basic principles and, when they are accepted, then the details will have to be worked out by the contracting parties.

(a) Does not arise by way of clarification.

(b) Does not arise...do...do

(c) The Muslim League is the only authoritative and representative organisation of Muslim India.

(d) No ; see answer (c).

"YOU REPRESENT ONLY HINDUS"

As regards your final paragraph, before receiving clarifications from me you have already passed your judgment and condemned the Lahore resolution, when you say, "As I write this letter and imagine the working of the resolution in practice, I see nothing but ruin for the whole of India". I understand that you have made clear to me that you represent nobody but yourself, and I am trying to persuade you and to convert you that this is the road which will lead us all to the achievement of freedom and independence not only of the two major nations, Hindus and Muslims, but of the rest of the peoples of India; but when you proceed to say that you aspire to represent all the inhabitants of India, I regret I cannot accept that statement of yours.

It is quite clear that you represent nobody else but the Hindus, and as long as you do not realise your true position and the realities, it is very difficult for me to argue with you, and it becomes still more difficult to persuade you, and hope to convert you to the realities and the actual conditions prevailing in India today. I am pleading before you in the hope of converting you, as I have done with many others successfully.

As I have said before, you are a great man and you exercise enormous influence over the Hindus, particularly the masses. By accepting the road that I am pointing out to you, you are not prejudicing or harming the interests of the Hindus or of the minorities. On the contrary, Hindus will be the greater gainers. I am convinced that the true welfare not only of the Muslims but of the rest of India lies in the division of India as proposed by the Lahore resolution. It is for you to consider whether it is not your policy and programme, in which you have persisted, which has been the principal factor of the "ruin of the whole of India" and of the misery and degradation of the people to which you refer and which I deplore no less than anyone else. And it is for that very reason I am pleading before you all these days, although you insist that you are having talks with me only in your individual capacity, in the hope that you may yet revise your policy and programme. Yours Sincerely,—Sd. M. A. JINNAH.

**Letter from Gandhiji dated September 19 :—**

Dear Qaid-i-Azam—Many thanks for yours of 17th inst.

I am sorry to have to say that your answers, omitting 1, 2 and 6, do not give satisfaction.

It may be that all my questions do not arise from the view of mere clarification of the Lahore resolution. But I contend that they are very relevant from the standpoint of a seeker that I am. You cannot expect any one to agree to, or shoulder, the burden of the claim contained in the Lahore resolution without, for instance, answering my questions 15 (a) and 15 (b) which you brush aside as not arising by way of clarification.

Dr. Ambedkar's thesis, while it is ably written, has carried no conviction to me. The other book mentioned by you, I am sorry to say, I have not seen.

Why can you not accept my statement that I aspire to represent all the sections that compose the people of India? Do you not aspire? Should not every Indian? That the aspiration may never be realised is beside the point.

I am beholden to you, in spite of your opinion about me, for having patience with me. I hope you will never lose it, but will preserve in your effort to convert me. I ask you to take me with my strong views and even prejudices if I am guilty of any.

As to your verdict on my policy and programme, we must agree to differ; for, I am wholly unrepentant. My purpose is, as a lover of communal unity, to place my services at your disposal.

I hope you do not expect me to accept the Lahore resolution without understanding its implications. If your letter is the final word, there is little hope. Can we not agree to differ on the question of "two nations" and yet solve the problem on the basis of self-determination? It is this basis that has brought me to you. If the regions holding Muslim majorities have to be separated according to the Lahore resolution, the grave step of separation should be specifically placed before and approved by the people in that area. Yours sincerely,—Sd. M. K. GANDHI.

MR. JINNAH ELUCIDATES

**Letter from Mr Jinnah dated September 21 :—**

Dear Mr. Gandhi,—I am in receipt of your letter of September 19 and I have already given you my answers to all your questions relating to clarification of the

Lahore resolution or any part of it, and I am glad that you admit when you say it may be that 'all my questions do not arise from the view of mere clarification of the Lahore resolution', but you particularly emphasise your points 15 (a) and 15 (b).

I regret to say it has no relation to the context of the resolution or any part thereof. You have brought so many matters into our correspondence which are entirely outside the matter requiring clarification, so I have perforce to deal with them. Let me first deal with your letter of September 11.

You say: "My life-mission has been Hindu-Muslim unity which I want for its own sake but which is not to be achieved without the foreign ruling power being ousted, hence the first condition of the exercise of the right of self-determination is the achieving of independence by the joint action of all the parties and groups composing India. If such joint action is unfortunately impossible, then too I must fight with the assistance of such elements as can be brought together."

The gist of your letters up to date is that you are wedded to this policy and will pursue it. In your next letter of September 14, while you were good enough to furnish me with the clarification of the Gandhi-Rajaji formula, you were pleased to observe: "I have, at any rate for the moment, put it out of my mind and I am now concentrating on the Lahore resolution in the hope of finding a ground for mutual agreement".

### "Inimical to League Ideals"

In your letter of September 15, you say: "Independence does mean as envisaged in the A. I. C. C. resolution of 1942." It is therefore clear that you are not prepared to revise your policy and that you adhere firmly to your policy and programme which you have persisted in and which culminated in your demand, final policy, programme, and the method and sanction for enforcing it by resorting to mass civil disobedience in terms of the 8th August, 1942, resolution, and you have made it more clear again by stating in your letter of September 19 as follows:—"As to your verdict on my policy and programme, we must agree to differ, for I am wholly unrepentant". You know that the August 1942 resolution is inimical to the ideals and demands of Muslim India.

Then, again, in the course of our discussion of the Gandhi-Rajaji formula, you were pleased to say, by your letter of September 15, as follows:—"For the moment I have shunted the Rajaji formula and with your assistace am applying my mind very seriously to the famous Lahore resolution of the Muslim League". We discussed it in its various aspects, as you told me you were open to be persuaded and converted to our point of view. I discussed the resolution at great length with you and explained everything you wanted to understand, even though you have emphasised more than once that you are having these talks with me in your personal capacity, and in your letter of September 15 you assured me in the following words with regard to the Lahore resolution: "believe me, I approach you as a seeker, though I represent nobody but myself", and that you were open to conviction and conversion.

You had informed me by your letter of September 11 as follows:—"It is true that I said an ocean separated you and me in outlook. But that had no reference to the Lahore resolution of the League. The League resolution is indefinite." I naturally therefore proceed, in reply, to ask you by my letter of September 11 as follows:—"You say the Lahore resolution is indefinite. You never asked me for any clarification or explanation of the terms of the resolution; but you really indicated your emphatic opposition to the very basis and fundamental principles embodied in it. I would, therefore, like to know in what way or respect the Lahore resolution is indefinite." I sent you a reminder on September 13, to which you replied by your letter of September 15, not confining yourself really to matters of clarification, but introducing other extraneous matters with some of which I had already dealt, in reply to this letter of yours of September 15, by my letter of September 17, and furnish you with all the clarifications, informing you that you had introduced several matters which could hardly be discussed in a satisfactory manner by means of correspondence.

### League Claim To Nationhood

I have already given you all the clarifications you require so far as the Lahore resolution goes and its text is concerned. You again raise further arguments, reasons and grounds, and continue to persist in a disquisition on the point, amongst others, whether Muslims of India are a nation, and then you proceed further to say: "Can we not agree to differ on the question of two nations and yet solve the problem on the basis of self-determination."

It seems to me that you are labouring under some misconception of the real meaning of the word "self-determination." Apart from the inconsistencies and contradictions of the various positions that you have adopted in the course of our correspondence, as indicated above, can you not appreciate our point of view that, we claim the right of self-determination as a nation and not as a Muslim nation which is our birthright? Whereas you are labouring under the wrong idea that "self-determination" means only that of a "territorial unit", which, by the way, is neither demarcated nor defined yet, and there is no union or federal constitution of India in being, functioning as a sovereign central Government, ours is a case of division and carving out two independent sovereign States by way of settlement between two major nations, Hindus and Muslims, and not of severance of or secession from any existing union, which is "non est" in India. The right of self-determination, which we claim, postulates that we are a nation, and as such it would be the self-determination of the Musalmans, and they alone are entitled to exercise that right.

I hope you will now understand that your question 15(a) does not arise out of the Lahore resolution or of any part thereof. As to 15(b), again, it does not arise as a matter of clarification, for it will be a matter for the constitution-making body chosen by Pakistan to deal with and decide all matters as a sovereign body representing Pakistan "vis-a-vis" the constitution-making body of Hindstan or any other party concerned. There cannot be defence and similar matters of "common concern", when it is accepted that Pakistan and Hindustan will be two separate independent sovereign States. I hope I have now given all satisfactory explanations, over and above the matter of clarification of the Lahore resolution, in the hope of converting you as an individual "seeker". Yours sincerely,—Sd. M. A. JINNAH.

**Letter from Gandhiji dated September 22 :—**

Dear Qaid-i-Azam,—Your letter of yesterday (21st inst.) so disturbed me that I thought I would postpone my reply till after we had met at the usual time. Though I made no advance at our meeting, I think I see somewhat clearly what you are driving at. The more I think about the two-nations theory the more alarming it appears to me. The book recommended by you gives me no help. It contains half truths and its conclusions for inferences are unwarranted. I am unable to accept the proposition that the Muslims of India are a nation distinct from the rest of the inhabitants of India. Mere assertion is no proof. The consequence of accepting such a proposition are dangerous in extreme. Once the principle is admitted there would be no limit to claims for cutting up India into numerous divisions which would spell India's ruin. I have therefore suggested a way out. Let it be a partition as between two brothers, if a division there must be.

You seem to be averse to a plebiscite. In spite of the admitted importance of League, there must be clear proof that the people affected desire partition. In my opinion, all the people inhabiting the area ought to express their opinion specificaly on this single issue of division. Adult suffrage is the best method, but I would accept any other equivalent.

You summarily reject the idea of common interest between the two arms. I can be no willing party to division which does not provide for simultaneous safeguarding of common interests such as defence, foreign affairs and the like. There will be no feeling of security by the people of India without a recognition of the natural and mutual obligations arising out of physical contiguity.

Your letter shows a wide divergence of opinion and outlook between us. Thus you adhere to the opinion often expressed by you that the August 1942 resolution is "inimical" to the ideas and demands of Muslim India." There is no proof for this sweeping statement.

We seem to be moving in a circle. I have made a suggestion. If we are bent on agreeing, as I hope we are, let us call in a third party or parties to guide or even arbitrate between us. Yours sincerely,—Sd. M. K. GANDHI.

**Letter from Mr. Jinnah Dated September 23 :—**

Dear Mr. Gandhi,—I am in receipt of your letter of September 22, and I thank you for it. I am sorry that you think I have summarily rejected the idea of common interest between two arms, and now you put it somewhat differently from 15(b), when you say there will be no feeling of security by the people of India without a recognition of the natural and mutual obligations arising out of physical contiguity. My answer, already given, is that it will be for the constitution-making body of Pakistan and that of Hindustan, or any other party concerned, to deal with such matters on the footing of their being two independent States.

AUGUST RESOLUTION AND THE LEAGUE.

I am really surprised when you say there is no proof of what you characterise as a sweeping statement of mine, that the August 1942 Resolution is inimical to the ideals and demands of Muslim India. The resolution in its essence is as follows :—

(a) immediate grant of complete independence and setting up immediately of a Federal Central Government on the basis of a united democratic Government of India with federated units or provinces, which means establishment of a Hindu Raj.

(b) that this National Government so set up will evolve a scheme for a constituent assembly, which will be chosen by adult franchise, which will prepare a constitution for the government of India, which means the constituent assembly chosen will be composed of an overwhelming majority of the Hindus, nearly 75 per cent.

(c) to enforce this demand of the Congress the August resolution decides on and sanctions a resort to mass civil disobedience at your command and when ordered by you as the sole dictator of the Congress.

This demand is basically and fundamentally opposed to the ideals and demands of Muslim India of Pakistan, as embodied in the Lahore resolution, and to enforce such a demand by means of resort to mass civil dis-obedience is inimical to the ideals and demands of Muslim India ; and if you succeed in realizing this demand, it would be a death-blow to Muslim India. I see from the correspondence and talks between you and me that you are still holding fast to this fateful resolution.

From the very first day of our talks you made it clear to me, and you have repeatedly said in the course of our correspondence and talk, that you have approached me in your individual capacity, and you assured me that you were a seeker of light and knowledge and that you seriously and earnestly wanted to understand the Lahore resolution and were open to conviction and conversion. Therefore, in deference to your wishes, I made every effort all these days and in the course of our prolonged talks and correspondence to convert you, but unfortunately, it seems, I have failed. And now you have made new suggestions and proposals by your letter under reply :

(1) You say : "I have therefore suggested a way out. Let it be a partition as between two brothers, if a division there must be". I really do not know what this means, and I would like you to elaborate this proposal and give me some rough outlines of this new idea of yours as to how and when the division is to take place, and in what way it is different from the division envisaged by the Lahore resolution.

(2) You say : "Let us call in a third party or parties to guide or even arbitrate between us." May I point out that you have repeatedly made clear to me that you are having these talks as an individual seeker. How can any question of a third party or parties to guide or arbitrate between us arise ? Yours sincerely—Sd. M. A. JINNAH.

**Letter from Gandhiji dated September 23 :—**

Dear Qaid-i-Azam.—Last evening's talk has left a bad taste in the mouth. Our talks and our correspondence seem to run in parallel lines and never touch one another. We reached the breaking point last evening but, thank God, we were unwilling to part. We resumed discussion and suspended it in order to allow me to keep my time for the evening public prayer.

In order that all possible chances of making any mistake in a matter of this great importance may be removed, I would like you to give me in writing what precisely on your part you would want me to put my signature to.

I adhere to my suggestion that we may call in some outside assistance to help us at this stage. Yours sincerely,—Sd. M. K. GANDHI.

MR. JINNAH'S APPEAL

**Letter from Mr. Jinnah dated September 23 :—**

Dear Mr. Gandhi,—I am in receipt of your letter of September 23. May I refer you to my letter of today's date which I sent to you in reply to yours of September 22 ? I have nothing new or fresh to add, but I may say that it is not a case of your being asked to put your signature as representing anybody till you clothe yourself with representative capacity and are vested with authority. We stand by, as I have already said, the basis and fundamental principles embodied in the Lahore resolution of March, 1940. I appeal to you once more to revise your policy

and programme, as the future of this sub-continent and the welfare of the peoples of India demand that you should face realities. Yours sincerely,—Sd. M. A. JINNAH.

**Letter from Gandhiji dated September 24 :**

Dear Qaid-i-Azam,—I have your two letters of September 23 in reply to my letters of the 22nd and 23rd.

With your assistance, I am exploring the possibilities of reaching an agreement, so that the claim embodied in the Muslim League resolution of Lahore may be reasonably satisfied. You must therefore have no apprehensions that the August resolution will stand in the way of our reaching an agreement. That resolution dealt with the question of India as against Britain and it cannot stand in the way of our settlement.

I proceed on the assumption that India is not to be regarded as two or more nations but as one family consisting of many members of whom the Muslims living in the north-west zones, i. e., Baluchistan, Sindh, North-West Frontier Province and that part of the Punjab where they are in absolute majority over all the other elements and in parts of Bengal and Assam where they are in absolute majority, desire to live in separation from the rest of India.

Differing from you on the general basis, I can yet recommend to the Congress and the country the acceptance of the claim for separation contained in the Muslim League resolution of Lahore of 1940, on my basis and on the following terms :—

The areas should be demarcated by a Commission approved by the Congress and the League. The wishes of the inhabitants of the areas demarcated should be ascertained through the votes of the adult population of the areas or through some equivalent method.

If the vote is in favour of separation it shall be agreed that these areas shall form a separate State as soon as possible after India is free from foreign domination and can therefore be constituted into two sovereign independent States.

There shall be a treaty of separation which should also provide for the efficient and satisfactory administration of foreign affairs, defence, internal communications, customs, commerce and the like, which must necessarily continue to be matters of common interest between the contracting parties.

The treaty shall also contain terms for safeguarding the rights of minorities in the two States.

Immediately on the acceptance of this agreement by the Congress and the League the two shall decide upon a common course of action for the attainment of independence of India.

The League will however be free to remain out of any direct action to which the Congress may resort and in which the League may not be willing to participate.

If you do not agree to these terms, could you let me know in precise terms what you would have me to accept in terms of the Lahore resolution and bind myself to recommend to the Congress ? If you could kindly do this, I shall be able to see, apart from the difference in approach, what definite terms I can agree to. In your letter of September, 23 you refer to "the basic and fundamental principles embodied in the Lahore resolution" and ask me to accept them. Surely this is unnecessary when, as I feel, I have accepted the concrete consequence that should follow from such acceptance. Yours sincerely—Sd. M. K. GANDHI.

POINTS OF DIFFERENCE

**Letter from Mr. Jinnah dated September 25 :—**

Dear Mr. Gandhi,—I am in receipt of your letter of Septemper 24, and I thank you for it. You have already rejected the basis and fundamental principles of the Lahore resolution.

You do not accept that the Mussalmans of India are a nation.

You do not accept that the Mussalmans have an inherent right of self-determination.

You do not accept that they alone are entitled to exercise this right of theirs for self-determination.

You do not accept that Pakistan is composed of two zones, North-West and North-East, comprising six provinces, namely Sindh, Baluchistan, North-West Frontier Province, the Punjab, Bengal and Assam, subject to territorial adjustments that may be agreed upon, as indicated in the Lahore resolution. The matter of demarcating and defining the territories can be taken up after the fundamentals

above-mentioned are accepted, and for that purpose machinery may be set up by agreement.

You do not accept the provisions embodied in the Lahore resolution for safeguarding the minorities, and yet in your letter under reply you say: "With your assistance, I am exploring the possibilities of reaching an agreement so that the claim embodied in the Muslim League resolution of Lahore may be reasonably satisfied", and proceed to say "You must therefore have no apprehensions that the August resolution will stand in the way of our reaching an agreement."

I have already clearly explained to you that the August resolution, so long as it stands, is a bar for it is fundamentally opposed to the Lahore resolution. You then proceed to say: "That resolution dealt with the question of India as against Britain, and it cannot stand in the way of our settlement." I am not at present concerned with Britain, but the August resolution, as I have already stated, is against the ideals and demands of the Muslim League. Further, there is the resolution of Jagat Narayan Lal, passed by the All-India Congress Committee in May 1942, at Allahabad, which, in express terms, lays down as follows:—

"The A. I. C. C. is of opinion that any proposal to distintegrate India by giving liberty to any component State or territorial unit to secede from the Indian Union or Federation will be highly detrimental to the best interests of the people of the different States and provinces and the country as a whole and the Congress, therefore, cannot agree to any such proposal."

These two resolutions, so long as they stand, are a complete bar to any settlement on the basis of the division of India as Pakistan and Hindustan. It is open to the Congress to revise and modify them: but you are only speaking in your individual capacity, and even in that capacity you are holding fast to the August resolution, and you have given no indication of your attitude regarding Jagat Narayan Lal's resolution. I have repeatedly made it clear after we had discussed the Gandhi-Rajaji formula, as you maintained that, to use your own language, "Rajaji not only has not put the Lahore resolution out of shape and mutilated it but has given it substance and form", and proceeded to say: "Indeed in view of your dislike of the Rajaji formula, I have, at any rate for the moment, put it out of my mind and I am now concentrating on the Lahore resolution in the hope of finding a ground for mutual agreement".

When I asked for further clarification, which you furnished me by your letter of September 15, you started by saying: "I have shunted the Rajaji formula and with your assistance I am applying my mind very seriously to the famous Lahore resolution of the Muslim League", and thenceforward the Gandhi-Rajaji formula was not discussed any further, and the question of your representative character and authority, which I had pointed out from the very commencement, therefore did not arise, as you had given me the task of converting you to the fundamentals of the Lahore resolution, and ever since we discussed the Lahore resolution only at great length and examined the pros and cons, and finally you have rejected it.

### New Suggestion

A a result of our correspondence and discussions I find that the question of the division of India as Pakistan and Hindustan is only on your lips and it does not come from your heart, and suddenly at the eleventh hour you put forward a new suggestion, consisting only of two sentences, by your letter of September 22, saying: "I have therefore suggested a way out. Let it be partition as between two brothers, if a division there must be." I naturally asked you what this new suggestion of your means, and wanted you to give me rough outlines of this new idea of yours as to how and when the division is to take place and in what way it is different from the division envisaged in the Lahore resolution, and now you have been good enough to give me your amplification, in your letter of September 24 under reply, in which you say: "Differing from you on the general basis I can yet recommend to the Congress and the country the acceptance of the claim for separation contained in the Muslim League resolution of Lahore 1940 on *my basis* and on following terms." The terms clearly indicate that your basis is in vital conflict with, and is opposed to the Lahore resolution. Now let me take your main terms:—

(a) "I proceed on the assumption that India is to be regarded as two or more nations but as one family consisting of many members of whom the Muslims living in the north-west zones, i. e. Baluchistan, Sindh, North-West Frontier Province and that part of the Punjab where they were in absolute majority over all the other elements and parts of Bengal and Assam where they are in absolute majority, desire to live in separation from the rest of India." If this term were

accepted and given effect to, the present boundaries of the provinces would be maimed and mutilated beyond redemption and leave us only with the husk, and it is opposed to the Lahore resolution.

(b) That even in those mutilated areas so defined, the right of self-determination will not be exercised by the Muslims but by the inhabitants of those areas so demarcated. This again is opposed to the fundamentals of the Lahore resolution.

(c) That if the vote is in favour of separation they shall be allowed to "form a separate State as soon as possible after India is free from foreign domination." Whereas we propose that we should come to a complete settlement of our own immediately, and by our united front and efforts do everything in our power to secure the freedom and independence of the peoples of India on the basis of Pakistan and Hindustan.

(d) Next you say, there shall be a treaty of separation which should also provide for the efficient and satisfactory administration of foreign affairs, defence, internal communications, customs, commerce, and the like, which must necessarily continue to be matters of common interest between the contracting parties." If these vital matters are to be administered by some central authority, you do not indicate what sort of authority or machinery will be set up to administer these matters, and how and to whom again that authority will be responsible. According to the Lahore resolution, as I have already explained to you, all these matters, which are the lifeblood of my State, cannot be delegated to any central authority or Government. The matter of security of the two States and the natural and mutual obligations that may arise out of physical contiguity will be for the constitution-making body of Pakistan and that of Hindustan or other party concerned, to deal with on the footing of there being two independent States. As regards the safeguarding of rights of minorities, I have already explained that this question of safeguarding the minorities is fully stated in the Lahore resolution.

You will therfore see that the entire basis of your new proposal is fundamentally opposed to the Lahore resolution, and as I have already pointed out to you, both in correspondence and in our discussion, it is very difficult for me to entertain counter-proposals and negotiate and reach any agreement or settlement with you as an individual, unless they come from you in your representative capacity. There was the same difficulty with regard to the Gandhi-Rajaji formula, and I made it clear to you at the very outset, but the formula was discussed as you asserted that it met the Lahore resolution in substance : but, while you were furnishing me with the clarification of this formula, you shunted it and we confined ourselves to the Lahore resolution, and hence the question of your representative capacity did not arise regarding this formula. But now you have, in your letter of September 24, made a new proposal of your own on your own basis and the same difficulties present themselves to me as before, and it is difficult to deal with it any further unless it comes from you in your representative capacity.

I cannot agree with you when you finally wind up by saying : "In your letter of September 23, you refer to 'the basis and fundamental principles embodied in the Lahore resolution' and ask me to accept them. Surely this is unnecessary when, as I feel, I have accepted the concrete consequence that should follow from such acceptance." This is obviously far from correct. Why not then accept the fundamentals of the Lahore resolution and procced to settle the details ? Yours Sincerely—(Sd.) M. A. JINNAH.

**Letter from Gandhiji dated September 25 :—**

Dear Qaid-i-Azam,—Yesterday's talk leads me to inflict this letter on you which I trust you will not mind.

Our conversations have come about as a result of your correspondence with Rajaji in July last over his formula and your consultation with the League Working Committee thereon, and my own letter to you suggesting a meeting between you and me. My proposal of yesterday is an earnest effort to meet the essential requirements of the Lahore resolution. I would like you therefore to think fifty time before throwing an offer which has been made entirely in the spirit of service in the cause of communal harmony. Do not take, I pray, the responsibility of rejecting the offer. Throw it on your Council. Give me an opportunity of addressing them. If they feel like rejecting it, I would like to advise the Council to put it before the open session of the League. If you will accept my advice and permit me I would attend the open session and address it.

You are too technical when you dismiss my proposal for arbitration or outside guidance over points of difference. If I have approached as an individual

and not in my representative capacity, it is because we believe that if I reach an agreement with you it will be of material use in the process of securing a Congress-League settlement and acceptance of it by the country. Is it irrelevant or inadmissible to supplement our efforts to convince each other with outside help, guidance, advice or even arbitration ? Yours sincerely,—Sd. M. K. GANDHI.

### ONE-SIDED BUSINESS

**Letter from Mr. Jinnah dated September 26 :—**

Dear Mr. Gandhi,—I am in receipt of your letter of September 25. It is entirely incorrect and has no foundation in fact for you to say that our conversations have come about as a result of my correspondence with Rajaji in July last over his formula. It is equally baseless to say "and your consultations with the League Working Committee thereon." It was entirely in response to your letter of July 17, 1944, which I received while I was at Srinagar, with a fervent request on your part to meet you and you ended that letter by saying. "Do not disappoint me." In my reply, again from Srinagar, dated July, 24, 1944, intimated to you that I would be glad to receive you at my house in Bombay on my return, which would probably be about the middle of August. This was long before the meeting of the Working Committee or that of the Council of the All-India Muslim League, and long before I reached Lahore, and when you arrived here and told me that you were approaching me in your individual capacity, I at once made it clear to you and informed you, both in our talks and by my letter, that the position you had taken up had no precedent to it, and further that it was not possible to negotiate and reach an agreement unless both the parties were fully represented : for it is one-sided business, as it will not be binding upon any organisation in any sense whatever, but you would as an individual only recommend it, if any agreement is reached, to the Congress and the country, whereas it would be binding upon me as the President of the Muslim League. I cannot accept this position. I hope you do see the unfairness and the great disadvantage to me, and it is so simple and elementary for any one to understand.

As regards your proposal of yesterday, which you have simplified in your letter of September 24, I have already sent you my reply.

With regard to your suggestion to be allowed to address the meeting of the Council, and if they feel like rejecting your "offer" the matter should be put before the open session, let me inform you that only a member or delegate is entitled to participate in the deliberations of the meetings of the Council or the open session, respectively. Besides it is a most extraordinary and unprecedented suggestion to make. However, I thank you for your advice.

As regards your proposal for arbitration and outside guidance, I have already replied to you, and it is not merely technical but a matter of substance. I fully reciprocate your desire to secure a Congress-League settlement.

However, I regret I have failed to convince you and convert you, as I waa hopeful of doing so. Yours sincerely,—Sd. M. A. JINNAH.

**Letter from Gandhiji dated September 26 :—**

Dear Qaid-i-Azam,—In view of my letter to you of yesterday, left to myself, I would have refrained from dealing with your letter before our meeting today. But I have deferred to Rajaji's advice to finish the chain of correspondence.

I confess I am unable to understand your persistent refusal to appreciate the fact that the formula presented to you by me in my letter of the 24, as well as the formula presented to you by Rajaji, give you virtually what is embodied in the Lahore resolution providing at the same time what is absolutely necessary to make the arrangement acceptable to the country. You keep on saying that I should accept certain thesis which you call the basis and fundamental principles of the Lahore resolution, while I have been contending that the best way for us who differ in our approach to the problem is to give body to the demand as is stands in the resolution and work it out to our mutual satisfaction. It is on this plan that I understand Rajaji's formula to be conceived, and it is on the same plan that I have tried to work it out in the course of and as a result of our talks. I contend that either gives you the substance of the Lahore resolution. Unfortunately you reject both. And I cannot accept the Lahore resolution as you want me to, especially when you seek to introduce into its interpretation theories and claims which I cannot accept and which I cannot ever hope to induce India to accept.

Your constant references to my not being clothed with representative authority are really irrelevant. I have approached you so that, if you and I can agree upon

a common course of action, I may use what influence I possess for its acceptance by the Congress and the country. If you break, it cannot be because I have no representative capacity or because I have been unwilliug to give you satisfaction in regard to the claim embodied in the Lahore resolution. Yours sincerely,—Sd. M. K. GANDHI.

## Gandhiji's Contention

**Letter from Mr. Jinnah dated September 26 :—**

Dear Mr. Gandhi,—I have received your letter of September 26 and I note that you have written it with Rajaji's advice. Of course, it is for you to follow such advice as you many chooae to do, but I am only concerned for the moment with you. I note that at the last moment you have resurrected the Gandhi-Rajaji formula, although it was shunted all this time, and you proceed to say that this formula gives me virtually what is embodied in the Lahore resolution. You further say that on the same plan you have tried to formulate your letter of September 24, and you maintain that either gives me the substance of the Lahore resolution. In your previous letter you asserted that your formula gives me the "essence" of the Lahore resolution. I see very close family resemblance between the two, and the substance of one or the other is practically the same, only it is put in different language, and I have already exprssed my opinion that, in my judgment, they neither meet the substance nor the essence of the Lahore resolution. On the contrary, both are calculated completely to torpedo the Pakistan demand of Muslim India. I have never asked you to accept certain theses, nor have I introduced any theories in the Lahore resolution. Theses and theories are matters for scholars to indulge in.

I am very sorry I have to repeat, but I am compelled to do so, that I cannot agree with you that my references to your not being clothed with representative authority are really irrelevant. On the contrary, they have an important bearing, as I have already explained to you more than once. You again repeat that if you and I can agree upon a common course of action, you may use what influence you possess for its acceptance by the Congress and the country. I have already stated from the very beginning that that is not enough, for the reasons I have already given. Your representative capacity comes into play when you are making counter-proposals, and I cannot understand how you can say that it is irrelevant. No responsible organisation can entertain any proposal from any individual, however great he may be, unless it is backed up with the authority of a recognised organisation and comes from its fully accredited representative. However, I need not labour this point any more, as I have already explained it in our previous correspondence.

If a break comes, it will be because you have not satisfied me in regard to the essence of the claim embodied in the Lahore resolution. It is not a question of your being unwilling, but in fact it is so. If a break comes, it will be most unfortunate. If one does not agree with you or differs from you, you are always right and the other party is always wrong. The next thing is that many are waiting prepared, in your circle, to pillory me when the word goes ; but I must face all threats and consequences, and I can only act according to my judgment and conscience.—Yours sincerely,—Sd. M. A. JINNAH.

## Mahatma addresses Prayer Meeting

"Addressing a prayer meeting after the announcement of the breakdown of the negotiations, Gandhiji said he had hitherto told them that he was not without hope with regard to the outcome of the talks. He had now to confess that the result that he was hoping for had not materialised. But he had no sense of disappointment or despondency. He was convinced that even out of that breakdown good would result.

Gandhiji added that although the Quaid-i-Azam and he had known each other fairly well in public life before, they had never come into such close personal contact. Their conversations were carried on with friendliness and cordiality. He wanted all the communities to cultivate the same spirit of friendliness and cordiality in their relations with one another. They should try to convert one another through it.

They might ask, "Why was it then that he and the Qaid-i-Azam had failed to convert each other." His reply was that he had tried his level best to go as far as he could to meet the Qaid-i-Azam's viewpoint. He had taken incalculable points to understand him and to make himself understood. But he had failed.

He had placed before the Qaid-i-Azam Rajaji's formula but that did not

commend itself to him. He had thereupon put forth another proposal of his own in its place but even that had failed to secure Mr. Jinnah's approval. In the same way, Mr. Jinnah's proposals had failed to commend themselves to Gandhiji. If either of them had been weak, they would have possibly come to some sort of agreement, but as responsible men they could not afford to be weak. A helmsman had to be firm and un-wavering or else the ship would fonder upon the rocks. Each one of them had tried to convince the other. It was possible that both of them might be in the wrong. But so long as each felt himself to be in the right he could not let go his hold.

The news of the breakdown, he knew, would cause grief to the friends of India and might give cause for jubilation to their enemies. He drew their attention to the last sentence in their statement in which he had said that it was not the final end of their efforts.

Although they had been unable to appreciate each other's viewpoint, the public could help them to do so. They should not lose heart. If there was any one who had reason to feel disappointment, it was he. He had knocked at the Qaid-i-Azam's door. But, as he had already observed, there was no despondency in him. It was not for a votary of truth and non-violence to feel despondent if his effort, at times, failed to yield the result aimed at. Failure should only serve as a spur to further effort. God alone knew what was best for them. It was not for them to question God's ways. Therefore, instead of feeling despondent they should regard the breakdown as a challenge to their faith and as an incentive for greater effort to establish true unity among the various communities.

## The Lahore Resolution of the League

On the 26th of March, 1940, the All-India Muslim League resolved at Lahore that

'It is the considered view of this Session that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principle, viz. that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial re-adjustments 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 . . ."

The resolution proceeded to stress that:

"Adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in these units and in the regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights, and interests in consultation with them.

Conversely, it envisaged identical guarantees in an identical manner for Muslim minorities in other parts of India.

Next, it authorized 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, communication, customs and such other matters as may be necessary.' No such scheme of constition, however, has yet been published.

# Breakdown of Unity Talks

## Regret in Britain and America

**London—28th. September 1944**

Mr. Amery declined in the Commons to-day to say anything about the breakdown of the Gandhi-Jinnah discussions until the situation was cleared. He was replying to Mr. Reginald Sorensen who asked, "What communications respecting the political issues arrising from the Gandhi-Jinnah discussions had been alreadly conveyed by the Indian leaders to the Viceroy and whether the Viceroy and Governor-General will take steps to confer with them on the termination of their discussion."

Mr. Amery, in a written reply, said, "I am not aware that any communication has at present been addressed by either leader to the Viceroy in connection with the discussions. Members will have seen the report in to-day's Press that the conversation has broken down. In the circumstances, I would prefer to say nothing more until the situation is cleared."

VICEROY URGED TO TAKE THE INITIATIVE

Profound regret was expreased this after-noon by well-known sympathisers with India in Britain and Americoa at the news that the Gannhi-Jinnah talks had broken down, but there is a general hope that a way would still be found out of the difficult situation.

The Secretary of the India League, Mr. *Krishna Menon*, said : "While it is impossible to form an opinion on the scant information available, there is little doubt that there is no finality about the present situation, and the leaders will undoubtedly find a way out."

Dr. *Maud Royden* said : "Like many people in this country I heard the news that the talks had broken down with consternation and keen disappointment. It is impossible not to hope that they may be resumed, because, in spite of the fact that Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah do not represent the whole of India, yet they undoubtedly represent the two greatest sections of the Indian people. Had they been able to reach an agreement, it would have given an impetus to the other agreement. Is it too much to hope that the Viceroy may see his way now to take a hand ?"

The political commentator, Mr. *H, N. Brailsford.* stated : "Everybody regrets that the talks have failed, but until I know more as to the reason, I do not think I could give an opinion on the matter."

The well-known Labour M. P., Mr. *Pethick Lawrence*, said : "I feel sure I am voicing the sentiments of many people in this country in expressing regret at the news that the two distinguished statesmen of India have not found it possible so far to reach an agreement. No details have been published and therefore, it is not possible to judge if the failure to reach an agreement is final and we can only hope some means will be found to make a new and more successful approach to the problem at issue."

*Pearl Buck*, interviewed in New York, said : If it is true that the conversations between Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah are broken off, I consider it a tragedy not only for India and England but for all the United Nations who would find a new hope if India had now a definite prospect of freedom. But my hope is always in the people of the country rather than in individuals.

*Sardar J. J. Singh*, President of the India League of America, said : Not knowing the details as to what caused the breakdown it is hard for me to comment. However, the Indian community in the United States and American friends of India are bound to be disappointed. We had all hoped that the talks would bring about an agreement which could have led to a resolution of the political deadlock at last.

GANDHIJI'S OFFER MOST DEMOCRATIC

"It is a pity," said Mr. *William Dobbie* M.P., that Mr. *Jinnah* should be the Leader of the Muslim League. Gandhiji had suggested the fairest means of resolving the Indian deadlock by conceding to the Muslims Pakistan.

Gandhiji's suggestion for holding a plebiscite in provinces affected by Pakistan cannot be improved upon. I am convinced that this was the most democratic approach to the solution of the communal problem, which had vitiated the political situation in India for so long.

Certainly, the time has come when the British Government who cannot plead innocence in this matter should courageously face the issues and tell frankly men like Mr. Jinnah that their claim to leadership cannot be acceptable if they are not prepared to abide by democratic methods and procedure.

"THE TIMES" COMMENTS—LONDON—29TH. SEPTEMBER 1944

The failure of the Gandhi-Jinnah talks, says *The Time* to-day (Friday), throws back in the melting pot the whole problem of Indian minorities. If the leaders of the two major political parties could have reached a common approach to the main question which in importance, out-ranks all others in the Indian political strife to-day—the method by which an All-India Constitution is to be framed —the result would have been a forward step of some magnitude. An agreement on the broad principles of the new Constitution would have enabled an exploratory move to begin at once in accordance with Lord Wavell's expressed hope ; it would have paved the way for the co-operation of the main political parties in the working of the transitional Constitution; and it would thus have tackled the present paralysing deadlock.

In the second place it would have meant the final abandonment of the claim by Mr. Gandhi and, by implication by the Congress Party to speak *ex cathedra* in

the name of India. It appears from the published correspondence that neither Mr. Gandhi nor Mr. Jinnah was able to rid himself of his communal pledges in a measure sufficient to enable them to face the problems of the present day with the necessary breadth of vision. Perhaps younger men, less conscious of party affiliations and more concerned with the great prospects open to their country, might have done—indeed, may yet do—better. It should have been impossible for Mr. Gandhi, especially as he insisted upon the personal as opposed to the representative character of his activities in Bombay, to have admitted in full Mr. Jinnah's claim to Pakistan, should such prove essential for the security of Moslem communal interests.

Mr. Jinnah's statement indicates some slight hope of fresh conversations and Mr. Gandhi speaks of an 'adjournment'. However, this may be, there are other leaders; there are other parties. The practice of consultation and conference must be actively promoted by Government; and if this is done, the seed of agreement will certainly be discovered. British policy towards India hinges on the assumption that the people of India can frame a succession Government. It is for Britain as well as India to see that this assumption is not belied.

The breakdown in the Gandhi-Jinnah talks will cause no surprise to English observers, writes the *Birmingham Post* editorially to-day (Thursday.) "If there ever was any prospect of anything materially different, anything in any way more helpful to India in the existing circumstances, it arose from the circumstance that Mr. Gandhi talked as a free agent without responsibility. Mr. Jinnah, to be sure, already suggested otherwise—and it is perfectly true, as he now complains, that no 'settlement' could have been effectively negotiated by the two parties, one of whom represented nobody but himself. A settlement, however, at no time seemed practicable; at no time came into a cautious appraisal of possibilities. What was hoped optimistically perhaps, but not unreasonably, was that Mr. Gandhi might be so far convinced of the fundamental reasonableness of the Moslem case as to go away in a mood to recommend that case to the great predominantly Hindu organisations and to Hindu leaders. It is not known exactly how and why Mr. Jinnah failed. It may be that final disagreement arose over matters of detail rather than principles. But for the moment at any rate, Mr. Gandhi remains unconvinced. Perhaps it is fair to add that nobody but congenital optimists expected him ever to accept Mr. Jinnah's premises or look with favour upon Mr. Jinnah's demands."

DELHI REACTIONS—NEW DELHI—28TH. SEPTEMBER 1944

Official quarters generally express extreme regret at the breakdown of the Bombay talks but point out that the published correspondence shows that the attempt on either side was not so much to negotiate as to argue and try to get the other side to accept one's own point of view.

Official quarters repudiate the allegation that the Government was interested in, or made any attempt at pulling strings in order to prevent the success of the talks.

FEELING IN BOMBAY

The outcome of the present series of Gandhi-Jinnah talks has been received with mixed feelings. Sir *Chimanlal Sitalvad* and his school welcome the breakdown as there will be no partition of India. The Communists who were enthusiastic about the negotiations feel that both leaders spent all these three weeks discussing abstract things not connected with the realities of the present day. League circles await a lead from Mr. *Jinnah*. They feel disappointed that no agreement was reached between the leaders on this occasion but they are not attempting to apportion blame. European quarters also deplore the absence of agreement between Mr. Jinnah and Gandhiji but they lay the blame at Gandhiji's door on the ground that he is still adhering to the August 8 Resolution.

A noteworthy feature of the present talks is the spirit of cordiality and friendliness between Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah and the complete absence of invective as in the past. Both stick to their ideals. Gandhiji spoke with supreme confidence that the seemingly insoluble can be solved if the press, the public and the League Council ask Mr. Jinnah to revise his opinion. In other words, Mr. Jinnah requires this persuasion and Gandhiji drops the hint that Mr. Jinnah would revise his views if the League and the Indian public urge him to do so.

**Leaders' Views**

MR. N. R. SARKAR

Mr. *N. R. Sarker*, ex-Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, said :

"It is difficult for me—and I think that is the case with most others—to say

whether I did or did not expect this result from the Gandhi-Jinnah talks. We all had our moments of optimism and our moments of pessimism. But no one was prepared for the disclosure now made public that at no stage did the negotiators get to grips with the proper issues. We could not help the feeling that the negotiations have not been properly handled. And the tragedy of the situation is that there is no means now open to us of retrieving the position since the Congress cannot formally meet to consider the situation resulting from the failure of the talks. It would no doubt be some help if Mr. Jinnah would indicate how he envisages that the broken threads of negotiations will be picked up again."

RT. HON. V. S. S. SASTRI

The *Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri* said :

True satyagrahis will not admit defeat but they are few. The rest of us cannot help being depressed by the breakdown. The British Tories alone have cause to rejoice. Does the breakdown restore the *status quo ante*? Is the Gandhi —C. R. Formula killed once for all? I would fain hope it was. But supposing negotiations are to be resumed, will the Congress be free to disown it utterly? I have misgivings unless the rank and file who are now dumb compel the High Command to recognise the weight of public opinion we shall only plough the sands again. The Jagatnarain resolution of the A. I. C. C., no doubt, represents the majority view, and it is likewise statesmanlike and safeguards the future of the country. The reviving vitality of our great political organisation must make itself felt in checking the growth of the League spirit, which would cut up and maim the country for ever.

Gandhiji must free himself from the Pakistan obsession, if his future services to the Motherland are to maintain the qualities of wisdom and foresight. Mr. Jinnah shares the responsibility of these abortive talks with the Mahatma. He has not abated one jot of his demands or shown the least desire to see the other man's point of view. This may be strength, but it is not the strength which will surmount difficulties or solve problems. It spells the ruin and perpetual stagnation of the country. He rejected, out of hand, the suggestion of arbitration which is going to be the saviour of the world from the dangers of international strife. What has he to say on the merits of the questions. Is it open to him to make a demand and say to India and to the world, "Grant this or I will stop anything and everything."

DR. P. SUBBAROYAN

Dr. *P. Subbaroyan*, ex-Minister, said :

I am sorry that the Gandhi-Jinnah negotiations have ended and there has been no settlement. I hope that the public would respond to the appeal of Mr. Jinnah not to feel embittered and to have hope as he has himself told us that this is not the final end of the efforts. Gandhiji has also asked us not to lose heart. Therefore, I am hoping that a new method of rapproachment between the two leaders will soon be found and I don't propose to go into any particular point on which the negotiations broke down.

But it must be said that Gandhiji did make an offer specific in its terms by his letter of September 24 but this Mr. Jinnah unfortunately thought did not in any way meet the Lahore Resolution of the Muslim League. It would have been better if Mr. Jinnah had followed it with a counter-offer which he has not chosen to do. Gandhiji's offer contained in this letter, therefore, stands and will be there to be modified and accepted by the Muslim League when they chose to do so. It is, therefore, the duty of Congressmen to popularise this offer among the people.

MR. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN

"I do entertain a sanguine hope that soon after the release of the members of the Congress Working Committee, which should on no account be further delayed, fresh negotiations will be initiated and God willing, results would be more satisfactory" observed Mr. *Tamizuddin Khan*, Education Minister, Bengal.

Paying a tribute to Mr. *C. Rajagopalachari* for his efforts he said, "I have every word of appreciation for the insight of Mr. Rajagopalachariar, for his patience and perseverence which have brought the country to this stage out of a seemingly hopeless position and I do hope he will rise to the situation now created by the failure of the talks and will be able to give a fresh and more practical lead to the Congress and the country."

Proceeding he said, "The news of the breakdown of negotiations must have been received with profound sorrow by all well-wishers of the country both in India and abroad. It is quite apparent from the correspondence which passed between

the two leaders that the failure was inevitable. Mr. Jinnah's acceptance of the final terms offered by Gandhiji would have seriously jeopardised the demand of the Muslim nation for Pakistan. However, the whole of Muslim India is undoubtedly behind Mr. Jinnah and fully supports the stand taken by him in the negotiations. But the failure should not give rise to pessimism. As the principle of Pakistan has been recognised the time is not far off when it will be realised that all the facilities for the practical fruition of this scheme must be considered."

MR. GADGIL

Mr. *Gadgil*, President of the Maharashtra Congress Committee, said: "It is a matter of regret, and this cannot be the end of it. It required two years for the two leaders to come together and discuss, it will only require another two months to see them together. The Hindu and Muslim masses care more for the substance than for the shadow. They are bound to bring pressure, for both love freedom, and both want it, here and now." He added: "I see nothing but hope, not in the far future, but in the immediate one, and hence it should be everybody's duty to create conditions which will help the resumption of negotiations, the supreme need of the hour."

SIR C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYAR

Sir *C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar*, Dewan of Travancore, said, "The correspondence between Gandhiji and Mr. Jinnah that has been released clarifies an issue which never seems to have been in doubt from the outset.

"Mr. *Jinnah's* view has throughout been that Muhammadans wherever situated, lay claim to constitute a nation. His demand is not based on Pakistan being a territorial unit. His idea is that there can be not matters of common concern even with regard to defence, internal communications, foreign affairs, customs, etc. In his own words, Pakistan and Hindustan will be separate independent sovereign States (vide Mr. Jinnah's letter dated September 21, 1944.) Each sovereign State is apparently to be composed of individuals situated in many territorial units and separated from each other by long distances, differences of language, origin and economic outlook. There can at no time be a compromise between those who make such a claim and those who hope to realise the unity of India as a territorial and administrative unit, while providing the amplest safeguards for minority rights. Even Mr. C. Rajagopalachari must admit that his *bete noire*, the Indian States, have never asserted the possibility of an Indian constitution without Central authority in matters of common concern for the whole of India.

"It is fervently hoped that no more attempts will be made to square the circle or reconcile the irreconcilable, and that all efforts be concentrated on bringing together elements that are united by a common purpose and a common ideal, namely a strong and unified India. I venture to express this hope, although it must be observed that political parties and their leaders are often more inclined to negotiate with their opponents than with their potential friends."

SIR C. SETALVAD AND SIR V. CHANDAVARKAR

Sir *Chimanlal Setalvad* and Sir *Vithal Chandavarkar*, in a joint statement, say:

"Although we are as keen as Mr. *Gandhi* and Mr. *Rajapopalachari* on solving the communal problem and to achieve the freedom of India from foreign domination, we do not regret the breakdown of the negotiations between Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah, for the negotiations were based on the acceptance by Mr. Gandhi of the vicious principle of the partition of India into Hindustan and Pakistan. We are sure that an appreciable number of the following of Mr. Gandhi must also be heaving a sigh of relief, because they too are against the partition of the country, although on account of their personal loyalty to Mr. Gandhi, they refrained from giving expression to their real feelings. Such a partition with different sovereign States, with no Central authority to control subjects of common interests like Defence, Foreign Relations, Communications, etc., must inevitably lead to friction between Hindustan and Pakistan, thus producing conditions, under which India must come again under foreign domination. The correspondence shows that Mr. Gandhi is alive to all these dangers, but his overwhelming desire to achieve immediate independence impels him to grant the principle of separation. In one of his letters, he says to Mr. Jinnah: "Let us unite to get rid of the British, and then you can divide the country into as many parts as you like." India, if so divided, is bound to be an easy prey to any foreign power. Let the Muslims and other substantial minorities be reassured by the establishment of coalition ministries both in the Centre and in the Provinces and by the provision of statutory safeguards for

their special interests but we should never agree to divide India into separate sovereign States, which must mean ruination to India and would be harmful to the Muslims themselves.

DR. N. B. KHARE

"I am glad that the failure of the longdrawn-out negotiations between Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah has at last been announced and the proposal for the vivisection of India has been buried—I hope—for ever," says Dr. *N. B. Khare*, in a statement to the Associated Press. "No. rational being could have ever expected these negotiations to succeed, but Congressmen were banking upon them too much although inwardly they did not like them. It appears from the published correspondence between the two august negotiators that there was not an inch of common ground between them from the very start. It is surprising that they met at all, and it is still more surprising that they did carry on for a period of 13 long days.

It is evident that Pakistan, as envisaged in the 1940 resolution of the Muslim League at Lahore, cannot be obtained by negotiations ; if at all, it can be carved out only by the use of the sword. I hope that this failure will encourage all thinking and reasonable people and communities to lessen their insistence on self-interest and to unite for the welfare and freedom of India and to give up all stans, schemes and schisms."

ALLAMA MASHRIQI

*Allama Mashriqi*, the Khaksar leader, says :

"I do not see any failure when both leaders have been in conference for nearly three weeks and departed. The real difficulty is that neither Mahatma Gandhi nor Mr. Jinnah wishes to get out of the rut of dead theoretical politics, created round them by long years of cries for independence, on to the smooth road of living practical politics leading to immediate freedom. I must admit, however, that Quaid-i-Azam has realised this difficulty considerably more than Mr. Gandhi and that is what makes me more hopeful of an early settlement. Our next step can only be to go on striving and I have now resolved to meet Mahatma Gandhi at the earliest opportunity available to me."

The Allama asks all Khaksars who had gone to Bombay to return quietly to their homes.

MR. M. N. ROY'S SUGGESTION TO MR. JINNAH

Mr. *M. N. Roy* says :

Any other result of *Gandhi-Jinnah* talks was a matter of wishful thinking. Therefore, the news of the breakdown is not unexpected for those who took a critical and realistic view of the situation.

The breakdown, however, is not a political calamity. A great illusion having been at last dispelled, a more practical approach to the problem of India's constitutional advance should now be attempted. But next to the British that would very largely depend on Mr. Jinnah. He has to give up the idea of coming to an agreement with Hindu India. He must now realise that Hindu India would never accept the Muslim demand of self-determination.

All the questions raised by Mr. Jinnah during the protracted talks and evasively replied by Mr. Gandhi can be satisfactorily answered by a democratic coalition composed of the Radical Democratic Party, Scheduled Castes Federation, the Non-Brahmin organisation of Southern India and many other elements outside the two Hindu organisations and their allies and satellites. A democratic coalition will represent the non-Muslim toiling masses, constituting the overwhelming majority of the people.

I appeal to Mr. Jinnah to take the initiative in convening a conference of the above popular bodies, which will agree about the future constitution and demand transfer of power to a Provisional Government, based on a democratic coalition. The British, however unwilling they may be to transfer power, will have no plausible excuse to resist the demand of a coalition representing a united front of the majority of the people belonging to all communities. Old parties and leaders have made a mess; let us open a new chapter if we want to get out of frustration and avoid a possible civil war.

MR. B. G. KHAPARDE

Mr. *B. G. Khaparde*, Secretary of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, says that he is not in the least sorry that the Gandhi-Jinnah conversations have broken down. He hopes that Mr. Gandhi will yet take a lesson from what has transpired between him and Mr. Jinnah. The nation will watch further movements of Mr. Gandhi in this connection. Anyway Pakistan seems to have received its final blow."

MR. SHAHABUDDIN

Mr. *Shahabuddin*, Minister, Bengal, said: "I am deeply shocked at the failure of the talks. In fact, all patriots in India and all sympathisers outside must have been rudely shocked on the breakdown of negotiations." Continuing, he said: "While reading through the correspondence, it appeared that the main point on which the negotiations failed was that of plebiscite. In my opinion, this question should not have been pressed by Gandhiji. Once the principle of Pakistan has been accepted, there seems to be no justification for allowing non-Muslims in Pakistan areas to take part in plebiscite."

Concluding, he said: However, there is no reason to be pessimistic as, in the words of Mr. Jinnah, 'this is not the final end of our efforts.' I do hope that Congress and non-Muslims will soon realise that Pakistan is the only solution of the political and communal problem of India."

MR. L. G. THATTE

Mr. *L. G. Thatte*, General Secretary of the All-India Anti-Pakistan Front, who led a batch of pickets at Sevagram before Mahatma Gandhi's departure for Bombay, in a statement says, "Mr. Gandhi, as he himself admits, has no right to speak on behalf of the Hindus."

Mr. *Thatte* adds that it is necessary that Hindu youths from all provinces should carry on non-stop picketing for two months at Mahatma Gandhi's residence demanding that he should in future abstain from speaking on behalf of the Hindus.

MALIK BARKAT ALI

*Malik Barkat Ali*, M. L. A. (Muslim League), says: "I am really deeply grieved to learn that the Gandhi-Jinnah talks for a settlement, to which the whole country was looking forward with profound hopes, have ended unsuccessfully. It is, however, a relief to learn from the two leaders that they look forward to the resumption of these talks. However, I am sure that every believer in the freedom of this country will view this result with the greatest disappointment."

*Malik Barkat Ali* adds: "I will not apportion blame at this stage. I want the two leaders to continue as friends and agree to differ. May the t me soon come, when there will be a complete union of minds between the two leaders. The Mahatma says that he will continue to work for the freedom of his country with such elements as he can gather under his flag. With the Muslim outside that flag, such efforts are a vain hope and predetermined to meet defeat and disaster."

DR. B. S. MOONJE

Giving his reactions to the failure of Gandhi-Jinnah talks, Dr. *Moonje* said: "The Hindu-Muslim problem has become more complicated. It is not clear whether Gandhiji has agreed to Pakistan or not. He speaks of separate sovereign States in one place and of one family in the other. How can the two be reconciled? Either he treats Muslims as a separate nation, in order to satisfy Mr. Jinnah, just like England, France and Germany or he treats them as members of one common family divided into several Provinces under one Central Government. If it is the latter, then he and the Mahasabha agree. In that case, representation in Provincial or Central Government will be on the basis of population. I cannot understand Gandhiji when he says that the Centre will have no overbearing Hindu majority. Thus, the whole situation is at present quite complicated."

**Suggestion by Indian Christian Leaders**

Raja Sir *Maharaj Singh*, President, and Mr. *B. L. Rallia Ram*, General Secretary of the All-India Conference of Indian Christians, in a joint statement say:

We greatly regret that the talks between Mahatma Gandhiji and Mr. *Jinnah* have not met with the success for which many had hoped both in India and outside. Never-the-less, they have been useful in clarifying the difference between the two leaders. Apart from other points, the talks really broke down on the very important question of the plebiscite necessary before any partition of India can be made. Mr. Gandhi desired a common plebiscite, while Mr. Jinnah wanted only Muslims to vote. On this point Indian Christians, though they prefer that there should not be any vivisection of India, consider the point of view of Mr. Gandhi to be more fair and more reasonable than that of Mr. Jinnah. The latter, however, was justified in thinking that a communal settlement should be arrived at before the third party left India. We consider that further efforts should be made to reach a settlement between Hindus and Muslims and are of opinion that, before long a conference should be convened by Indian leaders containing representatives

not only of the two leading political parties, but also of important minorities and interests."

## Indian Press Comments

The *Hindustan Times* says : "Rightly or wrongly, it seems now that Mr. Jinnah has concluded that the Muslim majority areas cannot stand on their own legs and he, therefore, makes the impossible claim that other areas with their predominantly non-Muslim populations should be added thereto. The absurd form to which he has now been compelled to reduce his claim and his refusal to accept Gandhiji's proposals which were, in effect, the substance of the League's demand, prove beyond doubt that the solution for the communal distemper is not in any plan of partition."

Continuing, the paper observes : "The issue of the present negotiation clearly points to some form of Confederation as the true remedy. If this is sufficiently realised the talks will not have been held in vain. A Confederation of autonomous units with homogeneous populations will provide for the satisfaction in the fullest degree of the natural desire for independent evolution of the component States as well as for the efficient administration of matters of common interest which arise out of the essential economic and cultural unity of India."

Despite the breakdown reported from Bombay, the *Dawn* regards the failure of the Bombay Talks "more as a stage of proceedings than the filling of an insolvency petition."

The paper stresses some lessons of the failure and concludes : "The lesson of the talks is that Mr. Rajagopalachari had not really succeeded in winning over Mr. Gandhi to the historical inevitability of self-determination for the Muslims of India. Darkly the Mahatma refers to "other elements" on whose co-operation the Congress would depend. We do not know if any tactics are implied, but the Muslims as a whole have now a better inkling of the mind of the Mahatma and the value of solidarity in their ranks. Our earnest anticipation is that there will be greater efforts for mutual accommodation on the part of the Hindus despite the door banged by Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Jinnah, it is clear from his letters, put the Muslim case with precision and profound faith in his cause and Muslims are fortunate that in him they have a leader, unselfish and farsighted, who is worthy of their confidence. Success has been described as the last phase of a series of failures."

The *National Call* points out that, "At no stage in the Bombay talks has Mahatma Gandhi thought of himself as a Hindu. At all times he has put forward his case as an Indian. This may not have appealed to Mr. Jinnah, who, having painted himself thick in Muslim communal colours, cannot imagine that a person being born a Hindu can still aspire to represent all people and all communities."

### PUBLIC OPINION MUST ASSERT ITSELF

The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* shares the optimism of Mahatma Gandhi that matters will not rest where they are and that negotiations will be resumed at no distant future. The leaders have done what they could. It is now for public opinion to assert itself. The procedure adopted by Mr. Jinnah in the talks, the paper adds, smacked more of a law court than of a joint army headquarters. The lawyer in him got the better of Mr. Jinnah as a patriot. His approach to some of the important questions was more legalistic than practical. There can be no settlement or compromise unless the parties are equally earnest. The paper pays tribute to Mahatma Gandhi's "inexhaustible patience and supreme regard of personal prestige" in the talks.

*The Statesman* says that the correspondence make it clear that the two men never or seldom got to grips. They talked across an interval and their letters at times appear to evade the points made by the one and the other. A serious difficulty was Mr. Gandhi's peculiar position. Mr. Jinnah argued as a leader of a strong party, Mr. Gandhi as a leader of great influence but not representative of anyone and anxious to use his influence for the good of all. This enabled him at times to evade the pressure of argument. The talks broke down of themselves because there was no initial agreement about the basis of discussion, not because there was any external interference. The experiment may be renewed and then too everyone will give the protagonists every chance.

Commenting on the Gandhi-Jinnah talks the *Hindustan Standard* says that it is not oppressed with any sense of disappointment at the failure, for it never expected that any negotiation on the present basis would succeed. As the separate

nation theory of Mr. Jinnah has been thoroughly disposed of by Mahatma Gandhi, the proposal of Rajaji should not be persisted in. The journal sees no cause for despondency because it is confident that India will become independent at no distant future, and also believes that it will not be necessary to wait for an agreement with Mr. Jinnah for this.

Writing on the Gandhi-Jinnah correspondence the *Star of India* says : "It makes dismal reading. There is hardly anything in it to promote optimism. The only hope left is that the worst has not happened yet, and that this is not the final end of the two leaders' efforts. The breakdown has been caused by difference on such primary questions as the representative scope of the Muslim League, the two-nation theory and the scope and machinery of the plebiscite and whether independence should precede self-determination or *vice versa*. The journal is most surprised at Mr. Gandhi's insistence on his particular viewpoint with regard to the last. Mr. Gandhi has also unceremoniously repudiated the two-nation theory, the bedrock of the Pakistan demand. In regard to the National Government, Mr. Jinnah's acceptance of Mr. Gandhi's clarification would have amounted to delivering the Muslim nation, hand and feet bound, to the dominant Hindu majority."

The *Morning News* is not prepared to accept the termination of the negotiations as a "failure" because a good deal of mutual understanding has gone forth from one side to the other. Mr. Jinnah wants a partition and Mr. Gandhi, notwithstanding his assertions to the contrary, has been converted to grant it.

The *People's Voice* says that the failure of the talks should be a spur to fresh activities for the peoples' cause.

### Britain Must Take the Initiative

*The Pioneer* says that the breakdown of *Gandhi-Jinnah* talks cannot but cause the bitterest disapointment to the public. Both the leaders were indissolubly wedded to their respective party creeds—one to the ill-fated August Resolution of 1942 and the other to the vague but none the less uncompromising Lahore resolution of 1940. Negotiations conducted in the proselytising spirit cannot possibly lead to a settlement. The hope of unity has proved to be a mirage. Bogged in frustration, the country is desperately looking for a lead. Will it come, and if so, from where? The initiative will have to be taken by the British Government. For better or for worse, she has to proceed "immediately upon the cessation of hostilities" to put India in charge of her own destiny.

Describing the Gandhi-Jinnah talks as "a great dialectical combat" the *Civil and Military Gazette* says", "The dialectical adventures of Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Gandhi have not been entirely fruitless however as they have clearly revealed the wide gulf which divides the Congress from the Muslim League."

The paper adds : "Mr. Jinnah has emerged from the conferences in Bombay with his reputation as a dialectician enhanced by his resistance to yield to the Congress resolutions while Mr. Gandhi has only exposed the hopelessness of the tactics in trying to secure a solution of such great problems as now divide the Congress and the Muslim League on the one hand and the Hindus and Muslims on the other in his 'individual capacity'.

"In the outcome of the Gandhi-Jinnah conferences in Bombay there is also a lesson for observers outside the Empire who hold the opinion that the serious conflict between the political aspirations of the different communities in India is the result of British intrigue".

# Mahatma Gandhi's Letter to Viceroy

## Lord Wavell Refuses to entertain Mahatma's request

Ever since Gandhiji was released, the country has been hearing from him numerous proposals made with the sincere object of arriving at a satisfactory compromise with the British Government and other parties. In the following pages we give the various statements issued and interviews granted by Mahatmaji since his correspondence with H. E the Viceroy on the 17th. June 1945 and ending with the breaking up of the negotiations with Mr. M. A. Jinnah on the basis of the Rajagopalachari formula on the 29th. September 1945. On the 17th June, Mahatmaji wrote to the Viceroy from Nature Cure Clinic, Poona as follows :—

Dear friend,—But for the fact that this letter is along the lines of your pre-occupation, I should not have troubled you with any letter from me.

Though there is little cause for it, the whole country and even many from outside expect me to make some decisive contribution to the general good. I am sorry to say my convalescence threatens to be fairly long. Even if I was quite well, I could do little or nothing unless I knew the mind of the Working Committee of the Congress. I pleaded as a prisoner for permission to see them. I plead now as a free man for such permission. If you will see me before deciding, I shall gladly go wherever you want me to, as soon as I am allowed by my medical advisers to undertake long-distance travelling.

I have circulated among friends for private use copies of the correspondence that passed between the authorities and me during detention. I do feel, however, that in fairness to me Government should permit its publication in the press.

My address will be as above till the 30th. June.

I am, yours sincerely, (Sd.) M. K. Gandhi.

**Viceroy's Reply—New Delhi—22nd. June 1944**

The Viceroy sent the following letter in reply :

Dear Mr. Gandhi,—I have received your letter of June 17. In consideration of the radical differences in our points of view which appeared in our recent correspondence, I feel that a meeting between us at present could have no value and could only raise hopes which would be disappointed.

I am afraid that similar considerations apply to your request to see the Working Committee. You have recently made public your adherence to the 'Quit India' Resolution, which I am afraid I do not regard as a reasonable or practical policy for the immediate future.

If after your convalescence and on further reflection you have a definite and constructive policy to propose for the furtherance of India's welfare, I shall be glad to consider it.

Since you have circulated, without any reference to me, the correspondence which passed between us and it has in consequence appeared in the press, I have given instructions for the publication of the whole of the political letters which were written during your detention.

Yours Sincerely, (Sd.) Wavell.

# National Government during War

## Gandhiji Explains demand

**Interview to British Paper**

Mr. *Gandhi* in a three-hour interview at Panchgani with Mr. *Stuart Gelder*, the *News Chronicle* Special Correspondent, on the 11th. July 1944, stated that he was prepared to accept and advise the Congress to participate in a war-time National Government in full control of civil administration. Such a Government would give the military all railways, port and other communication facilities required.

Mr. Gandhi is quoted by Mr. Gelder as saying : "This would involve a declaration now of Indian independence after the war and establishment of a new National Government. While rule by Ordinance would be superseded by normal civil administration, the Viceroy's position will be thus defined : 'He would remain and have complete control with the Commander-in-Chief over British and Indian armies. In other affairs he would be like the King of England—guided by responsible Ministers.' With popular Governments automatically restored in all Provinces, the National Government, with the defence portfolio in its hands, would be genuinely interested in the country's defence.

Mr. Gelder says that Mr. Gandhi stressed that he had no authority to speak in the name of the Congress without consulting the Working Committee, but Mr. Gelder's opinion is that there is no doubt that his views and the Hindu-Muslim proposals as endorsed by him, would be accepted by the Working Committee.

In reply to a question whether, if the Working Committee members were released and the Government felt unable to grant India's wishes, Mr. Gandhi would restart civil disobedience, Mr. Gandhi said, "No. I cannot take the country back to 1942. History cannot be repeated". Mr. Gandhi's opinion is that neither the food situation nor the suffering of the people can be ameliorated without the transfer of civil administration to Indian hands.

Mr. *Gelder's* opinion is that in view of Mr. Gandhi's uncompromising pacifism, he would cease to function as the adviser of the Congress after independence is gained.

Mr. Gelder also saw Mr. Rajagopalachari whom he quotes as saying : "It is quite possible that the British Government may make a friend of Gandhiji.....It may not be necessary for the British war effort now to befriend him, but for future Indo-British relations."

### Mr. Churchill's Attitude

One interesting point is that Mr. Gelder says he laid before the Viceroy a complete report of both his Poona talk and now the Panchgani talk. Mr. Gandhi felt that this was not of much use. He said: "It is common talk among us that whatever the Viceroy wishes personaly, he has no authority in the political field. Mr. Churchill doesn't want a settlement. He wants to crush me, if he has been correctly reported. He never denied the report. The beauty of it for me—the pity of it for him—is that no one can crush a Satyagrahi who offers his body in willing sacrifice, thus leaving the spirit free."

The *News Chronicle's* editorial states, "Mr. Gandhi's latest gesture shows a way out of the deadlock. Obviously the pre-requisite must be successful negotiations between Moslems and Hindus," (*U. P. A.*)

### No Desire to Embarrass Britain

The *United Press of India* adds:

"I have no intention of offering civil disobedience to-day. I cannot take the country back to 1942. History can never be respected. Even without the authority of the Congress, if I wanted to do it I could start Civil disobedience to-day on the strength of my supposed influence with masses but I would be doing so merely to embarrass the British Government. This cannot be my object." Mahama Gandhi expressed himself in these words in an interview to Mr. Stuart Gelder, Correspondent of the *News Chronicle*, the exclusive publication whereof in this country has been given to the *Times of India*.

When it was pointed out that the Viceroy would want to know how Gandhiji would influence the Working Committee members before His Excellency would permit a meeting with them, Gandhiji replied that history did not repeat itself. He said: "The whole situation has been reviewed anew. The point, therefore, for me to discuss with the Working Committee is to know how they react to the knowledge I have gained since my release. I have to take up the thread that was broken by the Government in 1942. I was first to negotiate and on failure to offer civil resistance if I thought necessary. I want to plead with the Viceroy. I can only do so when I know the Working Committee's mind."

### "News Chronicle's" Comment

Only the *News Chronicle* to-day (11th. July) deals with the subject in the course of an editorial covering a column and draws attention to its correspondent, Mr. Stuart Gelder's interview and describes Gandhiji's pronouncement as "of far-reaching significance." The paper states that Gandhiji's views go very close to the Cripps Offer. "This is an unmistakable and important advance. The difference between Mr. Gandhi's and Sir Stafford Cripps' proposals are so small that clearly it offers

a new opportunity to seek an agreement. With reference to Gandhiji's proposals to Mr. Jinnah, the article declares that the communal problem is the thorniest of all, "but the settlement of the issue is so greatly in the interests of Britain, India and world in general that we hope the Government of India will use their good offices as actively as possible in helping to bring about the settlement. Mr. Gandhi's latest gesture certainly shows a way out of a prolonged deadlock towards practical fulfilment of India's political aspirations."

It is difficult on the basis of the reports received thus for to ascertain the truth about Rajaji's Pakistan proposal as endorsed by Gandhiji. Yesterday the *Times'* Bombay Correspondent stated that the negotiations had ceased and Rajaji said that it was futile to place the scheme before the League Executive if Mr. Jinnah could not himself whole-heartedly support it. However, the *News Chronicle* to-day asserts that the scheme is at present under consideration of the League Working Committee.

REACTIONS IN BRITAIN

Although public attention has been naturally-enough focussed on Allied military successes on the Eastern Front, Normandy and Italy and the problems created by the frequent "Doodle Bug (flying-bomb) raids, the latest political news from India—Gandhiji's overtures to the Muslim League and statements on such questions as co-operation with the Allied war effort in the formation of a National Government—are reported in the last few days in the British Press, in most papers briefly and at some length in the *News Chronicle* and the *Manchester Guardian.*

Friends of India consider these developements as highly encouraging but the significance of these has not yet been widely appreciated and certainly not commented upon.

While British reactions to Gandhiji's reported readiness to concede the principle of Pakistan cannot yet be said to have crystallised, the *Times'* Delhi Correspondent's meassage to-day painstakingly enumerates all the difficulties. Describing Gandhiji's offer as "the Hindu offer to the Muslims", the correspondent states that it would be a fair guess to assume that the Hindu sentiment is best pleased with the passages in Rajagopalachari-Jinnah correspondence which assume that Mr. Jinnah has rejected the offer and the negotiations have closed. The correspondent also suggests that the fact that Gandhiji is content to deal with Mr. Jinnah through an intermediary shows that the Hindus are not yet ready to deal with the Muslims on the basis of equality. Moreover nothing was said in the Congress offer about the composition of the proposed National Government. Almost every point in the scheme is criticised adversely, the correspondent concluding by stating that Mr. Rajagopalachari said nothing about the constitutional status of the proposed National Government. (*F. O. S. C.*)

## Statement on Talk with British Journalist

Handing over to Press representatives at Panchgani on the 12th. July 1944 two statements for publication, Mahatma Gandhi explained that they were two sets of notes prepared after discussion with an English journalist. One statement, said Mahatma Gandhi, was intended for pulication after the journalist had communicated his impressions of Mahatma Gandhi to the Viceroy in Delhi and the other statement contained notes of talks which the Mahatma gave to the journalist to discuss with anyone who cared to understand Mahatma Gandhi and how his mind was working.

The following is the write-up, the publication of which Mahatma Gandhi agreed to under certain circumstances. This write-up was written following an interview between Mahatma Gandhi and a British journalist :—

I saw Gandhi at Panchgani on the 4th July. I told him "my editor is anxious to help in solving the political deadlock in India. I went to Delhi and I was disappointed. I hope you will not disappoint me."

I asked, "Supposing you saw the Viceroy, what would you say to him ?"

He immediately replied : "I would tell him that I sought the interview with a view to helping and not hindering the Allied war effort. But I can do nothing without seeing the members of the Working Committee, for I believe that my authority under the August resolution ended with my imprisonment. It was not revived by my release. You are not interested in my personal views, but you should be, if I spoke as a representative."

I interrupted and said : "The Viceroy and everybody else is interested to know your mind because of your hold on the masses of India."

He replied : "I am a democrat and I cannot exploit that hold except through the organisation in the building of which I had a hand."

But again I interrupted and said : "Before the Viceroy permits you to see the Committee, he would want to know how you would influence the members."

"CONDITIONS OF 1942 DO NOT EXIST TO-DAY"

He said : "History does not repeat itself. The conditions of 1942 do not exist to-day. The world has moved on during the last two years. The whole situation has to be reviewed *de novo*. The point therefore for me to discuss with the Working Committee is to know how they react to the knowledge that I gained since my release. I have to take up the thread that was broken by the Government in 1942. I was first to negotiate, and, on failure, to offer civil resistance if I thought it necessary. I want to plead with the Viceroy. I can do so only when I know the Working Committee's mind. But I tell you that the common talk among us is that whatever the Viceroy may wish personally, he has no authority in the political sphere. Mr. Churchill does not want any settlement. He wants to crush me if he has been correctly reported. He has never denied the report. The beauty of it for me, and the pity of it for him, is that no one can crush a Satyagrahi, for he offers his body as a willing sacrifice and this makes the spirit free."

SECOND STATEMENT

The following is the second statement :

"I saw Mahatma Gandhi on July 4th at Panchgani. I told him : "My Editor is anxious to help in solving the political deadlock in India. I went to Delhi and I was disappointed. I hope you will not disappoint me." I asked him, "Supposing you saw Lord Wavell, how would you begin the talk ? What would you say to him ?"

He promptly replied that he would tell the Viceroy that he had sought the interview with a view to helping and not hindering the Allies, and it was to this end he had asked for permission to see the members of the Congress Working Committee. He said he felt he had no authority to act in the name of the Congress. According to the canons of Satyagraha, when a civil resister was imprisoned, the authority vested in him automatically came to an end. Hence the need for him to see the members of the Working Committee.

I said : "The Viceroy might feel, as you swear by the August resolution and by the weapon of civil disobedience, your meeting the Working Committee members may only result in their re-investing you with authority to carry on civil disobedience in the name of the Congress and the result will be that when you came out of the interview, you will hold the pistol at the Viceroy's head and say, 'Do this or I start civil disobedience.' That would make things worse than they are to-day."

Gandhi replied : "At the back of that is utter distrust of my profession that I am and have always been a friend of the British. Therefore, I can never use the weapon of civil disobedience during the war unless there was a very grave reason, as for instance the thwarting of India's natural rights to freedom."

My next question was : "Supposing the Working Committee was let out of jail to-morrow and the Government refuses to give India what they want, would you start civil disobedience ?

TRANSFER OF POWER ESSENTIAL

Gandhi replied : "If the Working Committee came out, they would take stock of the situation and discuss things among themselves and with me. I can tell you this, that I have no intention of offering civil disobedience to-day. I cannot take the country back to 1942. History can never be repeated. Even without the authority of the Congress, if I wanted to do it, I could start civil disobedience to-day on the strength of my supposed influence with the masses. But I would be doing so merely to embarrass the British Government. This cannot be my object. But the Working Committee would not sit still while the people are suffering. It is my conviction that we cannot improve the food situation and alleviate the sufferings of the people unless power and responsibility are transferred from British into Indian hands. Without such transfer the attempt of Congressmen and others to alleviate the people's sufferings are most likely to lead to conflict with the Government."

I interrupted and said : "With things as they are, I cannot believe that they will transfer authority now. This Government will not concede the demand for Independence while the war is on."

"WILL BE SATISFIED WITH CONTROL OF CIVIL ADMN."

Gandhi replied that there was a difference between what he would ask to-day and what was asked in 1942. To-day he would be satisfied with a National Government in full control of civil administration. It was not so in 1942. Such a Government would be composed of persons chosen by the elected members of the Central Assembly. "This would mean, declaration of the Independence of India, qualified as above, during the war."

I thought it was a great improvement on the 1942 position. I asked him if the military would control the railways and ports, etc. Gandhi replied that the National Government would let the military have all the facilities that the military might require. But the control would be that of the National Government. Ordinance rule would give place to normal administration by the National Government.

"Will the Viceroy be there ?" I asked.

He said : Yes, but he will be like the King of England—guided by responsible Ministers. Popular Government will be automatically restored in all the Provinces, so that both the Provincial and General Governments will be responsible to the people of India. So far as military operations are concerned, the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief will have complete control. But it must be possible for the National Government to offer advice and criticisms even in military matters. Thus the portfolio of Defence would be in the hands of the National Government which would be genuinely interested in the defence of the country and may render great assistance in the shaping of policies. The Allied forces would be allowed to carry on their operations on Indian soil. I realise that they cannot defeat Japan without that.

Gandhi made it clear that the expenses of the Allied operation on the Indian soil should not be borne by India.

CONGRESS AND NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

"If a National Government is formed, would you advise the Congress to participate in it ?" I asked.

Gandhi replied in the affirmative.

"So it means that if a National Government is formed, the Congress will join and help the war effort. What would be your position ?" I asked.

Gandhi replied : I am a lover of peace through and through. After Independence was assured, I would probably cease to function as adviser to the Congress and as an all-war resister I would have to stand aside, but I shall not offer any resistance against the National Government or the Congress. My co-operation will be abstention from interfering with the even tenor of life in India. I shall work with the hope that my influence will always be felt to keep India peace-minded and so affect the world policy towards real peace and brotherhood among all without the distinction of race and colour.

Supposing there is a conflict between the civil and military authorities, how would the dispute be settled ? If, for example, civil authorities wanted to use the railway to carry two thousand tons of food and the military authorities wanted it for carrying munitions, what would you advise ? I next asked.

Gandhi replied : As I said before, I would not have to advise on such matters. But supposing I had to I can conceive the necessity of allowing precedence to the military. But supposing the military wanted to blow off places or practise manoeuvres in disregard of the lives of people, I would say hands off. The thing is that with mutual trust such difficulties would not arise and if they did, they would be easily adjusted, If there is no trust, I cannot work. I cannot work for Allied victory without trust. If they trusted, a settlement would be easy to achieve. Freedom for India will bring hope to Asiatic and other exploited nations. To-day there is no hope for the Negroes, but Indian freedom will fill them with hope.

Finally I asked : What about the Hindu-Muslim differences ?

MR. CHURCHILL'S ATTITUDE

Gandhi replied, if the British meant well there would be no difficulties. Gandhi said in conclusion, "Most of us believe that whatever the Viceroy may wish personally, he has not the authority in the political sphere. Mr. *Churchill* does not want a settlement. He wants to crush me, if he has been correctly reported. He has never denied the report. The beauty of it for me, and the pity of it for him, is that no one can crush a Satyagrahi for he offers his body as a willing sacrifice and thus makes the spirit free.

In the course of his explanatory statement, Mahatma Gandhi said that

throughout his talks with the British journalist, he had emphasised the fact that he was speaking for himself and in no sense involving the Congress in what he said. He added : "I do not know how far to-day I represent the views of the members of the Working Committee. And about Hindu-Muslim formula which has nothing to do with these two statements, I have not spoken as a Hindu. I have spoken as an Indian first and an Indian last. My Hinduism is my own—I personally think it embraces all faiths. Therefore, I have no authority to speak as a representative of the Hindus. That I respond to mass mind and the masses know me instinctively is a fact which cannot be gainsaid, but I have not built my case upon it.

### Gandhiji Explains to Pressmen

Mahatma Gandhi issued a statement explaining how he came to make an important pronouncement on the present political situation to a British journalist. Characterising the publication as a "misfire." Gandhiji apologised to the Indian Press and handed over to reporters two statements :

"I had not authorised publication of the interview, of even the substance. I had said that it should not be published unless I authorised its publication and in no case had I ever dreamt that the interview would be published with exclusive rights to any one paper. If it was to be published it should have been broadcast throughout India. Therefore, I had to offer that apology publicly in order to soothe myself and also to show to the Press my appreciation that they have respected my desire to be left alone and also not to report anything which I had not authorised. I know that some things have appeared in the Press without authority but, generally speaking, I must confess the Press has obliged me by refraining from reporting things that are not authorised.

My object in seeing Press people is purely to advance the cause for which I am living, namely the freedom of India through truth and non-violence. I do not seek publicity for the sake of it and just now I feel I would serve the cause better by remaining in obscurity if such things were possible. Therefore, I had warned Gelder that he was not to publish anything from me unless I authorised it. He has published what he has, I have no doubt with the best of intentions but somehow or other I feel he has not served the cause as well as he might have. I passed nearly three hours with him distributed over three days in order that he might know the whole of my mind. I believed him and still believe him, to be a well-wisher of India as he is a lover of his own country and I accepted his word entirely when he told me that he approached me not as a journalist principally, but as one desiring to see that the political deadlock was resolved. Whilst I declared my views with absolute freedom, I told him that his first business should be to go to Delhi and if he could reach the Viceregal throne he should see the Viceroy and give him what impressions he had gathered. Having myself failed to get an interview with the Viceroy, I felt that Gelder being a reporter of a prominent English daily, might be able to serve the cause. Even in South Africa, where I was working in a hostile atmosphere, I was fortunate enough to get journalists and editors to help me when they became impressed by my earnestness and the justice my cause. I was handling the disabilities of Indians in South Africa.

### Glaring Inaccuracies

The publication, therefore, at this stage of an abstract of two interviews seems to me to be misfired. I, therefore, propose to give you two notes prepared after discussion with Gelder one of which, namely, the shorter one, after his pilgrimage to Delhi he was free to send to his paper and the other he could discuss privately with anybody who cared to understand me or who Gelder thought should know how my mind was working. You will see after you have read the two notes that he has compressed the two in the report published by him. You will notice also that there are some glaring inaccuracies in the report as published. I want to guard myself against being understood as accusing Gelder of wilful distortion. But I have found it times without number during my public life covering a period of over fifty years that my statements do not admit of being easily abridged or paraphrased. In 1897 I very nearly lost my life when *Reuter* sent an abridged summary of a pamphlet I had written and distributed in India in 1896. The summary was, I have no doubt, an unconscious distortion of what I had written. Fortunately my life was spared when I was lynched and I was able to show that the case based against me on the strength of the summary was utterly wrong. Here the abridgement has no such mischievous consequences. I recall the South African incident in order to emphasise my point.

APPEAL TO JOURNALISTS

All my life I have handled what seemed to be forlorn causes. I have been also a fairly successful journalist but I did not embark upon that calling for a living. It was a venture in order to advertise the cause I was handling and I give this long preface before handling the two statements to fellow-journalists in the hope that they would respond to my earnest wish that they would co-operate with me in dealing with the situation which, if propely handled, may yield promising results for mankind,

I was ill prepared for this ordeal that is in front of me. I am in Panchgani trying to rebuild a broken body. The desire not to see statements published at this stage was also prompted by regard for my health. I want to get well quickly and to be in full working order. Since things are so shaping themselves that I might not be able to carry out that wish, the statement being before the public, I have to watch the reaction and deal with misunderstandings.

I have kept you, gentlemen, away from me and you have been very kind to me. You have waited in the hope that some day I would satisfy your natural inquisitiveness. I am afraid that you will be perhaps oversatisfied because if your chiefs still keep you here you will give me daily summary of reactions in the Press. I do not expect that I shall want to deal with them all, but in so far as there is misunderstanding I will have to remove them if I possibly can.

Discussing the statement Gandhiji said : Throughout this I have emphasised facts that I was speaking for myself and in no sense involving the Congress in what I said. I do not know how far to-day I represent the views of the members of the Working Committee. As regards the Hindu-Muslim formula which has nothing to do with these two statements, I have not spoken as a Hindu. I have spoken as an Indian first and an Indian last. My Hinduism is my own—I personally think it embraces all faiths. Therefore, I have no authority to speak as a representative of the Hindus. That I respond to the mass mind and the masses know me instinctively is a fact which cannot be gain-said, but I have not built my case upon it. As a representative of Satyagraha as I know it, I felt it my duty to pour out my heart to an Englishman who I thought and still think is a sympathetic listener. I claim no further authority for my views. I stand by every word that appears in the two statements I have given to you but I speak on behalf of no one but myself.

## Gandhiji Explains Gelder Interview

Mahatma Gandhi met the pressmen at Panchgani on the 13th. July 1944 and explained to them the Gelder interview recently published in the Press.

"I hold the 'Quit India' resolution to be absolutely innocuous", said the Mahatma. "The Gelder interview notes are in no way in conflict with the 'Quit India' resolution as I have interpreted it."

"The question before me", added the Mahatma, "and before all India is how to implement the resolution at the present time, i.e., nearly two years after the passing of the resolution. The Gelder interview notes show the way how it can be done in a perfectly honourable manner."

Explaining the difference between his and Cripps' Proposals, Mahatma Gandhi said : "My proposal is wholly different. The Cripps" Proposals were unacceptable to me for the simple reason that they contemplated almost perpetual vivisection of India and would have created an effective barrier against Indian Independence."

Mahatma Gandhi said : "Some have said that I have admitted that the August resolution has lapsed. Not only have I never said it, on the contrary at Maharashtra workers' meeting I made it clear to the friends, who had gathered around me at Poona, that no comma of that resolution could be altered by anybody except those who passed it, namely, the Working Committee and finally the A. I. C. C. What I have said and what I re-affirm is that my authority under the resolution had undoubtedly lapsed according to my view of the working of 'Satyagraha'.

"The premature publication of the interview to Mr. Gelder has led to some confusion in the minds of Congressmen. Let me make it clear that the lapsing of my authority has nothing to do with the normal activities of the Congress. What no one can do in the name of the Congress is mass civil disobedience, which was never started and which as I have said, I cannot at the present moment, even in my personal capacity, start.

"The 'Quit India' resolution, I hold to be absolutely innocuous. The Gelder interview notes now published are in no way in conflict with the 'Quit India' resolution, as I have interpreted it and as the joint author of it I have every right to interpret it.

"The question before me and before all India is how to implement the resolution at the present time, i.e., nearly two years after the passing of the resolution. The Gelder interview notes show the way how it can be done in a perfectly honourable manner. Those who approve of the stand I have taken up will naturally support it. People having difficulty are free to refer to me, but their approval of the stand taken by me must not be interpreted to mean suspension of the normal activities of the Congress, and if the Government interfere with those activities the inherent right of individual civil disobedience is in no way suspended under the statement referred to by me. The statements constitute my individual personal effort to end the present deadlock. They are more addressed to the powers that be than to the people. If there is a hearty response, there will be no occasion for civil disobedience, individually or not."

WHOLLY DIFFERENT FROM CRIPPS' PROPOSALS

Answering a question put by a reporter, whether the Cripps' Proposals could be compared with his recent statement, Mahatma Gandhi said : "My proposal is wholly different. The Cripps Proposals were unacceptable to me for the simple reason that they contemplated almost perpetual vivisection of India and would have created an effective barrier against Indian independence. I want to say this without the slightest disrespect to Sir Stafford Cripps. He still remain to me the same friend that he claimed to be when he was here. For me friendships abide in spite of political differences.

"One fundamental element in my attitude is that I shall never be a party to the sale of the rights of the people of the States for the sake of freedom of the people of British India. At the same time I am no enemy of the Princes. I consider myself to be their friend, if any body cares to understand. I am quite prepared to suggest a solution at once honourable to them and to the people."

"PUBLICATION OF INTERVIEW : A MISFIRE"

Mahatma Gandhi issued a statement explaining how he came to make an important pronouncement on the present political situation to a British journalist. This statement was issued by Mahatma Gandhi on his own initiative. The following is the statement :—

Characterising the publication as a "misfire", Gandhiji apologised to the Indian press and handed over to reporters two statements.

"I had not authorised publication of the interview, of even the substance. I had said that it should not be published unless I authorised its publication and in no case had I ever dreamt that the interview would be published with exclusive rights to any one paper. If it was to be published with exclusive rights, it should have been broadcast throughout India. Therefore, I had to offer that apology publicly in order to soothe myself and also to show to the press my appreciation that they have respected my desire to be left alone and also not to report anything which I had not authorised. I know that some things have appeared in the press without authority, but generally speaking I must confess the press has obliged me by refraining from reporting things that are not authorised.

"My object in seeing press people is purely to advance the cause for which I am living namely, the freedom of India through truth and non-violence. I do not seek publicity for the sake of it and just now I feel I would serve the cause better by remaining in obscurity, if such things were possible.

NOT AUTHORISED

"Therefore, I had warned Gelder that he was not to publish anything from me unless I authorised it. He has published what he has, I have no doubt, with the best of intentions, but somehow or other I feel he has not served the cause as well as he might have. I passed nearly three hours with him distributed over three days in order that he might know the whole of my mind. I believed him and still believe him to be a well wisher of India as he is a lover of his own country and I accepted his word entirely when he told me that he approached me not as a journalist principally, but as one desiring to see that the political deadlock was resolved. Whilst I declared my views with absolute freedom, I told him that his first business should be to go to Delhi and if he could reach the Viceregal throne he should see the Viceroy and give him what impressions he had gathered. Having himself failed to get an interview with the Viceroy, I felt that Gelder being a reporter of a prominent English daily might be able to sever the cause.

"Even in South Africa where I was working in a hostile atmosphere, I was fortunate enough to get journalists and editors to help me when they became im-

pressed by my earnestness andthe justice of my cause. I was handling the disabilities of Indians in South Africa. The publication, therefore, at this stage of an abstract of two interviews seems to me to be misfired. I, therefore, propose to give you two notes prepared after discussions with Gelder, one of which, namely the shorter one, which after his pilgrimage to Delhi he was free to send to his paper and the other he could discuss privately with anybody who cared to understand me or who Gelder thought should know how my mind was working.

HANDLED FORLORN CAUSES

"You will see that he has compressed the two in the report published by him. You will notice also that there are some glaring inaccuracies in the report as published. I want to guard myself against being understood as accusing Gelder of wilful distortion. But I have found it times without number during my public life covering a period of over 50 years that my statements do not admit of being easily abridged or paraphrased. In 1907 I very nearly lost my life when Reuter sent an abridged summary of a pamphlet I had written and distributed in India in 1906. The summary was, I have no doubt, an unconscious distortion of what I had written. Fortunately my life was spared when I was lynched and I was able to show that the case based against me on the strength of the summary was utterly wrong. Here the abridgement has no such mischievous consequences. I recall the South African incident in order to emphasise my point. All my life I have handled what seemed to be forlorn causes. I have been also a fairly successful journalist, but I did not embark upon that calling for a living.

'It was a venture in order to advertise the cause I was handling and I gave this long preface before handling the two statements to fellow journalists in the hope that they would respond to my earnest wish that they would co-operate with me in dealing with the situation which if properly handled may yield promising results for mankind.

SPEAKING IN PERSONAL CAPACITY

"I was ill prepared for this ordeal that is in front of me. I am in Panchgani trying to rebuild broken body. The desire not to see statements published at this stage was also promoted by regard for my health. I want to get well quickly and to be in full working order. Since things are so shaping themselves that I might not be able to carry out that wish, the statement being before the public I have to watch the reaction and deal with misunderstandings.

"I have kept you, gentlemen, away from me and you have been very kind to me. You have waited in the hope that some day I would satisfy your natural inquisitiveness. I am afraid that you will be perhaps oversatiated because if your chiefs still keep you here, you will give me daily summary of reactions in the press. I do not expect that I shall want to deal with them all, but in so far as there is misunderstanding I will have to remove them if I possibly can.

"I stand by every word that appeared in the two statements I have given to you, but I speak on behalf of no one but myself.

**Britain Using Jinnah as a Cloak**

"I live for a cause and if I perish, it is for the cause," declared **Mahatma** Gandhi, in an informal chat, reiterating his faith in the destiny of a Free India.

A reporter suggested that it might be that His Majesty's Government do not, for the duration of the war, entertain any idea for the transference of power and it was feared that Mr. *Jinnah* would not be agreeable to accept *Mahatma Gandhi's* suggestion, because a National Government might, in his opinion, consolidate the position of the Hindus in the Centre. Mahatma Gandhi exclaimed: "If Mr. Jinnah does not accept my suggestion or if the powers that be do not, I would consider it most unfortunate. That would show that neither of them wants India to be really free at this juncture and give India a full share in winning the war for freedom and democracy. I myself feel firmly that Mr. Jinnah does not block the way, but the British Government do not want a just settlement of the Indian claim for independence which is overdue and they are using Mr. Jinnah as a cloak for denying freedom to India. I have uttered my warning in the talk I gave to Mr. Stuart Gelder."

Mahatma Gandhi said that it must be the duty of all fair-minded people to break what he called "the diabolical conspiracy to stifle India's aspirations."

I have the firmest faith, he declared, that they may win the war in the trial of brute strength, because brute strength when applied to limitless finances will naturally be supreme, but it will be only a physical victory and lead to another world war. This is the outpouring of a lacerated heart.

## Amery Refrains from Comment

### Eden Announces Debate in Commons

Mr. *Amery*. replying to questions by the Labour Members, Mr, Sorensen and Mr. Harvey about Mr. Gandhi's recent pronouncements, said in the Commons **on the 13th. July 1944** :—I have seen Press accounts of certain statements made recently by Mr. Rajagopalachari and an interview with Mr. Gandhi by a correspondent of the *News Chronicle*. The former apparently referred to proposals for a Hindu-Muslim settlement which Mr. Rajagopalachari discussed with Mr. Gandhi in March 1943. These proposals were recently communicated to Mr. Jinnah. The present position is obscure and I would prefer to refrain from comment until the situation is clearer. I would naturally welcome any effective move towards a settlement between the two major communities.

Mr. *Sorensen* : Do I understand it is quite possible that in the very near future Mr. Amery will seize this opportunity to resume negotiations or provide facilities for fresh consideration of the whole matter, especially in view of the statement yesterday by Sir Firoz Khan Noon ?

Mr. *Amery* : I understood from Sir Firoz Khan Noon that there was a misunderstanding in the Press and Sir Firoz Khan Noon's statement referred to a settlement after the war and not the present position. Any settlement at all is a matter for the two communities to agree upon between themselves.

*Earl Winterton* (Conservative): Will Mr. Amery give an assurance that in any negotiations to which the Government of India is party, equal rights are given to the Muslim League as to the predominantly Hindu Congress which is unalterably opposed to the views of the Muslim League and the great majority of Muslims in India.

Mr. *Amery* : There will be no question of the Government of India exercising one-sided influence on these discussions in any manner.

Sir *Herbert Williams* (Conservative) : Will 50 million people, described as untouchables, have some consideration as well as Mr. Gandhi ?

Mr. *Amery* : They do not enter into these present negotiations, if indeed negotiations are in progress.

Mr. *Eden*, the Leader of the House, indicated that the Commons would discuss India shortly. Mr. *Sorensen* asked : In view of the recent developments in India, will an opportunity be given in the very near future for the House to have a discussion on India- certainly before we rise for the summer recess ?

Mr. *Eden* : I have received a request for this and I think it may be possible to arrange it before the House rises.

## Mahatma Gandhi Replies to his Critics

Asserting that there was no conflict between the principles enunciated in the August resolution and what he had suggested in the recent interview, Mahatma Gandhi in talk with pressmen at Panchgani on the **14th. July 1944** said : "I have received bitter criticism of my views evpressed in the Gelder interview. Some of my correspondents say that under the influence of Moderates and moneyed men I have betrayed the cause of our country. If for nothing else for dealing with such critics, I am glad of the premature publication of the interview.

"I do not want to sail under false colours. The country as well as the Government should know me exactly as I am. I have never concealed the fact that I am a friend of everybody, moderates, moneyed men, Englishmen, Americans or any other, irrespective of caste, colour or persuasion. My belief and practice are directly derived from my non-violence. My non-co-operation is non-co-operation with evil, not with the evil-doer. Underneath my non-co-operation is my earnest desire to wean the evil-doer from the evil or harm he is doing, so that I can give him hearty co-operation. Again, if I associate with so-called Moderates or with moneyed men, I do so to seek their co-operation in the cause I am handling. But I approach them with an open mind so that I correct myself where I find myself in the wrong. I have known of no cause that I have espoused that has suffered because of such association.

### "I See no Conflict"

"Some critics have suggested that by my present attitude I am lending moral weight to the Allied cause. They forget that my offer, such as it is, is subject to the

condition that the Allies, in this case the British Government, should recognise full independence, qualified during the pendency of the war. I see, therefore, no conflict between the principles enunciated in the August Resolution and what I have now suggested. May I suggest to critics that they should wait till the British Government have spoken. The statements made by me were meant in the first instance for the Government. Mr. Gelder sprung a surprise. He has done so with the best of motives. After all there is a higher power ruling all the actions of human beings."

## General Approval in America

Mr. *Gandhi's* new programme evoked the keenest interest among political observers. In some responsible quarters it is considered an encouraging move from the United Nations' viewpoint, while the authorities stress, it is a move in the right direction but opined that a full understanding of its significance required the closest study of Mr. Gandhi's phraseology the text of Mr. Gandhi's offer is so far not available here. One competent observer said that in the midst of war the British might find it difficult to yield on such a matter as putting military control in the hands of National Government even under the Viceroy.

The Chairman of the House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Committee, Mr. Sol Bloom, said: "It is a step in the right direction."

Mr. Millard Tydings, Chairman of the Senate's Territories Committee, said: "It looks like progress towards a solution of the Indian problem".

The Republican Senator, Mr. Gerald Nye, said. "It is gratifying to see the possibility to get together on a issue which is threatening to become the most embarrassing".

The Democratic Senator, Mr. *Dennis Chaves*, said: "It is the Indian nation's problem and I am willing to go along any solution they desire. If they want to co-operate with the British, that is fine. If they want to be anti-British I would not criticise. Nations should be allowed to decide their destinies."

"NEW YORK SUN"

After pointing out that both the Congress and Muslim League have been irreconcilable, the paper says on the 14th. July:—"C. R. and Tej Bahadur Sapru and other moderates in the Hindu Party have not become discouraged and now say they have obtained Mr. Gandhi's assent to the formula which is certainly a great advance . . . . The proposed agreement is obviously less simple than it sounds. Moslem and Hindu populations overlap many geographical sections but, if agreement can be consolidated on the basis of Mr. Gandhi's formula, other things can surely be worked out in time. To make it possible, even this reported concession by Mr. Gandhi, a great deal of change must have been going on in India."

"HERALD TRIBUNE"

The *Herald Tribune*, in a leader on Mr. Gandhi says: "The concessions on Mr. Gandhi's part hold out the prospect of a candid consideration of the real basis of Indian self-government while the war continues and orderly progress towards some kind of settlement which will permit the British pledge to Indians to take effect at the proper time with the minimum strife and friction. One may wonder after the failure of the civil disobedience campaign whether Mr. Gandhi still has prestige and authority to influence the course of events. Although Mr. Gandhi's conciliatory attitude probably reflects the sentiments of the great mass of Indian people, one wonders whether his past errors will not prove a bar to present leadership. In any case, advances are welcome, as the utmost co-operation and most enlightened statesmanship will be needed to solve the problem of India."

## Anxiety to end Deadlock

A journalist suggested to Mahatma Gandhi at Panchgani on the 19th July that it had been said by a large section of the overseas Press that he (Gandhiji) had revised his attitude because of the favourable war situation and also because the Congress suffered a heavy defeat and that his latest stand was considered as a climb down.

Mahatma Gandhi, replying, said: I am glad you have put the question exactly as you have seen it in the critical press. I confess that I am not able to go through all press criticisms and therefore, I find myself at a disadvantage. Your question, therefore, is doubly helpful to me.

Let me remind critics at the outset that publicity of the interview (to Mr. Stuart Gelder of the *News Chronicle*) was not of my seeking. As I have already remarked, it was meant for the powers that be. I ask for a dispassionate examination of my proposals on their merits. I should not mind a climb down if it resulted in the attainment of Indian Independence. I may say that the favourable war situation had nothing to do with my proposal, if only for the simple reason that, in the flush of approaching victory, my proposal was not likely even to receive a hearing. But as a lover of peace, not merely in India, but peace among all mankind, I could not but make a proposal for what it is worth. After all, there is such a thing as world opinion, apart from the opinion of authorities.

"A united, enlightened, powerful opinion of the world is bound to affect those who are to-day wielding what appears to be absolute power in waging the war and experience has taught me that one should not be afraid of being misunderstood or of rejection of one's proposal, if it is sound in itself.

"The heavy defeat of the Congress I do not feel at all. I have not a shadow of doubt that this passage through fire and suffering by thousands of Congressmen and Congress sympathisers has raised the status of India and the strength of the people. Throughout all my long public life I have not experienced a sense of defeat, heavy or otherwise. I know many Congressmen are labouring under a sense of frustration. Poor men, they do not know the value of self-suffering. But even that frustration is only momentary. Victory, that is Independence of India as a whole, is a certainty. That it may not come in my life-time is a matter of indifference to me. I can but work for it till the end of my life. Victory will come when God wills it.

### People's Heroism and Sacrifice

"Only to-day I wrote to a friend who wanted to know the difference between now and August 1942. From it I quote relevant sentences. I have said the difference 'between now and August '42 is that at that time I had no knowledge of the response the people, both pro-Congress and anti-Congress, would make. Now I know the kind of response they made. The heroism, suffering, and self-sacrifice of those who took part in this struggle are beyond praise, but weighed in the scale of truth and non-violence there are glaring defects in the popular demonstration. And I can only say that India failed to reach her natural goal at the time because of these defects. Whatever may be true of other nations, I have no doubt that India can come to her own fully by truth and non-violent means. In the face of sabotage and the like, rulers have as usual lost their heads and resorted to reprisals unheard of before. I write this under correction. I have asked for an impartial tribunal for the investigation of charges against the Congress and my counter-charges against the Government. Unless I am convinced to the contrary, I shall continue to believe that the molehill of popular violence has been shown on behalf of Government to have been a mountain and the Himalayan violence of the authorities has been generally defended as no more than necessary for the occasion. I must, therefore, refuse to judge popular action by the footrule of truth and non-violence unless I can apply the same measure for Government action. This is one difference. The second difference is the terrible progressive starvation of the people. Whether it is due to wrath of God or incompetence of the rulers, or universal pressure of war is not relevant to the elucidation of my reply. I hold that these two causes mark decisive differences between now and August '42. I would be unworthy of my creed if I failed to make use of all the resources of head and heart that God has vouchsafed to me for discovering a solution of the deadlock. What is that solution is submitted by me. It is nothing less than the present declaration of freedom of India, limited during the war period by the exigencies of the war. This limitation you know. If the offer is accepted, then I would be criminally guilty if I did not advise the Congress to accept it.'

"If my proposal reaches full fruition, what is to-day a war of brute strength would be turned into a war for the liberation of the exploited peoples of the world. Then it would be a war between predominantly moral strength, plus the minimum of brute strength, matched against pure brute strength which is being used for the exploitation of China and the weaker States of Europe.

"Rajaji's offer has seen the light of day only now, but I had personally subscribed to it when I was fasting in prison camp. It is now sixteen months old. For the rest of the offer, I must carry out the contract between Rajaji and myself. He is to bear the brunt of all criticism that might be made about that offer.

MUTUAL SLAUGHTER MUST END

"Finally, I would say to my critics to enter with me into the sufferings,- not only of the people of India, but of those whether engaged in the war or not, of the whole world. I cannot look at this butchery going on in the world with indifference. I have an unchangeable faith that it is beneath the dignity of men to resort to mutual slaughter. I have no doubt that there is a way out. I am vain enough to think that my malaria was God-sent, and He used Government as His instrument for discharging me.

"I should be never reconciled to myself if, for fear of hostile criticism or wrath of impatient Congressmen or even possible displeasure of members of the Working Committee, I did not express personal opinion, the acceptance of which I hold must result in bringing peace to the world, even out of the present turmoil."

## Gandhiji's Call to Allied Nations

The British news magazine *Cavalcade* sent four questions to Mahatma Gandhi somewhere in July 1944. The fourth question stated : "Will you outline your conception of the role of a free India in the post-war world with special relations to the peoples of the British Commonwealth and the United States of America ?"

Gandhiji replied : "If I have any say in post-war policy, a free National Government of India will promote a Commonwealth of all World States naturally including the British Commonwealth and America and also if possible belligerent States so as to reduce to the minimum the possibility of armed conflict between different States."

Amplifying his reply in the course of a talk with journalists at Panchgani on the 21st. July, Gandhiji said : I have answered the question as a confirmed war resister and if I became a party to the August Resolution and if I now suggest what I consider to be perfectly honourable solution, it is because thereby I expect to promote the war resistance effort. I dream of a world where there will be no strife between nations and nations. It is possible only if Great Britain, America and Russia contemplate such world peace, deliberately omit China for, unfortunately China is not able, like Russia, Britain or America to stand alone, though much bigger than all these three powerful nations and more ancient. China is still menaced by Japan and needs all the assistance that she can get before she can rise to her full height. I see no chance for the groaning world unless the three States now demonstrate to the world that they have one mind, that they are not putting forth the effort they are doing for any selfish design but that they are truly fighting for all democracies on the face of the earth.

"My proposal is an acid test and I have no shadow of doubt that its hearty acceptance by Britain will immediately turn the scales and ensure the defeat of the belligerent powers and fill exploited nations of the earth with hope. You see that I am therefore fighting for no small stake."

The following are the three other questions :

Question : Do you agree with inferences being drawn in London following the publication of your interview that you favour full entry of free Indian Government in the war against Japan ?

Answer : Yes.

Question : Regarding Pakistan, there is a tendency here to interpret your last contact with Mr. Jinnah as indicating your acceptance of Pakistan. Is this so ?

Answer : Mr. Rajagopalachari's formula indicates my way of meeting the communal difficulty. I am indifferent whether it is called Pakistan or not.

Question : In the event of free Indian Government taking control of finance, what policy will you advise regarding Anglo-American capital interests in India ?

Answer : My advice would be to respect Anglo-American capital interest, which in the absence of agreement, is not considered by an impartial tribunal inconsistent with Indian national interests.

### British Journal Answered by Mr. Gelder

A scurrilous personal attack on Mr. Gandhi by "*Great Britain and the East*" which has been cabled from London to India by Reuter, has deeply offended both Englishmen and Indians here who are hopeful that the Mahatma's approval of the Rajagopalachari's proposals and the statements to me may pave the way to a settlement of the deadlock," writes Mr. Stuart Gelder, "News Chronicle" correspondent in the "*Times of India*," from Bombay on the 22nd. July 1944 :

"It will interest your readers, continues Mr. Gelder, to know that the British Ministry of Information representative in Chungking approached me early this year and asked if I would write a monthly article for this journal. He informed me that the Ministry was "fathering" the publication and that they took a deep interest in it. I informed the representative that I could not undertake to write anything or to express any views which I was not prepared to write or express in my own paper. On this condition I wrote an article on the Chinese financial situation, which was not passed by the Chinese censor. I told the British Ministry of Information representative that I could not alter any thing I had written and that he had better found someone who was prepared to trim his views. I was not asked to write again, and had I been asked I should have declined.

"May I recall the editorial from the journal which appears in your columns to-day ? The writer states : "An Indian observer says, truly enough, that the country is sick to death of the impasse into which Mr. Gandhi has led it. Readers are entitled to ask : What is the name of this observer ? When and from where did he make this observation ? The journal continues : "There are signs evident enough in the movements of various parties to get away from the deadlock, but a very old and ill man sits tight and affirms he cannot change his attitude and no considerable section of his own party dares challenge his authority.

A Lie

"This is a lie. I believe that I am the only journalist with whom Mr. Gandhi has been generous enough to discuss the political situation in detail. He stated specifically in my interview that he spoke only as an individual, and he has repeated time and again not only to me but to the Viceroy, that he can make no constructive move without the authority of the Working Committee from whom he is separated. The whole point of the interview was that he was prepared to move with a changing world that he would not now offer civil disobedience and that he was prepared to accept a national civil government with limited powers if its establishment were accompanied now by a specific promise of Indian independence after the war. That this is regarded as a change of attitude and a most conciliatory gesture, is proved by the entire Indian press which has devoted columns of discussion to his proposals outlined to me, and is still discussing them.

Personal Attack

"Finally comes the personal attack. *'Great Britain and the East'* says : 'India is certainly not without men who think for themselves (a gratuitous tribute for which Indians will be profoundly grateful ), and the result of their thought is the growing conviction that Mr. Gandhi must not be allowed to block the way'. Of course, the result of their thought is nothing of the kind. It is, on the contrary, a very deep and widespread conviction that the British Government must allow Mr. Gandhi to pave the way.

"The journal continues : 'Mr. Gandhi himself must be aware of a decline of him influence. He has shown himself eager for interviews at his present retreat but newspaper correspondents no longer flock to his feet. American correspondents, in particular, are fighting shy of a man whose jumbled creed they have more difficulty in understanding. He found them easy game in their search for piquant copy, but for them the politician who remains static in opinion in the changing circumstances has lost much of his value.' This is a tissue of malicious distortion and an insult to every journalist now working in India. I did not waste Mr. Gandhi's time or my own by asking him whether he was aware of a decline in his influence. The Indian press, including such a moderate organ of opinion as the "*Times of India*" which asked permission to publish my cable to the *News Chronicle'* in full, does not appear to be aware of it, nor do leading industrialists who issued a statement on Sunday nor any informed person in this country outside a home.

"The facts about the attitude of journalists to Mr. Gandhi are clear and irrefutable. There was not a newspaper in India which would not have gladly printed an interview with Mr. Gandhi at any time he cared to give it. The *Times of India* had (and still has) a reporter near his residence every day since his release from the prison. When he was at Juhu the chiefs of the *Associated Press of America* and the *American United Press* and the representative of *"Life and Time"* travelled 800 miles from Delhi on their own initiative to seek an interview. When I was in Delhi recently the representative of one of the most important journals in America, with one of the largest circulations in the world approached me and asked if I thought Mr. Gandhi would give an interview now, as this

journal was most anxious to print his views. Another well-known journalist, whose articles are read by millions of Americans and Englishmen, submitted a list of questions to Mr. Gandhi many weeks ago. It was explained to all these people that Mr. Gandhi's illness made it undesirable for him to see them. It is a gross libel to suggest that he has been waiting for interviewers who would not come. Mr. Gandhi did not ask to see me. "I can testify to the fact that he saw me with some reluctance, but he believed that my paper, which has always tried to present the Indian case with scrupulous fairness, might be able to help in solving this deadlock. I told Mr. Gandhi that I was anxious for this not only for the sake of India, but for the sake of the peaceful future of my own country and for the future of my children and all English children who, I hope, will grow to adult life in a saner, happier world. My only excuse for imposing a strain on a sick man was that I might be able to contribute to this end, and I wish to emphasise that it was entirely my imposition to which Mr. Gandhi responded with such kindness.

This kind of ill-informed intervention by an obscure English journal at a time when all men of good-will are trying to find an honourable solution, is deplorable and can do much harm. Both as an Englishman and a journalist I am ashamed of it. If there is any truth in the suggestion that any British or American journalist is not interested in the views of Mr. Gandhi at this time, it has a reflection on British and American journalism and not on Mr. Gandhi.

Now, we may ask:—"Who is the correspondent in India of '*Great Britain and the East*"? When did he go to Delhi, or Juhu or Panchgani, to observe the reluctance of the newspapermen to see Mr. Gandhi and his frustrated eagerness to see them? What is the precise nature of support given by the British Ministry of Information to this journal? Why is it being 'fathered' in the Far East? These questions demand an answer."

## British Rejection of Offer

### Gandhiji Pained and Amazed

*Mahatma Gandhi*, in an interview to the Press at Panchgani on the 30th. July on the House of Commons debate, with particular reference to the consensus of opinion expressed in the Commons that the economic development of India was of greater importance than the solution of the political deadlock, said:

"I have noticed this. It has caused me pain as also amazement that the representatives of the British nation, who have a long and distinguished record of heroic fight for political freedom, should divorce the economic development of India from political subjection and give the former preference over the latter. To me it looks like putting the cart before the horse, and I have not yet seen any horse performing the trick of pushing the cart with its nose. It was, therefore, a pleasure to find two noted industrialists, Mr. J. R. D. Tata and Sir Homi Modi, summarily rejecting the idea put forth in the House of Commons and holding out, I suppose, from bitter experience, that the economic development of India was dependent upon the solution of the political deadlock, in other words a proper National Government functioning at the Centre. I suppose they had in mind the gigantic concessions that have been made during recent years to British monopolists. They must have had in mind also the strangling of Indian enterprise. What can be, therefore, happen without a National Government is not the economic development of India, but its exploitation and degradation.

"Members of the House of Commons, not knowing the realities in India, may philosophise and talk of the immediate importance of economic development. I wish they can see what is going on to-day in India. I have a shadow of doubt in my mind that the Bengal famine, as also famines in other parts of India, were man-made and not God-made. I need not impugn the honesty of the rulers who have been sent out to India from Britain.

### "QUIT INDIA" RESOLUTION NO HASTY CRY

"I hold that in spite of all the honesty that the British rulers can summon to their assistance, it is impossible for them to get behind the Indian skin and know the real disease. The consensus of opinion in the House of Commons, therefore, is for me a terrible pointer. It confirms me, in my opinion, that the 'Quit India' resolution was no hasty cry, conceived in anger. To put the same in parliamentary language, it demands that India must be now governed by Indians chosen by her own people—not a coterie but the whole mass of people without distinction of race, creed or colour. It is unfortunate that the House

of Commons has once more missed the opportunity of making the issue beween the Allied powers and the Axis powers a real issue of Democracy *versus* Autocracy, or the exploitation of classes or nations by a class or a nation armed to the teeth. My offer presented that issue in the clearest possible language that I could command. It was presented on behalf of all the exploited nations and races of the earth. It is a great pity that the Lords and the Commons have turned down my offer. The Allies will have their victory, but the exploited races will not feel the glow of it. They will know that the seeds of another and deadlier war will be sown by that very victor. I ask myself the question, "Must rivers of blood flow for such an empty victory ?"

SUITS AMERY'S CONVENIENCE TO BRUSH ASIDE OFFER

"Mr. *Amery* knows better, but it is convenient for him to brush aside my offer by saying that the formula is not even the starting point," said Mahatma Gandhi in an interview to the representative of the *News Chronicle*, London, in reply to Mr. Amery's statement that Gandhiji's formula is "not even the starting point."

Gandhiji added: "Had it not been the starting point, there would not have been all the discussion about my formula that has taken place in the press."

Asked if he shared the feeling that the British Government is planning to by-pass the political problem by focussing public attention on economic issues, Gandhiji said: "Imagine the economic regeneration of England if she is politically subjected to an extraneous power. I can understand the ruthless exploitation of the economic resources of India by a power that has held her in bondage for over 150 years, but that will not be economic prosperity for India. It will spell economic dejection and political degradation I am amazed that British statesmen who happen to be ruling India to-day are not satisfied with the mere rejection of a plan conceived in all honesty but that they should even suggest that the political question should be shelved during the war and that attention should be concentrated on India's economic salvation."

## Gandhi Replies to Critics

Mahatma Gandhi, in an interview, at Bombay on the 2nd. August replied to a number of questions put by a correspondent of the London *Daily Worker*.

The first question he asked was: "You promise all aid to the Allied war effort. How concretely will the character and quantity of the war effort in India and other countries be changed through the establishment of a National Government in India ?"

Mahatma Gandhi replied that the question required a detailed answer, whereas the basis of his offer was to give a moral weight to the Allied cause. This the cause lacked at present.

Asked to explain what he meant by 'adding moral weight' to the Allied cause, Mahatma Gandhi said: "The Allies are to-day making brave declarations about democracy and liberty which to me, or, to put it plainly, to the exploited nations, mean nothing. Mere declarations pleasing to the ear can give no satisfaction to the sufferers. By the 'exploited nations' I mean the Asiatics and Africans. If the Allies are fighting for the democracy, their democracy should include all the exploited races of the earth. Facts, as I see them, prove the contrary. Almost all, if not all, parties agree that India was never so much under foreign domination as it is to-day.

IF INDIA'S DEMAND IS ACCEPTED

"A clear acceptance of the Indian demand for Independence and consequent establishment of a national responsible Government subject to the limitations I have mentioned, would immediately change the character of the Allied cause. It will be immediately differentiated from the cause of the Axis Powers, if the latter's fight can be described as a cause.

Question: "What material gain will accrue to the Allies from the recognition of India as an Independent country, subject to the proviso accepted by you ?"

Reply: "I must refuse to descend from the platform I occupy. Surely, if the character of the Allied cause is to be radically altered, as I claim it must be by the acceptance of my offer, all else must follow as a matter of course. But whether it does or not, I want the acceptance of my offer to be on the unadulterated moral basis. It should be enough for the Allies to have the guarantee that their military operations will not, in any way, be adversely affected by India being counted as an

independent nation, not merely in word but in fact. I hold that the effect of the declaration of India's Independence, accompanied by simultaneous sincere action, should by itself take the wind out of the sails of the Axis Powers. And I should be surprised if they do not capitulate almost immediately on the declaration.

"Suppose England was under foreign rule to-day under India, and the ruling power was engaged in war with some other nations and involved England willy-nilly in that war: suppose further, that the foreign power suddenly declared England independent without the later having put up an armed fight for freedom, would not every Englishman enthusiastically support the erstwhile foreign ruler, now turned a friendly power ? You can now understand what will happen to India if, when Britain is in sight of victory, she were to declare the independence of India.

"Having said all this to elucidate my answer, I wish to suggest that my offer furnishes a basis for honourable negotiation and release of members of the Congress Working Committee. A discussion of details and filling in the gaps, deliberately left in my offer, must follow a matter of course.

### "QUIT INDIA" RESOLUTION

The correspondent then told him that the Tory Press in Britain confuses the people by stating that "Gandhi still adheres to the 'Quit India' resolution." They exploit the fact that the British people are unaware of the burning anti-Fascist and patriotic content of the resolution. The correspondent asked him to clarify his statement that the resolution was innocuous.

Mahatma Gandhi replied: "The whole of the resolution is a noble document. The 'Quit India' slogan is an innocuous and natural cry. The sting was in the sanction clause of the resolution, authorising me to offer mass civil disobedience in the event of the rejection of the National Demand. As I have said, my authority has lapsed and even if it has not, I cannot organise mass civil disobedience at the present moment.

"Therefore the resolution should be read without the sanction clause, and I challenge anybody to take exception to a single word in that resolution. 'Quit India' read together with the Congress offer, that the Allied operations on the Indian soil might continue, means nothing more and nothing less than that British rule should end in its entirety, even while the war is going on—if the war is merely for the deliverance of the exploited nations of the earth."

The correspondent next reminded him of his statement that the Cripps offer contemplated almost perpetual vivisection of India and asked him what it meant. Mahatma Gandhi smiled and said: "Surely, it can mean only one thing: the Cripps offer divided India into Princely India and Democratic India. Is not that vivisection ?"

### PROTECTION OF MINORITIES

The correspondent told him that a lot of propaganda was being made in reactionary circles in England, particularly by the Tory Press to the effect that if Gandhiji's demand was granted, the minorities would suffer.

Mahatma Gandhi replied: "That is a function belonging to the Rajaji formula. I can only say that the formula contemplates the fullest protection to the smallest minority. If there are any gaps left in it, they will be filled in at the time of mutual discussion that must precede a final settlement"

### PROF. CANTLIN'S SUGGESTION

The suggestion that the issue of political sovereignty and Independence in India should be separated from the issue of military security is made by Professor George Cantlin, a writer and philosopher, in a letter to the *News Chronicle*, London on the 2nd. August. He says: "The plan so successfully adopted in Egypt should be reproduced in India. In Egypt, as in India, there were acute communal differences. The Congress has certainly never shown itself more hostile to Britain than the Wafd did at one stage or the negotiations less promising. But a new policy was inaugurated and it was so successful that the recent North African campaign was able to achieve its goal precisely because of it. That Egyptian policy was what it is now popular to call 'functional distinction'—an issue of political sovereignty and independence as separated from the issue of military security in which the British Commonwealth then, as the United Nations in India now, had a vital interest."

### LABOUR M. P. ON NEED FOR SETTLEMENT

Mr. Philip Price, M. P. who is an important member of the Labour Party's

Empire Committee, interviewed at London on the 2nd. August said that a political settlement was necessary, but even "if a political settlement comes, an economic settlement will be difficult because the Congress and the Muslim League, as at present run, will not get down to this question."

Referring to Mr. Amery's speech in the Commons, Mr. Price said it was "better than those he had heard for long time" though he was sorry Mr. Amery did not deal with the question of land and rural indebtedness.

Mr. Price admitted that the release of imprisoned leaders "would certainly help to clear the air" but he denied the right of Gandhiji to "speak for all India." He agreed with Gandhiji's rejecting a division of India and hoped Mr. Jinnah's Pakistan was "only a bargaining counter". On the basis of his four years' experience in Russia as the *Manchester Guardian* correspondent, Mr. Price suggested the "Russian model of autonomous States as the idea of India.

Discussing the forthcoming Jinnah-Gandhi meeting, Mr. Price expressed the belief that a "big Hindu-Muslim capitalist combination may agree together to exploit the workers and peasants of India."

Regarding Mr. Clement Davies' proposals for settlement, Mr. Price thought them "worth exploring", especially the inclusion of India under the South-East Asia Command and also welcomed anything making for India's participation in the United Nations' war effort "with equal prestige."

In contrast to Mr. Price, Mr. Sorensen M. P. considered Mr. Amery's speech as having dismally failed to seize the opportunity presented."

### British Airmen's Appeal To Govt.

An appeal to His Majesty's Government to end the present political deadlock in India was made by members of the Royal Air Force at London on the 2nd. August.

"We cannot but deplore the ignoring of Mr. Gandhiji's recent proposal for a National Government in India which could mobilise India's millions for real war effort along with the other United Nations." The above extract from a letter to the *Daily Worker* signed by forty-one members of the Royal Air Force shows how strong is the feeling in the forces at the continued deadlock in India.

'The spectre of famine is again beginning to haunt the much-tried people of India," the letter goes on, "because of this we in the armed forces regard the failure to establish representative government in India as a grave handicap to the overthrow of Japanese fascism."

## Gandhiji To Perform 'Symbolic Act' On August 9

*Mahatma Gandhi* issued the following statement to the press from Sewagram on the *5th. August* in connection with the forthcoming 9th of August:—"Many Congressmen ask me how to celebrate the forthcoming 9th of August. That date was a turning point in India's fight for freedom. I had intended to spend 9th August 1942 in peaceful introspection and to inaugurate negotiations for a settlement. But the Government or fate had decided otherwise. The Government went mad, so did some people. Sabotage and the like were resorted to and many things were done in the Congress name or in my name. I am aware that I do not represent the Congress mind always. Many Congressmen repudiate my non-violence. The Working Committee is the only body which can legitimately and truly represent the Congress.

"As an old servant of the country, however, I can advise and Congressmen are at liberty to treat my advice as instructions. I have already said that mass civil disobedience cannot be offered now but mass civil disobedience is one thing and individual action in the sense of self-respect and liberty is wholly another. It is a universal duty for all time, the discharge of which requires no sanction save that of one's own conscience.

"In a previous note I have pointed out when and where the duty arises. But the forthcoming 9th is a special occasion. There has arisen much misunderstanding about Congress purpose and mine. I must avoid all avoidable risks. Therefore, in all places except in Bombay my advice is not to disregard special police prohibitions for that day. For Bombay I have already given advice through the Mayor of Bombay. I need not reiterate the advice here. I have selected Bombay as the most suitable place for the simple reason that it is most easily accessible to me and is the place where the historic meeting of August 1942 was held. Whatever it is to be, it will be a symbolic act. Curiosity is natural and pardonabble, but I plead for restraint. The self-imposed curb will be good for the country. My work will be finished if I succeed in carrying conviction to the human family that every man

or woman, however weak in body, is the guardian of his or her self-respect and liberty. This defence avails though the whole world may be against the individual resister. I have suggested the present symbolic procedure to see whether those who organise the demonstration have co-operation from the local public. Freedom of 400 million people through purely non-violent effort is not to be gained without learning the virtue of iron discipline not imposed from without but sprung naturally from within. Without the requisite discipline non-violence can only be a veneer.

"The second thing that I should like done on the forthcoming 9th August is for those who have gone underground to discover themselves. They can do so by informing the authorities of their movements and whereabouts or by simply and naturally doing their work in the open without any attempt to evade or elude the police. To go underground is to elude the police. Therefore real discovery is to discover oneself to the party eluded. Nothing should be done unless the conviction has gone home that a particular action is essential for the cause. In the absence of such a conviction those who see this note may ignore it and should follow what they consider best for the country. What everyone should do on the 9th whether they have conviction as to non-violence or not or whether they are Congress men or not is to carry out on the 9th the whole or any part of the fourteen-fold programme reiterated in my recent note, just for example, everyone should spin. Communities should find ways of giving expression to mutual understanding and brotherhood. Hindus and Muslims may organise joint programmes of prayers. God may bless the Qaid-e-Azam and me with wisdom to reach a common understanding in the interest of India. Hindus should visit Harijans and render them the service they may need. The spirit of service and helpfulness should pervade the atmosphere everywhere. I have experienced friendliness from Englishmen and Americans wherever I have met them, whether officials or laymen. I invite their co-operation especially on the 9th. Let them realise that the August resolution was not conceived in hatred. It was an unvarnished statement of the natural right of the people of this land. To those who share my faith I would advise fasting and prayers on the auspicious day. This must not be a mechanical act. It must be done without ostentation for self-purification and penance. Its uplifting power is capable of being tested by every individual for himself. If the demonstration is carried out in the spirit in which I have conceived it, I have no doubt that will lead to an early end of the misery of the masses."

## Congress—League Settlement

### "Sikh Friends are Unnecessarily Perturbed"

"I would urge critics not to mind my inconsistencies, so-called or real. Let them examine the question on merits and bless the effort if they can," observed Gandhiji in an exclusive interview to the "*United Press*" special representative on the 8th. August when the latter sought clarification on his statement issued from Panchgani wherein he stated 'All my recent declarations are quite consistent with all my previous declarations on the communal problem.'

The special representative quoted Gandhiji's writings from '*Harijan*' from 1940 to 1942 wherein Gandhiji criticised the partition of India as a sin and unpatent truth etc., and asked if those declarations were consistent with his support to Mr. Rajagopalachari's formula which envisages partition of India.

Gandhiji said : "Though I would avoid answering all questions on the subject before the forthcoming meeting between the Quaid-i-Azam and me, I must not postpone answering yours. I know my present attitude has puzzled and pained many people. I have not revised the opinion quoted by you. At the same time that I made the statement you refer to, I was also party to the self-determination resolution of the A.-I. C. C. I hold that Rajaji's formula gives effect to that resolution. I would however urge critics not to mind my inconsistencies so-called or real. Let them examine the question on merits and bless the effort if they can."

Answering another question whether in the event of failure of the Gandhi-Jinnah talks he would withdraw his support to Rajaji's formula or would the formula stand, Gandhiji said, "I do not believe in dying before my death. I do not approach the forthcoming visit with the expectation of failure. I always hope for the best and prepare for the worst. I would therefore ask you not to anticipate failure. Ask me when failure stares you and me in the face."

Referring to the apprehension of the Sikhs expressed in the recent All-Parties Sikh Conference that Gandhiji would make further surrender to the Muslim League,

Gandhiji said : "My Sikh friends are unnecessarily perturbed. I can settle nothing for anybody but myself. The Congress resolution is a sacred trust and I have no doubt that it will be discharged fully. Brave people are never frightened by bogeys. Let the Sikh friends examine the proposal on merits. And if they find an evident flaw in it I shall correct it and so I am sure will the Quaid-i-Azam if he is satisfied that there is flaw."

### Gandhi's Reply to Bengal Deputation

The group of Bengal Congressmen led by Mr. *Kiron Sankar Roy*, leader of the Bengal Assembly Congress Party, discussed with Gandhiji at Wardha on the 11th. August Rajaji's formula for communal settlement and explained to him how people in Bengal viewed the formula. There was a frank exchange of views and the Bengal leaders were relieved that they had been able to apprise Gandhiji of the real feeling in Bengal over the formula and that Gandhiji would bear in mind the position of Bengal in his talks with Mr. Jinnah.

The application of the formula to Bengal on district-wide basis, it appears, would have the result of cutting up the province into two areas, one of which will comprise three-fourths of Bengal with a total population of 50 millions, Muslims forming about 70 per cent. Economically this area is rich and the population of Hindus in this area will be considerably more than even the total population of Hindu Bengal that would be left behind. Economic considerations would necessitate the tacking of Hindu Bengal to neighbouring provinces like Orissa and Bihar, and if the formula is to be given effect to, it is pointed out that the process of dismemberment of Bengal would be complete. Bengal leaders are emphatic that it would be very difficult for the people of Bengal who had struggled with good results against the Curzonian partition three decades ago, to yield to any kind of partition now or in the future as Bengal, situated as at present, is culturally and linguistically one single homogeneous unit, perhaps the largest in India. It is, however, affirmed that Bengal accepted the principle of self-determination, but it should be applied on the linguistic and cultural basis as embodied in the Congress resolution.

The main criticism against Rajaji's formula is based on sentiment and the reply may be that sentimental grounds can be advanced by both sides and Muslims may equally well insist that their sentiment demands separate existence. If the establishment of a State based on violence is to be ruled out, it is asked, and if foreign rule is to be ended, what is the alternative before the country? It is pointed out that critics of the formula have not yet suggested any alternative means of advancing the cause of Indian independence. There is the other criticism that even if Gandhiji and Mr. Jinnah came to an agreement, there is nothing to indicate that the British Government is in any mood to transfer power. No one in Congress circles here is under any illusion that the moment Gandhiji and Mr, Jinnah produce an agreed demand, independence will be ushered in.

Gandhiji told a number of his interviewers that they may assume that independence would not come within his life-time. If Gandhiji and Mr. Jinnah came to an agreement on the communal question, it is believed that it will have removed the greatest obstacle in the way of Indian freedom and if other and new obstacles are raised by the power-that be, they will have to be dealt with by them.

### League and Independence issue

The position that clearly emerges from the talks which many leaders has with Gandhiji in recent weeks is that Independence will be a necessary preliminary to the application of the right of self-determination. It is essential that the League must first agree to throw in its lot with the Congress in demanding the transfer of power from Britain and there should be active co-operation, not merely silent sympathy. The right of self-determination may be conceded but details must necessarily await the achievement of Independence. If the coming Bombay talks produce good results on these preliminary points, one may expect a conference of all interests affected by the concession of the right of self-determination to be convened for considering details. All details such as the protection to be afforded to the minorities and the structure of the machinery for the administration of common subjects will await the conclusion of the Bombay talks and the achievement of Independence.

It was understood that Gandhiji informed Bengal Congress leaders that they were at liberty to express their opinion on the merits of Rajaji's formula,

### Mr. K. S. Roy on Talks with Gandhiji

Mr. *Kiron Sankar Roy*, the Bengal Congress leader, issued a statement on the interview that he and six other prominent Congressmen from Bengal had with Mahatma Gandhi recently on the Rajagopalachari Formula at Sewagram. "We submitted to Mahatmaji that, this being a matter which concerned Bengal vitally, nothing should have been done and nothing should be done in future without consulting the Provinces concerned. We are glad to state that Mahatmaji has agreed not to make anything final without consulting the Provinces concerned."

Mr. *Roy* adds : "We also pointed out to him that, in view of his blessing given to Rajaji's scheme, it was difficult for the public in general and Congressmen in particular to judge the scheme on its merit. We have not the slightest doubt that, if there had not been this blessing of Mahatmaji, the scheme would have been summarily rejected by the nation. But to-day any adverse criticism of it may be interpreted as want of confidence in Mahatmaji. As no Congressman would like to be misunderstood in that fashion, he hesitates to discuss the scheme freely and frankly or even to express his honest opinion to Gandhiji himself. Gandhiji said that honest, *bona fide* criticism does not embarrass him, but helps him in guiding the country to its proper goal. He expressed himself very strongly on the subject and further said that Congressmen would be failing in their duty if they did not express their views freely and fearlessly even though his name was associated with it. We therefore hope that no Congressman will hesitate to express his honest opinion to Mahatmaji."

Of the C. R. formula itself, Mr. *Roy* says that it means, *inter alia*, the partition of Bengal into Hindu Bengal and Muslim Bengal, the former being a part of Eastern Pakistan and the latter a part of Hindustan. It involves the admission of the two-nation theory, and also goes against the Congress resolution inasmuch as it envisages the formation of units on religious and communal basis.

## Viceroy Rejects Gandhi's Offer

### No National Govt During War

*Mahatma Gandhi* in a letter to the Viceroy said that he was prepared to advise the Congress Working Committee to declare that in view of the changed conditions mass civil disobedience, envisaged by the resolution of 1942, could not be offered and that full co-operation in the war effort should be given by the Congress, if a declaration of immediate Indian independence was made and a National Government responsible to the Central Legislature was formed.

The Viceroy in his reply rejected this offer and observed that it was impossible during the period of hostilities to bring about any change in the constitution by which means alone a National Government, such as Gandhiji suggested, could be made responsible to the Central Assembly. He added that until the war was over, responsibility for defence and military operations could not be divided from the other responsibilities of Government and until hostilities ceased and the new constitution was in operation, His Majesty's Government and the Governor-General must retain their responsibility over the entire field.

The Viceroy also referred to the conditions, the fulfilment of which was necessary for the bestowal of freedom on India after the war. The object of these conditions, he said, was to ensure the fulfilment of the duty of His Majesty's Government to safeguard the interests of the racial and religious minorities and of the depressed classes and their treaty obligations to the Indian States.

The following correspondence passed between H.E. the. Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi :—

Mahatmajis Letter—Dilkusha, Panchgani, 15th July, 1944

Dear friend,

You have no doubt seen the authentic copies, now published in the Indian press, of the statements given by me to Mr. *Gelder* of the "News Chronicle." As I have said to the press, they were meant primarily to be shown to you. But Mr. Gelder, no doubt with the best of motives, gave the interview premature publicity. I am sorry. The publication will nevertheless be a blessing in disguise, if the interview enables you to grant at least one of my requests contained in my letter of 17th June, 1944.

I am, yours etc. (Sd.) M. K. Gandhi.

His Excellency the Viceroy.

Viceroy's Camp.

Viceroy's Reply—New Delhi. 22nd July, 1944

Dear Mr. Gandhi.

Thank you for your letter of 15th July. I have seen the statements you made to Mr. Gelder, and your subsequent explanation of them. I do not think I can usefully comment at present, except to repeat what I said in my last letter that if you will submit to me a definite and constructive policy I shall be glad to consider it.

Yours sincerely, (Sd.) Wavell.

**Gandhi's Second Letter**

As at Ashram Sevagram, Camp Panchgani 27th July, 1944.

Dear friend,

I must admit my disappointment over your letter of the 22nd instant. But I am used to work in the face of disappointment. Here is my concrete proposals.

I am prepared to advise the Working Committee to declare that in view of changed conditions mass civil disobedience envisaged by the resolution of August 1942 cannot be offered and that full co-operation in the war effort should be given by the Congress, if a declaration of immediate Indian independence is made and a National Government responsible to the Central Assembly be formed subject to the proviso that during the pendency of the war the military operations should continue as at present but without involving any financial burden on India. If there is a desire on the part of the British Government for a settlement, friendly talks should take the place of correspondence. But I am in your hands. I shall continue to knock so long as there is the least hope of an honourable settlement.

After the foregoing was written I saw Lord Munster's speech in the House of Lords. The summary given by him in the House of Lords fairly represents my proposal. This summary may serve as a basis for mutual friendly discussion.

Yours Sincerly, (Sd) M. K. Gandhi

**Viceroy's Reply—New Delhi—15th. August 1944**

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

Thank you for your letter of 27th July. Your proposals are (1) that you should undertake to advise the Working Committee (a) "that in view of changed conditions mass civil disobedience envisaged by the resolution of August 1942 cannot be offered and (b) "that full co-operation in the war effort should be given by the Congress" provided (ii) that His Majesty's Government (a) declare immediate Indian independence and (b) form a "National Government" responsible to the Central Assembly "subject to the proviso that during the pendency of the war the military operations should continue as at present but without involving any financial burden on India."

2. His Majesty's Government remain most anxious that a settlement of the Indian problem should be reached. But proposals such as those put forward by you are quite unacceptable to His Majesty's Government as a basis for discussion and you must realise this if you have read Mr. Amery's statement in the House of Commons on July 28th last. They are, indeed, very similar to the proposals made by Moulana Abul Kalam Azad to Sir Stafford Cripps in April 1942 and His Majesty's Government's reasons for rejecting them are same as they were then.

3. Without recapitulating all these reasons in detail, I should remind you that His Majesty's Government at that time made it clear (a) that their offer of unqualified freedom after the cessation of the hostilities was made conditional upon the framing of a constitution agreed by the main elements of India's national life and the negotiation of the necessary treaty arrangements with His Majesty's Government, (b) that it is impossible during the period of hostilities to bring about any change in the constitution by which means alone a "national Government" such as you suggest, could be made responsible to the Central Assembly.

The object of these conditions was to ensure the fulfilment of their duty to safeguard the interests of the racial and religious minorities and of the depressed classes and their treaty obligations to the Indian States.

4. It was upon the above conditions that His Majesty's Government invited Indian leaders to take post in an interim Government which would operate under the existing constitution. I must make it quite clear that until the war is over, responsibility for defence and military operations cannot be divided from the other responsibilies of government and that until hostilities ceases and the new constitution is in operation, His Majesty's Government and the Governor-General must retain their responsibility over the entire field. So far as

the question of India's share of the cost of the war is concerned this is essentially a matter for settlement between His Majesty's Government on the one hand and the Government of India on the other hand and the existing financial arrangements can only be re-opened at the instance of one or the other.

It is clear in these circumstances that no purpose would be served by discussion on the basis which you suggest. If, however, the leaders of the Hindus, the Muslims and the important minorities were willing to co-operate in a transitional government established and working within the present constitution, I believe good progress might be made. For such a transitional government to succeed there must, before it is formed, be agreement in principle between Hindus and Muslims all important elements as to the method by which the new constitution should be framed. The agreement is a matter for Indians themselves. Until the Indian leaders have come closer together than they are now, I doubt if I myself can do anything to help. Let me remind you too that minority problems are not easy. They are real and can be solved only by mutual compromise and tolerance.

6. The period after the termination of hostilities for which the transitional government would last would depend on the speed with which the new constitution should be framed. I see no reason why preliminary work on that constitution should not begin as soon as the Indian leaders are prepared to co-operate to that end. If they can arrive at a genuine agreement as to the method of framing the constitution, no unnecessary time need be spent after the war in reaching final conclusions and in agreeing to treaty arrangements with His Majesty's Government. There again the primary responsibility rests on the Indian leaders.

Yours sincerely
(Sd.) Wavell.

## British Govt. not to part with Power

Interviewed by the "Associated Press" on the Viceroy's reply Mahatma Gandhi said on the 18th August :—"The published correspondence shows that I left no stone unturned to confirm to the Viceregal requirements. The final Government reply is positive proof that the British Government have no intention of winning public support. I do not confine myself to the Congress, since its main demand has been backed by almost all political parties. So far as the technical winning of the war is concerned, they have evidently no need for such support. Moral support they seem to despise. Boiled down, the Viceroy's proposition means that unless all the main parties agree as to the constitution of the future, and there is agreement between the British Government and the main parties, there is to be no change in the constitutional position, and the Government of India, as at present, is to be carried on. The names of parties given in the Government reply are illustrative only. I have no doubt that on due occasions more will be exhibited as from a conjurer's bag and who knows how and when the British Government will agree to surrender control. It is as clear as crystal that the British Government do not propose to give up the power they possess over the 400 millions, unless the later develops strength enough to wrest it from them. I shall never lose hope that India will do so by purely moral means.

"The problem of food meanwhile remains unsolved. Only a National Government, envisaged by me, can provide a genuine solution. Any other will be a mirage. It is most unfortunate that at the critical juncture the Qaid-i-Azam has fallen ill and under medical advise cannot see me till he is free from his illness. A proper heart agreement between us can induce a revision of the firm refusal of the British Government as conveyed through His Excellency's letter. Let us all pray that the Qaid-i-Azam may be soon restored enough to see me and that God may so dominate our hearts as to lead us to a right solution.

"I would like to assure all parties to be affected by our solution that we will not come to any terms which will compromise or ignore a single interest. The Rajaji formula is capable of being amended. If it is found to contain flaws as many as Hindu and Sikh friends have suggested it does, no solution is likely to last unless, on the face of it, it is right and is acceptable to the people of India as a whole."

# All India Spinners' Association

## Gandhiji's Appeal

The following is a gist of *Mahatma Gandhi's* speeches at the meetings of the All-India Spinners' Association held at Sevagram in September 1944:

Mahatma Gandhi said he had learnt something of what the country had gone through during the last two years. Events of an age seemed to have been crowded in those two years. When the whole country was passing through untold suffering, the Charkha Sangh could not escape unscathed. They could not shirk their duty for fear of Government repression. Such s thing would have surprised him and pained him deeply. He had deliberately kept the Charkha Sangh a non-political organisation and had hoped that, whatever happened in the country, the Charkha Sangh would not be affected by it. But his hopes had been falsified, Charkha Sangh had come in for a heavy hand from the Government.

The Charkha Sangh was born of the deep conviction that, if India was to live as a non-violent State, it could do so only through the spinning wheel and all it meant. If India could win independence through non-violence, i.e., through the spinning wheel, it would augur good for the whole world. But he could not make India believe in Charkha as a means for independence by just talking about it. Therefore, in order to give his ideas a practical garb, he had established the Charkha Sangh. Through the Sangh he had hoped to carry the message of the spinning wheel to every village and every home and thus demonstrate to the world how the Charkha could become the basis of a non-violent society. But in view of the happenings of the last two years, he could not help feeling that the Charkha Sangh had fallen short of that object.

All these things had made him think intensely as to why the Sangh had failed and what changes it should undergo in order to make a new beginning and attain its ideal in the quickest time possible. If it had penetrated every home in the 700,000 villages of India who could crush it. The Government could not imprison forty crores of men and women, nor could it shoot down all of them.

Had the Sangh succeeded as it ought to have in realising its object, that by itself would have brought us Swaraj. If the Sangh had succeeded in its mission, it would have generated the requisite non-violent strength and guided the popular enthusiasm in the right channel. Instead of despair and frustration there would have been a new hope in every Indian heart.

Mahatma Gandhi said he had presented the Congress with the message of the Charkha years ago. The Congress took it up but half-heartedly. Congressmen perhaps felt that they needed his services, and so they put up with the spinning wheel as one of his fads. They mechanically repeated the formula that Swaraj hung on the spinner's thread. If the Charka Sangh had succeeded in demonstrating the power of the wheel, it would have enabled them to have a living faith in non-violence. Congressmen would have sought the help and guidance of the Sangh in order to carry the message of the Congress to the villagers. Instead he had been faced with the painful spectacle of the Sangh looking up to the Congress for help. He had told them often enough that they should forget politics and concentrate on the wheel with all its implications. That and that alone, he considered, to be true politics, *Satvic* politics. Every village that assimilated the message of the wheel would begin to feel the glow of Independence. Other village industries would automatically follow in the wake of the wheel and so would basic education and serve as a means of quickening the intelligence of the villagers. The whole conception of the Basic Education Scheme was the utilisation of all the bodily faculties in order to quicken the intelligence. All his latest discoveries, e.g., the discovery of village industries, basic education, etc,, had come to him through the contemplation of the spinning wheel. To him the wheel represented a philosophy of life, a living symbol of Ahimsa. It meant the creation of a society based on non-violence, free from exploitation of any kind. If they could succeed in bringing that awakening to the 700,000 villages, it would mean Independence for the whole of India. To-day the so-called Gandhites were charged with being wooden, dull and ignorant as a rule. He had been told that Gandhism could not stand before Communism and similar philosophies that had captured the imagination of the West. In fact Gandhism has become a term of reproach. But the very term Gandhism was a misnomer. However he would say this that those who believed

in the cult of the Charkha should be able to convert others to their view by dint of their knowledge of the science of the Charkha and reasoning.

"DEMONSTRATION OF AHIMSA IN ACTION"

Many of them had taken to the Charkha because of their faith in him. Faith was good, But he wanted them to combine it with knowledge, so that they could hold their own against sceptics. If the Charkha Sangh was to fulfil its expectations, its members should be living examples of non-violence. Their whole life should be a demonstration of Ahimsa in action, they should have healthy bodies and healthy minds. If they had been what they should be, the villagers would have taken to the Charkha most enthusiastically. The problems of communal disharmony and untouchability, etc., would have vanished like dew before morning sun. He knew that it was a difficult job. He himself had not been able to master the art satisfactorily. He had lived in Sevagram for more than six years. The Ashram offered the villagers some economic relief, rendered to them every kind of service that it could, and yet it had not succeeded in introducing the wheel in every home. Why was it so? Was his faith in the power of the wheel unwarranted? He did not think so. His faith remained undimmed; if they had failed in translating it into action, it was due to his and his associates' imperfections. It was in order to enable the Sangh to attain what it had failed to attain so far that he had suggested breaking it up into its component parts. He would suggest distributing the money that the Sangh possessed among able workers who should go to the villages with the determination of devoting their lives to the spread of the wheel.

To-day, the Charkha Sangh was a highly centralised institution. To-morrow it would become completely decentralised. All the workers who would go to the villages would run their independent centres. The central office would inspect their work and give them necessary guidance so that the principles for which the Sangh stood did not suffer neglect.

MAIN WORK LIES IN VILLAGES

Elucidating his idea, Mahatma Gandhi said: "The whole conception of the wheel has its roots in the villages and the consummation of the Sangh's existence would be in its diffusion in the innumerable villages in India. In order to attain that end, the Sangh should make the following changes in its mode of work: (A) As many workers as are ready and whom the Sangh may select should be sent to the villages to take up independent work: (B) The activities of the Sangh in regard to production centres and sales bhandars for the towns should be limited; (C) The scope of the training centres should be extended and the course of studies made more comprehensive; and (D) if a province or a district wishes to become independent of the central office, it should be allowed to do so."

Mahatma Gandhi indicated that a worker should enter the life of the villagers in all its aspects, serve them, help them and guide them in every way, so that he could win their confidence and mould their lives in such a way as to lay down the basis of a non-violent society.

A joint board of Charkha Sangh, Gram Udyog Sangh and Talimi Sangha should be formed and it should issue necessary directions from time to time for giving effect to the new policy. They should consider themselves jointly responsible for the full evolution of Ahimsa. Its full evolution would mean complete independence. These three organisations should so perfect themselves in knowledge and technical equipment that the country's political thought should depend on them instead of their depending on the changing politics of the orthodox type. This should be self-evident to them.

In short, concluded Gandhiji, the workers of these three organisations should be models of Ahimsa in action in every respect. If this is not possible, we should tone down our ideal. The present state of affairs is, to say the least, most 'anomalous.'

"CHINESE EFFORT PALES INTO INSIGNIFICANCE"

His object, he pointed out, was not to find fault but to bring home to them the reality of the situation. A proper appreciation of the reality was the hallmark of wisdom. There was no doubt that the Sangh had done tremendous amount of philanthropic work. It was the biggest co-operative organisation in the world. He had read the book on China's Co-operatives that Pt. *Jawaharlal* had sent to him. The Chinese effort in his opinion paled into insignificance before the Charkha Sangh. He did not wish to belittle the Chinese effort. It had produced great results. The Sangh had a much wider horizon. It had distributed 4¼ crores of rupees among

the poor with a capital of 25 lakhs. But that was not enough. He expected of it something much greater, much higher. And in that the Sangh had failed. Why was it so? They did not lack self-sacrificing workers. In fact, it gladdened his heart to see so many willing self-sacrificing men and women who were ready to lay down their all at the feet of the Motherland. A country which could produce such men and women, could never come to grief. He knew that independence was coming and coming fast, but the question was what part would the Sangh have played in bringing it about?

### EXHORTATION TO WORKERS

A discussion followed in which some of the members pointed out that the Charkha had been introduced as an economic measure in the first place. Though they had heard Gandhiji associate it with Ahimsa, they had not understood that it could by itself create a non-violent social oder.

*Gandhiji* explained to them that the wheel could be a symbol of violence or non-violence. After all the wheel was there during the reign of the Moghul Emperors, and the spinners and weavers were none the better for having taken up the wheel and the loom.

From ancient but historical times the wheel had been a symbol of the slavery of women and the arrogance of the rulers. The spinners and weavers were subjected to untold suffering. He had taken up the wheel as a symbol of non-violence and deliverance of the masses through it. It dawned on him that the same wheel could be made the means of ending exploitation and misery of the poor. It could be used to infuse new life in the 7,00.000 villages of India. The same knife that took away life in the hands of a butcher could become the means of saving life in the hands of a surgeon.

If they were truly non-violent, there would be no mutual bickerings, no fear in their hearts. They would become flauntless and truthful. "Even the best of us are often afraid to speak out the whole truth. Why should it be so? We should be courteous but firm and clear in speaking out the truth."

He confessed that he had not laid as much emphasis as he should have on the Charka as a symbol of non-violence in the past. But it was never too late to mend. He had now suggested the remedy. But he did not want them to adopt it unless it appealed to both their head and heart. He did not want to proceed unless he could carry them with him fully. He was not going to look up for new co-workers. He could not create a new world like Vishwamitra. But this much he would make clear that he could not contemplate a highly industrialised and independent India with equanimity. That independence could not bring peace and happiness to the forty crores of India's masses. In that society, the prosperity of the few would be purchased at the expense of the exploitation and misery of many. It would mean the old law of the jungle.

His mind had been trained to think differently. He would like to take with him the weak, the lame and the halting as well and if by doing so his progress was slowed down he would not mind it. The Independence which could bring relief and happiness to the lowliest and the last could only come through Ahimsa, that is to say, through the wheel. Therefore, if they could make the Sangh serve that purpose, they would have all his co-operation. If not, they could continue as a mere philanthropic organisation but that would not be enough for him. In that case they must leave him to plough his lonely furrow.

# The All India Muslim League

## Working Committee—Lahore—29th. July 1944

### Proceedings & Resolutions

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League met at Lahore on the 29th. July 1944 at the Mamdot villa where the League President Mr. Jinnah was staying with the Nawab of Mamdot, President of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League.

Of the 21 members of the Working Committee all excepting two viz. Begum Mohd. Ali Sahiba and Mr. Latif-ul-Rehman attended the meeting. In view of the important nature of the matters, which were expected to come up for discussion before the Working Committee the members made it a point to come up to Lahore. The members were very uncommunicative and even the most vocal among them resisted all attempts of the waiting Pressmen to say even a word about their own views regarding the matters which were to come up before them before the meeting started. The members became even more uncommunicative after the meeting.

Mr. Jinnah, on coming out of the meeting, was surrounded by the waiting journalists, including two Australian War Correspondents.

Replying to the question asked by the journalists as to what transpired at the Working Committee meeting he said : "Gentlemen you must wait till to-morrow." He added that he would say nothing more.

A Press representative asked the League President if he had received any communication from Gandhiji asking him to place the "C.R," formula before the Working Committee as had been broadcast by the All-India Radio. Mr. Jinnah was evasive in his reply and remarked : "Do you want to convey that information to me ?"

It appeared the members of the Working Committee were administered special oath of secrecy before the proceedings started.

The League Working Committee re-assembled after lunch and rose after a couple of hours' deliberation.

It is learnt that Mr. Jinnah was the main speaker or perhaps the only speaker because he reviewed the whole political situation as it had developed ever since the last meeting of the committee. Mr. Jinnah, it is learnt, placed before the Working Committee Mahatma Gandhi's letter regarding "C.R.'s" formula and his request for meeting him.

It is learnt that this unexpected development changed the whole trend of events and the Working Committee itself was left with very little to do.

The Nawabzada, unlike his Chief, admitted to the journalists that a letter had been received from Mahatma Gandhi but he seemed to think that Gandhiji was responsible for having revealed the information about it, as the information had emanated from Bombay,

The impression created by his remark was that the Nawabzada appeared to think that the revealing of the information was rather inopportune.

Apart from this the members of the League Working Committee were jubilant over what they regarded as a "victory" for their chief.

Mr. Jinnah is expected to make a statement before the League Council where he would place all these matters.

The Working Committee is expected to meet after the council's meeting. In view of these developments provincial autonomy is bound to recede though it is stated that Provincial Leaguers are bent upon having the Unionists punished.

The application of the local representative of the "*Hindustan Times*" for attending the meeting of the League Council for reporting its proceedings tomorrow was rejected by the League office and even on the intervention of local journalists the General Secretary of the All-India Muslim League, after referring to the old Delhi incident, said that he could not go against the Working Committee's resolution which had decided not to issue a pass to the "*Hindustan Times*" representative.

Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Premier of Sind was closeted with the League President for a long time today.

## Council Meeting—Lahore—30th. July 1944

### Mr. Jinnah's Criticism of the Formula

The half-yearly session of the Council opened that Barkat Ali Hall, Lahore on the 30th. July in the morning under the presidentship of Mr. M. A. Jinnah. Besides the Premiers of Bengal, Sind and N. W. F. Province, members of the Working Committee and representatives from all parts of the country, including a large number of women, were present. The hall was packed to overflow and the public outside were restrained with great difficulty at the entrance of the hall.

The proceedings commenced with the recitation from the Holy Quran. Mr. Jinnah then rose to make his statement on Mr. Rajagopalachari's formula, which was frequently punctuated with cheers. It took him full one hour to read the statement, which had been approved by the Working Committee at its meeting yesterday.

Reviewing the political developments in India with particular reference to Mr. Rajagopalachari's formula Mr. Jinnah said: Since the release of Mr. Gandhi there has been a flood of statements, press reports and comments, and I have tried to follow all these as carefully as it is possible for me to do so, particularly with reference to what is called by Mr. Rajagopalachari as his formula for Hindu-Muslim settlement, and for the moment, I wish to deal with the matter. Burying the past and starting from that point, let us examine the position.

On May 18, 1944, Mr. Gandhi's letter to me from prison on May 4, 1943, was released because, it was stated *Dawn* had asked for its publication and that it was owing to the public that the letter should see the light of day. Hence the release of the letter under Mr. Gandhi's instruction. In that letter, Mr. Gandhi says: "I have followed the proceedings of the League as reported in the *Dawn* columns. I noted your invitation to me to write to you. Hence this letter. I welcome your invitation. I suggest our meeting face to face rather than talking through correspondence. But I am in your hands. I hope that this letter will be sent to you, and if you agree to my proposal, that the Government will let you visit me. One thing I better mention. There seems to be an 'if' about your invitation. Do you say I should write only if I have changed my heart? God alone knows men's hearts. I would like you to take me as I am."

I knew the substance of this letter because the Government had furnished me with it at the time, and in my statement I pointed out that it was not the kind of letter that I expected from Mr. Gandhi in response to the appeal which I made in my speech in April 1943, in my presidential address to the Muslim League. It has now fully borne out without a shadow of doubt that Mr. Gandhi understood that there was an 'if' about my invitation, which was evaded, but nevertheless, as usual, the entire Congress press accused me of having gone back on my word, and did everything in their power to misrepresent, vilify and mutilate my speech. That 'if' still remains and the letter still remains undelivered to me. While Mr. Gandhi was busy and there had been a plethora of correspondence between him, from the Aga Khan's Palace at Poona, and the Viceroy, and since his release, he has been well enough to see numerous prominent men from day to day and carry on correspondence with the Viceroy and others, he has not, however, thought it proper to send me even a copy of the letter, being the addressee of the original, but thought fit to release it to the press.

Then comes the next chapter. After all his effort had failed to establish contact with Lord Linlithgow to negotiate with him over the head of the Muslim League completely ignoring and by-passing it. He sought an interview with Lord Wavell, his dear friend, conveying to him *ad nauseam* that he was a friend of British nation and a loyal son of the British Empire and that he should be allowed to meet the members of the Working Committee in prison or they should be released, and for that purpose he said: "I plead now as a free man for such permission. If you will see me before deciding, I shall gladly go wherever you want me to." This request of his was refused by the Viceroy by his letter of June 22. This "No" to Mr. Gandhi, it was reported, cast gloom at Poona. But even the final effort of Mr. Gandhi through the British Journalist, Mr. Gelder, as a go-between to link him up with Lord Wavell was misfire.

#### C. R.'s Move

At this psychological moment, Mr. Rajagopalachari was at Poona, and suddenly I received a telegram from him on June 30, as another go-between, complaining without any reason that his letter of April 8, remained unanswered, although he knew perfectly well that it required no answer, as the answer was already given

to him, and threatening me that he would like to publish the formula and my rejection. He said he had sent the telegram with Mr. Gandhi's approval, and further warned me that he would like me at this juncture to reconsider my rejection. In my reply, I pointed out to him that his version that I had rejected the formula was wrong and I am glad that he does not contradict the true facts as stated by me but confirms them. The correspondence was, however, abruptly released to the press, so that I should stand on my trial before the bar of the public opinion of the world, and of India and especially of the Musalmans. Immediately the word had passed, and the Congress press had framed various grave charges against me. To give a few instances in some of the so called responsible newspapers: "Irresponsible and ill-considered reply from one who claims to speak for his community is nothing short of a betrayal of his community and the country at large. It is now up to the Muslim community to judge the offer on its merits and find the leader or leaders who will play the game." There were charges like "intoxicated with ego and vanity", "uncompromising attitude", "a block in the way of freedom of India." It was urged that I should be sacked or made to retire by Muslim India and so on and so forth. It is surprising that even Mr. Gandhi, at this juncture, had encouraged this propaganda both in this country and abroad by the enemies of the Muslim League by stating in his interview on July 13, that the British Government is using me as a cloak, and that this "diabolical conspiracy to stifle India's aspirations must be broken." This is the background of the so-called negotiations for a Hindu-Muslim settlement started by Mr. Rajagopalachari with the approval of Mr. Gandhi and from the mass of varying statements and contradictions to-day only one essential issue emerges, namely that I am put on my trial and that I have now to defend myself. Thus the private negotiations ended. My only sin was that I requested Mr. Rajagopalachari to allow me to place his proposal before my Working Committee and that as Mr. Gandhi was no longer in prison, I requested that he should directly communicate to me whatever proposals he may choose to put forward, assuring him that I would place them before my Working Committee. What was the objection to such a course? I failed to appreciate the line adopted by Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Rajagopalachari, and I am willing to face the verdict of the Muslim League and any other independent and impartial men in India or abrord.

### Form of the Formula

This is so far as the procedure adopted is concerned. Now we come to the form of the formula. These proposals were not open to any discussion or modification. It was on the basis of "take it or leave it". It seems that the Congress philosophy goes on better than British Imperialism. Even the Cripps proposals had the sanction behind them of His Majesty's Government, and His Majesty's Government sent one of the members of the Cabinet all the way to India to personally approach the Congress and the Muslim League. Not only that. Sir *Stafford Cripps* was closeted with the Congress leaders and the Working Committee for more than two weeks in explaining and clarifying whatever points were raised by the Congress and the Muslim League. True, there also was that rigidity, that the fundamentals of the Cripps proposals were not open to any modification, and that was the reason why he failed. But Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Rajagopalachari are out-Heroding Herod. This is pure and simple dictation and not a sincere desire to negotiate. In the first place, Mr. Rajagopalachari is an expelled member of the Congress. Whatever individual efforts he may have made were by virtue of the approval of Mr. Gandhi to his proposals during Mr. Gandhi's incarceration. But once Mr. Gandhi is released and is a free man, it is up to Mr. Gandhi personally to deal with this grave problem of the settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question, and there is no need of any go-between. But Mr. Gandhi is too ill and in his recent interview, when any question was put to him, he directed the questioner to Mr. Rajagopalachari and the press representatives have been told that he had personally subscribed to Rajaji's offer when he was fasting in the prison camp. "It is now sixteen months old. For the rest of the offer, I must carry out the contract between Rajaji and myself. He is to bear the brunt of all criticism that might be made about that offer." It is a pity that he gave no indication of this in his famous letter dated May 4, 1943, which still remains undelivered to me, and it has got a new name now, it is not a "formula" but an "offer".

As regards Mr. Gandhi, who says he has subscribed to this offer, but according to Mr. Rajagopalachari, it is "a joint, contribution" and "formula", the question arises, in what capacity can Mr. Gandhi's association be urged, for he also is not even a four-anna member of the Congress. He has not so many capacities—his

personal capacity, his capacity as the dictator of the Congress, and above all, his Mahatmic divine authority, which is guided by his inner voice, and he is a satyagrahi and the sole interpreter of what it means and stands for. He is not a Hindu but a "Sanatanist," and he follows a Hinduism of his own. It is rather difficult to know as to what capacity Mr. Gandhi will use at a given time. Mr. Gandhi, I hope, will be good enough to study the constitution, rules and regulations of the All-India Muslim League and then he will understand better my position as the President of a really well-organised and democratic body, viz., the All-India Muslim League. I remember when Mr. Gandhi met Lord Linlithgow in September 1939, after the outbreak of the war and he broke down and tears rolled down from his eyes when he visualised the possible destruction by bombing of the Westminster Abbey and the Houses of Parliament and said: "What was the use of Indian freedom if England and France were defeated?", and in a statement, declared his wholehearted and most enthusiastic support for the prosecution of the war. But hardly a week afterwards, the Congress Working Committtee decided to non-co-operate if their demand for immediate independence etc., was not met, and as a first step, the Congress members of the Central Assembly were ordered to withdraw. Mr. Gandhi turned round and said they were right. He was only in a minority of one, and advised Lord Linlithgow to come to terms with the Congress approving of their decision.

### Merits of the Proposal

Now we come to the merits of the proposal. In this case we are told by Mr. Rajagopalachari to quote his own words of the series of telegrams which were released by him:

"Mr. Gandhi, though not vested with representative or special capacity in this matter, definitely approved of my proposal and authorised me to approach you on that basis. The weight of his opinion would most probably secure Congress acceptance."

Mr. Rajagopalachari, in his statement of July 16, from Panchgani, starts with an absolutely untrue and misleading statement. He says that "it is now two years since I started work, even though I had secured Gandhiji's unqualified support to the scheme, and it conceded all that the Muslim Leage had ever demanded in its resolution of 1940." If this is so, why not say we accept the League resolution of 1940? His formula is a parody, a negation of, and intended to torpedo, the Muslim League's resolution of March 1940, and when he says that his formula concedes all that the Muslim League had ever demanded by its resolution, it is the grossest travesty. First of all, where does he find any mention of "plebiscite" of any kind in that resolution? Then why this ridiculous proposal of a plebiscite districtwise? But let me take clause by clause some important points of Mr. Rajagopalachari's formula.

First take the preamble, the basis of the terms which, if accepted, will completely bind the Muslim League, whereas the Mahatma may withdraw his blessings as he is not speaking, according to Mr. *Rajagopalachari*, with the authority of the Congress or in his representative capacity, whatever that may mean. Then, we come to the first clause, "subject to the terms set out below as regards the constitution." I do not see "the constitution" in this formula; which constitution does he refer to? Then comes the demand for our endorsing the Indian demand for Independence. It implies that we are against the independence of the peoples of India and both Mr. *Gandhi* and Mr. Rajagopalachari know that it is an un-called for insinuation to make, and they are casting an unwarranted reflection upon the Muslim League.

### Plebiscite Proposal

Next comes the condition that we should co-operate with the Congress in the formation of a Provisional Interim Government for the transitional period, thereby arrogating to the Congress a dominant and superior position and requiring our co-operation as a subordinate body with this leading organisation and as to the kind of provisional interim Government for the transitional period that is to be formed, no indication is given as to its powers, etc. After the termination of the war, a Commission shall be appointed for demarcating contiguous districts in the north-west and east of India, and a plebiscite of all the inhabitants would be held district-wise, where the Muslim population is in absolute majority. It is not stated who will appoint this Commission, what will be its personnel and its powers, and who will enforce its findings. Really, how can Mr. *Rajagopalachari* stand unabashed and make a public statement that his formula concedes all that the Muslim

League's resolution of March 1940 demands. It would be open to all parties to advocate their point of view before a plebiscite is held, although this agreement is intended to be only between the Congress and the League. Next, in the event of separation, mutual agreements shall be entered into for safeguarding defence, commerce, and communications and for other essential purposes. The question arises, safeguarding these maters from whom, and what does it mean? These mutual agreements are made obligatory and it is not very easy to understand the significance of this clause. Then comes the last clause which is the height of ingenuity. These terms shall be binding only in case of transfer by Britain of full power and responsibility for the Government of India. But it does not say to whom, how and when.

### MUSLIMS AND AUGUST RESOLUTION

According to the latest statement by Mr. Gandhi, the August Resolution is "absolutely innocuous," and that while his authority has lapsed, the August Resolution has not lapsed. Let it now collapse, for the Muslims do not regard it as innocuous, as both the demand and the sanction for it to force this demand are inimical to the Muslim ideals and demands. Let Mr. Gandhi join hands with the Muslim League on the basis of Pakistan in plain and unequivocal language and we shall be nearer the independence of the peoples of India, which is so dear to the heart of not only Mr. Gandhi but of millions in this country. Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Rajagopalachari are putting the cart before the horse when they say that all these clauses can have any value or can become effective only if Great Britain transfers power to India, save and except acting on his latest seven points and immediately establishing a National Government of Mr. Gandhi's conception. There is no chance of it unless the Hindus and Muslims come to a settlement and unite and thus by means of a united front wring out our freedom from the unwilling hands of the rulers of Great Britain.

I am sorry if by expressing my views honestly and freely and in self-defence, I have hurt anybody's feelings. I purposely did not wish to say anything when Mr. Gandhi was good enough to release to the press his famous letter to me dated May 4, 1943. I refused to say a single word throughout the period commencing from the release of Mr. Gandhi upto date, I refused to say anything when abruptly the correspondence was closed and released to the press by Mr. Rajagopalachari. I had expected, along with millions of people in this country, that Mr. Gandhi would review and revise the entire situation and give a correct lead, having regard to the realities and conditions prevailing in India. But I think, in fairness to the Muslim League and to myself, I must now put our case before the bar of world opinion, and particularly, the public opinion of Hindus and Muslims in this land, as by the tactics of Mr. Rajagopalachari and approved by Mr. Gandhi I am forced to do so. But out of evil cometh good. I do not mind all the vilification and mis-representation and the base campaign that is carried on against me. But at last, and it is to the good and conducive to further progress that Mr. Gandhi has, at any rate in his personal capacity, accepted the principle of partition or division of India. What remains now is the question of how and when this has got to be carried out. Mr. Gandhi knows and understands the position better than any living man, for in one of his articles in the *Harijan* he puts the question of Pakistan demand in a nutshell. This was what he said: "I hope the Quaid-e-Azam does not represent the considered opinion even of his colleagues. Pakistan, according to him in a nutshell, is a demand for carving out of India a portion to be wholly treated as an independent and sovereign State."

I am glad that Mr. Gandhi realises that 1944 is not 1942. It is in more senses than one and he may further take into consideration that 1939-40-41 is not 1944.

I hope I have made it clear that the procedure and method adopted is hardly conducive to friendly negotiations and the form is pure dictation as it is not open to any modification. This is not calculated to lead to fruitful results, or a solution and settlement of the problem which concerns the destiny of a nation of hundred millions of Muslims and their posterity and as regards the merits of the proposal, Mr. Gandhi is offering a shadow and a husk, maimed, mutilated and moth-eaten Pakistan and thus trying to pass off having met our Pakistan scheme and Muslim demand.

### Gandhi's Letter to Mr. Jinnah

But since all these happenings I have received a letter from Mr. Gandhi dated July 17 and I have already replied to him on July 24 from Srinagar before my departure. They are as follows. Let us, therefore, wait and see, hoping for the best.

Mr. Jinnah then read out the English translation of Mr. Gandhi's letter written in Gujerathi. The following is the text of the letter :

"Dilkush"
Panchgani, July 17

Brother Jinnah,

There was a day when I could induce you to speak in the mother-tongue. To-day I take courage to write to you in the same language. I had invited you to meet me while I was in jail. I have not written to you since my release. But to-day my heart says that I should write to you. We will meet whenever you choose. Don't regard me as the enemy of Islam or of the Muslims of this country. I am the friend and servant of not only yourself but of the whole world. Do not disappoint me.

I am enclosing herewith a translation of this letter in Urdu.

Your Brother,
Gandhi.

MEETING IN MIDDLE OF AUGUST

The League President then proceeded to read his own reply which is as follows :

H. B. "Queen Elizabeth"
Srinagar, Kashmir,
24th July 1944.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

I received your letter dated July 17 here on July 22 and I thank you for it.

I shall be glad to receive you at my house in Bombay on my return, which will probably be about the middle of August. By that time, I hope that you will have recuperated your health fully and will be returning to Bombay. I would like to say nothing more till we meet.

I am very pleased to read in the press that you are making very good progress, and I hope that you will soon be all right.

Yours Sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah.

**Resolutions**

The Council adopted a resolution of condolence on the death of Maulvi Bahadur Khan Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung, President of the All-India States Muslim League. Mr. Jinnah described his death as a "terrific blow to Muslim India" and paid a tribute to his qualities.

The council next passed unanimously a resolution moved by Maulana Karam Ali urging the Government of India to make arrangements for "Haj" pilgrimage. The resolution expressed the view that the pretexts of insecurity of the voyage were absolutely unacceptable in view of Allied victories.

The Council decided to observe a "Haj Day" throughout the country to voice their demand.

Syed Zakir Ali then moved the resolution recommending the collection of "Zakat" (charity) from Muslims through the agency of the League. After a heated discussion in which Nawab Mohammed Ismail, Chaudhri Khaliquzaman, Maulana Abdul Hamid Badayuni and Maulana Karam Ali participated, the resolution was not pressed to a vote, as Mr. Jinnah gave an assurance that the matter would receive the attention of the Working Committee.

The Council authorised Mr. Jinnah to fix the dates and venue of the next annual session of the All-India Muslim League and adjourned for lunch.

The Council concluded its session at 8 o'clock in the evening after adopting two resolutions relating to recent developments in the Punjab.

DEMAND FOR RECALLING PUNJAB GOVERNOR

Maulana Abdul Hamid Badayuni (U. P.) moved the following resolution :

"This meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League declares that the Governor of the Punjab has, by his improper interference in the case of Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan Sahib and by dismissing him from Ministership without obtaining his reply in regard to the charges levelled against Sardar Sahib, acted in contravention of the basic principles of Democratic Government and has severely injured the feelings of the Mussalmans of India."

Mr. Chundrigar (Bombay) moved the following substitute resolution, which was accepted by the mover and unanimously passed by the Council : "This meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League condemns the action of the Governor

of the Punjab in dismissing Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan, as apart from the question of his power to dismiss an individual Minister by virtue of the power conferred upon him under section 51 of the Government of India Act, he never furnished the particulars of allegations or charges against him, nor did he allow him any opportunity to give his explanation or defence, which is the inherent right of every citizen, according to the rules of natural justice before dismissing him, thereby casting grave reflections on his honour and in spite of repeated demands calling upon him to place the full facts of the case, the Governor has declined to do so.

"This Council, therefore, calls upon the Government of India and the British Government to recall the Governor as he is no longer qualified to hold this office of great responsibility and has been guilty of abusing his extraordinary and reserve powers vested in him by the constitution embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935.

Moving the resolution, Maulana Abdul Hamid Badayuni said that the dismissal of Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan had released new forces in the Punjab and had roused the Mussalmans of the Punjab to a high pitch of political consciousness. The resolution put in a plea for the recall of the Governor as he had proved himself incapable of holding this high office. The speaker said that it was surprising that Shaukat Hyat Khan was not given any chargesheet nor was any explanation asked. The Governor, he said, did not even consider it fit to make a show of justice in this case.

Nawab *S. M. Ismail* (Bihar) said that *Shaukat Hyat Khan* had been dismissed primarily because he was loyal to the Muslim League. Even *The Statesman*, he added, had commented against Sir *Bertrand Glancy's* action and had asked him to give reasons for the dismissal. The speaker asked for the intervention of the Viceroy and the British Government in the matter.

The resolution was adopted.

### EXPULSION OF PUNJAB PREMIER

Syed Abdul Rahaman (Bangalore) then moved the following resolution :

"This Council of the all-India Muslim League approves and endorses the action taken by the Committee of the Action in expelling Malik Khizr Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab, from the Muslim League for his utter disregard of the wishes of the Muslims of India in general and the Muslims of the Punjab in particular, and for having acted in contravention of the rules, aims and objects of the All-India Muslim League and also contrary to the decision of the League authorities that a Member of the Muslim League cannot owe allegiance to two political parties and notes with contempt that Mr. Khizr Hyat Khan had not even cared to place his case before the Council of the All-India Muslim League, which is the highest national tribunal, consisting of several able and eminent judges, and instead, desires to refer his case to a judge outside the National Council, which evidently means that he is ashamed of facing the Muslim nation on this issue and take its verdict."

The mover said that the expulsion of Malik Khizr Hyat Khan was due to his acts of gross indiscipline and felt that the interests of the Musalmans of the Panjab were not safe in his hands. He added that the Punjab Premier had taken shelter behind the so-called Jinnah-Sikandar Pact, which had no official recognition from the all-India Muslim League. He asked whether there could ever be a pact between an organisation and one single member of the organisation and declared that Malik Khizr Hyat Khan had joined the League not out of conviction but for his own personal convenience. The speaker concluded by saying that Unionism must be completely wiped out from the soil of the Punjab.

Raja Ghazanfar Ali, ex-Parliamentary Secretary, Punjab, seconding the resolution, said that he was one of those who tried his best until the last moment to avoid this unpleasant episode in the Punjab. If Malik Khizr Hyat Khan had been a real well-wisher of the Musalmans, he would not but have accepted Mr. Jinnah's orders.

The speaker said that Malik Khizr Hyat Khan's profession of loyalty to Pakistan was an absurd attempt to befool the Musalmans. He and all his supporters would not be able to stem the rising of League forces in the Province. The Musalmans of the Punjab were behind the Quaid-e-Azam and were prepared to make all sacrifices.

The resolution was unanimously carried.

Winding up the proceedings, Mr. Jinnah thanked the members of the Council for having travelled long distances to attend the Council session and expressed his gratitude to them for their support. "Insha Allah: Pakistan is coming," he concluded.

# The Sind Provincial Muslim League

## Working Committee—Karachi—7th. July 1944

### Ministers Asked to Resign

The Working Committee of the Sind Provincial Muslim League, at its meeting held at Karachi on the 7th. July 1944, passed a resolution calling on the Sind Ministry as at present composed to resign from office forthwith. Premier *Sir Ghulam Hussein Hidayatullah* was present at the meeting.

The resolution adds that the Muslim League accepted office as an experimental measure to see how far and to what extent it is able to safeguard and promote the interests of the masses of Sind. The experiment has gone on for a year and three-quarters and nothing substantial has been done in the constructive field. The Working Committee has before it a long list of the misdeeds of some of the Ministers. The following is the full text of the resolution passed by a majority of 23 against 2:

"Faced with the alternatives of having Sind ruled either under Section 93 of the Constitution Act or under a Council of Ministers enjoying popular support, the Muslim League accepted office in October 1944, as an experimental measure to see how far and to what extent it was able to safeguard and promote the interests of the masses of Sind. For years prior to this crisis, the Muslims of Sind had groaned under the regime of unstable Ministries, which had no constructive policy or programme for the betterment of the masses, and, one of the primary reasons that moved the League to choose the Treasury Benches was to free the Muslims of Sind from this nightmare. A new hope was born and all over the villages and towns of Sind the Muslims looked forward to their Ministers to inaugurate a regime that could be broadbased on the co-operation of the people, and inspired by a zeal for their welfare and to carry out the Muslim League programme.

"The experiment has gone on for a year and three quarters and nothing substantial has been done in the constructive field. Corruption has become the order of the day. The Working Committee has before it a long list of the misdeeds of some of the Ministers. It is unnecessary to draw a detailed indictment, but the Committee cannot help putting on record the unsatisfactory character of the foodgrain policy of this Ministry. After enhancing land assessment by 200 to 300 p. c. and giving no return of the same to the people in the shape of nation-building activities the Ministry has brought into being various syndicates whose operations have robbed the cultivators of their dues. One of the most unfortunate results of this policy has been that the poor Muslim agriculturists are compelled to sell their wheat at Rs. 7 per maund, in spite of the control price being Rs. 9-8 per maund.

"What justification will the Muslim League have for its existence if it will not actively and energetically advance the cause of the Hari—the Sindhi cultivator—who is the backbone of our Province and whose welfare is the first charge on the Muslim League? The Ministry, by adopting delaying tactics, has so far enacted no tenancy laws. Not only that, but they intend to introduce modifications in the Jaigirdari Act, which is bound to prove of little benefit to several thousands of poor Muslim cultivators. The only honourable course therefore, for the Working Committee of the Sind Provincial Muslim League is to record its definite findings that it is in the interests of the Province and the Muslims of Sind that the Council of Ministers, as at present composed, should resign. The Working Committee accordingly urges the President to ensure that the above resolution is implemented and to take all the consequential steps."

# The All India Hindu Mahasabha

## Working Committee—New Delhi—9th July 1944

### Text of Resolutions

The Working Committee of the All India Hindu Mahasabha at its meeting at New Delhi on the 9th July 1944 adopted a resolution requesting that as 92 per cent. of the population of Jaipur State are Hindi-speaking and as the rest of the Rajputana States have Hindi as their Court language, the Maharaja should adopt Hindi as Court language in the Jaipur State to the exclusion of Urdu.

The Committee urges that officials who were not conversant with Hindi be ordered to pick up the script and language within a year and pass an examinatton in Hindi.

The Committee requests His Highness to appoint a Hindu Prime Minister.

A further resolution condemned the Jaipur State ban on the entry of Mr. V. G. Deshpande, Secretary, All-India Hindu Mahasabha.

The meeting congratulated Hindu Sanghatanists in Maharasthra on their action in attending the pilgrimage at Pandharpur in spite of the ban imposed by Government.

"In view of the reports received about the working of the Muslim League Ministries in different provinces that not only legitimate rights and interests of the Hindus and other minorities have suffered, but such administration has proved generally detrimental to the interests of the provinces as a whole, the Working Committee calls upon the Hindus and other non-Muslim members of the Provincial legislatures to withdraw their co-operation with the Muslim League.

"The Working Committee feels convinced that so long as the present ideology of the Muslim League of vivisecting India and establishing Pakistan is not given up, there is no common ground for co-operation between the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha. With a view, however, to avoiding a constitutional deadlock in provinces, the All-India Hindu Mahasabha will favour the formation of Coalition Ministers where such co-operation may be possible between Hindus and other political parties other than the Muslim League on the basis of an agreed programme, suitable to the needs of the provinces concerned."

In another resolution on Bengal Ministry, the Committee says:

"This meeting of the Working Committee of All-India Hindu Mahasabha view with concern the situation in Bengal and the attempts of the Muslim League Ministry in that province to pass, in the teeth of Hindu opposition, the Secondary Education Bill which is primarily designed to facilitate the establishment of a regime of Pakistan and strike at the root of the cultural life of the Hindus of the province. The Committee notes with surprise that though the opposition to the Bill has been almongst unanimous amongst the Hindus both inside and outside the Legislature, the League Ministry should have persisted in rushing it through the Assembly. The Committee finds that the Hindu Ministers who are supporting the Bill, have no following whatsoever inside the Legislature and have ceased to represent Hindu opinion in the country and that their continuance in the Council of the Ministers as representatives of the great Hindu community of the province is helping to create the false impression that the present Bengal Ministry is being run with the support of the representative Hindus. The Committee demands in view of the specific provisions in the instrument of Instructions that the Governor should call for the resignation of these unrepresentative Hindu Ministers and reconstitute the Council of Ministers with Hindus who have the support of the Hindu members of the Legislature."

The Committee in another resolution, condemns "the communal policy" of the Sind Government and calls upon all Hindus of the province to unite under the Hindu Mahasabha's banner and present a united front to 'this aggressive and communal policy.'

The meeting approved of the Sind Provincial Hindu Sabha's decision withdrawing its support from the present Ministry and requested the Governor of Sind to protect the rights of Hindus in the province as his special responsibility.

The Committee demanded that Hindu religious books should be exempted from the operation of the Paper Control Order.

A delegation had come from the Sind Provincial Sabha and explained in detail the move of Sir Gulam Hussain Hidayatullah to reshuffle the composition of the ministry keeping out Khan Bahadur Khuro against whom a motion of no-confidence has been tabled. As regards the North-West Frontier Province there is a possibility of Sardar Ajit Singh resigning in view of the undertaking given by the Hindu members that they would not covet seats in the Ministry. In Bengal, according to conversations in the Mahasabha circles, Mr. Casey, Governor, will summon a session of the Assembly in August. Interesting developments are expected, especially because of the precarious position of the Ministry. To what extent the Bengal Governor's talk with the Viceroy will relate to subsequent developments in that province, cannot be anticipated. From the Punjab Mr. Brijlal, Secretary of the Hindu Vigilance Committee, had come to report on the position of the Mahasabha Working Committee.

## Working Committee—New Delhi—6th October 1944

### Text of Resolutions

The following comprehensive resolution was passed at the meeting of the Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha at Delhi on the 6th Oct. 1944.

I. In view of the facts—

(1) That the system of excluded and partially excluded portions of India was devised by the Government with the object as set forth in the Simon Commission Report of—

(a) Preserving for them the simple form of administration of patriarchal dispensation which is indigenous to the aboriginal tribes.

(b) Keeping them aloof from competition, with what are described perhaps in a spirit of derogation as "subtler minds of the Aryan Races" and from the "wiles of the money-lender," so that they may not be made helpless subjects of 'exploitation'.

(c) Seeing that "these races" remain, as they are, 'amongst the most picturesque in the world' and that their energies are not sapped by contact with civilisation and that they remain amongst the most light-hearted and virile.

(d) Maintaining their sense of "innate self-respect" and "confidence in their war-like prowess," their "Belief in their tribal Gods" and their "unfettered enjoyment in their patriarchal or matriarchal customs", and the freedom in the pursuit of their traditional methods of livelihood.

(e) Giving them "protection from economic subjugation by their neighbours; and

(f) Giving them "security of land and tenure" and "good administration" on which, "the progress and protection of the inhabitants of these excluded areas almost entirely depend;"

2. That, notwithstanding, the above objects of the Government, "the greater part of the unskilled labour at the Industrial Centres—Jharia and Jamshedpur Tata Iron—are allowed to be drawn from the locals boriginal tribes who also form an important recruiting ground for labour on Tea Estates in Assam," thus allowing them to set sail on the wide ocean of human civilisation, good or bad;

3. That the Government is not prepared to assume the burden of educating them so that these people may stand on their own feet, as envisaged by the Simon Commission; and

4. That Christian Missionaries of various denominations have been allowed and helped financially and with Government prestige to work amongst them unfettered with their usual wiles in proselytisation; so that more than two lacs eighty thousand of them of Chhota Nagpur as mentioned by the Simon Commission Report, have already been converted to Christianity;

The Hindu Mahasabha strongly urges on the Government:

(1) The need of doing away with this system of excluded and partially excluded areas and of incorporating them into the non-excluded part of the Province, so that the people of the province be enabled constitutionally to look after their interests.

(2) That for reasons mentioned above, all help, moral and material, that is being given to the missionaries should forthwith be withdrawn, and that whatever help Government be prepared to give to start schools for them, should be given to Hindu agencies such as the Hindu Mahasabha, Arya-Samaj, Arya Hindu Dharma-Sewa-Sangha of Shriman Sheth Jugal Kishore Birla, the Hindu Mission of Bengal and so on; for the animism which these tribal tribes profess is part and parcel of

Hinduism and Christianity is quite contrary and even antagonistic to both animism and Hinduism.

(3) That if Government were in fact to desire to make provision, in the spirit of his Imperial Majesty's Instrument of Instruction for the protection of their religion and culture, proselytisation in the case should be made a crime under the Indian Penal Code.

(4) That money-lending by the Missionaries should be stopped.

(5) That if Government be not prepared to encourage the Hindu agencies to undertake their education, all schools established by the Missionaries, should be acquired by the Government and they should be conducted by the Educational Department of the Government.

II. The Hindu Mahasabha calls upon all Hindus and the Hindu Associations to concentrate their attention and energies on counter-acting the proselytising activities of these missionaries and to release these tribal tribes from their clutches.

The Hindu Mahasabha has noted with great pain and resentment that in the Census Report of 1941, the Aboriginal Tribes which were till then included in the Hindus as in the Census Report of 1931 and were shown separately as amounting to only 7,611,803 in 1931, have now been taken away and shown separately from the Hindus as amounting to 25,441,489.

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# The Open Session of the Sabha

## 26th. Session—Bilaspur—24th. to 26th December 1944

The 26th annual session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha met at Bilaspur on the 24th. December 1944 under the presidency of Dr. *Shyama Prosad Mookerjee.*

The biggest gathering ever assembled in Bilaspur attended the session. Over fifty thousand persons present included prominent Hindus from all over India.

After the arrival of Dr. *Mukherjee,* and Mr. *Savarkar,* amidst deafening cries of 'jais' the gathering sang "Bandematarам", all standing.

Mr. *Savarkar,* inaugurating the session, said he was glad that Hindus were no longer discarding their emblems to please Muslims. Even the national song composed by Tagore was dropped and that composed by Iqbal was accepted by the Hindus. The more they tried to please the Muslims, the more the demands of the latter increased. He was glad that among Hindus the spirit of regeneration was developing. At present there were at least one crore of Hindus who took pride in being called Hindus. This spirit would show best results among their sons.

### Welcome Address

Mr. *P. C. Bose,* President of the Jubbulpore Municipality and Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcoming the delegates, supported the fundamental right which democracy gave to each and every citizen of the nation. It was beyond his comprehension why any particular minority should be pampered with special privileges and rights in excess of what that minority was entitled on the basis of numerical strength. Moreover, it was really a unique feature in the annals of world history to advocate the existence of a new nation within the parent nation simply on the ground of religion and fanaticism. Mr. Bose condemned the banning of the Fourteenth Chapter of "Satyarth Prakash" by the Sind Government and urged the Hindus to undo the mischief.

Referring to the move for codification of Hindu Law, Mr. Bose said: "This is not the time to discuss the two sides of the picture, but it is my contention that a proper and a more favourable time ought to have been chosen for amending the Hindu law. The present structure of Hindu society has been evolved and perfected after the experiences of countless centuries. The Hindu outlook and traditions are not static. They are always liberal and receptive to the progressive ideas and truth. But the legislators, who are out to amend the Hindu law, forget in the moment of their enthusiasm that they are not the sole custodians of the Hindu religion and that social reforms are not the creation of a day. The Central Legislative Assembly is not a real representative body of the people of this country. The country is being governed by the war time reactionary elements who represent none but themselves.

Under these circumstances, it is practically impossible to secure the true verdict of the country on the proposed amendments to the Hindu laws."

Mr. Bose drew the attention of the public to yet another grave problem threatening the Central Provinces in the shape of an organised agitation launched by the Muslims for the restoration of Berar, the richest part of the Province predominantly inhabited by the Hindus to the Nizam of Hyderabad. He said: "It would be a political blunder of the first magnitude to hand over the millions of Hindus without taking their referendum to an alien ruler. If Berar were restored to the Nizam, it would make a Sind Province of a worse type in the C. P. This move must be opposed most vigorously."

**Presidential Address**

Dr. Moonje proposed Dr. *Mukerjee* to preside over the session. He was the fit person to create mass awakening among Hindus. After the proposal was seconded and supported, Dr. Mukherjee sat on the silver chair amidst cries of "jais".

Dr. Mookerjee then delivered his address in course of which he said :—

"India's voice must be heared at the Peace Conference, not through hired Indian agents of British Imperialism but through her chosen spokesmen. It is for this reason that I feel it urgent that there should be a cessation of hostilities among the Indian political parties themselves. It will be an act of supreme statesmanship if to-day there can be a combination of all the nationalist elements in the public life of opposition to the continuance of the imperialistic designs of Britain."

He challenged the Viceroy to prove his *bona fides* by releasing all political prisoners and allowing a board of disinterested representatives of America. Russia and China to settle the Indian problem in consultation with Britain and India.

At the outset, Dr. Mookerjee paid a tribute to the services of Mr. Savarkar who had been the President before him. Dr. Mookerjee said: "To be called upon at any period of time to occupy the Presidentship of the Mahasabha is a sacred trust and a privilege, which are all the more enhanced when one succeeds a President so patriotic, so devoted and fearless as our leader, Veer Savarkar. His dynamic personality and his career of suffering and sacrifice gave a new life and vigour to the Hindu Mahasabha and indeed to the entire nation. While he brought into relief the peculiarly difficult problems concerning India, he filled the country with a new message of hope and aspiration. If he steps aside from the formal headship of the organisation, he remains our leader, ever ready to give us and the country the benefit of his advice and guidance."

Dr. Mookerjee then went on to trace the history of British exploitation of India and said that India's economic slavery was due to her political subjugation and Swaraj was the first and essential remedy for Indian poverty.

Dr. Mookerjee continued: "Mr. Churchill says to Hitler, 'Hands off Britain", we appreciated it. But if we say to Britain, 'Hands off India' we become guilty of treason. If Burma and Ceylon demand, 'Hands off our countries', Mr. Churchill will pose as the God-gifted trustee in whose hands alone power must rest. But it is not the Asiatic people only that need the continued protection of Britain's self-constituted guardianship. Abyssinia may free herself from Mussolini but must surrender to Churchill. Liberated Greece, Italy, and France must also pay their price to Britain. Let us say unhesitatingly that, should British policy continue as it is, even if the war is won, the peace will be lost and a third World War will become inevitable. It is for the British public to assert itself, to avoid the disaster and declare if its post-war reconstruction will be based on the Churchillian theory of imperial dominations and exploitation. The treatment meted out to Indians in South Africa is another glaring example of racial arrogance that still fills the minds of short-sighted partners within the so-called British Commonwealth of friendly nations. India's claim for freedom cannot be challenged at the bar of world opinion. How can the world be safe if one-fifth of the total human population is denied its freedom which is its birth-right? India is not and cannot be the private affairs of Britain. Indian freedom is the acid test of the sincerity of purpose of America and Russia as well.

CONSPIRACY TO HARM HINDUS' RIGHTS

"A survey of the constitutional changes that have come from time to time will disclose how the powers given to the people of the country have been limited by restrictions so that, in the case of an ultimate clash between British and Indian interests, the former may prevail at the will of British representatives. Further, a deliberate policy has been pursued by Government to weaken and cripple the Hindus

because it is they, more than anybody else, who have raised their standard of revolt against foreign rule. The interest of Hindus are identical with those of the nation itself. Hindus want that their country should be politically free. They recognise that their country has been the home of many sects and religions and they are anxious that there should be a common right of citizenship for one and all. They stand for one undivided India. Government knows that if Hindus can be crippled and divided, India's national strength will be weakened considerably. Our enemies attack us as Hindus but we have not the realism and courage to defend ourselves as such, and thus allow the base of our national life to be shattered to pieces."

Criticising the Congress policy as 'barren non-co-operation' at all stages, Dr. Mookerjee said: "In the Indian Provinces where Hindus are in a majority, the Congress by its deliberate action in 1939 has been responsible for arbitrary bureaucratic rule under Section 93 of the Government of India Act of 1935. In the Provinces where Hindus are in a minority, predominantly Muslim Ministries are functioning, mainly with the support of European votes and other reactionary elements. It is remarkable that in almost all the Provinces there is an unconcealed conspiracy to carry out the administration in a manner which is specially harmful to the legitimate rights and interests of the Hindus. Fresh fetters are being forged to weaken them in every sphere of life and their power of resistance is being systematically curbed."

Stating that he did not for a moment suggest that acceptance of office under the present constitution could ever be the be-all and end-all of any political organisation, the Mahasabha President said: "Nevertheless a boycott of the constitutional machinery is sometimes more harmful to the interests of the people than its utilisation as a weapon for fighting reactionary forces and for preparing the field for wresting larger powers. We must carry on our struggle both inside and outside the Legislature. Every seat of power has to be captured and the whole machinery worked in a team spirit backed by popular support so as to prevent avoidable mischief and to advance the good of the people whenever possible."

### THE PAKISTAN DEMAND

Referring to the Muslim League demand, Dr. Mookerjee said: "Pakistan can never be won by the Muslim League by its own strength, nor does its leader expect that it will. He counts on British support to divide India. If British sword is to be perpetuated for defending Pakistan, it becomes a colossal hoax and a badge of unbroken slavery. If British rule is with-drawn after a forcible division of India who will prevent the free state of Hindustan from re-establishing its authority over the entire Indian territory? Hindus regard this country as their sacred and holy land. Irrespective of provincial barriers of the diversity in faiths and languages, there exists a remarkable economic and cultural unity and inter-dependence which cannot be destroyed at the will of persons and parties who think it beneath their dignity to regard India as their motherland. The provincial boundaries must be redistributed; powers, given to provincial units may be enlarged; but there must always remain a strong central government in charge of those essential departments on whose efficiency will depend the safety, progress and welfare of India as a whole. Internationally India will cease to exist once she is broken up into small independent groups and fragments. Our past history has shown that whenever disruptive tendencies developed in different parts of India, her liberty disappeared and her gates were thrown open to foreign invaders.

### SOLUTION FOR MINORITY PROBLEM

"The constitution of the country will provide for ample safeguards to protect the religious and cultural rights of minorities wherever necessary. Fullest possible facilities will be given to all backward sections of the Indian people irrespective of caste, creed or community so that they may attain a higher standard of thought and living. Our attitude towards Muslims as such is not one of hostility or domination. When we attack the policy of the Muslim League we do so because it is actuated by considerations hardly beneficial to the wel-fare of India. One can understand the natural anxiety of any important community to have its rights duly protected and to demand that it will be given full equal chance in every sphere of public service. Indeed the Mahasabha asks for no special privilege for Hindus in any part of the country. It demands that the constitution should be based on adult suffrage and on national electorates with reservation of seats for such minorities as may ask for it. Each community and class must be prepared to surrender some of its narrow individual claims, if the welfare of the country as a

sacrifice will pave the way for fuller understanding and consolidation in the interest of the entire nation. Pakistan is no solution of the communal problem. It will make them more pronounced and can only end in civil war. Let us not delude ourselves by ignoring the fact that the urge for Pakisthan is to see Islam re-established in India as the sovereign power. To placate it is to let loose the worst type of fanatical zeal. The Congress sometimes dares not speak out the truth lest it should be dubbed as pro-Hindu and communal in outlook. The Mahasabha, on the other hand, can afford to point its finger towards the history of India and of the world and organise public opinion throughout the country to oppose ruthlessly any scheme that may lead to the dismemberment of the Indian nation. Three hundred millions of people are not a negligible number and if even a quarter of them can be roused and trained, if their minds are moved by a passionate longing for tearing off the shackles of servility, if they have the correct state-consciousness —*rastra-chetana*—in accordance with the sacred traditions of Hinduism, no power on earth can ever stand in the way of our final achievement. What is needed is a revolution in the working of the Hindu mind which will uproot all sense of defeatism and instil a new faith and an undying vigour based on the grim realities of the political situation of the country.

### The Attitude of the Communists

"It has become the fashion and tendency of a section of Indians, the majority of them being Hindus, to bring their guiding inspiration from foreign countries, specially Russia. It is suicidal to suggest that we should remain in complete isolation and refuse to be moved by the currents and cross-currents of the modern age. But there is one fundamental condition which we must never ignore. Our society and State must be based on an Indian pattern and on the rich heritage that we proudly claim to be ours. A nation must exist and freely function as such with dignity and self-respect before it can participate in any real internationalism. We have much to learn from the heroic example of Russia. Her amazing strength and vitality, her power of assimilation of diverse interests, her gigangic preparation for fighting illiteracy and disease, her achievements in utilising her inexhaustible raw material and in equalising the rights of her citizens cannot but invoke the admiration of the whole world. She has not however run after internationalism by minimising or discarding any important Russian interest nor has she failed to recognise the importance of stimulating the culture and civilization of the Russian people. She is intensely realistic in her attitude towards problems which may affect either her own interest or that of her partners. The ideology of one single party dominates her affairs and she tolerates no rival. It is clear therefore that every country must settle its attitude towards the war and other nations primarily in relation to its own problems and interests. And yet we have a party in India which swears in the name of Russian communism that expects us to believe that the present war is people's war simply because Russia has taken part in it. To us the first and foremost consideration must be how far this war helps the cause of India's liberation. If India remains subjugated against her will in respect of much vaunted Allied war aims and peace aims, the war has but little significance for us.

### Ban On 'Satyartha Prakash.

Dr. Mookerjee referred to certain acts of oppression of Hindus in Provinces where League-Ministers were in power. In Assam, a Hindu-majority province, the recent immigration policy of the present League Ministry was calculated to convert the province into the eastern zone of Pakistan. In Bengal, the Ministry which had practicaily no support from the Hindus, and dependent on the European block and on a carefully planned distribution of patronage to its supporting members. interference with religious rights continued unabated and, recently, worship with music even inside a private house had been prohibited on the ground of its proximity to a mosque. The ban on a portion of the "Satyartha Prakash" under the D. O. I. Rule was an outrageous act and a challange not only to Sind, but to the whole of India. It was a matter of deep regret that, when the ban was discussed in the Central Assembly, the Congress members with a few exceptions remained neutral. Dr. Mookerjee also referred to nearly two crores of tribal population being entered in the last census as a separate entity and not as Hindus as in previous censuses. "Was it to facilitate further disruption in Hindu society and indirectly encourage Christian proselytisation ?" Dr. Mookerjee asked.

Dr. Mookerjee wanted that the caste system should go, and that all Hindus should enjoy equal status. He wanted the Mahasabha to make mass contact,

especially with Labour and Kisans. He commended Sir M. Visweswarayya's scheme towards the solution of the nation's economic backwardness. Dr. Mookerjee stressed the main principle of nationalisation of the major industries of the country. He also called attention to the cattle position in the country, which was getting worse because of slaughter for military purposes. He stressed the importance of Hindi as the national language and condemned the anti-Hindu policy of the All-India Radio. He wanted the Mahasabha to examine the draft Hindu Code on its merits and make constructive proposals. He advised the Mahasabha to train whole-time workers to undertake the Mahasabha's programme.

### WAVELL'S 'QUACK' REMEDY

Alluding to Lord Wavell's recent address at the Associated Chambers of Commerce in Calcutta, the Mahasabha President said: "The soldier-poet Viceroy wants to assume the role of a medical adviser for curing the political ailments of India. But he forgets that any suffering patient, however humble, has the inherent right to choose his own medical adviser, or to decide whether he needs any advice at all. The British quack, instead of curing the Indian patient, has already loaded him with dangerous maladies and has charged fees which are bleeding the patient to death. What India suffers from is a slow but dreadful poisoning and the doctor thrives on the patient's misfortune. I agree with Lord Wavell that the patient needs fresh air, but that air must be pure and free. To prove his *bona fides*, let him first tackle the prison-houses which often lead to slow death. Why should not a consultative board of disinterested medical advisers from America, Russia and China two of whom at least have saved the collapsing of the British patient himself, be called in immediately? If they sit along with the Indian patient and the bungling British doctor and proceed with their task on the basis of the four-Freedom prescriptions, the Indian patient will immediately recover and be a good and strong ally. Lord Wavell is right when he says that India needs a faith cure. But this must be faith in her own capacity to rise and recover her lost liberty and not a faith to lean eternally on the charity of others, specially those who have already been guilty of numerous breaches of faith with him."

### "TOTALITARIAN VICEROY"

Analysing the Viceroy's comments, Dr. Mookerjee says that His Excellency was not prepared to have any modification of the present constitution during the war; this meant that India's destiny must completely remain in the hands of the "totalitarian Viceroy and Governor-General." If formal changes are not possible, why can he not create a convention and trust a national cabinet consisting of representative Indians whose services will be readily available for organising national defence with the willing co-operation of the people and for the economic regeneration of the country?"

Referring to the Cripps scheme, Dr. Mookerjee said "that portion in the Cripps offer referring to a possible partition of India should be withdrawn immediately and, as he himself says, there will be other means of solving the communal problem. The Cripps Scheme, thus amended, may well form a basis for Indo-British settlement so far as the future constitution is concerned. But the impasse during the war will even then remain unsolved. The British Government is the party that holds in its hand the power that it has to part with and deliver to India. The Viceroy, therefore, cannot take shelter upon the plea that two previous offers have been rejected by India. Complete communal unity on the main political issues is impossible so long as the British Government does not undo the mischief it has itself created. Initiative for a settlement must, therefore, come from Britain and a failure in the direction will be nothing but a breach of faith and a regrettable shirking of responsibility and duty."

"In the course of the next two or three years", he said, "great changes are likely to be made affecting the future of India. It is no use our merely blaming others for our own backwardness and unpreparedness. If there is an Indo-British settlement by peaceful means, steps for framing schemes for the future constitution of India will be taken and the Hindu Mahasabha is the only political organisation which can and will see to it that such constitution is not built on the ashes of the Hindus. On the other hand, if no peaceful settlement can be achieved, a political struggle on a gigantic scale improving the fate of millions of our countrymen will become inevitable. No party or nation ever plunges into a struggle without the fullest possible preparation. That preparation must be the result of active and ceaseless organisation consolidating the disruptive factors that are breaking the unity of Hindus to-day. If an occasion comes for undergoing sacrifices and

suffering on a nation-wide scale for upholding the political or religious rights of the Hindus, the Mahasabha will not lag behind but will take its proper place in such a struggle.

### INDIAN POLITICAL PARTIES SHOULD UNITE

"Meanwhile," Dr. Mookerjee continued, "my appeal is for unity amongst all ranks and amongst as many Indian political parties as possible. Gandhiji committed a fresh Himalayan blunder by trying to placate Mr. Jinnah who is out to destroy the very soul of India. Our supreme task is to wrest power from the unwilling hands of our British masters and that power is to come not to this community or that, but to India as a whole and for the ultimate good of all classes and conditions of 400 millions of her children. Why should it be impossible for all political parties who are united in the national demand to put aside, for the time being, their other differences and to concentrate in a spirit of harmonious co-operation for strengthening the will-power of the Indian people?"

"Let us not forget that much as we may demand that the Indian deadlock should be immediately brought to an end, the British Government will not transfer power easily. But the more the repression, the greater the resistance of the people. We have demanded the immediate release of all political prisoners. Our rulers ignore the unprecedented distrust and bitterness that are burning in the minds of all patriotic Indians against the oppression that they are subjected to".

Dr. Mookerjee said: "One of the reasons why we have demanded immediate transfer of power is that we want that at the Peace Conference when the destinies of all the countries of the world will be determined, India's voice must be heard not through the hired Indian agents of British Imperialism but through her chosen spokesmen. If this does not happen, then the real voice of India must remain sufficiently mobilised and made known to the world with as much unanimity as possible. It is for this reason that I feel it urgent that there should be a cesssaion of the hostilities among the Indian political parties themselves.

### "PRESENT A COMMON DEMAND"

"Let us meet on a common platform and present a common demand on the most fundamental problems of Indian liberty and reconstruction. Let us pave the way for educating the masses of India on mutually accepted lines of national reconstruction. It may be that the Muslim League will not join in such a demand but there will be other Muslims who have been stabbed in the back by the C. R. formula who are prepared to stand for Indian Nationalism with rights of minorities duly protected. It will be an act of the finest Indian statemanship, if to-day there can be a combination of all the nationalist elements in the public life of India for the preparation of an invulnerable national opposition to the continuance of the imperialist designs of Britain."

### DRAFT CONSTITUTION FOR INDIA

Apart from fifteen resolutions which will come up before the Subjects Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha there is a sixty-five-page book containing "Constitution of Hindusthan Free State". This constitution has been drafted by the Bhopatkar Satkar Nidhi, a Committee appointed by the Bhopatkar Mandal, an institution which holds primarily a sum of Rs. 24,000 which the public of Maharashtra gave to Mr. L. B. Bhopatkar in recognition of his public services. In the foreward it is explained that, before the war ends, there must be an agreed constitution which should be placed immediately in the hands of the framers of India's future.

The Committee, in which Mr. L. B. Bhopatkar himself is a member and Mr. D. V. Gokhale of Poona, is the Chairman, has framed a constitution on the following basis:— The name of India be Hindusthan. India should be a free State and no servant member or even partner to any other State or commonwealth but could enter into a defensive or offensive alliance with Britain or any other free State in the world. Hindustan should remain an indivisible entity. The form of Government be a democratic republic and federal one with residuary power at the Centre. The legislature should be bi-cameral both at the Centre and in the Provinces. The executive will be responsible to the legislature and both are to be responsible to the people. People should have the right of calling a referendum on any subject. Even if the President of India differed from the legislature on any matter, he could also ask the people for a referendum. And lastly, the constitution has a provision regarding training in the army, navy and airforce without distinction of martial and non-martial races.

**Resolutions—2nd Day—Bilaspur—25th. December 1944**

**AMENDING OF CRIPPS' PLAN**

Resolutions discussed at the forenoon sitting of the Subjects Committee, were considered when the first business session of the Hindu Mahasabha opened at 3 p.m. to-day with Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukerjee in the chair.

Messages wishing success to the session were received among others from Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, Kumar Ganganand Sinha, Mr. Anandial Poddar, Mr. N. C. Kelkar and Bhai Parmanand.

A condolence resolution on the death of Mr. C. Vijayaraghavachariar, Sir P. C. Ray, Mr. S. N. Banerjee, Mr. Manindranath Mitter, Raja of Tirwa, Mr. V. Kale of Bilaspur, Rao Sahib Deshmukh of Ellichpur and Major Prannath Narang, Maharaja of Mymensingh, Mr. N. N. Chakrabarti, Dr. Tejurikar and Mr. Jyotirmay Ghosal was moved by the chair and was passed.

Mr. *G. Khaparde* moved the next resolution which expressed the opinion that the "spirit of compromise and co-operation" demanded from Hindustan and the condition of production of an agreed scheme of reforms which would solve her political problems and present a united front were the pretexts which were being put forward by British politicians to enable Britain to defeat Hindustan's claim to freedom in the interests of British Imperialism. The resolution authoritatively declared that "a major surgical operation like Pakistan" was not in the best interests of Hindustan and the Hindu-Mahasabha without prejudice to its demands for complete independence and rights to frame its constitution calls upon the British Government to prove their *bona fides* by taking immediate steps to implement the Cripps Scheme shorn of clauses giving power of secession to provinces and to dissolve without delay the present legislatures as the first step to the direct formation of a Constituent Assembly, holding elections not on the basis of the Communal Award but on the basis of joint electorate with reservation of seats where necessary."

Mr. *Khaparde* said that the British Government repeated persistently their promises to give India freedom but the promise was not being implemented. In order, therefore, to create trust in our mind the British Government should at least make a beginning towards the grant of Self-Government.

Mr. *B. H. Apte* said that if Britain did not give freedom it would be wrested out of their hands. In one breath, Britain said they were pledged to the Cripps Proposal and in another, they said a major surgical operation of India was not right. That diplomacy was not correct. Britain should tell Indians in a straightforward manner what their intentions were."

Mr. *Asutosh Lahiri*, who was introduced as "an old revolutionary who had lived in Andamans with Parmanand", observed that Indians accepted the Cripps Offer because it gave them the right of severance from the British Empire but rejected the offer because it had the germ of Pakistan in it. He explained that they were ready to accept the Cripps Offer minus Pakistan for the duration of the war, only keeping intact their demand made in an earlier resolution of the Hindu Mahasabha.

Mr. *Rama Rao Pantulu* said that they must oppose the division of India, otherwise India would have the same fate as the Europe of to-day. Kunwar Gurunarain, supporting the resolution, said that Muslims had no primary interest in India and if they said that they did not want Sawraj that could not be the view of Indians. Mr. Pindi Das characterised the Atlantic Charter as a great hoax ever committed on subject nations. Mr. Ramnarain Singh also supported the resolution which was passed unanimously.

**Resolutions—3rd day—Bilaspur—26th. December 1944**

**PRINCIPLES FOR FUTURE CONSTITUTION**

The Mahasabha adopted to-day the resolution of a Free India and the fundamental rights of citizens as passed by the Subjects Committee. Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee presided. The Committee's resolution on the constitution of future Free India enunciated following principles :—

"Hindustan shall be a free State and her constitution be styled "The Constitution of Hindustan Free State." Historically, politically, ethnologically and culturally Hindustan is one whole and indivisible and so shall she remain. The form of Government shall be democratic and federal. The federal legislature shall be bi-cameral in structure. Elections to legislatures, whether federal or provincial, shall be on the basis of adult franchise and of one man one vote. The federal government shall be distributed between the central and provincial legislatures in a

manner to give a measure of autonomy to the provinces adequate with the residuary powers at the Centre.

"The power of the government, whether federal or provincial, shall be divided into legislative, executive and judicial, with the executive responsible to the legislature and both responsible to the people and with the judiciary independent of the executive. Distinction between martial and non-martial races shall no longer exist and the military strength of Hindusthan Free State shall, as far as possible, be equally-balanced amongst its various provinces, consistently with its standard of discipline and efficiency.

"The States should be brought into the Federation of Hindusthan. Responsible government should be introduced on principles stated above.

"The resolution lays down the fundamental rights of a free State, namely, that all citizens domiciled in Hindusthan shall in general enjoy rights and privileges and be subject to the obligations of citizenship and shall in particular enjoy fundamental rights as under:

"Citizens shall be equal before the law and shall enjoy equal civic rights. There shall be no law of a discriminative nature. All citizens shall enjoy the fruits of their toil and shall be entitled to the necessaries of life without exploitation of man by man. The State shall make suitable law for the maintenance of health and and fitness for work of all citizens, for securing a living wage for every worker, protection of the mother, welfare of children and provision against the economic consequences of old age, infirmity and unemployment. All citizens shall have the rights of free elementry education. All citizens shall have the right to keep and bear arms in accordance with regulations made.

"No citizen shall by reason of colour, caste or creed be prejudiced in any way in regard to public employment, office or power or honour or exercise of any profession, sequestered or confiscated save in accordance with law.

"No citizen shall be deprived of his or her liberty of person except in due process of law. All citizens shall enjoy the right of free expression of opinion as also the right of assembly peacefully and to form associations or unions for purposes not opposed to public order or to public morality. All citizens shall be subject to public order or morality, enjoy freedom of conscience and free profession and practice of religion and protection of culture and language and no law shall be made either directly or indirectly to endow any religion or prohibit or restrict free exercise thereof or give any preference or impose any disability on account of religious belief or religious status.

"The provinces of Hindusthan may, where necessary, be redistributed on a linguistic basis. Religion, language and culture of the minorities shall be respected and guaranteed.

"The Press shall be free and no measures shall be taken to hinder publication, sale and distribution of any writing or news-paper subject to the rules of morality and public order."

When the open session began to-day, Mr. *Shyama Prasad Shastri* moved a resolution which *inter alia* urged the Working Committee to appoint a sub-committee for the propagation of language in Devanagri script and to counteract the activities of other institutions against Hindi. The resolution condemned the action of Government using Urdu on the All-India Radio and B.B.C. He said, in order to preserve and protect the Hindu religion and culture it was essential to protect the Hindi language.

Professor *Shrimati Lakshmiben* of Aryakanya Pathshala, Baroda, said that Hindi was built on Sanskrit, a language in which Hindu scriptures were written. Therefore it was the duty of every Hindu to propagate Hindi.

The resolution was passed.

### Settlement of Muslims in Assam

Mr. *K. C. Chaudhury* moved a resolution about "dumping of unwanted Muslim population of Eastern Bengal districts on the comparatively virgin soil of Assam with a view to converting that Province into a Muslim majority province." Moving the resolution, Mr. Chaudhury said that Assam was a Hindu majority province but to help the creation of Pakistan, the League Ministry was importing hoards of Muslims from Eastern Bengal in order to make Assam a Muslim majority province. In this the present League Ministry of Bengal had an unholy alliance with the League Ministry of Assam. This policy was already proving disastrous to the economic well-being of the people of Assam.

Mr. *N. Ghose*, *Indrakumar Dutt* supported the resolution which was passed.

### BAN ON "SATYARTHA PRAKASH"

The resolution regarding the Sind Government's ban on the fourteenth chapter of "Satyartha Prakash" was moved by *Captain Shekhar Chand*. The resolution characterised the ban as a gross abuse of the Defence of India Rules to serve some ulterior motive. It said, the Mahasabha was convinced that the Sind Muslim League Government's order amounted to religious persecution and was a foretaste of their conception of Pakistan and urged the Hindu Ministers and M. L. A.'s of Sind to exert their utmost to see that the ban was removed. Government has a serious responsibility in the matter and they must not permit their policy of allowing religious liberty to be abused in this way." The Mahasabha strongly urged the Governor of Sind and the Viceroy to see that this wrong was righted before it was too late. The resolution also condemned the action of those M. L. A.'s (Central) who did not vote in favour of the resolution for removal of the ban. Finally, the resolution authorised the Working Committee to take all necessary action for the removal of the ban. The resolution was passed unanimously.

*Prof. Ghosh* said that the policy of the British Government of designating certain territories as 'tribal' and classifying them as "Excluded and Partially excluded areas", followed by tribal enumeration in the Census of 1941, had resulted in an unwarranted decrease in the number of Hindus to the extent of 1,75,00,000. This would cause far reaching repercussions upon the future solution of political complexities. He also advocated sending Hindu missionaries to tribal areas. Mr. Ramnath Kalia supported the resolution in this connection which was adopted.

### MISSIONARY ACTIVITY IN MANDLA DISTRICT

Mr. *K. Shastri* moved the next resolution which expressed alarm at the conversion activities of foreign missionaries especially in Mandla District. The resolution expressed the view that these large-scale conversions were bound to create political problems which would introduce tension in the political fabric of Hindustan in general and this province in particular. The resolution recommended the arrest of the further growth of missionary activities and the reconversion of such of them as were willing to come back to Hinduism and setting up of agencies for this purpose. The resolution authorised the Working Committee to deal with this problem. The resolution was passed.

### OPPOSITION TO DRAFT HINDU CODE

Mr. *Rabindranath Mookerjee's* resolution, opposing precipitate enactment of the Draft Hindu Code, stated that the Hindu Mahasabha was not for the maintenance of the *status quo* and blind adherence to existing rules, laws and traditions and that it always welcomed suitable changes which promoted the welfare of Hindus. But the present Legislature which had been kept in office for 10 years was not representative of Hindu opinion and should not deal with this measure. A really representative Legislature in the democratic constitution could frame the Hindu Code in consultation with a board of Hindu jurists, the resolution said.

Mr. *V. V. Kalikar*, supporting the resolution, said that the Code made many encroachments on the rights of the Hindus. The resolution was passed unanimously.

On a motion from *Mohant Naindas*, the Conference adopted a resolution declaring that Satnamists were Hindus and denying that they followed the tenets of Islam.

### RETROCESSION OF BERAR OPPOSED

"In view of the impending visit of the heir-apparent to the Nizam of Hyderabad to Berar and the possibility of the visit being utilised for strengthening the demand for retrocession of Berar to the Nizam," Mr. *B. G. Khaparde's* resolution on Berar said, "This session reiterates its firm resolution that Berar shall not be ceded to the Nizam, but remain part of British India, and that nothing should be done against the wishes of the people of Berar."

Mr. *Khaparde* said the resolution was not against the person of the Nizam or his Heir-apparent, but was moved in order to maintain the rights of the people of Berar. They did not want to suffer the same disabilitiesin Ceded Berar as the Hindus in the Nizam's Dominion were suffering at present.

Dr. *B. S. Moonje* said that the people of Berar should not boycott the visit.

The Conference passed the resolution, which had proved the most controversial in the Subjects Committee, when some speakers made allegations regarding the distribution of monies among institutions.

ECONOMIC PLAN FOR INDIA

Mr. *Bhopatkar* then moved a long resolution enunciating an economic plan for India. Among other principles the plan advocated State ownership or control of key industries and protection of nascent industry and market by tariff walls or preferental treafment. The resolution was passed unanimously.

For want of time, the remaining resolutions were moved by the Chair and accepted. One resolution requested the Viceroy to exercise his prerogative of clemency in respect of political prisoners sentenced to death and particularly, in the cases of the accused sentenced to death in the Chimur and Ashti cases in the Central Provinces.

A second resolution urged the repeal of the Criminal Act. Another resolution decided to appoint a committee of renowned historians for writing the history of Hindustan from the point of view of the Hindus.

PRESIDENT'S CLOSING REMARKS

In the course of his closing remarks, Dr. *Shyama Prasad Mookerjee* thanked every-one for making the session a success and especially Mr. V. D. Savarkar, the retiring President, for the great work he had done. He had been a source of great inspiration to millions of Hindus, including Dr. Mookerjee himself.

Referring to the resolutions of the Hindu Mahasabha, Dr. Mookerjee said that the Mahasabha placed before the country a programme which could worthily be pursued by any organisation. Those who dubbed the Mahasabha as a communal body would get their answer in the resolutions passed to-day. The plan and programme laid before the country were, however, subject to a very importan condition. "We have asked Hindus to be prepared to make some sacrifice, but that sacrifice is to be made on the supreme condition that it will lead to complete liberation of the motherland." He advised the Hindus not to be depressed if success did not come immediately, for success would come in the long run.

## Mr. Savarkar's attack on Gandhiji

The following statement was issued to the Press from Bombay on the 14th. August 1944 by Mr. *Savarkar*, President of the Hindu Mahasabha :—

The Gandhists have observed a day of repentance. I have deliberately used the word 'Gandhists' instead of the word 'Congressites' as the Congress camp is at its sixes and sevens and influential sections there are reported to be enouncing Gandhiji's latest metamorphosis.

But, for what political 'errors',—which in Gandhiji's vocabulary mean 'sins'—committed by them have the Gandhists observed this day of repentance or self-purification ?

The Congress has really committed political errors, that is, sins of such a magnitude that the Congressites deserve to go in sackcloth and ashes. Taking into account even the war-period alone, the notable Congressite leaders, Gandhiji, Pandit Nehru and others were guilty of the 'sin' of declaring at the very outset of the war that the Allied powers were out to fight for restoring democracy all over the world, for liberating the enslaved and that, therefore, it was the duty of the Congress to help unconditionally the Allied cause. The second 'sin' committed by Gandhiji was the melodramatic interview which he had with the Viceroy where he, on his own confession, wept over the fancied destruction of the Westminster Abbey and assured the Government, to quote his own words, "I am not thinking of India's deliverance now, what is the worth of the freedom of India, if England and France were to fall victims to brute force." The third sin which was committed by the Congressites all put together, inspite of the warning of the Hindu Mahasabha to the contrary and rejecting the most patriotic, just, democratic and statesmanlike terms proposed by the Mahasabha's accredited leader, was when they passed the most untimely, muddled, self-contradictory and ill-fated resolution on the 8th August, 1942 and launched a movement which they styled in a spirit of bravado 'an open revolt' against that very British power whom, in the same breath, they requested to keep the British Army in India to save her from alien invasion. Had they stopped there, one could have admired them for their highly patriotic motives, though their foresight would have remained as questionable as ever. But on that very eve, Gandhiji in the name of Congress and as its dictator wrote a letter to Mr. Jinnah 'assuring him in all sincerity' that Congress wished that even a cent per cent transfer of power might be made to the Moslems by the British. The high-spirited men in their camp took the revolt in its real sense as it was understood all over the world and started the struggle, as they had been instructed to do after the arrest of

their leaders, by all the means within their reach at the discretion of their individual or group conscience. But, while the movement was going on outside, Gandhiji, hardly within a month of his incarceration, began to carry on the most humiliating correspondence with that very Viceroy whom he wanted to "quit India" —'bag and baggage'. When the Viceroy condescended to reply a letter of his, Gandhiji felt so flattered that he wrote back to the Viceroy how delighted he was to see that he had not fallen so much from the grace of His Excellency as not to receive even a reply to his letters. Then he wrote to the Viceroy expressing his view most emphatically that Mr. Jinnah should be called upon to take charge of the whole Indian Government including Indian India i.e. even the Indian States and so form his own Government. The Congress, he assured in that letter, will not only acquiesce but support such a cent per cent Muslim Government. Monomaniacal fit can hardly go further, nor a sin could be darker. But the blackest sin of vivisecting our Motherland and holy land is still going to crown his political career.

But it was not to repent for these most grievous political errors that the Gandhists observed the day of penace and prayers. For they still pursue the same path and look upon it as a glorified mission. The naked truth must therefore be plainly told that this day of repentance was observed with the only motive of throwing the whole blame for the miserable fiasco in which the Gandhist "Quit India" slogan has ended on those very men who alone carried on the movement at the risk of their lives and victimise them to save the Gandhist group to secure Gandhiji's freedom to enable him to regain the confidence of the powers that be, as the life-long friend of the British, and to pursue his anti-national and anti-Hindu fad of bringing about Hindu-Muslim unity even at the most revolting cost of vivisecting our Motherland and only land,—all this in the name of non-violence, truth and God. The Prince of evil is reported to say to himself :

"With a smile and a nod:
"The best way to work my will
"Is to call it the will of God."

# The All Parties Hindu Conference

## Lahore—13th August 1944

### Proceedings and Resolutions

A resolution declaring emphatic opposition to the Rajagopalachari formula was passed by the All-Parties Hindu Conference held in Bhupendra Hall, Lahore on the 13th. August, 1944. The resolution was moved by R. B. Durga Das, Advocate.

R. B. Ram Saran Das, Member, Council of State, presided over the conference which was attented by over 200 Hindus from all over the province representing various sections among the Hindus. The Congress was of course not represented because almost every Congressman who counts in the Congress circles in the Punjab and is outside j il is restricted and is not allowed to participate in any meeting.

Messages received from Sir Chhotu Ram, Sir Manohar Lal, Sir Tek Chand, and others were read out by Lala Brij Lal, Secretary, Hindu Vigilance Board. Among these messages was one from Lala Duni Chand, M. L. A. (Congress) who had said that vivisection of India should not be tolerated under any circumstances because it would create condition like those in Balkans and would lead to perpetual foreign domination. Partition of India into independent sovereign State would be as equal an evil as the present subjugation of India. He further wrote that he was prepared to give an honourable position to the Muslims in India as equal partners with all the blessings of free India but he could not be a party to the rights of majority being denied to them if communalism was to remain.

Among those present at the conference were R. B. Durga Das, Mahashey Rattan Chand, Mr. Keshab Chander, Prof. D. C. Sharma, Thakur Ripudaman Singh, M.L.A. Ch. Sumer Singh, M.L.A., R. B. Ganga Saran, L. Kudan Lal Vij, Captain A. N. Bali, Malik Arjan Das, L. Kudan Lal Lamba and Lala Hari Chand Puri.

Goswami Ganesh Dutt read a letter from Mahashey Krishna who was one of the conveners but was unable to attend being under restrictions. Mahashey Krishna warned the Hindus against the coming communal strife which was bound to result from the vivisection of India and would make the freedom of India an unrealised dream for ever.

*Pandit Hardutt Sharma* read out the "C. R.'s" formula and the opinions of the various prominent public leaders.

*Lala Brij Lal* quoted facts and figures to show the implications of the "C.R.'s" formula.

*Lala Purshottam Lal*, Joint Secretary of the Zamindara League and a former President of the Hindu Sabha, Khanewal wanted to move a resolution suggesting that no opinion should be expressed until the Gandhi-Jinnah meeting, because nothing should be done which might mar the prospect of the coming meeting of the communal settlement. His resolution, however, had no objection to the expression of the opinion by the Hindus. Lala Purshottam Lal was hooted and there were protests against such a proposal being allowed because they had been invited to protest against the "C, R.'s formula. The president had already disallowed the resolution and the mover resumed his seat.

At this stage Mr. *Keshab Chander* asked the press representatives to show their reports before the publication to someone authorised by the conveners.

The press representatives intimated Mr. Keshab Chander that they were not prepared to submit their reports to new "censorship" because the conference was open to the press. What press representatives were prepared to do was to go away and let the conference be held in "camera" and then the authorities of the conference could issue any statement they liked.

The suggestion made was atonce withdrawn.

After this *R. B. Lala Durga Dass* moved the main resolution which was seconded and supported among others, by L. Kundan Lal Lamba, Mr. Nanak Chand Pandit, Ch. Sumer Singh, M. L. A., Dewan Sarab Dyal, Bar-at-Law, Gujranwala, Dewan Inder Lal, Advocate, President Sargodha Municipal Committee, Malik Devi Dyal, Advocate of Jhang, L. Bhagat Ram Pleader, Jullundur, Mr. Rama Nath, Pleader, Sheikhupura.

*Lala Brij Lal*, while explaining the implications of the 'C. R.'s. formula, said that the formula had two effects, one that concerned the present, and the other that concerned the future. The present related to the conditions which had been laid that the League would subscribe to the ideal of Independence and side with the Congress in its struggle for independence of India. There were some other conditions which related to the future and they were with regard to the commission to be appointed for demarcation, etc. He knew that there were people who believed that for the sake of India's independence the Punjab should make some sacrifice. The effect of the provision in the 'C.R.'s formula would be that the Punjab would be divided into 17 districts in the Pakistan and 12 districts in the Hindustan. Districts in Pakistan would include districts in Rawalpindi and Multan Divisions and all the districts in Lahore Division excepting Amritsar where non-Muslims were in a majority. Of course there was the Gurdaspur district where Muslims were in majority of about 24,000. Taken altogether the population of the Punjab is 2,84,18,819 of whom 1,62,17,242 are Muslims, 84,44,176 Hindus and 37,57,401 Sikhs. Of these in the 17 contiguous districts which would pass into Pakistan the total population would be 1,68,70,900 of whom 1,23,63,669 will be Muslims; 28,23,276 Hindus and 16,83,955 Sikhs and likewise in the 12 districts where Muslims are not in a majority the population would be 1,15,47,919 and of these 38,53,593 will be Muslims, 56,20,800 Hindus and 20,73,546 Sikhs.

In the whole area including 17 districts of the Punjab, N. W.F. Province and Sind the total population would be 2,44,43,975 and of these 1,33,60,791 will be Muslim and 60,84,184 non-Muslims giving a percentage 75.2% to the Muslim and 24.18% to the non-Muslims.

It was impossible to conceive, said Mr. Brij Lal, that 24.18% would be able to persuade 75.20% or any majority from among them to vote with the non-Muslims.

He further stated that more of canal irrigated land would pass into western (Pakistan) Punjab. The total land under canal irrigation was 1,14,57,098 acres of which 17 districts would possess 88,80,746 acres and only 25,25,052 acres would be with the Eastern Punjab.

VIVISECTION OF INDIA CONDEMNED

Mr. *Keshab Chander* and Mr. *Deshpande*, General Secretary and Secretary of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha addressed the conference and spoke in condemnation of the 'C. R.' formula.

*R. B. Durga Das*, Advocate, moved the following resolution :—

"The representative conference of the Hindus of the Punjab records its strong and emphatic protest against the vivisection of India as entemptated in the formula of Mr, Rajagopalachari.

"The conference is definitely of opinion that since the conforcement of the communal Award the political situation in the country has immensely deteriorated.

"This conference is, therefore, convinced that the solution of the present political or communal deadlock in the country does not lie in yielding to the ever-increasing demands of Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League but in boldly and strongly resisting it by all available constitutional means.

"This conference further believes that the political salvation of India can only be achieved by freeing its future constitution from the virus of separation and communalism and basing it on truly democratic principles.

It further declares that Mr. Rajagopalachari's formula strikes at the root of the fundamental geographical culture and historical oneness, national integrity and administrative unity of India by proposing the dismemberment and vivisection of the country. The said formula, by virtually accepting the two-nation theory of Mr. Jinnah on the basis of religion, tends to destroy the noble achievements towards the evolution of one common Indian Nation on the basis of racial identity, historical tradition and patriotic sentiments.

"The offer of Mr. Rajagopalachari is wholly un-authorised, most inopportune and absolutely unjust, adversely affecting the cultural, economic and political life of Hindus. The conference declares that no body has the right to barter away the rights of the Punjab Hindus, and declares that any such proposal shall be strictly resisted."

In moving the resolution *R. B. Durga Das* made a vigorous speech and said that Rajaji's formula was bad in principle and it should not be accepted, even if it had the support of the biggest man in the country. He regretted that men who had made immeasurable sacrifices for the freedom of their country had choosen a wrong path. He had no objection to the Muslims getting everything on grounds of some principle. The Hindus did not want any favours but looked for sheer justice. He maintained that the Hindus were being crushed under communalism which had played havoc in the Punjab. He asked if any other country knew of such disgraceful form of communalism under which admission to the educational institutions, even the Medical College and Engineering College, were not made on any merits but on grounds of religions.

He pointed out how Hindus were creaking under communalism. He said that a society or any administration based on communalism could not live for long. He had no hesitation in saying that they were already living in Pakistan.

*Lala Kundan Lal Lamba*, who seconded the resolution, asked the people not to show any disrespect towards Gandhiji or Rajagopalachari. He wanted them to do something constructive in order to prevent the establishment of Pakistan. The present border line was beyond the N.W.F. Province and they could not afford to bring that line near about Amritsar which would mean perpetual danger.

Mr. *Nanak Chand Pandit*, Bar-at-Law, in supporting the resolution, maintained that unless Hindu leadership would be prepared to suffer and sacrifice, they would not be able to forge ahead. Gandhiji and the Congress were great because they were always found willing to suffer and sacrifice. He had no doubt that even if an agreement was reached between Gandhiji and Mr. Jinnah, there would be no swaraj so long as communalism remained. He suggested the need of sending out deputations to America, Britain and Europe for representing the Hindu point of view to the people of those countries. He also suggested the formation of a committee to study the whole situation arising out of the 'C.R. Proposal.

*Ch. Sumer Singh*, M.L.A., (of Sir Chhotu Ram's group), in supporting the resolution, warned the Hindus against being frightened by the Mahatma's fast. He asked that they must put up a strong and stout opposition to the C. R. formula.

The resolution was further supported by Mr. Amrit Lal, Pleader, Municipal Commissioner, Multan, Mr. Inder Lal, Advocate, President, Municipal Committee, Sargodha, L. Bhagat Ram, Pleader, Jullundur, Dewan Sarab Dyal, Bar-at-Law,

Municipal Commissioner, Gujranwala, Malik Devi Dyal, Pleader, Jhang, L. Amar Nath, Advocate, Daska and L. Gyan Chand, Advocate, Amritsar.

The main theme of the speeches was that India shall not be allowed to be cut into pieces and thus weakened. The speakers generally expressed their sorrow over Jinnah having been given a fresh lease of life by Gandhiji when the League leader had come to the beginning of his decline.

There was some excitement and unpleasantness when one gentleman Mr. Ram Nath of Moga wanted to speak in opposition but he was not allowed on the ground that he had not come as a representative of any organisation. He asserted that he had a right to speak as a Hindu.

Mr. Prem Prakash, Pleader, Lahore, opposed the resolution.

When Mr. Phaggo Mal, B.A., LL.B., wanted to speak in opposition there was some noise and disturbance also but he was allowed to speak for a few minutes ultimately.

The resolution was adopted by the conference, a few voices dissenting.

The conference also decided to depute L. Brij Lal and Mr. Keshab Chander to go to Gandhiji to represent the Hindu view-point to him.

Mr. Keshab Chander, however, changed his mind and would not be going to see Gandhiji. The Hindu Vigilance Board was requested to take up the movement and give a lead to the opposition movement.

The conference adopted a resolution moved from the chair asking the authorities to change the route for carrying beef in front of the Durgiana Temple. It further demanded the release of Pandit Prakash Deveshwar who had been detained under the Defence of India Rules.

Goswami Ganesh Dutt gave his blessings to the movement, and while condemning the growing tide of communalism in the Punjab, asked the Hindus to unite and face the danger that awaited them and let no one divide their country. He was sorry that Gandhiji in his proverbial goodness had been instrumental in reviving Jinnah's dying leadership.

R. B, Ram Saran Das expressed the hope that the Punjab Hindus would not sit quiet but would carry on a strong agitation against the 'C.R.' formula.

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# The Sikh Polity

## The All Parties Sikh Conference

### Working Committee—Amritsar—1st August 1944

#### Formula Detrimental to Sikhs

The Sikhs' determined opposition to the "C. R." formula was declared by the Working Committee of the All-Parties Sikh Conference which discussed at Amritsar on the 1st. August 1944 the situation arising out of the "C. R." formula for communal settlement. The meeting over which *Sardar Baldev Singh*, Development Minister and President of the All Parties Sikh Conference presided, was held behind closed doors at the Queen's Road and was attended by most of the Sikh leaders, including many M. L. A. s.

After the meeting the following resolution passed by the Working Committee was issued to the press by *Sardar Harnam Singh*, Advocate :—

"This meeting of the Working Committee of the All Parties Sikh Conference resolves that the basis of communal settlement outlined in the Rajagopalchari formula which had been approved by Mahatma Gandhi is manifestly unfair and detrimental to the best interests of the country and the Sikh community. The Working Committee regards the proposed scheme as breach of faith on the part of the leaders of the Congress which had assured the Sikhs at its Lahore Session in 1929 that no communal settlement will be acceptable to the Congress which does not satisfy *inter alia* the Sikh community."

"The Working Committee further declares that any communal settlement reached without the express consent of the Sikh community shall not be allowed to work in this country and under the circumstances calls upon the Sikh community

to initiate and carry on a country-wide and effective agitation for the rejection of the formula."

The Working Committee adopted another resolution by which it was decided to approach Master Tara Sing who retired from active politics to come back and lead the Sikh community in its struggle.

By another resolution the Working Committee expressed concern at the proposed share to be given to the Sikhs from out of the share fixed for smaller minorities in the services under the Central Government as reported in the "*Tribune*" and demanded that at least five per cent share in the services under the Central Government be reserved for the Sikhs.

Some prominent Sikh leaders, including Sardar Baldev Singh, Development Minister, S. B. Sardar Wasakha Singh, S. Surjit Singh, S. Santokh Singh, M. L. A., S. Mangal Singh, M. L. A. (Central), S. Pritam Singh Sidhu, M. L. A., S. Tara Singh, M L.A., S. Uttam Singh Duggal, M.L.A., Gyani Kartar Singh, M.L.A., Sardar Kapur Singh, M. L. A., S. Sher Singh, M. L. A. S. Sampuran Singh, M. L. A., Sodhi Harnam Singh, M. L. A., S. Raghbir Singh, S. B. Prabh Singh Chawla, S. Harnam Singh, Advocate, S. Basant Singh Moga, issued the following statement:— We declare that Sjt. Rajagopalachari's formula for communal settlement which has been approved by Mahatma Gandhi is manifestly unfair, inequitable and detrimental to the best interests of the country in general and the Sikhs, in particular. Any communal settlement without the expressed consent of the Sikh community shall not be binding on them and we expect that the Sikhs will oppose with all their might any such arrangement.

## The All Parties Sikh Conference

### Amritsar—20th. August 1944

#### Sikh Demand for Independent State

A representative Sikh gathering was held at the Teja Singh Hall, Amritsar, the headquarter of the Sharomani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee and the Sharomani Akali Dal on the 20th August 1944.

*Master Tara Singh*, who convened this conference, did not want it to be described as the Sikh All Parties Conference. He asserted that to the conference had been invited every individual and every organisation that had anything to do with Sikhism. Masterji was cheered when he declared that he had even approached his bitter opponents—the Central Akali Dal—without any hesitation and he went personally to the Acting President of the Central Akali Dal, S. Amar Singh of the Sher-i-Punjab, in spite of the long-standing differences, and requested him to bring any number of the people to the conference he and his friends liked. He was sorry that the Central Akali Dal decided not to attend it for reason best known to them. He had no hesitation in saying that for obvious reasons he did not have the courage or the heart to go to Baba Kharak Singh or send him an invitation because he was afraid lest Baba Sahib should feel insulted by his invitation. Of course, no invitation had been sent to any Communist because, he declared, with the approval of the conference he did not regard Sikh Communists to be Sikhs. That, he said, was because of the declaration made by the Sikh Communists which showed utter lack of faith in the tenets of Sikhism and their Gurus.

Apart from that, Master Tara Singh, in the course of his speech, while proposing the name of Sardar Mohan Singh, Jathedar of Akal Takhat Sahib—the most authoritative seat among the Sikhs from where orders could be issued to the Sikhs, said that every body had been invited and he was glad there had been a generous response.

Of the 741 invitations issued 561 Sikh individuals and representatives of various Sikh organisations including members of the Sharomani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee, Singh Sabhas, Sharomani Akali Dal, Chief Khalsa Dewan, the Sikh Defence of India League, Sikh M. L. A.'s, Sikh moderates, Nirmalas, Namdharis had responded to the invitation.

Among those present at the conference, which started at 12 noon, were S. Baldev Singh, Minister of Development, Punjab, S. Ajit Singh, Minister N.-W. F. Province, Sardar Buta Singh, Member of the Council of State, S. Sampuran Singh, S. Ujjail Singh, S. Mangal Singh, M. L. A. (Central), Gyani Kartar Singh, S. Kapur Singh, S. Jogendra Singh Man, S. Tara Singh, S. Gurbaksh Singh, S. Lal Singh, S. Mula Singh, S. Inder Singh, M. L. As, S. Kartar Singh, Campbellpur,

The conference, which continued for more than five hours, adopted five resolutions which were moved by various Sikh leaders and were adopted unanimously excepting the main resolution where there was just one dissenting vote. As the gentleman was given opportunity to speak sometime after the resolution had been passed, he expressed his views, which the organisers took as being the views which showed that he had withdrawn his opposition.

A walk-out was staged by the Sikh representatives from the Rawalpindi Singh Sabha as they thought that the meeting was not representative of the Panth as only pro-Akali people had mostly been invited. Their objection was that the conference not being Panthic could not invest all powers in Master Tara Singh. An invitation for such a conference where someone was to be empowered on behalf of the Panth should have been issued from the Akal Takhat Sahib and then if Baba Kharak Singh had not come he could be blamed. No notice was, however, taken of the walk-out.

The following resolutions were passed by the conference :—

The Panthic gathering emphatically condemns the Gandhiji-Rajaji formula for communal settlement and rejects it because as a result of its enforcement, the Sikhs will be divided into two sections to be held in perpetual bondage. Further this formula which would vivisect the country will undermine the unity and combined strengh of the country and create conditions of permanent disunity and anarchy in this land. This Panthic gathering further declares. that no communal settlement reached without the previous consultation with and without the consent of the Sikhs will be binding on them.

The second resolution ordered Master Tara Singh to lead the Sikh community in order to oppose the C. R. formula and authorised him to formulate a programme and appoint a sub-committee for the execution of the programme and carry on negotiations with various organisations in the country so as to safeguard the claims and rights of the Sikh community.

The third resolution expressed the opinion that the present political dead-lock is highly detrimental to the interests of the country and should be resolved by releasing unconditionally all political prisoners any by the establishment of a National Government. The resolution declared that the Sikhs were always ready for an honourable settlement.

There was another resolution moved by *Sardar Mangal Singh*, M. L. A., (Central) which declared the Sikh opposition to the division of India but wanted the creation of a position wherein the Sikhs would remain neither under the domination of the Muslim majority nor the Hindu majority and that they would get the same rights in all the provinces as had been given to other minorities.

By an amendment which was moved in the resolution, a demand was made for the creation of an independent Sikh State.

On a further amendment being moved by *S. B. Ujjal Singh*, who was supported by Gyani Sher Singh the whole matter related with the demand for the establishment of a Sikh independent State, its scheme, etc., was left to the committee which is to be appointed by Master Tara Singh. The committee was asked to enquire into the matter and with the consultation of all Sikh interests evolve a scheme for the establishment of an independent Sikh State in case India was to be divided among the Hindus and the Mussalmans.

*Master Tara Singh* appealed for greater unity among the Sikhs and asked them to shed off their personal prejudices and create a Pantic feeling within themselves and learn to sacrifice everything for the Panth. If they were united and disciplined they would be able to make themselves heard by those including Mahatma Gandhi who were refusing to listen to them or even care for them.

The "C. Rs." formula, said Master Tara Singh, was not acceptable to them as it would result in dividing the Punjab by putting 17 districts in the Pakistan and 12 districts with Hindustan. This would place the Sikhs under perpetual slavery of the two, namely the Hindus and the Mussalmans. That, he asserted, the Sikhs did not want. The Sikhs also wanted political power. The Hindus did not want division of India because it suited them to maintain their power in the centre. Mr. Jinnah was now trying to placate the Sikhs by offering them what he described "better terms". The Sikhs would refuse to live on anybody's charity.

Master Tara Singh declared that the Sikhs were already tired of the Muslim Raj in the Punjab. They were not fighting against it because of the circumstances due to war as the British Government would not tolerate any agitation to-day. The present Premier was slightly better than the late Premier who was very clever. But the Sikhs were tired of the Muslim Raj in the Punjab. They were only waiting for an opportunity and they may have to give a fight very soon.

Explaining his attitude towards Sikh recruitment, Master Tara Singh said that he wanted the Sikhs to join the army for the sake of the Panth as the Sikhs in the army would be their great support. Moreover, when the struggle came they would be able to get moral support from a section of the Military officers as they got during the Gurdwara movement.

Master Tara Singh revealed that while he had almost despaired of receiving a reply from Mahatma Gandhi to his letter, he received one from him to-day in which Mahatma Gandhi explained how the letter which was posted at Amritsar on August 5 reached him on August 10 and he could not reply before August 15. The letter however assured Masterji that Gandhiji would be glad to know any flaw. But Masterji said that Gandhiji having given his offer to Mr. Jinnah would not be able to go back from it, even though their offer was given contrary to the assurance which was given to the Sikhs at the Lahore Congress. He added that he would not mind if Gandhiji did not fulfil his pledged word to the Sikhs. The Sikhs, said Masterji, must now learn to stand on their own legs and loak up to no one. He wanted them to formulate their own demand and let not the history of 1917 be repeated when settlement was arrived at between the Hindus and the Muslims without any reference being made to the Sikhs. The Sikhs were a nation and they wanted to live in this country as honourable people and if there was to be a division they must not be made slaves of a Pakistan and Hindustan.

*Gyani Sher Singh* moved the first resolution condemning C. R. formula and rejecting it. The mover said it was significant that no Sikh had supported the C. R. formula. Under the scheme in the area consisting of 6 districts of the N. W. F. P. 8 districts of Sind and 17 districts of the Punjab the Muslim population would be 76 per cent and the remaining 24 per cent non-Muslims, mostly in rural areas, would be under the thumb of the 76 per cent Muslims. His apprehension was that if the border line districts or talukas or tehsils were to be allowed Amritsar might also go into Pakistan because depressed classes may join with 46 per cent Muslims in the two district Tehsils of Ajnala, Nakodar, Zera, Batala, Shakargraph would also go into Pakistan because of the Muslim majority. This would result in giving away two-thirds of Punjab to Pakistan.

He declared that Sikhs must have equal rights, like brothers and they could be placed under nobody's domination. If a common rule of all the communities was not possible in India the Sikhs would also like to see their own flag flying some where in their own territory. Before the British rule the Sikhs were rulers of the Punjab and they did not want to be put under perpetual subjugation of any community after the British go away.

*Sardar Santokh Singh*, Leader of the Opposition in the Punjab Assembly, seconding the resolution said that the Sikhs would fight to the last man against the establishment of Pakistan. The Sikhs had always stood for nationalism and suffered for India's freedom. But no one, not even ten Gandhis, had a right to barter away the Sikhs. He regretted it most that Gandhiji came to the rescue of Mr. Jinnah when he was drowning after his defeat at the hands of the Unionists. Pakistan meant Muslim majority Raj and they could not tolerate it.

*S. B. Sardar Ujjal Singh*, supporting the resolution, said that the brave Sikhs were no stumbling block in the way of freedom-loving people. They were not selfish but they did not want to live in perpetual slavery. He envisaged a constitution for India where no one community would dominate over others and suggested composite cabinet of all communities. The right of self-determination was given to a nation only for, otherwise, in a country like India it would lead to its complete vivisection. If Mr. Jinnah's demand was conceded, he wouldthen ask for a corridor after India becomes like Balkans and for the defence of that corridor perhaps British soldier might be required. Did the Muslims want to lose 1½ crores of the pensions of the military men who would go into Pakistan. He maintained that Sikhs had more financial interests in the districts of Lahore, even though the Muslims were in majority. Out of 18 lakhs of revenue the Muslims paid only Rs. 6,16.193. The minority problem always remains. He therefore did not want to appease Mr. Jinnah for nothing. Sardar Basant Singh, Moga, a member of the A.-I, C. C., supported the resolution as a Congressman and said Gandhiji should not ignore the Congress resolution of May 1942.

*S. Kapoor Singh*, M. L. A. (Congress), speaking in his individual capacity, wanted Sikhs to wait and not give their verdict before placing their point of view before Gandhiji to whom they should represent their case. He stood for unity of India and said that they must arrive at some settlement to get rid of foreign rule.

There were interruptions while S. Kapoor Singh spoke. *Gyani Kartar Singh* opposed S. Kapoor Singh and expressed the apprehension that Gandhiji may do his best for arriving at a settlement and the only thing that could avert such a catastrophe was their united opposition which he wanted the Sikhs to carry on strongly. If an agreement was reached, the formula would become worse.

He said that the Sikhs favoured the division of India in order to save the Panth only, but others wanted a division to crush and finish the Sikhs. While in the 12 districts there would be 33,38,327 Muslims and 18,40,112 Sikhs, in all being 51,78,439 wherers the Hindus would be 55,12,435 thus giving them majority in those districts also. The Sikhs were prepared to agree to division only out of compulsion. If Pakistan was to come of compulsion because Mr. Jinnah's demand could not be resisted, why not give an independent State to the Sikhs also. He asked that no appeals should be made in the name of the country as henceforth there would be no India after division. If the Sikhs did not oppose the establishment of Pakistan now they would never be able to fight it out. The Sikhs had forced the last citadel on the Indian border to be the Jamrud fort. They did not want the border, but to be in Amritsar. He had no objection in going to Gandhiji but beggar, he said, cannot be chooser. The Sikhs had been reduced to the present state of helplessness because they always went with folded hands to Gandhiji. It appeared that Gandhiji was thinking of appeasing only Mr. Jinnah. The result of begging again and again could be nothing but what they had seen in connection with Gandhiji's correspondence with the Viceroy.

*Gyani Kartar Singh* thought that the Viceroy's reply had been an eye opener to Gandhiji and it was on that account that he had thought of writing to the Sikhs that he would like to know of any flaw ; otherwise he might not have cared for them at all. The resolution was passed, only one Dr. Gour Saran Singh dissenting.

*Sardar Kartar Singh* Campbellpuri, Advocate moved the second resolution regarding the establishment of National Government.

The resolution was seconded and supported by S. Har Charan Singh and S. Balwant Singh. The resolution was passed.

The resolution regarding the "order" of the Panth to Master Tara Singh to assume the leadership for carrying on the agitation against "C. R." formula was moved by S. B. Jjjal Singh M. L. A., and seconded by S. Mangal Singh, M. L. A., (Central), S. Jaimal Singh (Jhelum) and S. Prem Singh Sodhbans.

Tributes were paid to Masterji and he was described as the most incorruptible man.

The speakers asked Masterji to lead them to victory and they wanted the people to know that Masterji's voice was the voice of the Panth. S. Mangal Singh asked the Sikhs to remember that on them would fall the responsibility of protecting the Hindus and they would be duty bound to do so.

By a resolution moved by *S. Pritham Singh* (Jathedar, Sharomani Akali Dal) it was decided to observe September 3 to voice the Panth's protest against the C. R. formula.

*Sardar Mangal Singh*, M.L.A., (Central) in moving his resolution, regretted that by Gandhiji's blessing the C. R. formula and his agreeing to appease Mr. Jinnah, his (Sardar Mangal Singh's) conception of India and her freedom for which so much sacrifice had been made had received a rude shock. Muslims wanted to have a territory from Constantinople to Delhi and it was pity that Gandhiji was trying to appease Mr. Jinnah. Countries and territories could not be given on paper, he said. He added that Swaraj could not be won by correspondence. He complained that a cultured man like Mr. Rajagopalachari had asked if the Punjabee Hindus and Sikhs wanted Mr. Amery to decide for them their matters and rule over India. He reported by saying: "Does Rajaji want to force the Punjabee Hindus and the Sikhs to agree to Pakistan with the help of Amery's bayonet". He did not want Punjab to become another Poland. He suggested that Gandhiji should declare that he would not agree to any communal settlement unless the Sikhs accepted it also.

*S Mohindra Singh* moved an amendment asking for an independent Sikh State.

*Master Tara Singh*, in course of his concluding remarks, while accepting the order of the Panth said : "I have decided to obey you because my heart is in the work which you have entrusted to me," He regretted that Hindus were not realists and declared that he had nowhere said that Hindus and Sikhs could not unite in their opposition to the C.R. formula. Of course, for a common cause

being made by the Hindus and the Sikhs the time had not yet come. He, however, declared that the Sikhs would not agree to any such division of India—among the Hindus and the Muslims. If Muslims could not be prevailed upon to remain in a united India, the Sikhs could not be forced to go out of a United India—into Pakistan".

## Central Akali Dal's Statement

*Baba Kharak Singh*, President, Central Akali Dal, issued the following statement to the press on the 20th. August :—

The so-called All Parties Sikh Conference, which is being held at Amritsar to-day, on the invitation of Master Tara Singh, is almisnomer, because in fact it is only a meeting of the Akali party, to which some others, who are expected to say yes to the Akalis, have also been invited. The Central Akali Dal decided yesterday not to participate in the said meeting, I also understand that the Chief Khalsa Diwan and many other influential Sikh societies and organisations have also likewise boycotted this meeting. It is clear from this that the said meeting cannot by any stretch of language be called "All-Parties Conference." nor can the decisions arrived at this meeting be called the voice of the Panth.

The Secretary of the Central Akali Dal wrote :

A representative meeting of leading Sikhs from all over the Punjab and the N. W. F. P. was held at Lahore on Sunday under the auspices of Central Akali Dal. *Baba Kharak Singh* presided.

The meeting adopted a lengthy resolution rejecting the Gandhi-C.R." formula and declaring that the Sikhs would not accept any scheme of India's vivisection and will oppose Pakistan tooth and nail. Sardar Amar Singh the "Sher-i-Punjab moved the resolution which was seconded by Sardar Pritam Singh, Bedi Gurcharan Singh of Campbellpore and others.

The meeting also passed some other resolutions including one for the immediate release of political prisoners.

# The Sikh Communists' Conference

## Amritsar—11th. September 1944

### Faith in Gandhi's Leadership

Support to Gandhijee in his efforts at bringing about a settlement of the communal tangle was voiced by a conference of Shiks held near the Queen Victoria Statue at Amritsar on the 11th September 1944. This meeting had been invited by Baba Wasakha Singh, Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna, both communist leaders, and Sardar Sarmukh Singh Jhabal, a Sikh Congress leader. About 250 Sikh workers belonging to various parties among the Sikhs responded to the invitation. The communists were predominant and there were present some Congressmen who were free to come and representatives of the Central Sikh Youth League, Progressive Akali Party, and Malwa Khalsa Durbar. Entrance to the shamiana where the meeting was held was regulated and none excepting those invited were allowed to go in. The Akalis were prominent by their absence and so was the Central Akali Dal.

At the conference the name of *S. Amar Singh Jhabal* was proposed by S. Jagit Singh for the chair.

Babu Dan Singh opposed the proposal but he did not press his proposal and ultimately S. Amar Singh was voted to the chair.

### SIKHAS BORN TO SUFFER

*Sardar Amar Singh Jhabal*, in the course of his opening remarks, said that it was a pity that those who had no hesitation in declaring their faith in Amery's assurances did not want to accept the assurances given to them by Mahatma Gandhi. Otherwise there was no reason why a storm should have been raised in the name of Sikhism. Master Tara Singh, by asking the Sikhs to unite against the Congress, was merely strengthening the foot-hold of British imperialism in India. Opposition to Gandhijee's effort at setting the Hindu-Muslim differences was nothing short of betrayal of the country and the rights of her people. He condemned the action of those Sikhs who held a demonstration in Bombay against Gandhijee. These Sikhs had not raised the name of Sikhism by doing that. The speaker said that he hung his head in shame at the doing of those Sikhs.

Continuing Sardar Amar Singh Jhabal maintained that the Sikhs were born to suffer and do sacrifice for the freedom of India and the protection of the poor and

down-trodden. It was nothing short of treachery to ask the Sikhs to keep away from the freedom movement. It was cowardice to frighten the Sikhs in the name of Sikhism and division of their homeland. What of lakhs even if one Sikh was left in the Pakistan he would remain secure there because every true Sikh knows how to protect himself. Attempts were being made to mislead the Sikhs once again and barter them away for loaves and fishes of offices instead of freedom of India which was nearest to the heart of every Sikh. He warned the Sikhs against being once again thrown at the feet of British imperialism which h ad been holding India fast now for years.

### Faith in Gandhijee

S. Amar Singh declared that they had gathered to give a lie to the propaganda which was being carried on against the Punjab Sikhs that none of them was with the Congress and had no faith in Gandhijee's leadership and support his efforts at bringing about a communal settlement.

S. Amar Singh Jhabal, maintained that they would not be frightened by the "Huknamas" issued by Master Tara Singh and others against the nationalist Sikhs and they did not care if they were called atheists or non-Sikhs.

The messages received from many Sikh workers who could not attend were read out.

Several workers coming from various districts delivered messages which they had brought from workers who could not come having been restricted. Many of these restricted workers were old workers who had suffered imprisonments in the Gurdwara movement. In their messages these old workers, some of whom made touching references to the days when they suffered imprisonments in the Akali movement, had declared their full support to Gandhijee in his efforts for achieving Hindu-Muslim unity and the 'C.R.' formula.

A number of workers presented documents with thumb impressions of villagers signifying support to Mahatma Gandhi and faith in his leadership.

It was announced that a letter had been sent to Gandhijee bearing signatures and thumb impressions of Sikh ladies expressing faith in his leadership.

*Sardar Sarmukh Singh* Jhabal, moving the main resolution, exprssing faith in Gandhijee's leadership, said that to-day the Sikhs were faced again with a critical situation. Outwardly alluring terms were being offered to keep away the Sikhs from doing the right thing and supporting the freedom movement. Those in power in the Akali Party were behaving just in the manner in which the chief Khalsa Dewanwalas behaved in 1914 in declaring patriots as being non-Sikhs. Efforts were being made to keep away the nationalist Sikhs from the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee witb the official help on lame excuses. The name of religion was being exploited, religion which was like nectar was now being exploited to lull people into slumber. That is why religion te-day was being described as opium. The Sikhs need not be frightened away by the name of Pakistan, he added. Sardar Sarmukh Singh Jhabal asked the Sikhs to declare their faith in the leadership of Gandhijee who was the only leader who would lead them to victory. He said, Let us win freedom for the sake of freedom."

### Safeguarding Gaddies

*S. Autar Singh Daler*, President Central Sikh Youtb League, seconding the resolution said that Mr. Savarkar and Master Tara Singh were conspiring together to keep the British hold on India. They were creating a new block in the way of forces of freedom in India. They were only looking for safeguarding their "gaddies". The Akalis were already co-operating with the League in the N. W. F. Province to remain in power. They were doing the same thing in the Punjab. Was not that exploitation ?

*Sardar Hira Singh Narli*, supporting the resolution further said that the anti-nationalist forces among the Sikhs were raising their head and those who till yesterday were nationalists were doing the same things as their predecessors Chief Khalsa Dewanwalas did. He felt that by Gandhijee's present move nationalist cause would certainly be strengthened. If Mr. Jinnah would not settle he would be exposed and the nationalist Muslims would be once again in the forefront. But if agreement was reached and British Government would refuse to concede the national demand they would be exposed also. He criticised the Hindu Sabhaits also.

*Sardar Teja Singh Swatantra* M.L.A. supporting the resolution said that to-day the League ideology has come to stay and there was hardly a Muslim who did not have faith in that. He declared that there could not be unity without

establishment of Pakistan. Sardar Teja Singh criticising the Sikh leadership said that they had given no right lead to the Sikhs.

He had no doubt that the Akalis were sitting on the fence and were playing that game to retain power in the Punjab and in the Centre. If Gandhi-Jinnah talks succeed the Akalis might jump back among the nationalists and would declare that they were with them.

*Sardar Durlab Singh*, General Secretary of the Progressive Akali Party moved an amendment requesting Gandhijee to consult nationalist Sikhs before making any final commitment. Sardar Durlab Singh said that Akalis got a Ministership in the Punjab on the promise to help in the recruitment. To-day the Akali leadership was supported by knights and titled gentry.

*Sardar Duleep Singh* supported the resolution. He regretted that the Akalis were bargaining everywhere and were acrificing principles for small gains.

*Sardar Sarmukh Singh Jhabal* accepted the amendment adding that Mahatma Gandhi had already given an assurance that he was willing to hear everyone and he would see that justice would be done to every community.

The following resolution as amended was unanimously adopted amidst repeated shouts of "Sat Sri Akal".

"This meeting welcomes Gandiji's efforts to end the political deadlock through Congress-League unity, and wishes that his efforts be crowned with success at the earliest.

"The Gandhi-Wavell correspondence makes it absolutely clear that the Government is neither prepared to release national leaders nor to end the political deadlock and grant national Government to India. The basis of this unbending attitude of Imperialism lies in the disunity among Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims. Only by accepting the right of self-determination of Sikhs and Muslims, can this disunity be liquidated. Therefore, a Congress-League-Sikh agreement is the only way to liquidate disunity, to end the deadlock and advance towards National Government.

"This meeting has full faith in Mahatmaji's assurance to the Sikhs. Mahatmaji has given a lead to end the deadlock by accepting the principle of the right of self-determination for the Muslims,

"The conference declares its full faith in Gandhijee's leadership and requests him to consult nationalist Sikh opinion before committing himself to any final settlement.

"This meeting appeals to all Sikhs to side with the forces of freedom and to participate in the freedom movement."

S. Amar Singh Jhabal, in the course of his concluding remarks about the Indian army said that men would be forthcoming to join the army to fight India's battle for her defence from any external aggression, when India has her own Government.

*Sardar (Babu) Dan Singh Wacchoa* moved a resolution condemning the Punjab Government's attitude in keeping many detenus in jails and imposing restrictions on those who were released and demanding the release of all political prisoners and the removal of all restrictions on them. The mover said that it was for the Government to decide whether it wanted to befriend the nationalist sections or continue bitterness by continuing to detain workers and restrict them.

*S. Deva Singh* seconded the resolution and said that the patriots who suffered for freedom's sake deserved all praise.

*S. Sohan Singh* Josh supported the resolution and said that there were several detenus in jail who were in jail before even the war started.

The Unionist Government was not releasing those patriots in the Gujrat jail because it was afraid that they would give strength to the nationalist forces.

The resolution was adopted unanimously.

Another resolution was moved by *Baba Sher Singh* advising that in public speeches no strong words should be used in criticising either religion or individuals. The resolution was, however, not pressed when an objection was raised and it was suggested that only a circular should be issued to that effect.

The conference then adjourned.

# The All India Akali Conference

## Fifth Session—Lahore—14th. October 1944

### Presidential Address

"The Sikhs are opposed to the establishment of Pakistan and they cannot tolerate India's vivisection. But if India is to be divided and cut into pieces, the Sikhs must have a State and they must be given a homeland on the basis of the land now in their possession and their political importance," said *Sardar Pritam Singh*, President (Jathedar) of the Shiromani Akali Dal, in the course of his presidential address at the 5th All-India Akali Conference, which opened in Lahore on the 14th. October 1944.

The conference was held in a huge pandal, the entrance to which was through Gyani Sher Singh Gate underneath which was hanging a motto: "Beware of the Russian agents."

The President-elect and some important Akali leaders, including those released during the last two or three days, were accorded a warm reception at the Badami Bagh railway station and were conducted in a procession to the pandal in the Minto Park. There were scores of Akali Jathas in their blue turbans and the Akalis carried Nishan Sahibs.

Before the conference opened, *Master Tara Singh* unfurled the Sikh flag, amidst the tunes of the bands and shouts of Sat Sri Akal. Masterjee, while unfurling the flag, said that the Sikhs at present were threatened with two very great dangers. One danger, he said, were the communists and the other danger was from Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah. Masterjee asked his community to beware of both the dangers which he described as "strong storms blowing against us."

Master Tara Singh, while declaring that the Sikhs were not prepared to suffer the British, who had denied them their freedom, they were equally unprepared to suffer the doings of tyrants like (Mahatma) Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah both of whom wanted to impose Hindu and Muslim majorities on the Sikhs by dividing India. He made an appeal to the Sikhs to be united under the Sikh flag which was a symbol of self-respect. It was for the Sikhs to maintain their self-respect and refrain from being led astray.

There was a general sense of pleasure expressed by those who addressed the conference and attended it on the release of patriotic Akali leaders like Sardar Ishar Singh Majhale, President of the Darbar Sahib Committee, Amritsar, S. Udham Singh Nagoke, S. Darshan Singh Pheruman, and S. Sohan Singh, Jalal Osman, who came to Lahore to-day.

They were all greeted by the Akali workers and a hearty welcome was extend-tended to them by the President and the other speakers at the conference.

Hope was expressed that those left behind in jail would also be released soon.

References were made to the sad death of Gyani Sher Singh by the President and other speakers and tributes were paid to him.

Gandhiji mostly, the communists and Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Rajagopalachariar to some extent, were the main targets of the main speaker, after the President at the conference and one or two poets. The "C. R." formula was the basis of all the severe condemnation. Gyani Kartar Singh was credited with having excelled Mr. Jinnah in his attempt to ridicule Gandhijee and throw mud on him and levelling charges on the Congress Ministers in some of the provinces and accusing them of the "injustice" done to the Sikhs. His speech looked like an impeachment of Gandhijee and he employed some of the strongest epithets "to express resentment at what great sin Gandhijee has committed" by what he described as "going back from his word given to the Sikhs" who he said "have never been treated with any such disrespect and discourtesy during the past one hundred years by any political leader."

Gyani Kartar Singh also described Mr. Jinnah as the "political enemy of the Sikhs," who, he said, "if succeeds in his plan, would ruin the Sikhs." He, however, paid a tribute to Mr. Jinnah's political sagacity. He described the idea of democracy as foreign and unacceptable to him. He condemned communists also.

*Jathedar Pritam Singh*, in the course of his speech, while making an appeal

to the Sikhs to stand united, in view of the dangers confronting them, condemned the Communists as being the immediate danger to Sikhs. He described the Communists as weather cocks, who were playing a double game. Voicing the Sikh opposition to the vivisection of India, Sardar Pritam Sing said that the Sikhs were opposed to Pakistan and they would not tolerate the slavery of the Hindu majority or the Muslim majority. If India was to be cut into pieces, the Jathedar demanded a State for the Sikhs who, he said, if Pakistan was to be established, must get a homeland on the basis of their importance and the land which they held in the Punjab. The Hindu or Muslim majority, he pointed out, could not be foisted upon the Sikhs either by the combination of Hindus or Muslims or by the British bayonet. He hoped that the British would not lend the support of their bayonet for, if they did, it would not be the reward of the services the Sikhs were now rendering in the war? The British took the Punjab from the Sikhs and they must not make them slaves of others. Numbers, he said, did not matter for when the Sikhs ruled the Punjab they were only 60,000.

The President complained that Gandhijee had not consulted the Sikhs and therefore not kept his word given to the Sikhs in 1929. Gandhijee, he said, did not seem to care for the Sikhs who he thought were non-existent. Gandhijee wanted to sell the Sikhs to Mr. Jinnah. Congress, said Mr. Pritam Singh, could ill afford to sacrifice the Muslims and therefore it was prepared to sacrifice the Sikhs. In 1915-16 the Sikhs were in the pocket of the British and they used them and now Gandhijee thought that the Sikhs were in his pocket and wanted to use them. The Sikhs, he said, have refused to be used.

The President criticised the Sikh States whom he accused of not giving fair treatment to the Sikhs. He said that time was coming when the Sikh masses would make some of the rulers feel that they must adhere to Sikhism. More Sikhs should be employed in the Sikh States. He also complained of injustice being done to the Sikhs in the non-Sikh States.

## Resolutions—2nd Day—Lahore—15th. October 1944

The Sikh demand for an independent Sikh State was not pressed at the second open session of the Conference. *Master Tara Singh*, who was the mover of the main resolution, declared that, though the Sikhs wanted an independent Sikh State for themselves, the demand was not being pressed and was being held back in order to keep the door open for negotiations.

*S. Mangal Singh*, who supported Master Tara Singh, in an equally forceful speech, referred to the decision not to press the demand to remain what he called "flexible", in order that it may fit in anywhere if and when an attempt was made to do justice to the Sikhs.

The Sikh position, as explained by all the existing "big guns" of the Akali Party, on the same main resolution, was that the Sikhs were prepared for any kind of settlement but they would in no case tolerate division of India or the establishment of Pakistan.

In case the Hindus and Muslims were to part as brothers and share the country, the Sikhs, as youngest of the three brothers, would also ask for their share, said Principal *Ganga Singh*, who had no hesitation in saying that he would like the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs to remain together as one man in a free India. Pakistan, in the very candid opinion of these Sikh leaders, would benefit the Muslims and, to some extent, the Hindus but it would prove ruinous to the Sikhs.

*Master Tara Singh*, while maintaining that India should not be divided, said that if division was to take place, then they would have no objection if the Mussalmans, who were now asking for 50 per cent in the centre, would give to the Sikhs 50 per cent in the Pakistan or even agree to give 33 per cent to each one of the three communities living in the Punjab viz., the Hindus, the Muslims and the Sikhs.

*Sardar Mangal Singh*, M.L.A. (Central), who has always been credited with holding balanced views, while claiming to speak as a Congress Sikh, said that there was hardly a Sikh who had greater respect for Gandhiji, but in their opposition to the establishment of Pakistan the Sikhs would resist all attempts, including the British bayonets by all weapons. He added, "But let it be understood that now the Sikhs would not employ the weapon of non-violence but use all weapons which our great Guru Gobind Singh had given to us."

The general tone of the speeches at the conference, though expressive of Sikh annoyance at Gandhijee's alleged breaking of the promise held out to them in 1929,

provided a healthy contrast to the tone of the main speaker at the opening session last night. Masterjee's speech even though punctuated with one or two "harsh" words—hesitatingly uttered—was undoubtedly conciliatory.

The Communists, especially the Sikh communists, were greatly criticised and every speaker asked the Sikhs to beware of them. They were described as Muslims.

*Master Tara Singh* moved the following resolution :—

1 (a) This session of the All-India Akali Conference is of the opinion that the last eight years' working of the Provincial Autonomy set up under the scheme of the Government of India Act 1935, with an unalterable statutory Muslim majority as a result of the Communal Award, has adversely affected the vital Sikh interest and has seriously injured the Sikh community. The Sikh interests have suffered greatly in economic, political, religious and cultural spheres. Even the reserved powers of the Governor given to him under the constitution have failed to protect them. It is for the first time after the annexation of the Punjab by the British that the Sikhs have been reminded that their home-lands are being again passed over to the Muslims under the protection of the British bayonet. The Sikh masses feel very keenly that they have been sacrificed at the altar of political expediency to appease the Muslims.

(b) Mahatma Gandhi's offer of Pakistan to Mr. Jinnah and subsequent talks for communal settlement without taking the Sikhs into confidence notwithstanding the assurance given to the Sikhs by the Congress in its resolution of 1929, have greatly perturbed them. When the proposal to vivisect their very home-lands is under active consideration, it is an undeniable fact that in this matter the Sikhs are the most vitally affected community in India. They should, therefore, be treated as major party in the negotiations, but they are nowhere in the picture, Neither in his offer to Mr. Jinnah, nor in his long correspondence with the Muslim League leader, any reference has been made to the Sikhs. Thus they have been completely ignored. Mahatma Gandhi has also followed the policy of Muslim appeasement at the expense of the Sikh community.

(c) As regards the communal settlement this session of the All-India Conference wishes to unequivocally declare on behalf of the Sikh Panth that the Sikhs are prepared and willing to support any scheme of communal settlement which provides for them ample scope for their political, cultural religious development to their satisfaction. The Conference further declares that along with the Hindus and Muslims, they are prepared to live like brothers as equally free community in a free united India and that they shall not submit to the domination of any other community.

(d) This Conference after full consideration of the various terms of the Raja-Gandhi formula, as well as the proposal of Mahatma Gandhi contained in Gandhi-Jinnah correspondence have come to the conclusion that this scheme of communal settlement is greatly detrimental to the interests of the Sikhs in particular and country in general, therefore, this Conference rejects it, and calls upon the Sikhs to carry on ceaseless agitation unless the scheme is finally dropped and the Sikhs are assured that no similar proposal will be put forward.

This Conference further declares no communal settlement will be acceptable to the Sikhs unless it is approved by the Shiromani Akali Dal.

*Master Tara Singh*, began by condemning the present mentality which, he said, was swaying the whole fabric of the administration of the province since the advent of provincial autonomy.

While during the Moghal Raj there were only one or two rulers, now every Mussalman, said Masterjee, regarded himself a ruler. He had no hesitation in saying that there was "Aurangzebi Raj" in the Punjab, even without the establishment of Pakistan. The pity was that in the name of war no one was allowed to speak out. Masterjee expressed the view that Malik Khizar Hayat is better than Sir Sikander whom he held responsible for communalism in the Punjab.

While referring to Gandhiji and his recent negotiations with Mr. Jinnah, Masterjee said that Gandhiji had not treated the Sikhs justly by not keeping up the assurance given to them. He said he would hesitate to go to the Mahatma now, even if invited, because he felt that the self-respect of the Sikhs had been wounded. The Sikhs would be affected the most, if Pakistan was established and, therefore, it were they alone who should be consulted before Pakistan was established in the Punjab. The plea that the Sikhs were smaller in number was described by Masterjee as futile because, he said, the Sikhs were 57 lakhs but in Ireland, with a population of 43 lakhs, two States had been formed. The Sikhs did not want to rule but wanted freedom and they were prepared to suffer for it.

Their opposition to the Communal Award did not succeed because the Government, he said, broke their opposition and it could do so even now. He, however, hoped that the Sikhs would not let Pakistan take its birth.

Masterjee, who described Gandhiji's letter to him as unsatisfactory, said that an effective programme to oppose Pakistan would be placed before the 'Panth' soon. Master Tara Singh declared that if the Congress would remove Mahatma Gandhi from all his positions in the Congress for having acted against the Congress resolution he would bear no hesitation in jumping back into the Congress fold.

Principal *Ganga Singh* hoped that their power would not turn into mustard again and he warned the Sikhs against their internal enemies. Sikhs had trusted Gandhiji and suffered greatly in following him and they were neither beggars nor bargainers.

*Gyani Kartar Singh*, M.L.A., supporting the resolution, referred to the injustice which he said was being done to the Sikhs in the matter of services. The resolution was passed unanimously.

## Gandhiji's Assurance to the Sikhs

*Mahatma Gandhi*, replying to a letter from *Sardar Durlab Singh*, General Secretary of the Central Sikh Youth League, requesting a general assurance to nationalist Sikhs that their interests are safe in his hands and that they will not be sacrificed at any cost, says: "I could never be guilty of blessing anything which is contrary to the national interest. You can certainly have the assurance that the interests of the nationalist Sikhs as also of all nationalists are safe in my hands and also, I presume, in the Congress hands, though, as you know, I have no authority to speak on behalf of the Congress."

Concluding his letter Mahatma Gandhi says: "There are many inventions about me going the ground. I would warn friends against giving credence to any of them without reference to me."

Mr. *Pyarelal* released the following correspondence that passed between Mahatma Gandhi and Sardar Lurlab Singh, General Secretary of the Central Sikh Youth League:

**Letter from Sardar Durlab Singh, dated Lahore November 12.**

Respected Bapuji,

I believe you are aware of the developments that are taking place in the Sikh politics everyday. Several misunderstandings are being created and the mind of the Sikh public is being poisoned constantly against the Congress. The Sikh Youth League and other nationalist Sikhs, who are working among the Sikhs for the cause of nationalism, have to face several difficulties and I would therefore request you to kindly clarify the following points and remove the misunderstanding as far as possible.

The Congress had promised in its Lahore resolution of 1929 that no constitution would be acceptable to the Congress which does not give the fullest satisfaction to the Sikhs. You know a large number of Sikhs are perturbed over Rajaji's proposals. Supposing Mr. Jinnah had accepted the proposals in full, or in an amended form, what would have been the position of the Sikhs in that?

Even the Akalis feel very indignant because you did not touch the question of meeting the Sikh deputation as suggested by Master Tara Singh in his letter. Can you please make it clear why it was not considered desirable to invite the Sikh leaders before proceeding to Mr. Jinnah for the talks?

Mr. Jagat Narain Lal's resolution clearly states that the Congress would be no party to the vivisection of the country. Is it not a fact that Rajaji's proposals run counter to that resolution? The Sikh public is made to believe that Gandhiji does not favour the idea of the Sikhs remaining in the Congress because of their belief in the sword.

The Sikhs have always made the greatest possible contribution to the cause of India's freedom and they are prepared to do that in future also, but such an attitude on your part is likely to discourage them. Will you very kindly throw some light on this issue?

Master Tara Singh and other responsible Akali leaders have often declared in the press and on the platform that the Sikander-Baldev Singh Pact was enacted with the consent and blessings of the Congress High Command and Sardar Patel's special representative who was present in the Punjab throughout the negotiations and that the Sardar was kept informed of all the developments. Further, it is said that the Azad Punjab scheme was introduced with your consent and blessings. The

nationalist Sikhs regard both the schemes as anti-national and opposed to the interests of the country and the community. Can you kindly guide us in the matter ?

In the end I will request you, Bapuji, to give a general assurance to the nationalist Sikhs that their interests are safe in your hands and that they will not be sacrificed at any cost. The heart of the Sikh masses is with the Congress and nationalism and patriotism are their proud heritage. They cannot depart from these principles, but let them have this satisfaction at least that the Congress will do no injustice to them and that they will have their proper place in free India.

Praying for your long life.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) Durlab Singh.

GANDHIJI'S REPLY

**The following is Mahatma Gandhiji's reply dated, Sevagram 14th November 1944.**

Dear. Sardar Durlab Singh,

This is my answer to your questions : (1) My association with Rajaji in his formula could not affect the Sikh position in the slightest degree, even if Qaid-i-Azam Jinnah accepted it. The Lahore resolution of the Congress referred to by you stands. The result of Qaid-i-Azam Jinnah's acceptance would have been that both of us would have gone to the Sikhs and others interested to secure their acceptance. I had made this clear in my letter to Masterjee.

(2) I cannot understand the Akali indignation. My meeting a deputation was unnecessary in view of my absolute assurance. If Masterjee had wanted to bring his friends to me, in spite of my assurance, I would have gladly seen them as I did other friends who sought clarification from me.

(3) Maulana Saheb explained the implications of the Jagat Narainlal resolution which please see. But supposing that it is inconsistent with the Rajaji Formula and the Congress accepts the latter, there is nothing to prevent the Congress from rescinding the resolution.

(4) How could I favour a contrary opinion when I have always given the closest collaboration to Sikh friends ? Those Sikhs, who do not accept the Congress creed, naturally refrain, like many others, from joining the Congress.

(5) I know nothing about the Sikandar-Baldev Singh Pact, much less about the Congress High Command's association with it. Nor do I know the details of the Azad Punjab scheme.

I could never be guilty of blessing anything which is contrary to the national interest. You can certainly have the assurance that the interests of the nationalist Sikhs, as also of all nationalists, are safe in my hands and also, I presume, in the Congress hands, though as you know I have no authority to speak on behalf of the Congress.

There are many inventions about me going the round. I would warn friends against giving credence to any of them without reference to me.

Yours sincerely,
Sd. M. K. Gandhi.

# The Akali Jubilee Conference

## 1st Session—Jandiala—25th. November 1944

### Presidential Address

"I should admit that during the war several allegations have been made against the Akali organisation. I cannot call all of them 'false,' but the ideal of the Shiromani Akali Dal has always remained 'to serve the Panth, the country and the oppressed, and to work for the management and reform of the Gurdwaras," said *S. Ishar Singh Majhail*, in the course of his presidential address at the first Akali Jubilee Conference held at Jandiala, District Jullunder, on the 25th November 1944.

He added : "The Akalis have stood steadfast by the Congress in all the movements launced at by this national organisation for the emancipation of the motherland. During the Nagpur National Flag Satyagraha, the Martial Law days, 1921 Movement, 1930 Movement and then in 1940 and 1942 the Akalis did not lag behind any one else. To name only a few of our leaders, Sardar Partap Singh, M.L.A., General Secretary, P.P.C.C., Sardar Darshan Singh Pheruman, Giani Gurmukh Singh Mussafir, Baba Labh Singh of Jullundur, and Sardar Basant Singh of Moga were all arrested after August 8. In this Illaqa of Doaba numerous Akali workers were put behind the prison bars and many of them are still there. It was the Akalis, again,

who offered themselves for arrest by taking out processions in the Anarkali, Lahore, and the Hall Bazar, Amritsar. On the other hand, what have the Communists done? At a Kisan Conference held at Bhakna Kalan, Comrade Sohan Singh Josh, the Communist Leader, proudly said: "If there have been no disturbances in the Punjab it is because of our influence with the people."

"These traitors (Communists) to the country who talked of bringing about a revolution through this war," he said, "have turned turtle and given out the cry that it is a People's war. This, however, is not very curious because in their unpatriotic attitude they have consistently opposed every move of the Indian National Congress. Their opposition to the Symbolic Satyagraha movement of 1940 and then to the idea of Mass Movement which had been contemplated in the resolution of August 1942 is only recent history. In fact, these Communists do not consider India as their motherland. Their source of inspiration and shrine of homage is the Soviet citadel of Moscow. Mother India should not expect any good from them."

"The Communists and the Unionists," the Sardar continued, "are the chips of the same block. They vie with each other in maintaining the power of the foreigners in this land but I wish to declare that the Shiromani Akali Dal will continue to stand by the Congress in every struggle launched to achieve India's freedom, as the S.A.D. has always done in the past."

Referring to the Pakistan and the C.R. Formula, Sardar Ishar Singh said: "We have been under subjection for a very long time but the domination of the British is different and worse than all previous dominations in that the Mughals identified themselves with the people of India and ultimately adopted India as their homeland. But the policy of the British has created so many warring sections in the body politic of India that the Muslims belonging to the Muslim League are demanding 'Pakistan,' viz., a sovereign State of their own.

"The arrogant attitude adopted by the Government since 1942 has geatly disappointed our countrymen. The C. R. Formula is a symptom of this sense of frustration. This formula has strengthened the hands of Pakistanists and has hit those countymen hard who stand for an Akhand Hindustan. Although several Congressmen have expressed their opinion against the formula, yet there is an apprehension in certain quarters that the Congress may accept it under the influence of Gandhiji's great personality. This is as probable as it is improbable. The Congress position, so far as I understand, is that it adheres to the Jagat Narainlal Resolution. I may, however, express my opinion that the C.R. Formula is no solution of the present complicated political situation of the country."

"One thing is clear," the Sardar declared, "and that is that we will never accept Pakistan and will fight it to the finish." Sardar Ishar Singh concluded by saying: "Our ideal is a Free India where the Sikhs are also free like all other communities. We stand for a noble idea and we will succeed in attaining it."

# The Punjab Hindu Mahasabha Conference

## Presidential Address—Ludhiana—10th November 1944

"There can be no compromise with any fantastic claim for cutting India to pieces either on communal or on provincial considerations," declared Dr. *Shyama Prasad Mookerjee*, presiding over the Punjab Hindu Mahasabha Conference, which met at Ludhiana on the **10th November 1944.**

On alighting from the train, Dr. *Mookerjee* and Dr. *B. S. Moonje*, who accompanied him, were profusely garlanded. The platform was thronged with several thousands of persons who cheered them as they were conducted under an archway of numerous saffron-coloured Mahasabha flags. Seated in a two-horse driven carriage they passed through crowded streets.

The presidential procession, originally planned, was not taken out as it had been banned by the authorities. The organisers had also instructed the Mahasabha volunteers not to wear uniforms.

Addressing the Conference, Dr. *Mookherjee* said: "India has been and is one country and must remain so whatever seif-constituted exponents of so-called Hindu-

Muslim unity may declare. It is a most dangerous pastime to try to placate that section of muslims who think it beneath their dignity to live in India as such and, therefore, demand a territory of their own, sovereign and independent, carved out of our Motherland a territory where crores of Hindus will continue to live bereft of their Indian nationality. It is nothing short of stabbing Indian liberty and nationalism in the back. India must have a strong and effective Central Governments to remain in charge of departments such as defence, foreign relations, finance, India's commercial and industrial expansion, communications and any other subject that may affect India's welfare as a whole. While each zone based on linguistic and cultural affinity will develop in its own way nothing will be allowed to happen which will weaken India's progress and solidarity or lower her dignity, prestige and power in the international sphere.

"WEAKENING OF HINDUS PART OF BRITISH POLICY"

"The Hindu Mahasabha looks at India's political problems with complete realism. Its aim is full independence of India based on a constitution that will give due protection to minority rights, whenever and wherever necessary. It opposes political pandering and patronage of particular communities and interests merely on consideration of caste or religion though it readily acknowledges the imperative need for strengthening, by every possible means, all the weaker links by giving them facilities for raising their standard. It realises that weakening of Hindu rights and liberties is part of a planned policy of the British rulers, who act in close, though probably implicit, understanding with a section of aggressive Muslims and use them as a cloak for their imperialistic purposes. To resist this attack on Hindus is a sacred and patriotic duty which must be boldly performed. The Hindu Mahasabha at the same time deems it essential that proper communal relationship should be fostered and developed at every centre. Muslims who regard themselves as sons and daughters of India, who are prepared to share with Hindus and others the joys and sorrows of a common national struggle should be helped to organise themselves so as to resist the suicidal activities of some of their co-religiouists who under British patronage are to-day spreading the poison of fanaticism. So long as separate electorates continue this virus will not abate."

NEED FOR UNDERSTANDING WITH SIKHS

Referring to the situation in the Punjab he said: "I have always felt the need for complete understanding between Sikhs and Hindus in the Punjab. The menace of Pakistan strikes at the root of our national existence in the Provinces, where Hindus and Sikhs are in a minority. It is obvious that the situation may become grave if there is disunity between them at this critical juncture in the history of of their Province. I hope the Provincial Hindu Sabha will do everything possible to unite these two communities and also to strengthen its relationship with those patriotic Muslims in the Punjab, who believe in the unity and integrity of India."

He continued: "Let us realise that India is faced to-day with a supreme political crisis. Her rulers who hold the country against the will of her people feel intoxicated by the apparent success of their repressive policy and their temporary economic conquest. They realise not that Indian Nationalism is no extinct volcano. The seismic forces are gathering more and more in strength. The spirit of an enchained India rebels silenty and no power, however mighty, can hope to hold by force one-fifth of the human race under subjugation for all time. Britain will not willingly part with power in India and. indeed, without India, both Britain's position in the international world and her plans for post-war recovery will alike be seriously jeopardised. At this crisis, we have to play our part worthily so that posterity will have no cause to blame us for betraying the country or for selling our birth-right for a mess of pottage or for lack of clear foresight and determination."

UNITED FRONT OF HINDU MINORITY PROVINCES

Suggesting a united front of Hindu Minority Provinces, Dr. Mookherjee said, "Such a united front will not only help to strengthen the power of resistance of each but also rouse public opinion throughout India in respect of some major issues affecting the rights of Hindus and India's freedom. To-day, by subtle propaganda it is sought to be made out that the interests of the Muslim minority cannot be safeguarded if majority rule is recognised in India. It is, indeed, amazing, that this so-called love for minorities dwindles away whenever the rights and interests of the Hindu minority are involved.

One can understand deliberate planning on the part of our rulers to curb the political rights of Hindus, because of their patriotism and of their determined efforts

to see the end of foreign rule in this country. One can also follow the attitude of a section of Muslims dreaming of a separate and independent homeland for themselves within India, changing even the name of that portion of Indian territory. They are over-anxious to weaken the position of Hindus and consolidate their own for serving their narrow and selfish ends.

But it is not these open enemies alone we have to struggle against. The most subversive attack comes from false friends ; forces within our own community who refuse to look at stern realities and create confusion and dissension within the Hindu fold. The history of Indian Nationalism reveals how religion has been deliberately introduced into the political constitution of the country by shrewd British politicians and every effort made to subdue the Nationalist forces for tightening the bureaucratic hold on Indian administration.

## Resolutions—Ludhiana—2nd Day—11th. November 1944

The second sitting of the Conference was held on Saturday night. In the absence of Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, who was not keeping well, Dr. B.S. *Moonje* occupied the chair. About 40,000 people attended the session.

*L. Brij Lal* moved the first resolution: This Conference places on record its deep sense of concern and horror at the way in which the political, religious and economic rights of the Hindus are being sacrificed at the altar of Communal Raj in the province. Since the Hindu Congress members of the Punjab Assembly have failed to attend the Assembly and to protect the interests of the constituency predominantly Hindu, they be called upon to resign. The Conference resolves that public opinion be organised in the province to that effect."

While placing this resolution before the House, Lala Brij Lat said that the present Congress M.L.A.s represented chiefly Hindu votes and it was their primary duty to protect the Hindu interests but the policy of the Congress representatives in the Assemblies was that of appeasement which had miserably failed. As they have failed to carry out the behests of Hindu constituents, it was our rightful demand that they should resign.

The resolution was seconded by Pt. Babu Ram Sharma, Proprietor of "Sandesh" and General Secretary of the Reception Committee of the Punjab Hindu Conference and Dr. Satya Prakash of Rohtak.

The resolution when put to vote, was unanimously carried amidst shouts of "Hindu Mahasabha Amar Rahe", Doctor Mookerjee Amar Rahe."

### GANDHIJI SHOULD LEAD MAHASABHA

*Lala Kundan Lal Lamba* of Lyallpur moved the second resolution that this Conference placed on record its emphatic disapproval of the "C.R." Formula and the standing offer of Gandhiji to the Muslim League for a settlement on that basis as it conceded the principle of division of the country. The Conference announced its belief in the fundamental integrity of India and declared that the Hindus of the province would resist the partition of the Punjab and the establishment of Pakistan at all cost.

Mr. Lamba, while speaking on the resolution, explained how the policy of appeasement adopted by the Congress had failed. Before the disturbances of 1942 Gandhiji stood for Akhand Hindustan and declared that so long as the third party was in power, no communal settlement could be arrived at. Mr. Lamba said Gandhiji had gone back on his past delarations, and still clung to the "C.R, Formula". Through Gandhiji's attitude, Mr. Jinnah again came into the lime-light after receiving a sound beating at the hands of the Unionists.

"I request Gandhiji", Mr, Lamba continued, "to join the Hindu Mahasabha and unite 30 crores of Hindus under one flag in order to achieve Independence. Mr. Lamba related how "Mahmood Ghaznavi Day" was celebrated in the Frontier Province under the presidentship of Sardar Aurangzeb, and said that if that was how the things would assume shape, the less said the better.

The resolution was seconded by Captain Keshab Chander, who said that Swaraj had got no significance if the Hindus had got to be wiped out of existence.

Shrimati Krishna Devi, a prominent lady worker of Hindu Sabha, also spoke on the resolution. She appealed to the Muslims to continue to live as neighbours, and warned them that if the Muslims would not desist from their move, the women would not lag behind and would sacrifice everything for the country.

Gyani Lal Singh Sumundri, Mr. Ram Rakha Mal Ahluwalia, Pleader, Ludhiana, Mahasha Rattan Chand of Amritsar, and Ch. Chandan Singh of Rohtak also supported the resolution, which was unanimously adopted amidst shouts of "Akhand Hindustan Amar Rahe", "Dr. Moonje Amar Rahe".

Dr. Moonje, in his concluding remarks, observed that the Punjab was the sword arm of India and there could be no Pakistan in case only one son was given to the Hindu Mahasabha by parents having four sons. He specially advised the young men to learn riding aud handling the gun. The open session terminated after midnight.

## Resolutions—3rd day—Ludhiana—12th. November 1944

The concluding session of the Conference commenced this evening at 6-30 p.m. with Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee in the chair. About 40,000 people attended this session. An address of welcome on behalf of the local Arya Samajes was presented to Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee by Mr. Pritam Chand, Secretary of the Reception Committee of the conference. Poems were also recited by two small boys.

Mr. *A. S. Satyarthi* moved the following resolution :

"This conference views with deep concern the present condition of disintegration of the Punjab Hindus in which their legitimate rights and interests are being ignored and sacrificed and opines that there is immediate need of organising the Hindus of the province under the banner of the Hindu Mahasabha. The conference, therefore, appoints a provincial organisation committee consisting of Mr. Keshab Chander, L. Kundan Lal Lamba, Seth Lachhman Das, Mahasha Rattan Chand, Mr. A.S. Satyarthi (convener), Dr. M.D. Chowdhry, Mr. Bal Raj, Ch. Chandan Singh, Mr. Satya Prakash, Mr. Hardyal and L. Brij Lal to tour the province and establish a net work of Hindu Sabhas to be duly affiliated with the Provincial Hindu Mahasabha."

The resolution was put to vote and carried unanimously.

### Presidential Procession

The next resolution was moved by *Pandit Babu Ram Sharma*, General Secretary of the Reception Committee of the Punjab Provincial Hindu Conference by which the conference protested against the indefensible action of the local authorities presumably taken in consultation wtih the provincial Government prohibiting the taking out of a peaceful procession of the President-elect of the Hindu Conference on the stereotyped plea of preserving peace and tranquility of the town instead of taking action against those from whom there was danger of breach of law and order.

Mr, Keshab Chander of Amritsar seconded the resolution and it was adopted unanimously when put to vote.

### Satyarth Prakash Conference

Mr. *Keshab Chander* then read the next resolution moved on behalf of the Chair by which the conference protested against the arbitary action of the local authorities in banning the Satyarth Prakash Conference organised to protest against the unfair order of the Sind Government in respect of Satyarth Prakash issued under the Defence of India Rules on the flimsy ground that the holding of such conference was likely to disturb the public peace and tranquility.

This resolution was also adopted without any speech on the resolution as there was a ban placed by the District Magistrate on Satyarth Prakash Conference.

Dr. *Shyama Prasad Mukherji*, winding up the proceedings, declared that the Government had indulged in dangerous practice and created a mischievous precedent by banning the 14th chapter of the Satyarth Prakash. This action was amazing and would not be tolerated. He asked what would the Muslims feel if certain chapters of the Quran were banned by a Hindu ministry.

"Those who live in glass houses should not throw stones at others", he pointed out. He advised the Sind Government to retrieve the step in time before it is too late. He assured support to the Arya Samaj in any action which might be resorted to for the purpose of ban of the Sind Government.

Dr. Shyama Prasad urged the Hindus to organise themselves as he felt that the need for unity in their ranks was never greater than now.

# A. I. Akhand Hindusthan Conference

## Third Session—Gujranwala—18th November 1944

### Presidential Address

The declaration that the Sikhs stand for the complete independence and oneness of India was made by *Sardar Kharak Singh*, the well known Sikh leader, presiding over the third All-India Akhand Hindusthan Conference at Gujranwala on the 18th November 1944.

He said that "only in the unity and oneness of India is the hope and, indeed, the guarantee of India's future greatness and independence. And if it is ever allowed to be partitioned, it will be unfortunate for all. India suffers the same fate as the Balkans suffer today." Sardar Kharak Singh said there could be no peace in the world after the war if the subject countries were not freed.

Sardar Kharak Singh referred to the existence of communalism in the country which, he said, had given birth to the idea of Pakistan.

"I cannot help saying that Mahatma Gandhi's wrong policy of placating the communalist Mohammedans has contributed a lot to the coming into existence of the present conditions. His talks with Mr. Jinnah are a clear proof of that. He has ignored all the previous commitments of the Congress and surprisingiy enough he has in the name of the Congress, which had been for the last 50 years working for the freedom and unity of India, blessed a formula, which is based on the principle of partition of India. It is said that Gandhiji did so to win the co-operation of Muslim League. I say that to agree to the partition of India would be too dear a price to pay for the co-operation of the Muslim League. I wish to declare once more that the Sikhs would not let any bargain succeed. Only in unity and oneness of India lies the hope aad indeed the guarantee of India's future greatness and independence; and if India is ever allowed to be partitioned, it will be unfortunate for all, because in that case the conditions in India will be the same as they exist in the Balkans to-day. I have studied the Gandhi-Jinnah correspondence with great care and it is my considered opinion that by acting in the manner in which he has done Mahatma Gandhi has been guilty of bringing Pakistan nearer realization and he has thus committed what he himself has been describing as a great sin.

#### Sikhs Stand For Independence

"The Sikhs stand for complete independence and oneness of India. They will be satisfied with nothing less. They have made innumerable sacrifices for the attainment of this goal, and they will continue their efforts till it is realized. They naturally like others to work likewise, but if all others unite against us, then we will be left with no other alternative but to demand that we should be absolutely free of British, Muslim, and Hindu domination because we believe in neither governing others, nor being governed by others.

"I may make it clear that it will be a mistake to ignore us because we are a few. Even though few, we hold the most important position in Northern India and no constitution, which does not do justice to us, can succeed here.

"Mr. Jinnah is trying to give us false hopes. We are well aware of their reality. During the last few years we have sufficient experience of what a Muslim communal Raj will be like. Let Mr. Jinnah be under no misunderstanding about it. The Sikhs are to a man united against the establishment of Pakistan. They will not only not let Pakistan be established, but shall not take rest till the present Muslim majority rule is abolished.

#### Sikh Leaders

"The present leadership of the Sikhs is most unsatisfactory. Their alliance with the Unionist in the Punjab and the Muslim League in the Frontier has caused irreparable loss to the Sikh interests. But they have been fully exposed and the way in which their candidates suffered defeat in the Frontier Province gives hope that further general elections will prove a hard day of reckoning for them.

"I notice that the Unionist Government is helping them against us. The object of the Gurdwara (amendment) Bill is to make the hold of the Akali party firm on the Gurdwaras. I wish to warn the Unionists that any help given by them in this matter will be regarded as undue interference on their part in the

internal party affairs of the Sikhs and its consequence can never be happy for the Unionists.

RELEASE OF PRISONERS

"I must say a word about political prisoners of 1942 and before. The Punjab has earned notoriety for holding in its jails the majority of these prisoners. The detention of these persons is not at all justified. The Punjab Ministry has adopted a very unsatisfactory policy regarding the prisoners. Against this policy of the Ministry, protest should be made from every nook and corner of the province."

**Resolutions**

The Conference passed a resolution on the next day, the 19th November, condemning the division of the country as proposed in the Raja-Gandhi formula and declared its firm conviction that even though the British Government agreed the vivisection of the country and handed over the administration to the Hindus and Muslims the Sikhs would not agree to it.

By another resolution the Conference demanded the release of political prisoners and detenus.

## The Akhand Hindusthan Conference
## New Delhi—7th October 1944

**Presidential Address**

Dr. *Radhakumud Mukerjee*, in his presidental address at the Akhand Hindusthan Conference held at New Delhi on the 7th October 1944, gave a detailed exposition of the Hindu stand against Pakistan.

The communal problem was a passing problem of Indian politics, said Dr. Mukerji, and such a passing problem should not be allowed to make India's history on new lines on the basis of vivisection and partition. The communal problem was only as old as 1907, when it was first officially recognised by Lord Minto in his reply to the demand for separate electorates presented to him by a deputation led by the Aga Khan. Dr. Mukerji quoted from the report of the Simon Commission the statement: "That there was no spontaneous demand by the Muslims at that time for separate electorates, but it was only put forward by them at the instigation of an official whose name is well-known." "This fact," said Dr. Mukherji, "only reveals the ultimate policy of the British Government to divide and rule India."

Dr. Mukerjee quoted Abraham Lincoln's declaration: "I hold that union of these States is perpetual. No State upon its own mere action can lawfully get out of the union." Referring to Mr. Rajagopalachariar's formula, Dr. Mukerji observed: "Nowhere in history is self-determination applied to a constituted State for the mere fun of disintergating it, wrenching from it its different parts that are already welded into a whole and making of them separate State."

UNACCEPTABLE SCHEME

"It is thus clear". Dr. Mukerjee went on, "that Pakistan is a totally unacceptable scheme as a solution of the communal problem as it seeks to solve them at the cost of destroying the unity of the Mother Country and the integrity of the parent state. A territorial separation of communities is no solution of communal problems. The communal problems will follow such separation into all the new States to be created by separation. No State can even be a homogeneous social composition made up of only one community. It is bound to be made up of different communities, one of which must naturally be the majority. The process of history has not made possible the evolution or construction of any State as a completely linguistic, religious, racial, or social unity. It has been a physical impossibility that political and national frontiers should also coincide with racial, religious, and social frontiers. Such coincidence is getting more and more impossible in these days of easy, free and speedy intercourse and communication between different nations and peoples, and the expanding facilities for emigration, colonisation and settlement.

"There is no case or any justification for Pakistan if within the framework of the present State, which has been so long existing and functioning, the Muslim minority is guaranteed by the Hindu majority the same protection as is being offered by the Muslim majority in the Pakistan State to come to lure into it the Hindu minority.

ALTERNATIVES

"In fact there are several alternatives to Pakistan, which the Muslim League may very well explore and examine considering that Pakistan has already been in action in all the four Muslim majority Provinces.

"The alternatives are based on the assumption that all Indians owe it to their country to maintain its integrity. There are ways and means by which the largest measure of Provincial autonomy can be made compatible with some kind of Federal control. Subject to that control the units of the Federation may function as sovereign States within their prescribed spheres. This may be affected by so framing the schedules of Federal and Provincial subjects as to make the most of Provincial autonomy, and to render each Province a sovereign State for all practical purposes.

"Then again, within the domain of each such Provincial sovereignty, every community is to be given complete cultural autonomy, on the lines of the scheme which was so elaborately worked out by the League of Nations and embodied later in international Instruments known as Minorities Guarantee Treaties, and is now in actual operation in the U. S. S. R.

"There is, however, a case for the reconstruction of Provinces which have been artificial creations with ill-defined boundaries. These should be reconstituted on a more natural basis as linguistic and cultural units such as Orissa, or the Andhra Province to come, provided they are financially self-supporting or more or less self-contained economic regions. The case of Bengal calls for a revision. At the time of the annulment of its partition in 1912, the King Emperor assured Bengal that her boundaries which were then fixed in a haphazard manner would be properly fixed by a Boundaries Commission promised by His Majesty. That Boundaries Commission is still to come and in the meanwhile, during all these years, Bengal has remained subjected to a partial partition whereby large Bengali-speaking areas have been annexed to the neighbouring provinces of Bihar and Assam, with the consequence that Bengal thus mutilated is looming large in the scheme of Pakistan. A sinister policy has been at work for crippling the power of the Bengal Hindus in Indian politics by distributing them among their neighbouring provinces, so that they may be rendered as a permanent statutory and impotent minority in their own homeland. Even Bengal thus artificilly contracted is a majority Hindu province on the basis of a census of adults, though there is a suspicion that the last census was somewhat influenced by the communal attitude of its ministry."

**Resolutions—2nd day—New Delhi—8th October 1944**

The Conference, with Dr. Radhakumud Mukerji in the chair, passed the following resolution on Oct. 8:—

"This Conference declares its unflinching faith in the oneness and integrity of India and places on record its firm conviction that the partition of India will be fatal to the best interests of the country as a whole and to those of every community of India and it earnestly appeals to all patriotic Indians to resist by all available means any attempt to break the integrity of India as a nation and as a State on any grounds whatsoever."

Moving the resolution, *Dr. Moonje* said that Hindusthan is the land of the Hindus, and the Sikhs, Muslims and the Christians are all Hindus. He expressed the view that Mr. Gandhi did not understand politics. He was a spiritualist and idealist. Politics was essentially an expression of selfishness on the part of one nation as against another. He voiced the determination of the Hindu Youth to do everything to fight for the integrity of India. Dr. Moonje added that Mr. Jinnah was preparing for a clash. Hindus were quite ready to meet that challenge.

Seconding the resolution, Mr. *Bhopatkar* said that thinkers in Europe who were formerly advocates of the right of self-determination had now come to the conclusion that such right should be abandoned in favour of a federation of European States. While Europe was federating, it was strange, added Mr. *Bhopatkar*, that Muslims were aiming at Balkanisation. He opposed Pakistan not merely because it would parcel out India into many States, but also because it would subject her to the constant danger of invasion from abroad. Mr. Bhopatkar suggested the formation of a body, which should issue a mandate on the question. He also suggested that propaganda should be carried on in the United States of America and Great Britain, for the final word lay with them.

The resolution was passed unanimously.

In his concluding remarks, *Veer Savarkar* said that for nearly 30 years Hindus had been treading the wrong path and he was glad that they were on the right path now. He added: "I believe in Hindusthan. Everyone who lives in India is a Hindu." He also declared that if the Congress did good to Hindus, they would rush to the Congress. "India is not the land of the Quran but the land of the Gita," he continued. Veer Savarkar announced that in consultation with the provincial Hindu Sabhas a standing committee would be formed to organise an anti-Pakistan Front.

Promise of whole-hearted Sikh support to the Hindus in their fight for the maintenance of Akhand Hindustan was assured by Principal *Ganga Singh*, a prominent Akali leader, in the course of his speech. Explaining the Azad-Punjab scheme, he said that the Sikhs merely wanted to carve a new province in order to free themselves from the domination of the statutory Muslim majority just as the Muslims had done in the case of Sind.

In a brief speech, *Veer Savarkar* explained the object of the Conference and dwelt on its representative character. He made it clear that leaders of all schools of thought had the fullest liberty to place their view-points without let or hindrance but he expected that there would be no difference of opinion of the main resolution.

*Master Tara Singh* claimed for the Sikhs the position of India's 'gate-keepers' who would bear the brunt of the coming struggle. He refused to admit that the Punjab was a Muslim province as the present Punjab included territory conquered by the Sikhs. Again, he added, mere numerical majority was not the sole criterion. This was the land where the Sikh Gurus were born, where their religion was born, and where their heroes had died heroic deaths. It was dominated by the Sikhs before the advent of the British. Master Tara Singh continued : "The Punjab is our province, It is Sikh Province. We cannot and shall not be exiled by Mr. Gandhi. We shall once more save the Punjab and save India. I have a right to count upon your support. You cannot and shall not refuse it."

Dr. *Sir Gokul Chand Narang* said that Mr. Jinnah could never hope to achieve Pakistan, even if he managed to have British support He, however, thought that Mr. Jinnah did not want Pakistan. He was using this demand to get 50 per cent representation at the centre. Dr. Gokul Chand opposed the demand for a 50 per cent share at the centre, as it would convert the whole of India into Pakistan.

Mr. *N. C. Chatterji* said that Pakistan was a jumping-of ground and was in fact the part of a bigger plan. He made it clear that they were not going to succumb to these methods. He explained how 11 million Hindus would go under Muslim rule in Eastern Bengal, if Pakistan were established. He appealed to the Hindus to join the Mahasabha in larger numbers and to become physically organised and intellectually disciplined.

# The A. I. Shia Political Conference

## Working Comm.—Lucknow—22nd. October 1944

### Text of Correspondence with Jinnah

The Working Committee of the All-India Shia Political Conference, which met at Lucknow on the 22nd October 1944, considered the correspondence that passed between Mr. *M. A. Jinnah*, President of the All-India Muslim League, and *Syed Ali Zaheer*, President of the Shia Political Conference, for the elucidation of the status of Shias in the scheme of Pakistan. Syed Ali Zaheer presided. The following correspondence that passed between Mr. Jinnah and Syed Ali Zaheer was released to the Press.

*Letter from Syed Ali Zaheer, President of the Shia Political Conference, to Mr. Jinnah:*

In the letter addressed to S. Sakhi Husain of Amroha published in the Press, and your reference to the Shia community in your speech at Sialkot, I was required by the last meeting of the Working Committee of the All-India Shia Political Conference to approach you and to request you to elucidate and define the status of the Shias in the scheme of Pakistan, as proposed by the Muslim League. The necessity for this step has been felt because of the following among other circumstances.

(A) Several attempts have been made to propose from the Muslim League platform that the Government in Pakistan should be modelled on the lines of the Government that prevailed in Arabia just after the Prophet's death, (i.e., Hukumut Illahiya). Although it is realised that it is not possible to put the clock back by so many years, yet it is feared that this may be an attempt to curtail the freedom of religious rights and observances, which has been enjoyed by the Shias heretofore.

(B) During elections for Muslim seats, it is a very common experience of a Shia candidate, whenever he is pitched against a Sunni candidate, to find that appeal is made to the religious fanaticism of the majority of voters, and a Shia

is defeated merely because he is a Shia. It is a common practice on such occasions to allege that a Shia, because of certain peculiarities of his articles of faith, is not a Muslim at all, and as such not entitled to their votes.

(C) The bitter experience which the Shias had during the regime of the Congress in U. P. of the two Congress Muslim Ministers makes them unwilling to trust themselves in future to a similar type of Muslim Minister. They are afraid that although in Pakistan Provinces there will be no Congress Ministries, yet the men who will form the Cabinet may be of the same class and type.

(D) The Shia Political Conference gives considerable importance to its creed of complete independence for India and desires to carry on the struggle for it side by side with other political bodies in the country which have the same creed. The Shias are convinced that with the freedom of the country Pakistan will also be automatically achieved if the majority of the Mussalmans so desire.

### DEMAND FOR ASSURANCE

Although I have no final authority on behalf of the Shias generally, I feel that if the Muslim League gives them the following assurances they will feel perfectly satisfied:

(1) That there will be no encroachment on their religious freedom and observances in the Pakistan, and no innovations which will hurt their religious susceptibilities will be inflicted upon them.

(2) That during elections, there should be no propaganda directly against the religious beliefs or practices of a Shia, and if there is any such propaganda, then irrespective of the proof whether it has affected the result of the election or not the election will be set aside, at the instance of the Shia candidate. It may be necessary to give a guarantee that the election rules will be amended to give effect to this assurance.

(3) That the Shias should be guaranteed sufficient number of seats in the Ministries, Legislatures, and all elected bodies, as well as to all judicial and executive posts, which should bear a definste proportion to the Muslims who are appointed to these places. The proportion must necessarily vary in different Provinces and will have to be fixed in consultation with the representatives of the Shias in these Provinces.

(4) That the Muslim League, while fighting for Pakistan, will at least simultaneously carry on its struggle for the Independence of the country as a whole, and should be willing to settle its differences with other political parties, in order that the movement for the freedom of the country may not be jeopardised. It should be realised that insistence on the attainment of Pakistan first is likely to delay considerably both Pakistan and Independence.

I may mention in the end, according to me, that these are the most important points which have so far kept the Shia Political Conference and the majority of the Shias outside the Muslim League. I hope that as soon as a satisfactory understanding is arrived at on these questions, there will probably be no difficulty left in the two bodies working in harmony with each other.

Yours Sincerely
(Sd.) Ali Zaheer.

### MR. JINNAH'S REPLY

*Mr, Jinnah's letter in reply to Syed Ali Zaheer's letter*:

Bombay, 31st August 1944.

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of July 25th, and I regret I cannot discuss the points raised by you through and by means of correspondence. I enclose herewith a copy of a press report of my interview with a deputation of the Shias of the Punjab dated March 30th for your information. I am confident that the majority of Shias are with the Muslim League, and such of them as are still outside the League under some sort of misapprehension are, in my opinion, unwise in not joining the Muslim League without any reservation in the interests of the Shias as well as of Muslim India, generally. The Muslim League stands for justice and fair-play, and will always stand for these fundamental principles, and there is no need for the Shias to think that they will not be justly treated by the All-India Muslim League. I think it is a great disservice to the Muslim cause to create any kind of division between the Mussalmans of India, and I do not see any real cause or occasion for it. Our organisation is now in a position to mete out justice to every individual and recognise the merits wherever we have any voice or

power to do so, and as time goes on, it will grow more and more in that direction. The Muslim League cannot recognise any other political organisation. Besides, most of the points that you have raised are matters for the Mussalmans themselves to deal with internally, and some of them are totally irrelevant and are raised under a misapprehension and not in accordance with facts.

Yours Faithfully.
(Sd.) M. A. Jinnah.

### Mr. Jinnah's Relpy Unsatisfactory

**Shia Committee's Resolution**

The Committee, after a couple of hours' deliberations, unanimously adopted a resolution characterising Mr. Jinnah's reply to their President's letter as unsatisfactory. The following is the full text of the resolution:

"This meeting of the Central Standing Committee of the All-India Shia Political Conference is grateful to Mr. Jinnah in so far as he promises freedom for all religions in Pakistan, and assures that the constitution of Pakistan would be framed on democratic lines. The Committee also notes with satisfaction that according to Mr. Jinnah, unity among Muslims and complete toleration is a condition precedent to the achievement of Pakistan, but this Committee regrets to note that while Mr, Jinnah enunciates these high sounding principles, he has done nothing so far to remove the causes which are responsible for disunity in the ranks of Mussalmans, which have kept the Shia Political Conference aloof from the Muslim League. In fact, beyond advising the Shias to join the Muslim League unconditionally, Mr. Jinnah has not taken even the trouble of finding out whether the grievances mentioned by the President of this Conference in his letter do in fact exist or not. He has disposed them of in an airy fashion by the remarks that they are totally irrelevant and are not in accordance with facts. This method of dealing with such vital matters is, in the opinion of this Committee, highly unsatisfactory, and is not likely to bridge the gulf which unfortunately exists between the two major communities of Islam.

This Committee is further of the opinion that the demands contained in the letter of the President of the Conference are the minimum demands of the Shia community and the reply given by Mr. Jinnah is not at all satisfactory."

# The A. I. Scheduled Castes Federation

## Working Committee—Madras—23rd September 1944

**Plea for Separate Treatment**

The Working Committee of the All-India Scheduled Castes Federation met at Madras *on the* 23rd September 1944 at the residence of *Rao Bahadur N. Sivaraj*, President of the Federation. Mr. Sivaraj presided.

Mr. *P. N. Rajbhoj*, General Secretary, gave an account of the working of the Federation in the various provinces and mentioned that the branches were working satisfactorily. He then gave an account of his visit to the flood-affected areas in the Bombay province.

Resolutions were then considered and passed.

The main resolution passed by the meeting stated in categorical terms that the Scheduled Castes were distinct and separate element in the national life of India and called upon Indian political leaders particularly the Hindu leaders to accept this fact in the interests of peace and good will between the Hindus and the Schedulled Castes and for the speedy realisation of India's political goal. By another resolution it welcomed the declaration made by His Majesty's Government and recently reiterated by His Excellency the Viceroy that His Majesty's Government regards the consent of the Scheduled Castes, among others, to the constitution of a free India as a matter of vital importance and as a necessary condition precedent for the transfer of power to Indian hands.

The meeting declared that no constitution would be acceptable to them unless, amongst others, it recognised the Scheduled Castes as a distinct and separate element and contained within itself provisions for earmarking a definite sum in the Budgets for the educational needs of the community, for representation of the community in the legislatures and local bodies and in the public services.

### COMMUNAL UNITY ISSUE

On the communal settlement question, the Committee expressed surprise that Mr. Gandhi should have entered into secret diplomacy to bring about Hindu-Muslim settlement, and stated its emphatic opinion that the proper procedure to settle the communal question which would give a sense of security and ensure fair and equal treatment to all, is to discuss the demands put forth by each interest in public and in the presence of and with the representatives of other interests. The Committee demanded that in view of the fact that the next constitution of India would be 'for India as a dominion', the Provisions of the Constitution relating to minorities should be revised and brought in accordance with the principle of equal treatment of all minorities. It also demanded that the system of joint electorates and reserved seats should be abolished and the system of separate electorates be introduced in place thereof.

With regard to the framework of the Executive of Government, the meeting resolved that the Executive in the provinces as well as in the Centre should be constituted in such a manner, amongst others, as to consist of a Prime Minister and other Ministers drawn from the major communities and minority communites in a proportion to be specified in the constitution.

Through another resolution, the meeting opined, that the Constitution must recognise the right of the Scheduled Castes to reservation in the Public services in the same proportion as might be to the claims of Muslim community.

The committee then resolved that it regarded it as essential that a definite liability for the spread of higher and advanced education among the Scheduled Castes, should be imposed on the State and demanded that the Constitution should impose an obligation upon the Provincial Governments and the Central Government to set apart adequate sums, exclusively for advanced education of the Scheduled Castes, in their annual budgets and to accept such provisions as first charge on their revenues.

### SEPARATE SETTLEMENT FOR SCHEDULED CASTES

The resolution passed on the 'separate settlement' question and demanded that the constitution should provide for the transplantation of the Scheduled Castes from their present habitations to form separate Scheduled Caste villages away from and independent on Hindu villages and for the establishment of a Settlement Commission, that all Government land which is cultivable and which is not occupied and land which may be reclaimed shall be handed over to the Commission to be held in trust for the purpose of new settlements of the Scheduled Castes, that the Commission should be empowered to purchase the new land under the Land Acquisition Act from private owners to complete the scheme of settlement and that the constitution should contain a provision that the Central Government should grant to the Settlement Commission a minimum sum of rupees five crores per annum to enable it to carry out its duty in this behalf.

The last resolution passed ran as follows: "The Working Committee places its complete confidence in Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and authorises him to negotiate on its behalf and on behalf of the Scheduled Castes with other political parties or their leaders as and when necessarily arises."

## Scheduled Castes' Future

### Dr. Ambedkar's Advice

Dr. *B. R. Ambedkar*, addressing a largely attended public meeting held at the Memorial Hall, Park Town, Madras on the 24 September 1944 canvassed the view that the Scheduled Castes were a separate element in the national life of India. *Rao Bahadur N. Sivaraj* presided.

Dr. Ambedkar was given a loud ovation as he entered the Hall. Addresses on behalf of the Madras Adi Dravida Workers' Association, the Andhra Provincial Scheduled Castes Welfare Association, the South Indian Buddhist Association and the Scheduled Castes Federation of the Civil and Military Station, Bangalore, were then presented and taken as read. Dr. Ambedkar was then profusely garlanded on behalf of the several organisations. A picture of Lord Buddha was presented to him as a Souvenir by a youth.

The Chairman then extended a welcome on behalf of the Scheduled Castes Federation and requsted Dr. Ambedkar to tell them what exactly he would like 'our people to do'.

Dr. Ambedkar addressed the meeting for about seventy minutes, referring in

detail to the political situation, to the attitude of other parties towards the Scheduled Castes and what the demands of the Scheduled Castes were.

### Allegations Against Gandhiji

Dr. Ambedkar first referred to certain events that took place at the Round Table Conference in 1930 and the part played by Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Gandhi, Rt. Hon. Sastri and other people, he said, had let down India, not he.

Dr. Amedkar, continuing, said that it was better that the Hindus reconciled themselves to the fact that for good or for bad, the Scheduled Castes were a separate element in the national life of India, that they were in perfect accord with them that this country should get its freedom and that they would not stand in the way. "But I should like to serve a notice upon them that the Swaraj Government must be a Government in which the Hindus, Muslims and the Scheduled Castes will be heirs to a sovereign power," he added and went on : "We will never allow a Swaraj Government to come into existence in which we have no place, in which we have no power. We shall do anything to achieve this object. There will be no limit to our sacrifice. (Cheers). There will be no limit to the sanctions we may use. The constitution must be a tripartite constitution, a constitution in which Hindus, the Scheduled Castes and the Muslims will have equal place and equal authority. If you want freedom you have to accept these terms. If you don't accept these terms, you will not get your freedom. (Cheers). If you don't get freedom, the blame will be entirely on your shoulders and not on ours. Make no mistake about this." (Cheers).

### Talks with Mr. Jinnah

Concluding, Dr. Ambedkar referred to the Gandhi-Jinnah talks and said that he did not like these conversations. The communal problem was not merely a problem between the Hindus and the Muslims. It was a vital problem in which not only the Muslims were involved, but the Scheduled Castes, the Christians and other minorities were involved In a matter of such nature, the wisest and the safest course would be for all representatives of the different minorities to sit together, place their cards on the table so that each one might know what the other was asking and all of them in common consultation, with just regard to the rights of others, give a decision which might be upheld by all. This sectional settlement had a bad odour. He did not know what Mr. Jinnah was demanding from Mr. Gandhi and what the latter was inclined to give to Mr. Jinnah. "If Mr. Gandhi gives Mr. Jinnah something more than what Mr. Jinnah is entitled to, that something is going to come out of my share," he added. The whole aim in the political career of Gandhiji ever since the communal problem had loomed large was "to neglect the Scheduled Castes, to by-pass them and leave them where they were." Mr. Gandhi, the speaker added, had at one time told the Muslims that he would grant them their fourteen demands provided they withdrew support to the Scheduled Castes. He said he had in his possession an agreement which was drawn up between Gandhiji and the Muslims at the Round Table Conference. Fortunately for them the Muslims did not adopt the course suggested.

Concluding, Dr. Ambedkar exhorted his community men to feel that their aim and aspiration should be to become a governing community. If they recognised that they would realise what a tremendous effort they had to make in order to put this scheme through and this time they meant business. It was no use depending upon the goodwill of H. M.'s Government or anybody. They must depend upon themselves and build their own strength. They must remove every cause of disunity amongst themselves for they would never achieve strength if they carried on their local activity in a local manner and in a local spirit. They must come under the banner of a single association, a single political body and towards that end must become members of the All-India Scheduled Castes Federation.

### Advice to Justice Party

Speaking at a luncheon party given in his honour by Mr. *P. Balasubramania Mudaliar*, Editor, *The Sunday Ovserver*, at the Connemara Hotel, the hon, *Dr. B. R. Ambedkar*, indicated what he considered were the reasons for the collapse of the Non-Brahmin Party of Madras.

The party was held in the Grill Room of the Hotel and was well-attended by officials and non-officials. After lunch, Mr. P. Balasubramania Mudaliar requested Dr. Ambedkar to speak a few words.

Dr. Ambedkar then spoke. As far as he had been able to study, he said, that the advent of the Non-Brahmin Party had been an event in the history of India. Many people had not been able to realise that the fundamental basis of the Non-

Brahmin Party was not the communal aspect, which the word Non-Brahmin indicated. No matter who ran the Non-Brahmin Party, whether it was what they called the "intermediate class" which lay between the Brahmin at one end and the untouchables at the other, the party could be nothing if it was not a party of democracy. Therefore every-body who believed in democracy had a deep concern in the interests and fortunes of that party. The organisation of the Non-Brahmin Party was an event in the history of this country. Its downfall was also equally an event to be remembered with a great deal of sorrow. Why the party crumbled in the 1937 election was a question which the leaders of the party should ask themselves. After all in Madras they had the regime of the Non-Brahmin Party for practically twenty years before the elections came. Then, what was wrong with the Party to make it fall like a pack of cards, notwithstanding the long period of office? What was it that made the Party unpopular with a large majority of Non-Brahmins themselves? In his view two things were responsible for this downfall. Firstly, they had not been able to realise exactly what their differences were with the Brahminical section. Though they indulged in virulent criticism of Brahmins and Brahminism, could any one say that those differences had been doctrinal? How much Brahminism had they in them? They wore *namams* and regarded themselves as second-class Brahmins. Instead of abandoning Brahminism, they had been holding on to the spirit of it as being the ideal they ought to reach. And their anger against Brahmins was that the Brahmins gave them only a second class degree. How could a party take roots when its followers did not know in clear cut terms what were the doctrinal differences between the party to which they belonged and the party which they were asked to oppose? So the failure to enunciate the doctrine of differences between the Brahminical section and the Non-Brahmins was one of the reasons for the downfall of the Party.

The second reason for the downfall of the Party was its very narrow political programme. The Party had been described by its opponents as a party of job-hunters. That was the term THE HINDU had often used. He did not attach much importance to this criticism, for, "if we are job hunters, then the other side are no less than we are." One defect in the political programme of the Non-Brahmin Party had been that the Party made it its chief concern to secure a certain number of jobs for their young men. That was perfectly legitimate. But did Non-Brahmin young men for whom the party fought for twenty years to secure jobs in public services, remember the Party, after they received emoluments for their jobs? During the twenty years the Party had been in office, it forgot the 90 per cent of the Non-Brahmins living in the villages, leading an uneconomic life and getting into the clutches of the money-lenders. He had examined the legislations enacted during this period and except for one solitary measure of land reform, the Non-Brahmin Party never bothered about the tenants and the peasants. That was why the "Congress fellows stole their clothes quietly."

Dealing with recent developments in the Party, Dr. Ambedkar said that he had been greatly pained by the turn of events. One thing he would like to impress was that a party was the only thing that would save them. A party needed a good leader, a party needed an organisation, a party needed a political platform. Quoting the labour Party debacle in 1934, Dr. Ambedkar said, "let us not be too critical about leaders." Let them look at the Congress. Who would have accepted Mr. Gandhi as a leader in any other country? He was a man who had no vision, no knowledge, no judgment. He was a man who had been a failure all his life in public life. There was no important occasion when India was about to succeed when Mr. Gandhi had brought about anything good. This was the speaker's individual opinion. When Mr. Jinnah raised his Pakistan issue two or three years ago, Mr. Gandhi called it a sin and turned a deaf ear. Ultimately the Frankenstein grew. Mr. Gandhi got frightened. He was grappling with it now by making a complete somersault. Yet he continued to be the leader in this country, because the Congress did not put its leader on his trial. Let them take the case of Mr. Jinnah. He was an autocratic leader. They will be surprised to know that the League was entirely his show. But the Mussalmans had rightly placed their faith in him. The Congress knew that any charge levelled against Mr. Gandhi would mean the disruption of the whole organisation and so tolerated a great deal of what was inconsistent with democracy. Therefore, he would say to the Non-Brahmins "unity is of supreme importance. Learn that lesson before it is too late."

# Congress Workers' Informal Conference

## Bombay—28th & 29th October 1944

The Bombay Presidency Congress Workers' Informal Conference concluded at Bombay on the 29th October 1944 late at night. A Sub-Committee, consisting of the office-bearers of the Bombay, Gujarat, Maharastra and Karnatak Provincial Congress Committees, which was preparing drafts of resolutions to be placed before the Conference, considered the proposal to hold a plenary session of the Congress. A point of order was raised whether, in the absence of the Congress Working Committee, a plenary session could be summoned.

Unlike the last occasion, *President Azad* had not delegated powers of presidentship to any this time. Secondly, it was stated that the President had categorically mentioned at the time of his arrest that in the absence of the Congress Working Committee nobody could usurp the powers of the Congress. It was urged by one group that in view of the above views of the Congress President, no plenary session of the Congress could be held without the Congress Working Committee.

Mr. *N. V. Gadgil*, Chairman of the Committee, ruled Mr. *S. K. Patil's* motion for summoning a plenary session to endorse Gandhiji's offer to the British Government out of order. Opinion among the workers assembled here was friendly to the suggestion of a special session. In view of the Chairman's ruling it appeared that individual Congressmen would discuss it with Gandhiji and take his advice.

### RESOLUTIONS

Resolutions laying down their future policy and programme were passed unanimously by the Maharashtra, Gujarat, Karnatak, Bombay and Suburban Congress Workers' Conference at its closing session here to-day. The Conference adopted the A. I. C. C. resolution of 1942 as being still in force and governing Congress policy as interpreted by Mahatma Gandhi.

In one resolution, it was decided that all Congressmen must immediately, and in earnest, start the enrolment of Congress members in large numbers, and set a time-limit for the enlisting of a progressively larger quota.

"Such enrolment is not only desirable in itself", the resolution stated, "but also has it become incumbent on Congressmen, in view of the challenge thrown by the powers-that-be against the right of the Indian National Congress to speak for the nation, and of the necessity to demonstrate that even when the Government intern Congress leaders, the Congress governs the hearts of the people".

Another motion urged the formation of an official Volunteer Corps, based on "unquestioning discipline and unadulterated nationalism", in every Congress province, "for activising the Congress and giving to the young generation an opportunity to train themselves for the service of the country through the Indian National Congress". It added: "The training of these volunteers must be both physical and intellectual. There must be one uniform policy for all volunteer Corps organised by the Congress, both in respect of the efficient working of the volunteer organisation and the restrictions from time to time put on the volunteer movement by the Government in this country. The Conference feels that the principle of a programme with a set quota "can be fruitfully applied to this essential activity of the Congress."

### Fifteen-Year Plan Condemned

Another motion adopted read: "This Conference feels it necessary to caution the people of the Province in respect of various economic plans which are being sponsored by Government and which are demonstrably intended to distract the public mind from the main political issue of complete national independence. This Conference is of opinion that, viewed in this context, the 15-year plan announced by the Government of Bombay is not only unimaginative and inadequate but also mischievous and harmful, inasmuch as it is planned, in pursuance of the traditional policy of 'divide and rule', to further disrupt the village community, and to introduce new conflicts of interests where they did not exist. As such, the 15-year plan of the Bombay Government must be condemned. The Conference feels that only a National Government responsible to the people can devise and carry out an economic plan in the true interests of the people of this country.

The following resolutions also were passed:

FOOD POLICY

"Whereas the 'procurement and distribution of food' policy followed by the Government in this province is calculated to aggravate the hardships of the people and to encourage corruption, this Conference is of opinion that no Congressman can co-operate with any agency appointed by the Government to carry out the said policy. The Conference, however, considers it necessary that committees of of Congressmen, as well as of such others as are prepared to co-operate with Congressmen, should be formed in every taluka, to ventilate and to secure the redress of the grievances of the people arising out of the steps taken by Government and its officers in pursuance of the said policy. The Conference welcomes the efforts already made in this direction by non-official organisations in the province.

COMMUNIST AND ROYIST PROPAGANDA CRITICISED

"Whereas the Congress is an active political organisation fighting a powerful foreign Government, it is necessary that no component element of the Congress and no constituted Congress body should be allowed to work, or carry on propaganda in the country, against the deliberate decisions of the duly-constituted Congress authorities. This Conference notes with regret that several members of the Royist and Communist parties holding elective posts in Congress Committees have acted and carried on propaganda against the A. I. C. C. resolution of August 8, 1942, and is of opinion that disciplinary action ought to be taken against them. This Conference is further of opinion that Congressmen ought to desist from any political association with the above mentioned parties."

CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME

"This Conference is of opinion that, while Congress organisations and Congressmen have given their approval to the constructive programme, they have not worked for its fulfilment as vigorously and intensively as they ought to. The Conference strongly urges the people of this province in general, and the Congress organisations in particular, to concentrate their efforts on successfully carrying out the constructive programme, with special emphasis on khadi, gramodyoga, talimisangh, and popularisation of Hindustani, which form the foundation of that programme."

CAMPAIGN AGAINST CORRUPTION

"The Conference draws the attention of the people of Bombay province to the corruption and exploitation which are rampant in the country, and are choking the life of the people and on which Mahatma Gandhi has focussed public attention. The Conference makes a fervent appeal to the people of the province to make serious efforts to mobilise public opinion against the same and further to take all possible steps to eradicate these evils."

Mr. *N. V. Gadgil*, President, in his speech, referred to Mahatma's fast and expressed the deep anxiety not only of Congressmen but of the people of India. He thought that it was in the hands of the people to avoid the first if they only carried out their part in the constructive programme according to the instructions issued by Mahatma Gandhi. "It that is done, you are sure that the chances of the fast is postponed, if not altogether avoided", he added, and asked the assurance of the Conference to communicate to Mahatma Gandhi their promise to carry out the instructions to the best of their ability.

## Programme for Congressmen

### Mahatma Gandhi's Suggestions

"Its wholesale fulfilment is complete Independence," said *Mahatma Gandhi* in a note entitled, "Hints for workers on the Constructive Programme," which he had sent to the Conference of Congressmen meeting at Bombay on the 28th. October. The following is the text of the note :—

Workers should definitely realise that the Constructive Programme is the non-violent and truthful way of winning Poorna Swaraj. Its wholesale fulfilment is Complete Independence. Imagine all the 40 crores of people engaged in the whole of the Constructive Programme, which is designated to build up the nation from the very bottom upward. Can anybody dispute the proposition that it must mean Complete Independence in every sense of the expression, including ousting of foreign domination ? When the critics laugh at the proposition, what they mean is that 40 crores of people will never co-operate in the effort to fulfil the programme. No doubt there is a considerable truth in the scoff. My answer is, is it worth the

attempt. Given an indomitable will on the part of a band of earnest workers, the programme is as workable as any other and more so than most. Anyway, I have no substitute for it, if it is to be based on non-violence.

### Training in Constructive Effort

Civil disobedience, mass or individual, is an aid to constructive effort and is a full substitute for armed revolt. Just as military training is necessary for armed revolt, training in constructive effort is equally necessary for civil resistance, and just as the use of arms becomes necessary only when occasion demands it, even so is the use of civil resistance only occasional. Therefore, workers will never be on the look-out for civil resistance. They will hold themselves in readiness, if the constructive effort is sought to be defeated.

To take one or two illustrations: efforts for communal friendship cannot be defeated, political pacts can. But political pacts are required because of the previous lack of friendship. Again, Khadi manufacture and its use cannot be defeated if both become fairly universal. The manufacture and use are not to be brought about by being imposed upon the people, but they have to be intelligently accepted by them as one of the necessary items of the Freedom Movement, when it is worked with the villages as units. Pioneers even in such programmes can be obstructed. They have had to go through the fire of suffering throughout the world.

There is no Swaraj without suffering. In violence, Truth is the greatest sufferer; in non-violence Truth is ever trumphant. If the preliminary observation has gone home to the reader, he will find the constructive programme to be full of deep interest. It should as absorbing as politics so-called and platform oratory.

The detailed constuctive programme is to be found in my pamphlet on it, and Dr. Rajendra Prosad's, which is a running commentary on it. It should be remembered that it is illustrative, not exhaustive. Local circumstances may suggest many more items not touched in the printed programme. These are beyond the scope of a treatise on an All-India programme. They are necessarily for local workers to find out and do the needful.

### Service to The Kisans

In these hints, I have singled out some items for fuller emphasis in the light of experience gained since the publication of the programme. The Kisan or the peasant, whether as a landless labour or a labouring proprietor comes first. He is the salt of the earth, which rightly belongs or should belong to him, not to the absentee landlord or zamindar. But in the non-violent way the labourer cannot forcibly eject the absentee landlord. He has so to work as to make it impossible for the landlord. Closest co-operation amongst the peasants is absolutely necessary. To this end, special organising bodies or committees should be formed, where there are none and those already in existence should be reformed where necessary. The Kisans are, for the most part, illiterate. Both adults and young persons of school-going age should be educated. This applies to men and women. Where they are landless labourers, their wages should be brought to a level that would ensure a decent living, which should mean balanced food, dwelling houses and clothing which should satisfy health requirements.

Land laws should be investigated. The peasants' indebtedness offers a limitless field for research. The problem of cattle too is an integral part of agriculture in India and, therefore, requires the attention of workers skilled in this very intricate and somewhat baffling problem.

### Work Among Labourers

Closely allied to the Kisan work is Labour and therefore, concentrated and centralised and much more limited in scope. Moreover, it lends itself readily to political handling. Being necessarily confined to critics, it attracts workers more easily than Kisan work. As part of the constructive programme, its primary aim is elevation of Labour to its deserved status. Therefore, a Labour worker's aim should to raise the moral and intellectual height of Labour and thus by sheer merit to make him or her capable not merely of bettering his or her material condition but making Labour master for the means of production, instead of being the slave that it is. Capital should be Labour's servant, not his master. Labour should be made conscious of its duty, from whose performance rights follow as a matter of course.

In a concrete form: (a) Labour should have its own Union: (b) Education, both general and scientific, or both men and women, should be regularly undertaken through night schools. (c) Children of labourers should be educated after the

Basic Education style. (d) There should be a hospital, a creche and a maternity home attached to every centre. (e) Labour should be able to support itself during strikes. (Labour should be taught the science of conducting a successful non-violent strike).

All the work I have mentioned could be only done through unions mentioned in (a). To my knowledge the Ahmedabad Union is the best managed Union. This does not mean that it has reached my ideal. It is trying to. If all the Unions worked in the same direction, the lot of labour would be infinitely better than it is to-day. Labour united and morally and intellectually trained would any day be superior to capital.

### DUTY TO STUDENTS

Next in importance is the student class above the age of 12. Indeed, if we have enough workers of the right type, I would go so far as to say that we should work among them as soon as they begin learning as infants. For they have to be taken in hand from the school-going age. Indeed, I need not say that I have not in mind their political use. For the present, the schools are largely under Government control or are influenced by them. Hence the students' education is defective in a vital matter. They are untouched by the political condition of the country, save what they learn from the newspapers or platform orators. They should have, in a systematic manner, their present education supplemented by Congress workers. How this can be fitted into the present system of education is a serious question. But it has to be tackled. Up to the matriculation standard, co-operation of parents is necessary.

I adhere to the view often expressed by me that the student world should be aloof from the political turmoil. It would be different if there was mass civil disobedience. But that is out of the question for the time being at any rate. But they should have education in national consciousness. It is the duty of an independent State to teach its citizens to be patriotic. The education imparted is by a foreign agency. It runs contrary to the national aspirations. There should therefore, be a body of workers whose duty it would be to undertake the big task of taking in hand the work mentioned above. In this sense, it is a new field. and it is of vital importance to us. We must recognise the fact that the students are not to be weaned from schools and colleges. The rapidly increasing number of entrants is proof positive of it. The best course, therefore, is to supplement their studies in an orderly manner. Deliverance lies through national effort in this direction showing marked superiority over the foreign method.

# The Non-Party-Leaders' Conference

## Standing Committee—New Delhi—19th November 1944

### Committee to Solve Communal Problem

The Standing Committee of the Non-Party Conference decided to appoint a committee to suggest a solution of the communal and political problems. This decision had the wholehearted support of Mahatma Gandhi, who promised full co-operation in the work of the proposed committee. The basic conception of the committee was that the discussion of the communal and political problem should be lifted from the partisan level to the scientific and judicial level. The resolution runs :

"The Standing Committee of the Non-Party Conference, having considered the present situation in view of the breakdown of the Gandhi-Jinnah talks on the communal issue, hereby resolves to appoint a committee which will examine the whole communal and minorities question from a constitutional and political point of view, put itself it touch with different parties and their leaders including the minorities interested in the question and present a solution within two months to the Standing Committee of the Non-Party Conference. The Standing Committee will take all reasonable steps to get that solution accepted by all parties concerned. The Standing Committee authorises Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru to appoint members of the committee and announce their names in due course."

*Sir Tej Bahadur* speaking at a press conference, stated that he had placed before Mr. Gandhi at Wardha the idea of a committee of the kind now decided upon, and Mr. Gandhi had said :—"I shall unreservedly co-operate with it. You can call me whenever you like; put me any questions you like, ask me for any assistance you like."

Sir Tej Bahadur said he had not yet selected the members of the proposed committee. It was Mr. Gandhi's idea and he agreed with it that there should be on the committee no one who was a partisan or one who had expressed himself violently on political issues of the country. It was also the idea that there should be one or two retired Judges who would bring a judicial mind to bear on the country's problems. Sir Tej Bahadur had received replies from two or three persons who had been approached. He had good reasons to believe that Dr. Ambedkar would be able to help with advice and suggestions, though of course because of his official position, he would not be on the committee,

Sir Tej Bahadur had one or two European names before him, and, if they were prepared to help the committee, he was willing to have them.

In reply to a correspondent, Sir Tej Bahadur said it was his intention to approach Mr. Jinnah in due course.

The committee, as soon as it was constituted, would put itself into touch with every single leader of prominence in the country. Personally, he would not mind any rebuff; or anyone telling the committee: "You are nobody; you have no goods to deliver." It was entirely optional for any person to help the committee.

It was the intention that every document placed before the committee should be published. The whole material, together with the committee's report, would be before the country.

The effort of the committee would be to understand the views of each party, act as a sort of a conciliation board by establishing contact with all parties and recommend some solution that they thought good on their own responsibility.

"It would be open to each party to accept it wholly or partially or to reject it. There is no question of failure or success. When the committee has done its work, it would be for the leaders of the different parties to consider whether at that stage they would not call a bigger conference—either an all-parties conference or a convention."

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru said he had placed all these points before Mr. Gandhi and a provisional draft of the resolution now passed by the Standing Committee of the Non-Party Conference was prepared.

Sir Tej Bahadur contradicted a report published in Delhi that the Viceroy has expressed tacit approval of this proposal. "I have had no correspondence with the Viceroy for the last three months," Sir Tej Bahadur declared. The proposal had nothing to do with the Viceroy or any other official, high or low.

So far as the Government was concerned, Sir Tej Bahadur's view was that they should smooth the way of the committee by adopting a reasonable attitude to any approach for information or statistics. But, he declared: "In order to smooth the way and create the proper atmosphere, it is very necessary that the Congress leaders behind the bars should be let out, because I see no reason why they should be kept there any longer." He was, however, not putting this forward as a "*sine qua non.*"

His own view of the strength of the proposed committee was between fifteen and twenty members.

Sir Tej Bahadur agreed with a press correspondent's suggestion that the basic conception of the committee was that the discussion of the communal and political problem should be lifted from the partisan level to the scientific and judicial level.

Giving an account of his earlier discussions with Mr. Gandhi, Sir Tej Bahadur said that towards the end of October he wrote to the Mahatma and told him that things were taking a rather dangerous turn. Sir Tej expressed regret at the use of the phrase 'civil war' in some of the speeches made following the breakdown of the Gandhi-Jinnah talks.

"I am one of those who do not believe in a civil war or in the possibility of a civil war in this country," declared Sir Tej Bahadur.

He pointed out to Mr. Gandhi that several people had suggested that the time had come for an All-Parties Conference; he knew that Mr. Gandhi's mind was running in that direction; but in Sir Tej Bahadur's view such a conference would not lead to any satisfactory results in the existing circumstances.

Sir Tej Bahadur saw Mr. Gandhi early in November and in the course of discussion Mr. Gandhi expressed himself against a convention, but there was one impression left in Sir Tej Bahadur's mind at the end of the conversations.

"Having very freely exchanged views, I came to the conclusion that if there was one man among the 400 millions who was genuinely and sincerely anxious for a settlement it was Mahatma Gandhi. I shall maintain that in spite of any statement to the contrary."

With that impression he left Mr. Gandhi but as he was leaving, Mr. Gandhi asked him to give thought to the matter further and come back to Wardha. During the two or three hours that he was free, Sir Tej Bahadur tentatively arrived at the idea of the committee and went back to Mr. Gandhi and explained it to him. They discussed it at length and Sir Tej was agreeably surprised that the suggestion found ready acceptance on Mr. Gandhi's part.

The one condition on which Mr. Gandhi laid stress was that the members of this committee should not belong to any political party or have definitely committed themselves to any particular views since the break-down of the Bombay talks.

## Standing Committee—Allahabad—3rd December 1944

### Statement on Political Situation

The Standing Committee of the Non-Party Conference, which met at Allahabad on the 3rd December 1944, *Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru* presiding, issued the following statement on the general political situation in the country :—

"The Standing Committee of the Non-Party Conference having considered the existing political situation desire to call attention to some of its outstanding features, In provinces such as Madras, Bombay, the United Provinces, the Central Provinces and Bihar for the last five years and more, there have been no Ministries and no legislatures and taxes have been levied and public expenditure incurred by Governors in the exercise of their all-embracing power under Section 93 of the Government of India Act, 1935. In Orissa, the deadlock was broken for a short period but at the present moment there too, there is no legislature and therefore no Ministry. The Committee consider that the framers of the Act could never have contemplated that Section 93, which was really intended to cope with a temporary breakdown of the constitution, should be used and remain in operation for such a length of time as five years continuously.

"The Committee regret to observe that they see no signs of any coming change in the policy of His Majesty's Government in this respect and they fear that until the duration of the war, the end of which no one can yet see, the absolute powers for the use of which no Governor is responsible to the people of his Province may continue to be used indefinitely to the great and growing dissatisfaction and resentment of the people. That there is general dissatisfaction and resentment and that it has been growing from year to year the Committee are prepared to affirm emphatically. The Committee further draw attention to the fact that vast post-war schemes involving huge financial commitments are being accepted with a view to their being put into operation either immediately or after the war without their being submitted to the scrutiny of the legislatures where, representatives of the public would have an effective voice in shaping them and controlling their execution. Any Advisory Committees that have been set up or conferences which are held from time to time cannot be a legitimate or effective substitute for the responsibility of the duly elected representatives of the legislatures on such important matters. The people of this country are vitally interested in the development of industries, large and small, communications, education, public health and other social services and they feel that on constitutional grounds they are obviously entitled to take part in the formation and execution of these big schemes affecting the future of this big country.

"Similarly, the Committee draw attention to the fact that, important decisions have been taken with regard to recruitment of the Indian Civil Service and the Indian police and military officers are being employed in many civil posts without any previous reference to or consultation with the legislatures. In the opinion of the Committee, the proportions fixed by the Lee Committee twenty years ago for the recruitment of Europeans and Indians are already out of date and there does not seem to be any reason why consistently with the aim of Self-Government, the Services should not be manned by Indians of the requisite qualifications, recruitment from Europe being stopped without delay.

#### Appeal To Provincial Legislators

"The fact that some Ministries tendered their resignations in 1939, howsoever regrettable or open to criticism, cannot afford any justification for continuing for

such a length of time the irresponsible and autocratic rule of Governors. In the opinion of the Committee, a constitutional form of Government should be restored in the provinces and steps to give effect to that should be taken without further loss of time. The Committee also appeal to the members of the suspended Legislatures to show their readiness to resume responsibility and to accept as a working basis, the principle of Composite Governments wherever possible. In any case, if the members of the majority of the parties in the legislatures should decline to assume responsibility, they should agree to the members of minority parties assuming and carrying on as a temporary expedient the functions of stable Government.

RELEASE OF CONGRESS LEADERS

"In the opinion of the Committee, the release of the members of the Working Committee of the Congress, who have been kept in detention since August 1942, without trial, will help to restore good feeling in the country, and the acceptance of this suggestion will also tend to strengthen the chances of the resumption of responsibility by the majority parties and the settlement of differences between them and the minority parties in the legislatures. Besides, justice and fairness demand that they should not continue to be deprived any further of their freedom. The Committee also think that political situation has so materially changed that there can now be no reasonable fear of the revival of mass civil disobedience.

The Committee note with deep regret that His Majesty's Government still persist in the policy of doing nothing to change the character and constitutional status of the Central Government during the war. The Committee reiterate their belief that, even under the existing constitution, it is possible to so alter the the character and status of the Central Executive as to make it approximate to a National Government. In the opinion of the Committee, this end can be achieved without any great changes in the existing Act. Further, the Committee note with much regret that no practical steps have been taken by Government towards giving effect to pledges given in Parliament about Self-Government after the war. Much valuable time has been lost by this policy of inactivity which has only tended to foster a spirit of frustration and resentment among the people. If the pledge of Self-Government is to be translated into reality, steps should be taken now to achieve that end and not only the people but the Government must also play their appropriate parts in moving towards that end."

# Punjab Aryan Provincial Conference

## Welcome Address—Lahore—26th November 1944

Scenes reminiscent of the Hyderabad Satyagraha days were witnessed at the Gurudutta Bhawan, Lahore on the 26th November 1944 when about 50,000 persons, men and women, young and old alike, expressed their condemnation of the Sind Government's ban on the 14th chapter of the *Satyarth Prakash* and endorsed the decision to appoint a Council of Action under Mr. *Ghanshyam Singh Gupta*, Speaker, C. P. Assembly, who presided over the conference, by adopting unanimously a resolution moved by *Mahatma Narayan Swami* and seconded, amongst others, by *R. B. Badri Das*.

A huge gathering heard patiently, amidst unbounded enthusiasm, the speeches made by some of the most prominent Arya Samajists. These speeches, which were punctuated with enthusiastic slogans, were made at the Punjab Aryan Congress which was held under the joint auspices of the Anarkali and the Wachhowali Arya Samajes at the Gurudutta Bhawan.

This unity among the two sections of Arya Samaj at such a critical time was welcomed by the various speakers. *Mahashey Khushal Chand*, who was the Chairman of the Reception Committee, said: "The first proof of our strength is that those who parted company 60 years back are united again and I can tell you that Khushal Chand and Mahashey Krishan will embrace each other and work hand-in-hand and if need be and the time comes we will be in the same cell in the jail."

The main theme of the speeches was that the Arya Samajists' present quarrel was not with the Muslim masses as such or with the British Government but they

were fighting against the communalism of the Muslim League and the Sind League Ministry.

### LALA KHUSHAL CHAND'S ADDRESS

*Lala Khushal Chand,* Chairman of the Reception Committee, said that the Arya Samaj was being made a victim of the political game. He condemned the activities of communists and said that though communism was dead in Russia its ghost was even now haunting young boys and girls in India. The *Satyarth Prakash,* he said, was written to tell the truth and spread it; its great author had expressly stated the object of his writing by saying in the book that it was being written for the betterment of humanity and for distinguishing between truth and untruth. But nothing was to be forced on anyone for the object was to preach against evil. The great author of the book had said ; "Onr main object is to refrain from doing harm to anyone but help mutually."

L. Kushal Chand stated that the *Satyarth Prakash* influenced the life of Tolstoy who left Grihasth Ashram (family) and became a "Ban Prasthi." Moulana Mohd. Ali had described it as a "great work of Swami Dayanand." Maulvi Moorad Ali had said: "Satyarth Prakash is the fountain of food." The Nobel Prize Winner Mr. Ling, on studying the Satyarth Prakash, became a theist. The ban imposed by the Sind Government showed that for getting political power religious persecution could be done. The book had been read by crores of people during the last 62 years and not to speak of danger to peace never had even a prick been caused to anyone. The use of the Defence of India Rules for this purpose was political dishonesty and fraud being perpetrated upon the Muslim masses by the Sind Government. He had no doubt that the Arya Samaj would stand that attack. Would they dare use the Defence of India Rules against H. G. Wells' Short History of the World or against the writings of W. Bedwell or the 150 European authors who had criticised Islam and its principle ? The Defence of India Rules cannot kill the spirit. Though the League Government was to blame and not the British Government but the weapon had been taken from the British Government's armoury and, therefore, it was the duty of the Government of India to take immediate steps to heal this deep wound.

### Presidential Address

Mr. *Ghanshyam Singh Gupta* then delivered his presidential address amidst loud cheers. In the course of his speech he said :—

"The agitation against the "Satyarth Prakash" has been started by the Muslim League—an avowedly political organisation. In this very city, it first passed a resolution demanding proscription of the book. Having failed to get the response from the Central or Provincial Governments the League again pressed for it and this time at Karachi. The result was that the Muslim League Ministry of Sind obeyed the behests and banned the printing and publishing of Chapter XIV of the Satyarth Prakash. For this unwarranted and unprecedented measure the Sind Ministry has called in aid the Defence of India Rules. The Defence Rules were never intended to be used in this fashion of banning sacred books of any religion under the pretext of Law and Order. Law and Order was not disturbed for the last 70 years by the wide publication of the book. The Defence of India was not endangered for the past about 5 years that the war was going on. Suddenly the Muslim League resolution has made "Satyarth Prakash" dangerous for the Sind Government. The screen is so thin that it can deceive no body. It is the grossest misuse of the Defence of India Rules. It is clear to the poorest intellect that this attack on the religious liberties of Arya Samajists is based purely on political considerations and to serve political ends. What they can possibly be can only be guessed.

"It would appear that this is a link in the chain of Pakistan Programme. Among the opponents of Pakistan, the most uncompromising are the Sikhs and the Arya Samajists. The Muslim League and its leaders are apparently trying to cajole and entrap the former and crush the latter. because of their belief that the Arya Samajists cannot be cajoled or entrapped and the brave Sikhs cannot be crushed. It is devoutly hoped that the leaders of the great Sikh community will understand the game and refuse to be cajoled. I hope your iron determination will make it clear that it will not be an easy matter to crush the Arya Samaj either. But they are playing their game deftly. The Muslim League does not rely on its own strength for the purpose. They are anxious that the Arya Samaj be crushed into submission by the might of the British Government. Whatever one may say, I have not the least doubt that after the Arya Samaj has been dealt with, it will be time for the Muslim League to deal with the Sikhs and other Hindus and give them the foretaste of the Muslim League Government in their would-be Pakistan,

Religious tolerance will give place to religious bigotry and religious freedom to religious persecution. The history of the mediaeval period—of which your Punjab had more than enough share—will be repeated. If we fail to understand this essential thing from now, and become divided, it will be too late and our whole future will be doomed.

SAVE INDIA FROM RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION

"I would appeal to all right thinking persons, Hindus, Sikhs and Mohamedans and others, to unite and use all their influence to save India from this religious persecution. Let every body realise that extracts can be quoted from any religious book to make it a ground in support of persecution and if such things are even once allowed, no religious minority will be safe any where. It is, therefore, up to all to fight the danger and maintain civilised Government and civilised life.

"I would also most humbly appeal to the British Government not to be a party to this very clear religious persecution of a very small minority like the Arya Samaj. The British Government have been following the policy of allowing religious freedom since the days of Queen Victoria's memorable Proclamation and this age-long policy should be allowed to remain unimpaired. There is no substance in the allegation that law and order being a provincial subject, the whole responsibility lies with the Muslim League Government of Sind. British rule and British Government exist intact. No Provincial Government must be allowed to ostracise and resort to religious persecutions on the plea of law and order of a small minority. It may be stated at once that the quarrel of the Arya Samaj is not with our Muslim brethren and certainly not with the British Government. The demand against the 'Satyarth Prakash" has come from the Muslim League and the action has been taken by the Muslim League Ministry of Sind. Our grievance is, therefore, against the Muslim League.

"I would in all humility utter a word of warning to the Muslim League. If there ever was a case for Pakistan that case has been knocked to the very bottom by this one act of the Muslim League Ministry. Even before we have full-fledged Pakistan we have got this foretaste of it. God only knows what will be in store for us if and when the Muslim League rules with their full religious fervour and complete religious intolerance in the different areas of their Pakistan.

PAKISTAN—CHILD OF PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY

"This brings us to a constitutional question of a rather major importance. This religious persecution has come from the Provincial Government of Sind as it is to day and not from the contemplated Pakistan Government of Sind. Pakistan is as yet under contemplation and not in being. What should be the position of the Provinces vis-a-vis the Centre? I have no doubt in my mind that Pakistan is in a way the child of "Provincial Autonomy."

There can be no answer to the contention that if the provinces are to be autonomous they have the liberty to federate or not to federate wherever and whenever they like. I hold the formulas of the "Provincial Autonomy and Federation" to one of the greatest dangers of our time. The phrase is a misnomer to the conditions of our country. Our provinces are not the independent and sovereign States as in the U. S. A. Our provinces have been provinces subordinate to and deriving powers from the Centre. India has been one not only geographically but also politically and in all vital ways one, if not in past history at any rate for the last 150 years of the British rule. Now "Provincial autonomy" and "Federation" want to cut this *Bharatwarsh* into pieces and then again gather those pieces and join them. It is like cutting my body, hands, head, feet etc. and then again join them by some magic. I feel that like my body, India will be dead in this process of dissection.

"Those who have given their support to these two formulas must boldly retrace their steps and take a turn to proceed on the right path. It must be proclaimed from house tops that we are opposed to "Provincial Autonomy" and therefore to "Federation". There is absolutely no other way to kill Pakistan. I hold Rajaji's formula to be better that the current idea of "Provincial Autonomy." Rajaji makes the districts and not the provinces as units. Tho whole question is, under Swaraj where should the sovereignty of the people reside? I hold strongly that it should reside in the people of India as a whole and not separately in the inhabitants of the Provinces. The Provinces must derive their authority from and work as agents of the Centre. This is the only way to escape from religious and other sorts of persecution of the worst type, much more dangerous and all embracing than what was experienced in the mediaeval ages.

"The Arya Samaj will not rest until and unless this attack on religion is set right. In this I have no doubt that the Samaj will receive help and support from right-thinking persons of all faiths and professions."

### BAN CONDEMNED

*Mahatma Narayan Swami*, who led the Hyderabad Satyagraha movement, moved the following resolution:—

"This session of the Punjab Aryan Congress expresses its feeling of deep resentment at the order of the Sind Government banning the printing and publishing of Chapter 14th of the Satyarth Prakash under the Defence of India Rules on the pretext of preserving public peace and safety. In the opinion of the Congress the action of the Sind Government is a flagrant abuse of the provisions of the Defence of India Rules and instead of preserving public peace and safety is sure to endanger them by increasing communal tension and bitterness. The said order has deeply injured the religious feelings not only of Arya Samajists but also of all Hindus and is disapproved even by right-minded Muslims. The Satyarth Prakash is a sacred book of the Arya Samajists and they look upon it with the same feeling of reverence as the followers of their religions do with regard to their own books, and will never tolerate any interference thereof.

"This Congress claims that there is nothing in the Satyarth Prakash by way of criticism of other religions the like of which against contemporary religions and sects is not to be found in the sacred books of others. The existence of such criticism in the Satyarth Prakash cannot be any ground for its mutilation and the Arya Samaj cannot allow it. Swami Dayanand did not criticise other religiona with the object of unnecessarily offending the religious susceptibilities of their followers but with the sole object of sifting truth from untruth. This session, therefore, strongly urges the Sind Government and the Government of India to put an end to the daily growing unrest and increasing communal bitterness by withdrawing the wholly uncalled for and unjust order of the provincial Government.

"This session of the provincial Aryan Congress fully endorses the resolution dated the 19th November 1944, passed by the representatives of Arya Samajes assembled at Delhi and expresses its complete confidence in the Committee of Action formed under the presidentship of Shriyut Ghanshyam Singh Gupta, Speaker, C. P. Assembly and assures its leaders that the whole Arya Samajist world is at their back and will regard no sacrifice too great to protect its religious rights.

"This session appeals to the people to exercise self-restraint and give proof of their discipline and calls upon them to keep ready for the utmost sacrifice if and when deemed necessary".

Moving the resolution, *Mahatma Narayan Swami* stated that if Islam was a missionary religion as was claimed by its followers and its preachers could criticise other religions for asking others to embrace Islam, they should be prepared to hear criticism from others. If instead of meeting argument by argument the Muslims take resort to emergency laws or law courts that shows that they are unable to uphold their cause.

### WITHDRAW UNJUST ORDER

The Muslim League Ministry in Sind by banning the 14th chapter of Satyarth Prakash had adopted a naive way and there would be every justification for the followers of other religions to demand the imposition of a similar ban or ask for the religious scripts of other religions being prescribed. He had no hesitation in saying that the Quran and the Bible contained criticism and condemnation of other religions in much more fantastic manner but no one had ever asked for the proscription of those books. He hoped that this unjust order would be withdrawn.

### A POLITICAL STUNT

*R. B. Badri Das*, President, Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, Punjab, expressed surprise over the action of the Sind Government. The war, he said, was being fought on the Eastern front of India and the dangers allied with the war were confined to the east. The need for ensuring safety had been felt in the west of India and the Sind Government had employed the Defence of India Rules. The Rai Bahadur described the ban as a political stunt of the Muslim League in order to secure the support of illiterate Muslim masses which was needed by the League and its leader. He had no doubt that all right thinking persons would condemn this game of the League. The Hindus were treated like that because they were regarded weak. But even the weak would not tolerate any inteference in their religion.

Mr. *Keshab Chander*, General Secretary of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, supporting the resolutiou said that the Satyarth Prakash was like the Sun which never sets. The Hindus were being crushed in Sind in all spheres of life. The ban on the Satyarth Prakash would prove the last straw in the camel's back. The

Satyarth Prakash was the soul of Arya Samaj. He asked the Arya youth to get ready to break the rock of Muslim League communalism. He declared full support of the Hindu Mahasabha in their struggle to protect the Satyarth Prakash.

*Swami Bhagwata Nand*, head of the Niranjani Akhara, Hardwar (organisation of 50 lakhs of Sadhus), lending his support to the resolution, said that he and his followers had been actuated to lend their support to the movement not out of any malice. The Satyarth Prakash did not contain any attacks on any religion though it contained criticism of bad customs in other religions. That was the right of every one if he was the upholder of truth. Satyarth Prakash was not a a book written by an individual but by a Rishi who had brought a new message to the world. The Rishi had written the book with the best of intentions and it was a collection of blooming roses.

The leader of the Sadhus declared that he and those with him would shed their last drop of blood to protect and keep the Satyarth Prakash intact and they would let no one, not to say of banning a chapter, delete even a word from the book written by one of them, a Sanyasi who had faith in the Vedas.

The leader of the Sadhu Mandal declared, amidst loud applause, "I promise before 'Janta' and 'Janardhan' (people and God) on behalf of the Sadhu Mandal that if the ban is not withdrawn, we, Sadhus, who are preachers of non-violence and Shanti, would be in the vanguard of those who would have this injustice ended and we would not be found wanting and God willing success will be ours."

*Pandit Gyan Chand* appealed to the Aryan Youth to be ready, for the moment of trial had come.

*Swami Satyanand*, the renowned Sanyasi, speaking on the resolution said that the Sind order against the Satyarth Prakash in the name of public safety was nothing but an attempt on the part of the Ministry to prolong its days. The Satyarth Prakash had in no way hampered the war effort of the Sind Muslim League Ministry in which that Ministry seemed to be actually engaged. The Swami added: "Let it be known that the Arya Samajists respect the Satyarth Prakash and hold it as high as the Christians hold the Bible and the Muslims hold the Quoran". He appealed to the Arya Samajists to lend their full support to Mr. Ghanshyam Singh Gupta in whatever lead he might give.

*Swami Ramananda*, General Secretary of the Niranjani Akhara, declared full support to the Sadhu Mahdal.

### Rajput's Resolve

*Pandit Murari Lal* brought a message from the Rajputs of Hariana Prant (Rohtak, Hissar Districts etc.) saying that those brave men, who had helped the Government in the two ways and were at present serving in the army, would join the Satyagraha movement to protect the Satyarth Prakash.

*L. Brij Lal*, speaking on behalf of the Punjab Hindu Vigilance Board, said that the Arya Samaj had lived a life of struggle and he had no doubt that the Arya Samaj would stand any trial. The present struggle, he said, was neither against the British Government nor against the Muslims as a whole but against the Muslim League Ministry of Sind.

*Principal Dewan Chand*, speaking, said that they could not play with history. An attempt was being made today to base politics on the religion. In Europe religion had been banished from politics and the last country to do so was Turkey. Nation and nationality were two different things, for, as in Russia, there are a large number of nationalities but there is one nation. He wanted, as preached by Swami Dayanand, to keep religion and politics separate. If that was done it would end so many ills and evils.

### Harijan's Support

*Mahashe Satyapal Bhikhshu* supported the resolution on behalf of the Harijans when, he said, Satyarth Prakash gave a status to the Harijans.

Pt. *Narendra* of Hyderabad, Deccan, supporting the resolution said that the Muslim League in Sind has, by placing the ban, signed its own death-warrant.

*Pandit Budh Dev*, speaking on the resolution, said that the present fight would be between the truth on which Arya Samaj was standing and the cowardice repres nted by the Muslim League.

The resolution was passed unanimously amidst shouts of "Satyarth Prakash Amar Rahe".

Mr. *Ghanshyam Singh Gupta*, in his concluding remarks, said that Mr. Jinnah and the League seemed to think the Arya Samajists as staunch Hindus and the

Sikhs were regarded by Mr. Jinnah as the only stumbling block in their way. Mr. Gupta read out a news item from Delhi in which Mr. Jinnah had expressed such views. Mr. Gupta wanted to add that the Arya Samajists were also an equally strong stumbling block in the way of Pakistan. Mr. Ghanshyam Singh said that by temperament he was peace-loving and was not excitable. He would do his best to let this spark not grow into a big fire. He wanted them to have stout and enthusiastic hearts but cool heads. In case, however, if he would not succeed in doing so, the responsibility of any conflagration and the misfortune would not be his or that of his Committee of Action or of the Arya Samaj but that of the Sind Government and even of the British Government if it would not intervene. Mr. Gupta said that he was not appealing for funds or men because he wanted to settle the dispute by negotiations, if possible. The present struggle was not only between the Arya Samaj but between the League and all those who stand for religious freedom for all. He appealed to the brave Sikhs to realise the significance of this move. For if today the Muslim League succeeded in their crusade against the Arya Samajists their next attack would be against the brave Sikhs. Mr. Ghanshyam Singh expressed the confidence that the Arya Samaj would not be found wanting when the time for trial came. The Congress concluded in the midst of great enthusiasm and slogans of "Satyarth Prakash Amar Rahe".

# The Punjab Students' Conference

## Open Session—Ludhiana—11th November 1944

### The Welcome Address

The open session of the Punjab Students' Conference commenced at Ludhiana on the 11th November 1944 in the well decorated Pandal of the Punjab Provincial Hindu Conference. About 5,000 people, including a large number of students from various districts of the province, participated in the conference.

*Master Lachhman Das*, President of the Reception Committee of the Conference, in the course of his address, said :—

"The Anglo-Muslim Alliance, to crush and cribble the Hindus, and the Muslim appeasement policy of the Congress are directly responsible for the existence of the Hindu Mahasabha. How the economic, social and national life of the Hindus is being constantly deteriorated by pseudo-nationals and anti-nationals, is no longer a secret to the Hindu. Their very existence is becoming unsafe in the country in general and in the Muslim majority provinces in particular. Murders, dacoities and abductions of Hindus are common occurrences in Sind and the Frontier Provinces. It has become a sin to be Hindu in these Muslim majority provinces. Merit has so much been replaced by communalism that an accident of birth is considered to be a merit or demerit to attain education and service. Many first division Hindu students are refused admission, while even third division Muslim students are accepted in the science, medical, engineering and training colleges of the Punjab, for the simple reason that the former have unfortunately been Hindus and latter have the advantage of having their birth in Muslim families."

### Presidential Address

Mr. *V. G. Deshpande*, in the course of his Presidential address to the Conference, said :—

"For the last four months C. R. Formula and Gandhiji's talk with Jinnah have held the entire field of Indian Politics. The students have to study the communal problem and exactly understand its implications. The communal problem does exist in India. Its roots lie in the teachings of Islam which calls upon its followers to regard themselves as aliens in their own country as soon as they embrace Islam. Past history of India has also its share in the shaping of communal problem. I do not believe as the Congress does that Muslims and Hindus have completely blended themselves into one nation or that they are in the process of doing so. Though blood of our own blood and flesh of our own flesh, Indian Muslims have repudiated Hindu Nationhood. We have to bear in mind that the Muslim minority is not a national minority but a religious minority.

"At every stage we have found that the British Government has tried to convert the fight between the British and the Indians into a fight between Hindus and Mussalmans. Mussalmans have been an unfailing ally in this game and the Hindus have also unconsciously been caught into the trap. Many honest Hindus have believed along with Prof. Coupland that "the path to freedom no longer lies through a struggle with the British Government but through a settlement among themselves". The real obstacle to Indian freedom in not so much the genuine communal problem, nor the Muslim alliance with the British for checking the Indian progress under the pretext of Muslim Rights but the belief of the Hindus that the problem of India's freedom would be solved as soon as the artificial communal problem created by the Britishers is solved.

"When Mr. Jinnah declared that Mussalmans are a nation by themselves and the national pride of Muslims cannot be satisfied unless Muslim Sovereign States are carved out of India which would be the homelands of Indian Muslims, a large number of Indian Nationalists, who upto this time believed in the dictum of "No Swarajya without Hindu-Muslim Unity" saw that there is no common ground on which the edifice of Hindu-Muslim Unity can be built. They realized that there cannot be Hindu-Muslim unity as long as the third power is there. "Hindu-Muslim unity will follow Independence and not precede it" were the words. But my Communist friends and our worthy leader Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar who have infinite faith in the good intentions of the British believed and still believe that as soon as Hindus and Muslims unite the paradise of Swaraj would be regained. And now we find that even Gandhiji who was the greatest critic of Pakistan scheme has come forward to bless it. The Britishers have been successful in their strategy. The world would now believe that the problem in India is not a struggle between the Indian and the British but it is a problom of settlement between Hindus and Mussalmans.

### Muslim Ministers' Misdeeds

"Rejection of the Federal part of the Government of India Act 1935 was the greatest blunder we ever made. Revival of that part of the Act is the first act of the solution of the communal problem. We have seen what havoc was wrought by the Communal Award in Bengal, the Punjab, Sind and N. W. F. The Dacca and Sukkur Riots and Famine in Bengal have already demonstrated what can be the effects on the province of a communally-ridden Ministry. The recent ban on Satyarth Prakash is also an instance of the Muslim Rule. If the Ministers are allowed to sit in judgment upon the Scriptures of other communities, what would be result? The Quoran, which has been responsible for the bloodiest of wars and the cruellest of atrocities will not come out very well in this game. After experience of Provincial Autonomy and Communal Award for seven years, our conclusion ought to be that the Centre must have the power to control the provinces. Our model ought to be Canada which after the experience of Civil War in U. S. A. curtailed the powers of the federal units to a large extent. U. S. S. R. is also anoth r instance where extensive powers are vested in Federal Government. The separate electorates have strengthened the hands of the fanatic communalists among Musalmans and made the existence of the Nationalist Muslims impossible. The Communal Award has given the Muslims in the Punjab and Bengal statutory majorities. And we have seen what harm the Muslim Ministries are capable of doing.

The Federation should come into existence immediately, the Federal Government's powers so far as the protection of minorities is concerned should be increased, the separate electorates ought to be abolished and the Communal Award must be immediately withdrawn and in its place a scheme by which all the communities will get representations both in the Federal Government and the Provincial Government strictly on population basis ought to be substituted.

### Gandhiji And "C. R." Formula

"It is argued that even if the "C.R." Formula does not solve the Communal Problem and even though it militates against our ideal of Akhand Hindustan that is the only way of achieving Indian Freedom. At Sevagram I questioned Rajaji whether he seriously believed that the Britishers would at once grant us freedom as soon as Gandhiji and Jinnah agreed. Mr. C.R. grew serious and said, "My friend, do not be uncharitable to me. I never said that India would be at once free." I further asked : "In how many years we would be free? Within one year, two years hundred years? You are asking me to sacrifice the integrity of my country. I have every right to ask you when would we get independence for which we are paying such a high price." Mr. Rajagopalachariar had no answer to give. Mahatma Gandhi

also was asked "Whether he really believed that C. R. Formula would bring about communal settlement". His answer was in the negative. He was further asked "whether the formula would take us nearer our goal of Independence" and his answer was not in the affirmative. He was then finally questioned : "Why is he sponsoring a scheme which would bring ruin to our country" and in his usual way he answered : "Believing as I do in non-violence, I do not see any other way and I have faith that this would ultimately do good to both Musalmans and Hindus".

# The All India Students' Federation

## 8th Session—Calcutta—28th December 1944

### Mrs. Naidu's Call to Students

"I would say to members of the Federation, to non-members of the Federation and also to the younger generation to whom my voice may reach : why quarrel over words ? Those are mere slogans. Why not take the reality of the situation of your own country and the world situation, and create conditions of freedom for your own country in the right perspective, so that your country will fulfil your dream of taking its own noble place in the international federation of the world." In these words *Mrs. Sarojini Naidu*, addressing the 8th Annual Session of the All India Students' Federation at the Mahomedali Park, Calcutta on the 28th December 1944 made a passionate call to the youths of the country to close up their ranks and differences for winning the freedom of their motherland.

The Conference was presided over by Prof. *Dhurjati Prasad Mukherji* and was opened by Dr. *B. C. Roy*. More than one thousand delegates from all parts of India attended the session. The pandal which was decorated with portraits of Mahatma Gandhi, Maulana Azad, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, Acharya J. C. Bose and Acharya P. C. Ray was packed to capacity with thousands of delegates and visitors.

Mrs. *Naidu* said that one thing that she would say to the vast audience and she hoped and believed and she was right in believing that many of their comrades who were not members of the Federation were present at the meeting—that there was no gulf in her heart between members of one youth association and another. One of the minor tragedies of her life had been the consciousness that the younger generation was putting itself even with the follies of the older generation. To her it seemed incredible that when the youth, which with all its splendid dreams, all its unlimited powers and opportunities should be marching forward looking ahead towards the destined goal, they should be wasting their time in putting their dreams by not looking forward but by looking sideways to each other. She had been, said she, addressed as the eternal mother of the Indian youth. She claimed to be the eternal mother of all the youths of the world because she loved the youth of the world whom she could scold, she could beat and put a ring round its neck and sometimes could say that rude phrase—Jahannamey Jao. (Go to hell). But she could also claim that she loved the younger generation of the world because the younger generation of the world—no matter what its colour, creed or political pattern might be—represented the hope of the world.

### Quarrel over Words

Therefore, feeling for the younger generation, Mrs. Naidu also felt an agony towards her responsibility. "I feel," said she, "has my generation set so bad an example, so suicidal an example to younger generation, that they are steeped in quarrels, in internecine warfare and communal quarrels, that they quarrel over mere words ? One group says : "I will call this a people's war". The other group says : "We say it is not a people's war." Then you say : who are you ? But you do not know who are you, and they do not know who are they. "I want to tell you this: Why this quarrel over nobody else's war, somebody else's slogans—no matter how noble and inspiring they may be. By quarrelling you are delaying the day of freedom and redemption of our own country. I would say to members of the Federation, to n on-members of the Federation, and also to the younger generation to whom my voice reach : Why quarrel over words ? Those are mere slogans. Why not take the

reality of the situation of your own country and the world situation, and so create conditions of freedom for your own country in the right perspective, so that your country will fulfil your dream of taking its own noble place in the international federation of of the world."

Do you think that one section of the students merely by putting up paper barriers is going to do this? Do you think the other section standing on the other side of the paper barrier and crying "no, no, and no" are fulfilling their duties? I say 'No'. "You are wasting energy that is given to you for the dedication of service to your country and to the freedom of your country, to the world. Remember that neither one side nor another—one which is so international that it cannot remember a place called India except when it looks at the map of India, and the other which is so national that it does not know any other country beyond the Himalayas—can do it. Both are exceedingly wrong, both are exceedingly ignorant, both are exceedingly foolish. Because India—the great India—is in herself a miniature of the entire problem of the human race. Your perspective must be right. You must remember that it is not by copying another that you will win your place in the world. You marvel at Russian heroism. Is there anybody who does not marvel at their heroism? But you must emulate the example of the solidarity and unity with which they stood in the face of danger. By emulating them, by emulating the solidarity of that country you can bring freedom. "On the other hand, those who believe that India is for Indians and nothing but Indians they are betraying the genius of India which has always been universal. The right perspective is this: "Our India is down-trodden; our India is in the grip of poverty and pestilence, our India is torn asunder by feuds and factions: our India is dehumanised by generations of enslavement; the freedom of our India is a living entity but not isolated entity in the world. We have to create conditions of our freedom.

### How to Forge Unity

"You shout: Congress-League unity. Do not use words cheaply. Unity—how? You cannot bring unity from the top of mountain. It is you and I in our daily knowledge of one another, in our appreciation of one another's culture, which expresses the soul of the community, only by building up that content can you expect any unity between Hindus and Muslims. Do not say: Oh, well, look at the map of India—here is Hindu India and here is Muslim India. It is not the leaders who can create unity. It is not the generals who win the battle. Hundreds of Napoleons cannot achieve a victory, unless his army is brave and loyal. Create the substance of unity. See that your unity does not mean paper unity. Unity comes on a recognition of individual and community rights of every section. If the majority recognises the right of the minority, the minority must also recognise its duties and responsibilities. Unity cannot be one-sided. It must be all-round and comprehensive, and can only come whether, politically, socially or otherwise, by the most scrupulous standards of justice and equity to which afterwards you may add large measure of generosity that lies in your power. That is the fundamental meaning of political unity. Why then, to-day, asked Mrs. Naidu, when they were almost on the threshold of realisation of something that they wanted, did they stand divided and disloyal to themselves? That was her point. "Close up your ranks—that was her call." If they had difference in personal convictions who were there to change those convictions? But in a battle, in a war of liberation all personal convictions and prejudices did not matter. They could fight out those things in days of victory. They must fight shoulder to shoulder irrespective of whether they liked or not their neighbours. They must be impersonal in battle.

### Dr. B. C. Roy's Address

Inaugurating the conference Dr. *B. C. Roy*, on behalf of the students of his generation who were passing out, extended welcome to the youths of the new generation, a welcome of the past to the future. He welcomed them not because they belonged to one party or other, they believed in one dogma or one programme or the other but because they were students from all parts of the country meeting for the purpose of discussing the best method of some of the fundamental problems of human existence. Enumerating the problems now facing the world everywhere, Dr. Roy said that they were five in number. Want was the first, disease was the second, squalor was the third, ignorance was the fourth and idleness was the fifth. While discussing these problems they must not loose sight of the fact that the youth's fundamental duty was the service to mankind. In removing all these disadvantages there need be no distinction between persons belonging to one

province and another, one race as against the other. The problem was common to humanity.

**President's Address**

Prof. *Dhurjati Prasad Mukerji*, who presided, referred to the intellectual, moral and cultural disintegration that had been eating into the vitals of the student body of the present generation. There were fratricidal war between multifarious groups of students. Slogan shouting, heresy hunting, traitor baiting, according to him, had been the chief pre-occupation of the Indian youth of the day. The students had bidden adieu to the older generation. He warned them that if the young take this state of things as given, they were nothing better than primitives. Continuing, Mr. Mukerji said that the students' movement in India suffered from the defect that it had inherited from the political problem. Politics formed a large segment of life, but they were not the whole of life. The youth had problems peculiar to themselves, and national problems for them must be related to such problems from the apex to the base. The first problem, according to the President, was that the Indian youth, i.e., between 15 and 40 constituting as they did a bare 30% or less of the entire Indian population formed the "sociological minority". as compared with Soviet Russia and other countries. In his opinion, the vitality of a society, its capacity for progressive action, its proneness to new idea and its fervour for progressive action depended upon the ratio of its youth to the sum of the children and aged. The factors that were mainly responsible for this state of affairs were maternal mortality, disease and spidemics, each one of which should be effectively controlled. Once they were rightly tackled, the sociological minority would be converted into a majority with all that it meant in the way of better and adventurous life. The process involved a whole-hearted co-operation with the aims and objects of Kasturba Memorial Fund and similar societies. In the second place, Prof. Mukerji felt that the youth as such were not citizens but marginal beings. On the one side of them there was the family control and on the other the uncertainties of the world, anarchic and uncontrolled. The Indian youth hovers between a world that was dead and another that was afraid to be born. The problem of the youth therefore was to cure the unrealities of being on the margin for which they were to look ahead and transform the anarchic future into concrete possibilities. Thirdly, there was the problem for declaring the student community on a platform in which there would be no difference of opinion.

The President concluded with a fervent appeal for the unification of the youth of India on the basis of these lowest common multiples of their problems which formed the authentic term for the redefination of democracy suitable to the Indian youth to-day.

## Resolutions—2nd Day—Calcutta—29th December 1944

The Federation having a membership of 76 000 met for its second day's sitting to-day and passed a resolution demanding that "the death sentence passed on 15 Chimur and Asthi political convicts be commuted immediately."

Another resolution which was carried amidst shouts of "Release our leader", read as follows: "The All India Students' Conference reiterates the universal demand for the immediate and unconditional release of the members of the Congress Working Committee. It condemns the continued detention of other political prisoners without any trial and demands their release.

"This Conference further demands the release of all student detenus, hundreds of whom are still in jail and also demand the withdrawal of restrictions imposed on the students in the form of externment and internment orders.

"The Conference appeals to all those students outside AISF for joint action for the release of Congress leaders and others political detenus."

At the outset a resolution condoling the deaths of India's prominent leaders during the last one year war passed.

FAILURE OF UNITY TALKS

On political situation the conference passed the following resolution which was moved by a Bengal delegate: The Conference regrets that the Gandhi-Jinnah talks did not result in a united front to win power for the Indian people.

"It deplores the growing spirit of partisanship and intolerance which is driving many followers of the Congress and the Muslim League to question the good faith of either organisation, and to deny the very need for Congress-League agreement. Such mutual recriminations tantamount only to play into the hands of the British

Government which denies demands of both organisations and refuses to part with power.

"It appeals to all sections of students to discuss dispassionately the viewpoint of the two organisations as revealed in the talks and strive to evolve a common outlook as the basis of another meeting of Gandhiji and Mr. Jinnah to reach final agreement. In this way we alone compel the British Government to release the Congress leaders snd make way for a provisional National Government which will check famine and epidemics, draw India wholeheartedly into the war of final destruction of fascism in Asia and take us forward to India's freedom."

A delegate from U. P. moved an amendment to the clause dealing with "peoples war". He said they had been talking of unity among students. He had some consultation with leaders of a rival organisation and his impression was that if his amendment was carried all the differences would vanish and a united front of the students of India would be released.

The Bengal delegate who proposed the original resolution opposed the amendment. It was said on his behalf that if this amendment was carried the whole resolution would become meaningless.

When put to vote, there were four delegates who supported the amendment, the rest opposing it. The original resolution was carried.

Dr. *Nalinaksha Sanyal*, Chief Whip of the Congress Parliamentary Party, Bengal, addressed the students asking them to sink their differences and present a united front. He said there was a feeling among certain sections of students in Bengal that members of a particular political organisation had adopted certain slogans that looked like helping the imperialist war. The result had been that there was a definite attempt made by some to have certain groups organised to crush the other group. Whenver he could Dr. Sanyal had resisted the formation of any such rival organisation. Congress should be a platform, Dr. Sanyal said, and not a party. Under the big canopy of the Congress there could and should develop organisations and parties with different ideologies having the common background of India's independence. It was a mistake to try to reduce Congress into an organisation dominated by a coterie.

Addressing the members of the A.I.S.F. Dr. Sanyal said : "My appeal to you would be: Examine new ideas and organisations in the light for uniting all section for the common good. Mere resolutions on unity would not be of much avail unless you understand the issues which are barriers to unity. The greatest barrier to unity is that we have ingredients in us which make us feel that our path is right and everyone else's is wrong. 'If Swaraj comes through me let it come. Otherwise I do not care.' If that psychology prevails mere lip sympathy to the cause of unity will hardly be of any avail. I appeal to you to see that everyone has an opportunity of expressing fully and fairly his views however wild, however unpalatable such views may appear to you for the time being.

Dr. Sanyal concluded: "I hope intolerance of to-day will give place to brotherhood and understanding to-morrow. I believe in the essential determination of the younger generation to create something new, something glorious, something in which not merely the present generation will be proud but the future generations would be glorious. And I expect you will conduct yourself in a manner so that glory, that pride may be ours."

# The Associated Chambers of Commerce

## Annual Session—Calcutta—14th. December 1944

### Presidential Address

Mr *K. W, Mealing*, in his Presidential Address to the annual general meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India held in Calcutta on the 14th. December 1944, said that the British commercial community in India had all along supported His Majesty's Government in its policy of sound and progressive constitutional advance with the determination of leading the country to the proper fulfilment of its aspirations to Self-Government.

"Had this disastrous war not taken place, and had Indian political parties so desired", he said, "the further four years' experience of provincial autonomy and

the great endeavours made by Lord Linlithgow might by now have resulted in the implementation of the second part of the Government of India Act, and a Federation might have come into being, a Federation of all India, including the Indian States, so balanced as to prevent the exercise of dictatorship by any one party and to ensure a chance for the working of democracy."

"It may be," Mr. Mealing continued, "that the present political cleavage between the two major communities may induce them to study again the provisions of the 1935 Act which was after all, the carefully considered outcome of a progressive policy embracing the Simon Report, three Round Table Conferences and a joint Committee, including representatives of both Houses of Parliament. On the other hand, the plan put forward by Sir Stafford Cripps on behalf of the British Government still stands. The time for putting it into effect draws every day nearer and seems likely to be upon us before the major Indian political parties have even found any common ground for discussion."

Mr. Mealing emphasised that political issues were of great moment, firstly, because great programmes of post-war development should have the support of all parties and the assistance of the best brains, and, secondly, because, looking to the future the part that India would play in the post-war world must depend largely upon her own internal unity and understanding.

### INDIA—A MAJOR WORLD FACTOBY

"India," Mr. Mealing said, by geographical situation and by population forms a major factor of world, and the attitude of the rest of the world towards India will be of equal importance. The political health of India is of vital importance to us all, for an India which endeavours to pursue a policy of isolation, or which fails to receive its share of co-operation from the rest of the world, cannot fail to be the subject, and possibly the cause, of disaster."

Alluding to post-war reconstruction, Mr. Mealing said that the British commercial community would be happy to offer such co-operation as it might be possible in post-war planning. "It must, I fear, be anticipated," he said, "that some interests will desire to shape industrial planning with greater regard for their own benefit than that of the country, and that political and racial slogans will be used to that end. I trust such a policy will not prevail as it can only stultify efficiency and progress towards sound industrial development."

Mr. Mealing said that one of the principal factors to be considered in connection with the future of the country, as related to economic peace and prosperity, was the question of population reaching 500 million. Within the next two or three decades, according to an estimate, should not be regarded with equanimity from any point of view at all.

Mr. Mealing paid a tribute to the Government of India for their successful endeavour in checking the inflationary tendency, which was rapidly becoming a grave menace last year. Observing that one of the principal factors in the inflationary trend was the food situation in 1942, Mr. Mealing referred to how the food crisis had been dealt with and said though there was cause for congratulation in what had been achieved, the difficult problems of price fixation, fair both to the grower and the consumer, and of quality had yet to be faced.

Stressing the need for improvement in rail transport, Mr. Mealing said that the conditions for all classes of passenger traffic, including United Nations personnel on duty or on leave presented the greatest difficulty and discomfort.

Turning to the coal shortage and the measures taken by Government to meet it, he remarked that progress had been hampered by unnecessary delay in setting up an organisation to procure essential mining equipment from overseas, these delays being to some extent due to lack of appreciation of the importance of the Indian coal industry at home.

### LIQUIDATION OF STERLING BALANCES

Alluding to the question of sterling balances, Mr. Mealing expressed the hope that when the time came to negotiate the basis of a settlement, India's representatives would be guided by the real long-term interest of the country apart from all political considerations so that the very manner of liquidation would be beneficial to India itself.

Reviewing the war situation, Mr. Mealing said: "In our gratitude for the victories of to-day we must remember that the foundations of these victories were laid in the dark days—the shield which guarded us on the seas and the air when the British Empire stood alone in 1940, the thin shield which guarded India in the Middle East under your Excellency's Command and ultimately achieved resounding

victory in that theatre and the tired troops who guarded India under the incredible difficulties of 1942 and 1943."

## H. E. Viceroy's Address

*H. E. Lord Wavell* delivering his address said :

I thank you and the Associated Chambers of Commerce for your cordial welcome. I congratulate you, Mr. President, on the clear and thoughtful way in which you have dealt with India's current problems. I appreciate that you have handed to myself and to some of my colleagues in the Government, I will not say bouquets, but at least one or two pleasant little button holes, which we shall be glad to accept and to wear.

My first year as Viceroy has been a strenuous one and I am afraid, I see little sign of the second being less so. My staff inform me that, since taking over on the 20th October, 1943, I have spent the equivalent of nearly 20 weeks away from Delhi on tour, and have travelled well over 30,000 miles. I have visited all the provinces at least once and some of them two or three times.

I regret that, in the present conditions it is still impossible for me to take the Viceroy's usual Winter stay of some weeks in Calcutta. My house is, as you know, occupied for war purposes : and the demands of war-time administration are so intense, that it is not possible to be away long from the Centre at one time. I hope, however, that frequent short visits have enabled me to keep in touch with Calcutta and Bengal.

I join with the President in welcoming His Excellency Mr. Casey, to his first meeting of the Associated Chambers. Mr. Casey has had a brilliant record in Australia, the United States and the Middle East and the wide knowledge and experience he has gathered made him a most happy choice for the Governorship of Bengal during these difficult times. I am sure, you have all realised the value of his energy and imagination in all branches of the administration.

### Tribute to British Forces

I do not propose to say a great deal regarding the war. You can all see for yourselves how well that is going, and your President has given us a summary of its victorious course during the last year. I must say, however that I notice, with a little regret, that he began with what he called "the almost incredible feats of the Russian armies." I yield to no one in my admiration of the Russian Army, which I have known well for many years, and of its achievements ; but in this gathering, let us not be too modest about our own performances. I should like to put these in the foreground, and in the present tense rather than in the past. Surely, if there ever was a feat of arms which might be called incredible, it was the landing on the Normandy coast, the great victory over the flower of the German Army, and the liberation of the whole of France and Belgium in such a surprisingfy short time. I have read much of war, and have seen a little, and I am certain that this will go down to history as one of the very greatest military achievements of all time. And in that achievement the British Fleet, the British Air Force, and the British and Canadian land forces played an outstanding part. We do not know the respective share in planning this great battle, nor is there any need that we should. It was a combined British, Dominion and American plan ; and surely, must have been the finest piece of detailed planning in military history. It was staged from British soil and British ports ; and in the subsequent fighting, the British forces took their full share. That they should have been able to do so and to overcome such grim defences and such grim foes, and to attack with such vigour after five years' hard fighting is a tribute to the endurance of the British race, and its steadfast power to overcome danger or disaster.

### Indian Troops Praised

In Italy too, British and Indian arms have put up and are putting up a fine performance. Progress may seem slow : but it must be realised that, just at the moment when another assault on a grand scale would probably have broken the German line altogether, General (now Field Marshal) Alexander, whose well deserved promotion we all welcome, had to send a number of divisions for the landing in the south France. In spite of this, a steady advance has gone on in most difficult country. In this Mediterranean theatre, Indian troops have played a great part. I will read you an extract from a letter of General McCreery, who has succeeded General Leese, in the Command of the Eighth Army. I know General McCreery well, and he is certainly not one who distributes praise lightly. The extract from his letter reads as follows :

"The Indian divisions are fighting magnificently, and the latest division to greatly distinguish itself is the Tenth Indian Division. Unfortunately, I have never served in India: so, it is rather curious that, when I was commanding a corps, I had at one time all three Indian divisions under my command, and I am now filled with an admiration for the Indian soldier. Their fighting spirit, skill and endurance are outstanding. Fortunately, although we had a very wet October, the health of the troops is still excellent, and everything will be done to look after them as well as possible during this second trying Indian winter."

### VICTORY OVER JAPS ON INDIA'S EASTERN FRONTIER

To continue the tale of our own exploits, British and Indian, on the eastern frontier of India, we have won the greatest land victory as yet achieved over the Japanese forces, and have established complete supremacy over them. This also was an Allied success in which British Indians, Americans, Africans and Chinese took part: but the great bulk of the Victorious army was Indian. I am glad to remember that during the sombre events of 1942 in Malaya and Burma, I strenuously mantained that the supremacy of the British and Indian soldier over the Japanese would soon be vindicated, given adequate training in jungle fighting. I am sorry to see that in some parts of the American press, there is still a tendency to decry the fighting qualities of the Indian troops. I am quite sure it does not represent general American opinion, certainly not that of those who have fought alongside them.

In this victory over the Japanese on our eastern frontier, not only the fighting services in India, but the Railways and Industry, and Labour in the mines and in the factories, have all had a share. Praise is due to the people of Assam, and particularly to the Naga tribesmen, for their loyalty and steadiness in a time of hardship and adversity.

On other aspects of the war in 1944, our success over the U-boat menace, the great victories of the Americans and Australians in the South-west Pacific, the Russian advances, and the elimination of the Germans from the Balkans, I do not propose to speak. When the end of the war will come, no one can yet say with certainty. It depends on the factor of national morale. That of the Germans, at least, must be near the breaking point, and that of the Japanese considerably shaken.

### LORD MUNSTER'S VISIT

You will have noticed the visit of Lord Munster to ascertain the needs of the troops in India in the matter of amentities. It will be most valuable. I am sure, you will realise that there is no suggestion that India has not done her best to look after the troops who have been defending her frontiers. It is simply that there has not been enough of everything to go round, and for many years, India has had a low priority. On a world view, it was right that the Indian front should wait while the maximum effort was made on the Western front. It is not that we did not represent our needs and ask for improvement; it was just that the personnel and the things we wanted were not available. Now that the position has improved, and victory is close in the Western Theatre. Lord Munster's visit has been made to ascertain, as first hand, what can be done to improve the amenities for troops and the medical and nursing services. Both the Commander-in-Chief and myself are deeply interested in these improvements, and have continuously endeavoured to make the most of India's resources. Lord Munster coming from England, has naturally concerned himself, mainly, with the needs of the British troops fighting so far from their homes; but he is also representing to His Majesty's Government the requirements of Indian troops both here and in the Middle East.

### WAR-TIME ECONOMIC MEASURES

In his speech, your President put post-war problems first and dealt with our war-time economy later. I propose to reverse this order; since, however important our post-war problems may be, the year of our greatest economic strain and effort may still lie ahead. The end of the war in the West will be, indeed, a mighty triumph over the powers of evil, but it will not be the end. Not until the Japanese are finally and utterly defeated, can there be any peace for India or for the world. And to defeat Japan as rapidly and thoroughly as possible, India must be the base for more warships, more divisions, more air squadrons. The great war crisis for India came when Japan attacked Pearl Harbour and Malaya and she had to execute a sudden "about turn" from west to east. That brought the dislocating strain of a violent unexpected jerk, as damaging to a nation's economy as it is to the human

frame. Now that we are already taking the strain, with all our muscles of production, supply, finance and transport braced, it is easier to support some additional burden, heavy though the total load will be, than it was to withstand the original abrupt shock.

Our war-time economic measures have been criticised as "too little and too late": and it is easy to say that we should have foreseen all our troubles ealier. Accurate foresight is rare in human affairs: and, even where it exists, cannot always be translated into action. That was a shrewd fable of the Greeks that Cassandra who had the gift of the true prophecy had also the curse of never being believed. We have now, however, a fair warning of our additional burden, can measure the stress it will cause, and make ready to take it. It will, of course, fall on those of our economic sinews which are already subject to strain—the sinews of finance, food, coal and transport. We may examine briefly how far we are prepared to withstand any additional burden on these.

## Fight Against Inflation

I was glad to hear your President say that we had met with a great measure of success during 1944 in our efforts to hold the inflationary threat. It is men of commerce who should be able to judge this shrewdly; and a tribute from them is satisfactory. But the strictest watch is necessary to hold off the danger; and the continued co-operation of the commercial community is essential. I have never found the word "inflation" very satisfactory; and would prefer to compare our financial danger with another national danger which we hvae to face in this country. You have probably heard something of a calamity which is threatening the fields in parts of Northern India, that of water-logging, due to excessive seepage of water out of the irrigation canals. It has become a very serious danger indeed in parts of the Punjab, and measures, on a large scale, have become necessary to combat it, The process of monetary inflation is similar. To support the war and all the war projects more and more money has had to be poured into the financial channels. If all the residue of that money, after it had done its war work, could be brought back into its parent stream by its investment in Government loans, no harm would be done. Unfortunately, a considerable proportion of it seeps away out of the proper channels and, just as this overflow in the Punjab raises the whole water level with disastrous results, so, in the financial parallel, the overflow of money raises the price-level, often with disastrous results. Various measures are being taken in the Punjab to combat the danger. One that would obviously be effective would be to line all the canals with cement or some imporous material to prevent the leakage of any water not absolutely necessary to irrigate the fields; this, however, is a very lengthy and expensive process, and can only be done to a limited extent. An alternative solution under trial, is to pump back the water out of the soil by a very large number of small tube-wells. Our financial remedies are similar. We try to line our channels with various forms of controls, but these can never be entirely effective; and we have also a most valuable remedy in a large number of small savings with which to pump the excess of currency back into Government loans. I ask the heads of our great business houses to do everything possible to encourage lending to Government and especially to the Small Savings Campaign.

## Commodity Control

We realise that the commodity controls which we have gradually introduced have caused extra work and inconvenience to honest traders. The Member for Industries and Civil Supplies and his staff will always be glad to receive suggestions from the public and from trade and industrial organisation. But until "we are built like angels, not men" as Kipling says in one his verse, we must have controls. We shall continue to strengthen and improve them, but we have to feel our way step by step; since, if there is one certain lesson I have learned from experience of the direction of both military and civil affairs, it is that it is courting grave risks to go beyond one's administrative capacity.

We never cease trying by all means in our power to increase the supply of consumer goods available to the trade and to the public. In our water-logging parallel, this is roughly the equivalent of finding more thirsty unirrigated land to soak up the excess of war.

Generally, the situation report on our financial front during 1944 is that we have not only held our own, but have gained some ground in the matter of price controls. But the increasing needs of the war against Japan, which is likely to reach its peak in 1945, mean that there will be an increased flow of financial irrigation and that our defences against water-logging must be strengthened.

### FOOD PROBLEM

The great Latin satirist Juvenal wrote of the miseries of having served upto one *crambe repetita* (twice-cooked cabbage). The food problem has been debated in such detail in so many places that I will try not to weary you here with much repetition of the stale cabbage of stock arguments, though I am afraid, I have no caviare, asparagus or other delicacy to serve in its place.

I was glad to hear your appreciation of the work done by the Food Department, and I take this opportunity of saying that I think that the Food Member and his staff have a very fine job of work during 1944. As is inevitiable in such a difficult task, they get more hard words than kind ones, and they will be grateful for your recognition. I think they deserve a bouquet, not a mere button-hole. I may add that I have been told by them of the help they have received from large employers of labour and from the members of these Chambers of Commerce.

I agree with you that the complaints about the quality of the grains supplied to deficit provinces have often been well-founded, and require the attention of both the Central and Provincial Governments. These defects of quality have sometimes been aggravated by inadequate storage arrangement. I am trying to have both these defects remedied. Some progress has been made, but there is much more still to be done.

During the critical period of 1943, Provincial Governments had to concentrate mainly on foodgrains. Man may be able to live by bread alone, but he will surely not be healthy on it; and I am glad to see that they are now trying to improve the supply and distribution of milk, fish, meat, eggs, poultry and other perishable goods. I know that it is the fashion to attribute the shortage of these articles mainly to the army, who are sometimes pilloried almost as if they were cattle-lifters, nest-egg robbers, chicken thieves, and fish poachers. I would say, on the contrary, as an almost entirely unprejudiced observer, that the army is doing much to show us, civilians, how to increase our supply of these articles of diet. The army's dairy farms have long been a model, and they are now setting up poultry and vegetable farms and refrigerating plant on a large-scale.

The food problem is by no means solved, and will be with us for some years after war. But there are grounds for far greater confidence than a year ago; and with the co-operation of the public, I hope that all will be well.

### "RICE SHORTAGE OUR MAIN TROUBLE"

Bengal is in a much happier position, convalescent at least, if not wholly recovered; and, at present, our anxieties are more in the south of India. Now that imports of wheat are arriving at a steady rate and in satisfactory quantity, it is rice shortage that is our main trouble; and you are well aware of the difficulty in including rice-eating populations to consume wheat or other grains. I hope, therefore that, Provincial Governments will do their best to persuade all their people who are, so to speak, bilingual in wheat and rice to eat wheat only: and that those who use rice only as a luxury—and there are many such, British and Indians—will forego rice so as to make more available for those who cannot do without it.

As has already been announced, it should not be necessary, in view of the position in Bengal, for the Central Government to accept any longer the entire liability for the feeding of Calcutta. This does not mean, of course, that they will not be concerned to assure full supplies for Calcutta; but it will probably be necessary to draw all these supplies from outside Bengal. It would obviously be wrong and wasteful to transport much needed rice from outside Bengal to Calcutta, while the Bengal Government held large stocks.

### THE TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM

It was on our transportation system more severely than on anything else that the sudden jerk of our "about turn" at the end of 1941 fell. We had been facing west, quite fairly comfortably; and had been exporting locomotives, rolling stock and track to Iraq and elsewhere, while our railway workshops were urged to make munitions and undertake other munitions work. I can remember that, not long after I became Commander-in-Chief in India in July 1941, I explained to the conference of the Railway Chiefs, the need for this and the great help it had been to the Middle East. So that it was through their virtues not through their fault, that the railways were caught not fully prepared. The difficulties of the sudden reversal caused by the Japanese attack were accentuated by the poorness of the communications in the threatened part of India.

I can assure you that a comprehensive programme to improve the capacity of

the railways is in hand. Large numbers of broad and metre gauge locomotives have been ordered, and many have been received. Very large orders have been placed both in India and abroad for wagons. The entire capacity of India for fabricating railway material is fully employed, and the fabricators—who are, I understand, mostly constituents of the chambers represented at the meeting—can help by expediting the work as much as possible. Nearly 20,000 miles of new telephone and telegraph line have been added to the railway network, and radio-communication between headquarters and divisions has been introduced. Additional running staffs have been trained; and in the railway workshops, maintenance has been given the highest priority, to the exclusion, where necessary, of war work. This programme should produce substantial results next year. In the meantime, we are doing our best under the priority system to see that essential goods are moved without undue delay.

I am aware of the difficult conditions of passenger travel. The fact, however, that the number of passengers travelling has increased by about twenty million a month, or 36 per cent, since the early part of 1942—and this in spite of a "Travel Only When You Must" campaign—shows that the conditions do not deter passengers. It is a little difficult to believe that all these journeys are absolutely essential.

In view of the shortage of coal and the requirements of the army for coaching stock—not that the army travels in any greater comfort than the general public, judging from what I sometimes hear in leave camps that I visit—any rapid improvement is impossible. But the railways are doing their best. I will take this opportunity to thank all railwaymen for their fine service in the war. I was glad recently at Lahore to see some of them at work and shall hope to visit other railway centres.

## Coal Position

The coal position has, as Mr. Mealing indicated, been a considerable headache to the Government of India throughout the past year. I need not enter into the causes, nor detail the steps which are being taken to remedy them as I think they are well-known to you. It is an inappropriate phrase, but I think it is true that the outlook is less black than it was. Production throughout 1944, though below our target, has been greater, month by month, than the corresponding figures for 1943. We have succeeded in obtaining a considerable amount of machinery for open-cut working; and I trust that there will be a real improvement during the early months of 1945. In fact, to use two more cliches wholly inappropriate to coal-mining, though we are not yet out of the wood, we are beginning to see day light.

I have paid two short visits to the coal-fields, and have seen something of the conditions. It is doubtful if the mining industry will ever be stable or contented until a real effort is made to establish a permanent labour force in good conditions. The suspension of the ban on women working under-ground—which the Government of India sanctioned temporarily and with extreme reluctance was necessitated mainly by the tendency of the labour to migrate. The miner has a hard and sometimes a dangerous life, and the counter-attractions of surface work in which his wife could take part and earn a wag were too much for him. If we are to produce all the coal we need for industrial development after the war it must be worth a man's while to become a whole-time miner; even after the ban on women working below ground has been re-imposed.

## "India has Gained During War Years Rather Than Lost"

So much for India's current economic problems. From the brief review you have had of them by your President from his commercial angle and by myself from my official point of view, I trust you will have gathered confidence in our ability to keep the economic front stable, and in fact to strengthen it, until Japan is beaten. If so, India will be in a very favourable position to face the problems of the post-war world. Her land has not been devastated. Her losses in personnel have been comparatively light even if we reckon the deaths in the Bengal famine as war casualties. These war losses have been more than balanced, taking a purely, utilitarian point of view, by the numbers of her people who have received technical training as a result of the war. Financially she has become a creditor instead of a debtor country. In terms of property, of manpower, and of money, India has gained during the war years rather than lost.

Look for a moment at our great eastern neighbour, China. With half her country occupied by a ruthless invader, her ports seized, her railways torn up, her population reduced by war and famine, her prices at a fantastic level of inflation. Consider Great Britain, with one out of every three houses destroyed or damaged, more than 11½ million tons of shipping sunk (the very life-blood of an island State);

more than one quarter of a million lives already lost out of a population of 45 millions; her great accumulated wealth gone with the wind and enormous debts piled up, her people paying willingly—almost cheerfully—a scale of taxation unparalleled in history. If you look on these two nations, you will realise what sacrifices they have made to free the world from the Valley of the Shadow of Evil, from the greatest menace that civilization has faced since the days of Chenghiz Khan and Tamurlane. Look at Russia, with the enemy at one time almost within sight of the Capital, with her most fertile fields and most valuable sources of Industry at one time in enemy occupation, with a large proportion of her population at the mercy of the enemy—a merciless enemy. These countries, even when they seemed beaten to their knees, faced the perils of war undaunted, and will face the perils of peace with the same courage. India should both give thanks that the efforts of these nations have saved her from experiencing the devastation of war, which she almost alone of great peoples has not felt for so many years; and should determine to use wisely the marvellous opportunity thus given her for development to a higher standard of living and progress.

### Post-War Planning

I do not propose to enter into details of our Post-War planning. As men of business, you will realise the possibilities and the difficulties. I will deal only with two broad aspects—the relations between Agriculture and Industry and the financial problems. Before doing so, I should like to supplement what your President has said to welcome the appointment of Sir Ardeshir Dalal. The Government of India has been fortunate, indeed, to secure the services of one who is not only a most distinguished industrialist, but has experience as an administrator both of rural and of urban India. I am sure that we all appreciate the sacrifice he has made in taking on this very arduous work, and wish him all success in his efforts for the progress of India.

Though it does not arise directly out of Mr. Mealing's address, I should like to make a few remarks on the relative importance of Agriculture and Industry in the post-war development of India. I feel that there may be a tendency in our plans to stress Industrial advance at the expense of Agriculture. There is some reason for this. Industrialisation shows quicker and more obvious results, enriches a country and enables it to spend more, both on luxuries and on social services, such as health, education and communications. Also, I am afraid, men of business have more influence than farmers in the direction of State affairs. But Industrial expansion should not, and must not in India, be accomplished at the expense of Agriculture, which is still the employment of about three quarters of the ever rising population. It is essential that in your post-war organisation, the Indian farmer should be assured of prices for his produce that will both improve his own standard of living and will encourage him to produce the additional food needed for the proper nutrition of the existing population, and of its normal growth.

### Dangers of too Rapid Industrialisation

If you read Economic History, you should also take warning of the miseries caused to many, for the profit of a few by too rapid and uncontrolled industrialisation. In great Britain, one hundred years ago, the conditions produced by the Industrial Revolution were deplorable. I read some time ago a description of the manufacturing slums of the Victorian era, which painted the evils of the period with a ghastly pen; we are still recovering from the damage caused to the health and well-being of our working population by the neglect of sanitary, nutritive and housing conditions during that era.

Russia is another example of rapid industrialisation, where although the mistakes and cruelties of the Victorian Period in England were avoided, and the workers were given reasonably good conditions, there was a very great loss of human life, to be counted in millions, partly through loss of balance between agriculture and industry.

India cannot go back to the spinning wheel, and must develop her industry, but she should consider well these and other examples of the price, that may be paid in human health and life for too hasty or too speedy industrialization.

### Financing of Planning

The financing of progress such as India must make is a very complex problem. One fact is inescapable. If you want progress—and India not only wants it, but must have it—you have got to pay for it. No financial jugglery can produce for a nation, in the long run, greater wealth than that with which it has been endowed

by Nature in resources of minerals and such like, or which the skill, enterprise and hard work of its population have earned. It is the business of a nation's financial advisers to see that its wealth is fully mobilised, wisely used and so distributed as to benefit the greatest possible number of the population. They cannot create additional permanent wealth; though they can, by a bold financial policy, make for a limited period overdrafts on the annual income of the Government to finance projects which will eventually increase the national wealth and enable the overdrafts to be repaid. By their policy of taxation, the heads of the Government can prevent the profits of Industry becoming concentrated in the hands of the few and from being for the luxury rather than to finance further progress. But they have no magician's wands, no sleek rabbits of sudden additional wealth in the hat. The prosaic tools of their trade are income-tax tables, side-rules and books of financial regulations. Hard work, hard sober thinking and sound judgment are the qualities by which they obtain results, not conjuring tricks.

In the old canons of so-called orthodox finance, the budget had to be balanced from year to year. This is the view of the monetary stability that Dickens put into the mouth of his famous character, Mr. Micawber: "Annual income twenty pounds annual expenditure nineteen pounds, nineteen shillings and six pence,—result, happiness. Annual income twenty pounds, annual expenditure twenty pounds, and six pence,—result, misery." But I understand that Mr. Micawber's views are no longer wholly accepted by financial experts. They now admit the soundness of planning for five, ten or even fifteen years ahead. But remember this, if you are going to plan ahead, you must have confidence in the stability of your Government for at least that number of years; and you must realise that the bill has got to be paid some time.

Our immediate difficulty in Planning is to estimate what sums are likely to be available in the period after the war. There is a natural tendency on the part of of the provinces to seek information from the Centre on the amount they may expect to be allotted to them from the Central revenues; and an equally natural reluctance on the part of the Centre to commit itself to definite figures when there are so many uncertain and incalculable factors. We will do what we can to give guidance to the provinces; but, but for the immediate future, our system of Planning must be to see what we require for each of our many needs; for improvements in Agriculture, for developments in Industry—for the betterment of Health, for the advance of Education, for the increase of Communications, and so on. This is the method on which we are working. We have already a plan for Education, a plan for Public Health, when the Bhore Committee reports. We have many hydro-electric and irrigation projects in hand. Once we have seen the total bill, we can—when we have recovered from the shock—begin to allot priorities, and make a long-term blue-print for Indian progress.

### Training of Technicians

One direction, however, in which it seems to me that we can make progress at once, without waiting for peace or for a blue-print, is in training the many technicians and experts India will require—in Farming, in Engineering, in Electricity, in Chemistry, in Fisheries, in Building, and so forth. It has been very patently brought home to me even in a year's experience as Viceroy how wonderfully short India is not only in persons trained in the Applied Sciences, but in institutions and facilities for them. I hope that Young India will apply its abilities and energies towards these practical branches which will be of such value to India, and possibly a little less to the professions of law in which I understand India is quite reasonably well staffed.

### Post-War Taxation

One uncertain factor in the finance of Post-War Planning is, as you will realise, the scale of post-war taxation. India may be a poor country, but I do not believe she is unbearably bowed down at the present by war taxation. I hope that when the war against Japan is over, India will decide to declare war, relentless, unremitting war, with the whole nation united against the savage enemies of peace —poverty, disease, dirt and ignorance. If so, she will have to maintain a war scale of taxation.

### Sterling Balances

Before I leave this subject of Post-War Development, I will mention very briefly two points. The first, which was mentioned by your President, is the matter of Sterling Balances. I share his entire confidence that these debts will be honoured,

But that does not of course mean to say that India will at once, after the war, receive a payment of so many hundred millions in cash. She could not spend such a sum in the international market if she did. The manner of payment of international debts incurred during the war will require much discussion and negotiation. I am quite confident that, in these negotiations the value and magnitude of India's contribution to the Allied war effort will be recognised; that her needs will be considered; and that the manner of liquidation will be arranged to meet her planned development. I do not see that political considerations need affect the settlement.

The other matter on which I should like to say a very few words is the relations between British and Indians in business. As I said here last year, I believe, there is a cordial spirit of co-operation towards Indian business at present in great Britain; and the sooner that representatives get together the better. I am, therefore, sorry that it has not yet been possible for the projected visit of Indian Industrialists to the United Kingdom to be carried out. I hope that it will not be delayed much longer.

From the foregoing very brief summary of India's position and problems at the end of 1944, I will try to draw one or two conclusions. Firstly, we are still in the turmoil of a world at war, an angry world in which there is no place for unrealities. We are winning the war, but we have not yet won it, and there can be no relaxation of the war effort. In fact, India may have to play an even more onerous role in 1945. The more closely we concentrate on this, our primary task, the more quickly shall we come to peace. Everything else must still be subordinate to our war effort. But peace will not and certainly should not bring for India any relaxation of effort. We shall have beaten off the external powers of evil, we have still many internal evils to lessen or remove and very much constructive work to do, in order to bring the people of India to a proper standard of living and India herself to her proper position in the world, as keeper of the peace and as a leader of the prosperity, thought and learning in the East.

### India Must Present a United Front

I have given you some reasons to conclude that the war has strenghened rather than weakened India and has given her the greatest opportunity she has ever had, if—and this is of course a crucial 'if'—India can solve her political problems and present a united front to what will be, for at least some years to come, a stern, difficult, troubled world. If she is still tossing with the fever of political faction, or if her political doctors decide that she must undergo a major surgical operation, such as, Pakistan, she may miss the opportunity that is hers to take but can be taken only by a nation at health within itself and fit for a struggle that will test every nerve and sinew—the struggle for greater well-being and greater happiness in this great land.

Whatever the future constitution may be, the events of the past thirty years have shown us that it must provide adequately for the defence of the country; and Indian leaders will do well to consider this closely.

### "Quit India" And Satyagraha Criticised

If I may be permitted to assume for the moment the role of the medical advisers to Political India, my advice would be something like this. "I do not believe that your condition call for a sertous operation, I should certainly try all other possible remedies first. I do not think that the 'Quit India' mixture or those Satyagraha pills have done you much good. I should suggest your leaving off medicines altogether and you may find that you are not as ill as you think. Perhaps, some fresh air and work in the fields would do you good." In other words, I do not believe there are now real differences in principle between India and Britain, or that the communal problem, difficult though it is, is insoluble. But also, I do not believe that we can solve our problems by mutual recriminations and by harping on past grievances and mistakes. Our best hope lies in working together, without trying to lay down detailed conditions or to decide everything before we begin work.

To return to the medical metaphor for a moment, I think the first requirement for a return to health is a faith cure, a brief in the good intentions of the British people and in their genuine desire for a settlement and for the welfare and Self-Government of the Indian people. I can certainly assure you that I should not be here, if I did not believe in those.

### Executive Council—a "National Government"

It is commonly said that our current and post-war problems can only be solved

by a National Government, but the precise meaning of the term is seldom or never defined. I am afraid that to some a National Government is one in which their own particular party is in power. I think of a National Government as one formed to meet a national crisis, in which "none are for a party, but all are for the State", to quote Macaulay's "Lays of Ancient Rome." I contend that we have such a Government now, a preponderantly Indian Government, which, in spite of all the criticism and abuse heaped on it, is doing an essential job of work for India, and is doing it on the whole extremely well. It is making the mistakes, it is showing the shortcomings, inevitable in carrying out a very complex task of administration in difficult times. But it is accomplishing the main task: it is supporting our war effort to the entire satisfaction of the military commanders; and it is making a genuine and no unfruitful attempt to look ahead and prepare for post-war conditions. I think, India should be grateful to her countrymen in the Government for the courage and skill they are showing. I here express to them my thanks for their work.

This does not mean to say that some other National Government—national by my definition, but based on the support of the main political parties—might not be more serviceable to India's needs. Not because such a Government would necessarily be more efficient than the present Government, but because the efforts we have to make, now and in future, demand considerable sacrifices. The average man is not willing to surrender comfort and income for the benefit of those poorer than himself or future generations, unless he is coerced by a dictatorship or led by those in whom he has great confidence. If it were possible to form such a National Government during the war, it would quite clearly and quite definitely have to function under the existing constitution, no material change of which is possible during the war. And its primary task would have to be support of the war effort, not by mere lip-service which is useless, but sincerely and wholeheartedly.

It is now once more fashionable to demand a move by His Majesty's Government "to solve the deadlock." But remember that His Majesty's Government has made two attempts in the last decade. The first was the Constitution Act of 1935 a complete constitution based on years of discussion and research. I agree with Mr. Mealing that, had that Act been worked in the right spirit, it would have carried us far, in fact, I think, we should now be near the goal. The second attempt was the draft declaration propounded by Sir Stafford Cripps. Both attempts failed. After the second failure, His Majesty's Government said that they could do not more, and that India herself must make a constructive suggestion. No such suggestion has yet emerged; and the recent discussion between Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah shows how intractable the Communal problem still is. I am glad to see that prominent Indians are undertaking further discussion of the problem. The previous rejections of their offers must, naturally, make His Majesty's Government wary of a further advance until they feel that the spirit of compromise and co-operation is real. But their desire for a solution remains perfectly genuine; and I have tried to indicate lines on which progress might be attempted, if the Indian leaders desire it.

Gentlemen, I am afrid I have detained you unduly. I hope, I have been able to give you, on the whole, a favourable impression in all but the political field of the progress of our affairs during 1944 and of our prospects for 1945. I will conclude in the words of one of the greatest war leaders and statesmen of all time, Abraham Lincoln: "The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion."

## Proceedings & Resolutions

### Income-Tax Tribunal

After H. E. the Viceroy's address, Mr. *H. Rowan Hodge*, M.L.A., (Bengal Chamber) moving a resolution on the Income-tax Appellate tribunal said, that the reply given by the Government of India to the resolution which they passed last year was entirely inadequate, and he requested the Government of India to give their earnest reconsideration to the points raised at an early date.

The resolution, as amended, and passed unanimously by the House reads:

"This Association reiterates the request unanimously made by a resolution a year ago that the early attention of the Government of India be given to the following matters connected with the practice and procedure before the Income-Tax Appellate Tribunal: (1) that the demand for the establishment of Local Registrars for filing of applications and for facilitating communications with the

local Benches be reconsidered: (2) that the decisions of all Benches of the Tribunal be made available to the public.

*Sir Robert Menzies* (Upper India Chamber), while seconding the resolution, characterised the Government attitude as incomprehensible and felt that the Central Government took the opportunity of sheltering behind an obsolete provision of the Income-Tax Act even though it obviously involved a double levy.

WAR RISKS INSURANCE

Mr. *J. C. F. Davidson* (Northern India) moved the resolution on war risks insurance which as passed read: "Having regard to the continued improvement in the war situation and in view of the substantial amounts standing to the credit of the funds under the scheme, this Association recommends that, for the present, no further premia be collected in respect of the War Risks (Goods) Insurance scheme and that the payment of premia towards the War Risks (Factories) Insurance scheme cease after 31st March, 1945, but that Government continue to provide cover against war risks under the schemes and that the position of the two funds be reviewed before the end of the year 1945".

COMPENSATION FOR DAMAGE BY MILITARY VEHICLES

Mr. *C. P. Bramble* (Bombay) moved a resolution on injury or damage caused by army drivers when on duty. He said that a similar resolution was moved on behalf of his Chamber in 1941, which stressed the necessity of introducing adequate measures to enable the public to recover compensation when damage had been caused by military drivers in the course of their duties. The object of the resolution was to show that the measures which had in fact been introduced since and perhaps as a result of that resolution, were inadequate.

Seconding the resolution, Mr. *H. F. Stackard* (Bengal Chamber) pointed out the difference between the procedure in this country and that in Great Britain. He said that if the latter could provide funds to meet claims of compensation, there was no reason why the same procedure should not be followed in India, instead of treating injured persons as 'beggars' entitled only to *ex-gratia* compensation.

*Sir Robert Menzies* (Upper India) suggested an amendment to the second part of the resolution, which the House accepted unanimously. The resolution as amended and passed now reads:

"In view of the fact that accidents are still being caused by negligent and improper driving by service drivers in the course of their duty and the failure of the military authorities to ensure that adequate compensation is granted, this association again urges upon the Government of India the necessity for the immediate introduction of measures which will enable the public to obtain adequate compensation for injuries or damage suffered.

"This Association is of the opinion that the Government should forthwith declare that they will provide the funds required to satisfy any judgment of a civil court obtained against the driver of a Government vehicle, if on duty at the time of the accident. This association is further of opinion that courts of enquiry, set up to investigate accidents in which service and civilian vehicles and or persons are concerned, should invariably include one civilian, preferably non-official, either as a member thereof or if this is not possible under military law then, as an observer, and further that an injured person should in any case be entitled to be represented at such courts of enquiry."

POST-WAR TRADE POLICY

Moving a resolution on the post-war trade policy of Government, *Lala Shankar Lal* (Punjab Chamber) asked for a revision of the present day tax system in a manner that would materially help the Government to put its reconstruction plans into effect without harming the industrial structure that had been built up over a period of several decades.

The resolution, adopted unanimously, reads: That whilst appreciating the necessity for exercising controls in time of war over various commodities in order to ensure their most equitable distribution having regard to the amount of these at the nation's disposal, this Association places on record its opinion that where there is frequent overlapping and duplication by different ordinances and or any other war-time emergency legislation, steps should be taken by Government to ensure that these do not react to the detriment of the normal long-standing legitimate channels of trade. This Association also urges on Government the necessity for an assurance that, if circumstances permit, prompt action will be taken to free trade from unnecessarily irksome control, thus avoiding the danger of unduly prejudicing a return to, and the future of, normal trade in this country.

# The Chamber of Princes

## New Delhi—4th December 1944

### Resignation of Standing Committee

A crisis of first-rate importance was created on the 4th December 1944 by the resignation of the Standing Committee of the Princes, including the Chancellor, the *Nawab of Bhopal.* For the first time in its history, the session of the Chamber of Princes which was scheduled to meet on the 3rd December was obliged to be postponed indefinitely.

According to the "*Hindu*" of Madras, the causes that led to this sudden step on the part of the Princes are not yet known but from the secret and prolonged discussions which the Standing Committee of the Princes was having during the last two days, it was fairly clear to informed observers that the Princes were contemplating a joint and unanimous protest against the attitude adopted in respect of certain matters by the Political Department of the Government of India and that the discussions were calculated to help those who were undecided to make up their minds.

It seems that the Political Department sent out two circular letters to all the States, in one of which the question of the revision of treaty rights was raised. The Department seems to have urged that while the Crown stood by all the undertakings given in the past to the Princes in regard to the protection of their rights, the interpretation to be put on those treaties must be according to usage and in accordance with the changed circumstances of the present day.

The Princes seem to have construed this observation of the Political Department as an attempt on the part of the Crown to revise treaties in a unilateral fashion. Their contention seems to be that while they are aggreeable to any revision of the treaties, it must not be done unilaterally by the Crown but only after consultation with the Princes. The Princes assert that they have always stood for the progress and wellbeing of their people and that they would not oppose the revision of a treaty just for the sake of opposition, but that they desired to be consulted when a revision was proposed.

Another point on which there seems to have been some differences of opinion between the Political Department and the Princes is in regard to the attachment of smaller States, which was carried out sometime ago. The contention of the Princes seems to be that the Crown Representative must at least have consulted the Rulers concerned before deciding on any action. It appears that the Princes desired to move a resolution on the above subject in the session which was to have met tomorrow but the Political Department objected on the ground that it would create a very embarrassing situation.

One other point which the Princes seem to have urged is that in regard to post-war development, the States should be allowed to import plant and machinery customs free and that licences for such import should automatically be granted to the States. The proposal does not seem to have found favour with the Government. On all these points the Princes desired to move formal resolutions in the open session of the Chamber.

### Differences with Political Dept.

The main causes that have led to the present crisis in the relations between the Crown Representative and the Princely Order do not appear to be of any recent origin but may be traced to the steps taken by the Political Department some time ago to group together States for purposes of securing efficient administration and attachment of smaller States to neighbouring States, which were considered in some way to have affected their treaty rights.

A deputation of the Princes waited on the Crown Representative in the middle of September last, and at the interview important questions were raised, such as joint services for the States, protection of the Princely Order against attacks from British Indian leaders and Press, the scheme of attachment of smaller States, industrial policy and post-war reconstruction, courts of arbitration and treaty rights. A reply to the above seven points raised by the deputation seems to have been covered by a letter addressed by the Political Department to the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes dated December 2,

JOINT SERVICES

In regard to joint services, the Princes agreed that smaller States, which could not by themselves maintain an efficient standard of administration, should co-operate with some other States to achieve this end. The Princes urged that if smaller States are grouped for administrative reasons, there should be no suggestion that the States are being misgoverned, as States falling under this category are always dealt with separately. The deputation pointed out that a Committee with H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner as Chairman has been appointed to define minimum standards of efficient administration which the smaller States must maintain. It was urged that on boards of control appointed for working joint services there should be only representatives of full powered States, and minority administrations and States governed by the Political Department should have no representation on those boards.

The depution also desired that joint advisers appointed in this behalf should not deal with the Political Department direct over the heads of the Rulers or the representatives of the Rulers concerned.

The Princes also suggested that the working of the joint scheme must be reviewed periodically by a committee consisting of the Chancellor and a few other Rulers and that the Standing Committee of the Chamber should be permitted to prepare a scheme for the efficient administration of smaller States.

It is learnt that the Political Department took the view that States under minority rule would not always remain in that condition and that it would be unfair to deny States which contributed towards the cost of joint services a voice in the Board of Control. It was also explained that officers were fully aware of the necessity of keeping their interference with co-operative grouping arrangements restricted to the absolute minimum, though until the experiment had established itself finally occasional interference on the part of the officers for the purpose of coordinating and stimulating co-operative grouping schemes would be unavoidable. Periodical review of the working of joint schemes was welcomed by the Crown Representative as it would help to rectify any defects that might be noticed.

The point of view was put forward that the establishment of joint High Courts was an invasion of the sovereignty of the States. This view-point did not seem to have been accepted by the Political Department which felt that the moment the jurisdiction of a court entered a State it became the High Court of that State.

MINIMUM STANDARDS OF ADMINISTRATION

Regarding the suggestion that the Standing Committee of the Chamber should be permitted to draw up a scheme defining minimum standards of efficient administration, the Political Department's reply stated that while the Crown was always willing to receive alternative schemes, there was no reason why the existing experiment, initiated after much thought and labour, should be suspended while the States worked out another scheme.

It may be mentioned that this subject has been under discussion for some years and the present scheme was evolved after considerable negotiation and the Political Department feels that the Princes cannot produce any better scheme.

The Princes seem to be particularly annoyed at criticisms by the Press and leaders in British India of the administration of the States. The Princely Order would very much wish that the present British Indian Law and regulations protecting Indian States against attacks from British India were further tightened and for this purpose the Princes suggested that representatives of the Government of India should meet representatives of the Princes and discuss the question.

Lord Wavell is understood to have explained the difficulties in the way of stiffening the present legislation and expressed his confidence that with rising standard of administration in the States occasions for such attacks in British India against the Princes and their Governments would diminish. His Excellency appears to have urged that the Princes too must contribute to a solution of this difficult problem through wise government.

ATTACHMENT OF SMALLER STATES

On the question of attachment of smaller States, the Princes seem to have felt that the instrument of Attachment should be revised in consultation with representatives of the attaching and attached States and that no further extension of the scheme of attachment be permitted. The Princes urged that no attachment should take place without the consent of the State concerned as was done in the past and they actually drafted a resolution on the subject to be moved at the session of the Princes Chamber.

The Political Department, without whose consent and approval no resolution could be moved in the Chamber, objected to the resolution and the resignation of the Standing Committee was the result.

It was urged on behalf of the Princes that the powers of the Crown and the exercise of the same in respect of the States could not and should not be transferred to any third party, or other authority without the free consent of the parties concerned.

Urging revision of the Instrument of Attachment, the Princes said that the possibility of a settlement founded on consent should be explored. It was even urged that various measures of war control and war-time ordinances should not be used to put political pressure on attached States.

The view of the Political Department on this point seems to be that certain proposals affecting the text of the Instrument of Attachment are under consideration and as soon as a definite conclusion is reached, their purport will be communicated to the States concerned. It appears that no extension of the attachment scheme is under contemplation now.

The Princes seem to have protested vigorously against an order passed by the Government of India stating that payments will be made in British India for goods supplied to the Supply Department by factories and industries situated in the States and urged its immediate withdrawal. It is pointed out that the order adversely affects the revenues of the States and that it represents an indirect attempt by the Government of India to subject the profits of industrial undertakings in the States to British Indian taxation.

The argument on the other side is that uniformity in regard to taxes on income has not been established as between the States and British India even after considerable negotiation.

### Post-War Planning in States

Another point brought out by the deputation was that in case of rejection of applications for capital issues by the Government of India, an opportunity should be given to representatives of States to examine the reasons for such rejection and some suitable machinery should be evolved for this purpose.

With reference to post-war planning, the Princes urged that the Crown Representative should take the States into his confidence in regard to any scheme for the industrial and economic development of India as a whole. These two points, it appears, would be carefully examined by the Government of India.

### Treaty Rights

Two points on which the deputation seems to have laid particular emphasis are the appointment of a Court of Arbitration for the settlement of differences and treaty rights. In regard to the former, the Princes seem to hold the view that there should be a systematic recourse to the procedure embodied in the resolution of 1920 when dealing with dynastic rights and with questions of gross misrule. The Princes also emphasised that where issues are justiceable or relate to fiscal, economic or financial matters, including interpretations of treaties and agreements, recourse should be had as of right to the Court of Arbitration. It is believed that the Political Department declined to accept these two contentions on the ground that it was not desirable to limit the discretion vested in the Crown Representative.

It is the question of treaty rights that has directly led the legislation of the Standing Committee.

The Princes desired that there should be some effective machinery to ensure that treaty rights were not over-ridden.

The Princes requested the Crown Representative to set up some machinery whereby their views, through a few representatives selected by His Excellency, including the Chancellor, are placed before him before His Excellency decided to take formal action in exercise of the powers of the Crown vis-a-vis the States particularly in such matters as directly affected the Princes or where policies affecting the States in general were proposed. Emphasis was laid on the fact that the Crown Representative must hear the States before taking any decision unilaterally. On this point, the Crown Representative, it is learnt, is reported to have reiterated that fulfilment of all obligations arising out of treaties still remained the fundamental policy of His Majesty's Government, though he also urged at the same time that the interpretation of the text of the relevent treaties has long been affected by usage and sufferance and has in the nature of things to be related to the necessities of changing times.

Exception seems to have been taken by the Princely Order to this proviso and there is apprehension that this is a direct attempt by the Crown to subdue the Princes.

## Princes set up Council of Action

Well informed observers do not disguise the fact that it is needed a desperate step that has been taken by the Princes now in withdrawing *en bloc* from the Standing Committee and forwarding their resignations to the Crown Representative. The Princes have, however, made it clear that the step they have taken would not in any way affect the war effort, nor was it directed in any way against the person of the Crown Representative.

The Princes have appointed a Council of Action of five to take any step that may be necessary. There is no doubt that the political Department too was not prepared for its development and some time must elapse before any settlement is reached.

### No Resolution of Crisis

No material change occurred to-day in the situation arising from the resignation of the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes and the postponement of the Chamber's annual session. The crisis seemed to be moving towards stabilisation rather than solution. Nevertheless, contact between the principal Rulers and and the Viceroy continued to be maintained. Conversation were understood to be in progeress between the Viceroy and the Chancellor, H. H. the Nawab of Bhopal, who and a number of other Princes are staying at the Viceroy's House. Cordiality on the social plane was exemplified in the 'at home' given this evening by Their Excellencies to meet the Princes and Chiefs.

It was learned in the morning that the Conference of States and Rulers and representatives on education, health and post-war reconstruction will be held as originally planned on December 7 and 8. The Chancellor will open the Conference and it is possible that his address will make some reference to the crisis.

Some prominent Rulers, however, have left Delhi already. Their Highnesses of Patiala and Jaipur are among them. Their departure emphasises the air of finality which pervades the Princes' camp. The unanimity with which the Princes acted under the Nawab of Bhopal's lead remains undented. But, not all Rulers, and in any case, not all their principal advisers, are convinced that the issues justified the extreme step taken.

Further details of the main points in dispute are cited in support of the contention that the crisis was not unavoidable. Some eight points, it is learned, were raised by the Princes' deputation which waited on the Crown Representative on September 15 and 16.

Firstly, the boards set up to control the working of the joint services of States should consist of full-powered States and should not include minority representative of States.

Secondly, joint advisers appointed for groups of States which find it financially and otherwise desirable to have them should not deal with political officers over the head of the State administrations.

Thirdly, the working of various schemes relating to States should be reviewd periodically.

Fourthly, the Standing Committee should be given the opportunity to prepare schemes to secure minimum standards of administration in the States.

Fifthly, Princes should be allowed to draw up an alternative plan for co-operative grouping.

Sixthly, joint High Court should not be set up. The Raja of Bilaspur, in particular, is reported to have opposed these courts as an invasion of the rights of States.

Seventhly, the Instrument of Attachment should be revised in consultation with representatives of the attaching and attached States and no further attachments should be made.

Eighthly, arbitration machinery should be set up to ensure that treaty rights are not overridden.

It is reported that the Viceroy's reply expressed disagreement with points one, two, five, six and eight and the first part of seven and promised consideration of three and four. As regards the second part of seven the reply, it is believed, pointed out that scheme of attachment was limited to Western India and Gujerat States and the Government had no intention of extending it to other States.

The reply, however, appears to have promised protection against undue newspaper attacks from British India against States and to have drawn attention to the fact that as States' administrations improved occasions for harsh and unjust criticisms would become less and less.

On the question of post-war reconstruction and industrial planning, the Crown Representative's stand is stated to be against allowing any unit or units to follow any policy of development that was likely to upset the All-India scheme.

With greater perseverance, it is urged friendly adjustment of these issues was not impossible.

### Crisis in 1936 Recalled

Although the resignation of the Standing Committee as a whole is unique, students of the Chamber's history since its creation by the Duke of Connaught 23 years ago point out that an earlier crisis disturbed this body. That was in 1936 when differences between the greater and lesser States on the question of Federation resulted in the resignation of the Chancellor, the late Maharaja of Patiala. Thereafter H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner resigned from the Standing Committee. No meeting of the Chamber was held that year and the Viceroy in consultation with the Princes convened a meeting in February 1937. Besides the larger number of Rulers involved in the present resignation, a vital difference, it is pointed out, is that the resignation of 1936 was a result of disunity, while the present resignation is an expression of unity among the Princes.

The resignation has been handed in to the Crown Representative as President of the Chamber of Princes. It is not known whether he has accepted it.

### Princes' Draft Resolution

The text of the draft resolution which was framed for discussion, by the Chamber of Princes on the Crown's relationship with the States is published in *The Hindustan Times* on the 9th December. The resolution runs:

"The Chamber of Princes considers it necessary to reiterate in the most unequivocal and emphatic terms that the Crown's relationship with the States and the Crown's powers in respect of the States cannot, and should not, be transferred to any third party or other authority without the consent of the States concerned.

"The Chamber requests His Excellency the Crown Representative to be pleased to convey to His Majesty's Government the grave misgivings and apprehensions aroused in the States, by the recent tendency to alter the States' relationship with the Crown and to qualify the observance of the Crown's obligations, by unilateral action without the consent of the States, notwithstanding the solemn Royal pronouncements that these treaty rights shall be maintained unimpaired, and the recent assurance conveyed to the Indian Princes by his Majesty's Government that the fulfilment of the fundamental obligations arising out of the treaties and sanads remains an integral part of His Majesty's Government's policy.

"The Chamber further requests His Excellency the Crown Representative to convey this expression of their devotion to His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor, with the respectful submission that in this matter of fundamental importance to the continuance of their relationship with the Crown, the Indian Princes solicit His Majesty's personal good offices to ensure an early and satisfactory announcement".

As the session of the Chamber of Princes was cancelled, the resolution was not moved.

### Chancellor on Amery's Reference

The Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, the *Nawab of Bhopal*, in a statement on Mr. Amery's reference in Parliament to the resignations from the Standing Commitee said on the 17th December 1944:—

"I have seen press reports of the statement made by the Secretary of State for India in Parliament on December 13. This makes it necessary to explain that the Princes refrained, as agreed, from making a public statement indicating reasons for their resignations because they felt that it may cause unnecessary embarrassment.

"The Princes will be happy to note that the communication of the 2nd December, 1944, to which a reference was made by the Secretary of State, was not intended to contain anything new in principle or policy. They feel that a public statement at this stage is not suitable for stating the issues involved. They will, at the appropriate occasion when discussions are held, be able to indicate where, in their opinion, changes have occurred, and what led to the resignations.

"At this stage it would be sufficient to recall what the Princes have said before, that the events of the past three or four years have caused grave anxiety and appre-

hensions to the Princes, big and small. They have, without a single exception, solidly stood by the Empire, and their people have unconditionally and to the utmost of their capacity given of their very best in men, money, material and personal services towards the successful prosecution of the war. They have, therefore, not been able to understand why at this stage of their long and honourable relationship with the Crown they should receive this treatment. I repeat again the assurance already given that the States will not relax their efforts until final victory has been won over all the enemies of the King-Emperor.

"I should also, in the course of this statement, like to make it clear that the Princes have no intention or desire. as is alleged in a section of the Press, to stand in the way of the growth of India to its full stature, or to hinder the political, economic or social progress and advancement of their peoples. I am confident that when the time comes and it is necessary that the Princes should make sacrifices in the true interests of their country, they shall not be found wanting.

"The Princes only ask for justice and fairplay. They have faith in Lord Wavell and rely on the goodwill of His Majesty's Government."

# The All India States' Conference

## New Delhi—7th December 1944

### Chancellor's Address

The All-India States' Conference on Education, Medical Relief and Post-War Reconstruction opened to-day with an address by the Chancellor, the *Nawab of Bhopal*, who avoided all direct reference to the crisis in the relations between the Chamber and the Crown Rrepresentative, but made two general declarations on the States' attitude to British Indian plans for post-war development and on the internal administration of the States.

His Highness alluded to the contributions of Indian States to charitable, cultural and other institutions outside their territories and stated that figures collected, which were not complete, showed that about Rs. 11½ crores had been contributed in this way by Indian States. The Conference, said His Highness at the outset, was the first of the series which the Standing Committee in July 1944 agreed might be held every year on beneficent departments of activity. About 80 States were represented at the Conference.

His Highness proceeded: "Events in India and abroad are moving incredibly fast and even the most progressive governments have constantly to adapt their institutions to meet the requirements of the changing times. I am not aware of any amongst the Indian States that have refused to be influenced by the progressive march of time. Almost every State in India is steadfastly working for the development of its resources, the improvement of its administration and the betterment of the standard of living of its people. In certain fields at least, the Indian States are proud to have led the way for the rest of India. The States recognise, however, that there is and always will be room for progress and for advancement. They are determined to pursue it to the fullest extent possible.

"The Conference, which I have the honour to inaugurate to day, is intended to assist the States in their desire to make further progress in social services. It is intended to pool the experience of British India and the Indian States, as also of the leading countries outside India, in the important sphere of the beneficent activities and to make it available to the States. It should also help to co-ordinate and where needed, to stimulate action in this direction."

His Highness commended to the Conference's consideration the memoranda placed before them giving a resume of the available information, on education, medical relief and post-war reconstruction, explaining the progress made in the States, the plans in view of the Government of India, and proposals of post-war planning in great Britain and U. S. A. He added:

"There are two questions of policy, however, in regard to which you are entitled to an indication from me, of the attitude of the Princes in general. Those questions relate to the internal reforms in the States and the Central plans for post-war planing and industrial development.

"On the first question of internal reforms, I need only refer you to the resolution (of which copies are laid on the table) which has been approved unanimously at the meeting of Princes held this week in Delhi. This resolution is a declaration of our policy on this important question. The administration reports of the States, which are published now by every State, and the information digested in the memoranda placed before you, shows that the Indian Princes almost without exception, are applying themselves earnestly to the progress of internal reforms within their territories. They lend further support to the statement of His Excellency the Crown Representative, made at a recent session of the Chamber of princes, that earnest endeavours were being made in the States to improve the administrative standards and that various admirable reforms had been introduced. In accordance with the highest traditions of the Indian States, their contributions towards the charitable, cultural and other institutions, have recognised no limitations of frontiers or creeds. The figures already collected, which are not yet complete, show that since 1877, about 11½ crores non-recurring, and Rs. 40 lakhs (annual) and Rs. 1½ lakhs (monthly) recurring have been contributed by the Indian States towards such beneficent activities outside their own territories."

POST-WAR DEVELOPMENT

His Highness proceeding said: "I shall now refer briefly to the attitude of the Indian States towards the Central plans for post-war development. We are grateful to the hon. Sir Ardeshir Dalal, for taking us in confidence, as far as possible, at this stage, in regard to those plans. We have considered them, within the time so far available with the earnestness which they demanded. Our general conclusion is that it is in the interests of the States, as also of the country as a whole, that the States should co-operate to the fullest extent possible with these plans.

"Our attitude towards the industrial development of British India and the States is equally reasonable. The economic interests of India and the need for raising the standard of living of its people demand all round development of its natural resources. The States, like British India, must look primarily to industrial development to provide necessary revenues to meet the growing requirements of progressive administration and social services in the post-war period. We believe that there is ample scope in India for the industrial development of British India as well as of the States. The consumers' goods required for the Indian population could not be supplied, for many years to come, even by the joint out-put of British India and the States. Any rise in the standard of living of the people of the States, through the development of States' resources, would increase their purchasing power which would react favourably on the All-India position. It is therefore in the interests of British India, as well as the States, and in the best interests of the country as a whole, that there should be the fullest possible industrial development of British India and the States.

"The States must make up the great lee-way in respect of their industrial development if they are not to retard the progress of the country as a whole. I hope that we shall receive the fullest co operation of British India in this matter; and it should be possible, with goodwill on both sides, to overcome any difficulties in the way. I am confident that such a development would be for the benefit of both. We must not, however, forget that all this can be achieved only if we first win the war. And in this connection I need hardly repeat what is already known to all of you that the Princes are determined to render every possible assistance towards the successful prosecution of the war."

**Princes' Declaration on Internal Reforms**

It is understood that the resolution on administrative reforms mentioned by the Chancellor was intended to be placed before the Chamber of Princes. The resolution says that the Chamber, while emphasising the importance of internal reforms in the States emanating where necessary from the Rulers themselves and their Governments, strongly recommends that, unless already done, the Governments of the States may carefully review their systems of administrations with a view to implementing, to the fullest extent possible and with due regard to the local circumstances the important recommendations made by the Special Drafting Committee of Ministers of 1942, which have been fully endorsed by the Standing Committee and the Committee of Ministers.

These recommendations, which are already in force in many States and are receiving active consideration of many others include:

**(a) Statutory provision guaranteeing the Rule of Law and security and protec-**

tion of person and property, with powers to the States' court to see that these fundamental rights are scrupulously enforced;

(b) The administration of justice through an impartial and competant Judiciary, independent of the executive, with suitable provision for the adjudication of disputes between the States and their subjects;

(c) The establishment of a Council form of Government providing for the advice and assistance of Ministers to the Rulers in ordinary sphere of administration, and the association of the peoples with the governance of the States through suitable representative institutions, their pace and form being inevitably conditioned by local circumstances and with due regard to the traditions and the structural balance of society in the individual States:

(d) Suitable arrangements to ensure continuity of policy and the security and integrity of public service.

(e) A clear demarcation between State expenditure and the civil lists of Rulers which may be fixed at reasonable percentages of the ordinary revenues of the States;

(f) A fair and equitable incidence of taxation allocating a definite and substantial portion of the revenues for the benefit of the peoples particularly in the beneficent departments.

This Chamber, the resolution proceeds, while recording the fact that the States, individually as well as collectively, are giving active consideration to, and are working out plans for post-war development, desires to emphasise in particular, their suitable extension unless already done, in the following directions with due regard to local conditions :

(a) The fullest possible collaboration with the Central Government in regard to such plans and policies for post-war development which affect the States and in the formulation and implementing of which, they have been adequately associated. It is understood that in view of the diversity of conditions between British India and the States collaboration with these plans does not imply complete uniformity of all details of the administration of these plans in the States territories without their agreement by any outside agencies ;

(b) The adoption of effective measures for raising the standards of living of their people with particular attention to the improvement of the conditions of ex-soldiers and their families; the labouring populatton; the agricultural classes and the backward classes.

The Chamber recommends to His Excellency the Crown Representative that in order to enable the States to raise necessary funds for the aforesaid objects, they may be given all possible facilities for the development of their own industries and resources as requested by His Highness the Chancellor and the representative of the States.

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# Mr. Phillips' Mission in India

## American Columnist's Allegations

The well-known American Columnist, *Drew Pearson* writing in the *New York Daily Mirror* on the 6th. July 1944 from Washington made some sensational allegations. He said that about 18 months ago *President Roosevelt* sent a friendly letter to *Mahatma Gandhi* "urging nationalist co-operation with the Allies". But the British authority refused to deliver that communication to the Mahatma. Later, when Mr. Phillips, President Roosevelt's Special Envoy in India, sought an interview with Mahatma Gandhi he got a curt refusal from the Government. President Roosevelt himself, according to Drew Pearson, tried to urge on Mr. Churchill at the Washington Conference to follow a more liberal policy in India, but "Mr. Churchill was almost insulting" and virtually told the President "to mind his own business". Though the White House Secretary, Mr. Stephen Early, denied knowledge of "anything of this sort", the story of Drew Pearson does not appear to be wholly improbable. It is now common knowledge that Mr. Phillips, who occupied the unique position of being President Roosevelt's Special Envoy, did ask for an interview with Mahatma Gandhi before leaving India, but his request was flatly refused.

## Colonel Johnson—the first occupant

The post of President Roosevelt's Personal Envoy at New Delhi seems to be a remarkably ill-fated one, according to the correspondent of the *Hindu* of Madras.

*Colonel Johnson*, its first occupant, had not been in office for more than six weeks. He came right into the middle of the Cripps negotiations and, being a politician, was willing to take risks and intervened openly just when Sir Stafford Cripps seemed stuck over a suitable defence formula. Colonel Johnson developed a tremendous regard and affection for Pandit Nehru whom he considered one of the world's greatest personalities. He made no secret of America's attitude towards India; America, he declared, being the main fighter in the Far Eastern theatre of operations, was determined to see through a settlement of the Indian problem. She was concerned with only two things: would India after a satisfactory settlement throw herself wholeheartedly into the war effort; secondly, would the Congress Party be content with the transfer of the substance of power during the war and concede all reasonable safeguards to the Minorities?

Col. Johnson tried to persuade Pandit Nehru to accompany him to Washington but failed. Before leaving New Delhi, he made a significant remark that some day there will be a Johnson version of the Cripps Mission—but he disappeared quietly from the political scene on his return to the United States.

### Advent of Mr. Phillips In New Delhi

After an interval of six months came his successor, Mr. Philips,—the very antithesis of Col. Johnson in many respects. He spoke English without a trace of Americanism, was correct in everything he said and did and shunned the limelight. But he kept himself busy throughout the five months he spent in India. He had seen Mr. Churchill before leaving London for India and had obtained an assurance that he would have full facilities to study the Indian situation, see any body he liked and make any suggestions he thought practicable. Armed with such an authority, he went round the country, interviewed politicians, officials, soldiers, businessmen and princes. Among the politicians two impressed him most—Mr. C. Rajagopalachari and Sir T. B. Sapru.

In the first week of February, (1943) Mr. Phillips approached Lord Linlithgow with a request to let him see Gandhiji. The Viceroy pointed out that Gandhiji was about to commence his fast. Therefore, the suggestion could not be entertained at that stage.

Mr. Phillips, meanwhile, clarified his own ideas and gradually evolved some general propositions which, he felt sure, could be made the basis for an all-round settlement. Self-determination for Muslim areas, he thought, was a legitimate concession though he found little real enthusiasm for Pakistan in the Punjab; within the existing constitution, he was satisfied a great of advance could be achieved along the lines Sir Stafford Cripps had indicated; in the sphere of Defence, he seemed to think that the creation of an Allied War Council with an Indian representative in it with headquarters at New Delhi would overcome the objection of Congress leaders to the proposals contained in the Cripps formula. Generally speaking, Mr. Phillips aimed at specific improvements to that offer to meet the criticisms of the Congress and the Muslim League.

Before leaving India at the end of April 1943, he assured his friends (as did Colonel Johnson) that his absence from Delhi would be of extremely short duration and repeated his request to the Viceroy to let him see Gandhiji. The Viceroy invited him to Dehra Dun and discussed the situation with him and politely turned down his request a second time, when he realised that Mr. Phillips' proposals for a settlement had general approval in the country.

### Meeting With Mr. Churchill

By coincidence or deliberately perhaps, Mr. Phillips arrived in Washington on the eve of the Churchill-Roosevelt meeting in May 1943. Remembering the Prime Minister's remark to him in London in the previous December, Mr. Phillips forced himself upon Mr. Churchill and placed his outlines of a solution for the Indian problem before him. Mr. Churchill was indignant. "You don't know India," he burst out, in effect "and your solution will mean widespread disorder and handing over India to the Japanese." Mr. Phillips, persistent and undeterred by Mr. Churchill's rebuke, fought for the President's intervention. More politely perhaps but with equal firmness, Mr. Churchill made it clear to Mr. Roosevelt that India could not be made a subject of discussion.

Was Mr. Phillips' return to India thwarted and beaten at every stage? He

retained his post as President's Personal Envoy at New Delhi but preferred an assignment in a temporary and special job in London while, it was freely asserted in New Delhi, warm weather lasted. Curiously winter came but warm weather seemed to continue at Delhi for Mr. Phillips kept himself busy at London—with consequences which have just come to light. Who will succeed Mr. Phillips or will anybody succeed him at all in New Delhi ?"

## Mr. Eden's Reported Cable to Washington

The following Reuter message from New York appeared in the Colombo papers:

Commentator Drew Pearson's syndicate column "Washington Merry Go Round" in Monday's New York *Daily Mirror* declares: "Diplomats are indignant over the ousting of Ambassador William Phillips from London as political adviser to General Eisenhower. Mr. Phillips came home for 'personal reasons'. But the fact is that he was asked to leave London because he wrote a letter to President Roosevelt criticising British policy in India and recommending Indian independence.

"The letter published in this column on July 25, caused a furore. The British demanded official explanations. Later the Foreign Minister, Mr. Anthony Eden also demanded the recall from New Delhi of General Merrell, acting as chief of the United States mission in India during Mr. Phillips' absence. He resigned and returns shortly. The British objected because Mr. Phillips reported to his chief on India. London is sore over his point that India is of great concern to us on account of the Japanese war."

After quoting Mr. Phillips as stating, "The Indian army is mercenary. It is time for the British to act. They can declare that India will achieve her independence at a specified date after the war", Mr. Pearson declared: "Mr. Eden cabled Sir Ronald Campbell, British Charge d'Affaires in Washington, stating that he and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, were perturbed and ordered the Embassy to approach the State Department with a formal demand for investigation. Mr. Cordell Hull informed the Embassy that Mr. Phillips' letter had leaked out through the Under-Secretary, Mr. Sumner Welles. Mr. Eden again cabled expressing surprise that a paper of the calibre of the *Washington Post* published Mr. Phillips' letter and suggesting that the *Post* should publish an editorial contradicting and criticising the story. When Sir Ronald cabled this to London, Mr. Eden replied asking the *Post* to correct Mr. Phillips' statement about a mercenary army.

"In London Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden put the heat on on the United States Ambassador, Mr. John Winant, and had that official ask Mr. Phillips if he still held the same views, Mr. Phillips said he did more than ever but was sorry his letter was published, adding 'I hope my other reports, even stronger, will not leak. Mr. Eden cabled his Embassy to inform the State Department that Mr. Phillips was *persona non grata* in London, observing: 'India is more important than a thousand Phillips's."

## Johnson's Resolution in House of Representatives

The spokesman for the House Committee on Foreign Affairs said at Washington on the **31st August 1944** that the resolution introduced in the House of Representatives by the Republican Representative Mr. *Calvin D. Johnson* asking that *Sir Ronald Campbell*, the British Minister in Washington, and *Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai*, Agent-General to the Government of India in the United States should be declared *persona non grata* because of their efforts to "mould" American public opinion, would be considered by the Committee "as soon as conveniently possible." The text of the resolution in the House of Representatives by Mr. Calvin D. Johnson, reads :

"Whereas the President's Special Ambassador to India, Mr. William Phillips submitted a report to the President of the United States stating that the Indian Army and the people will not participate with any force in the war unless they are given a promise of independence, and whereas Ambassador Phillips also reported that India is the most important base for American operations against Japan and since Britain will only play a 'token' part in the war against Japan, it is vital for the United States to have more active support of the Indian army and the Indian people, and whereas it is now more than a year since Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt meeting in Quebec in the summer of 1943 promised an offensive through Burma to aid our gallant ally China and whereas Mr. Phillips pointed to the inertia of the Indian Army and of the criticism of it given by General Stilwell unquestionably contributes to our delay in that theatre of war and whereas the

British Government taking exception to the report which Mr. Phillips submitted to his chief, the President of the United States, has made Mr. Phillips' position in London as Political Adviser to Gen. Eisenhower untenable and declared him *persona non grata* and whereas Mr. Phillips was not accredited to the British Government but is part of the armed force of the United States; that it is the sentiment of this body that Mr. Phillips be not recalled to the United States and his services lost to Gen. Eisenhower but that the transfer of his headquarters to a place on the European continent suitable for the continuation of his political advice to the American High Command, be it further resolved that it is the sentiment of this body that the British Minister for India in Washington, Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai and Sir Ronald Campbell who have endeavoured to influence the views of the American press regarding India shall be declared *persona non grata* to the Government of the United States, should they continue in their efforts to mould public opinion in Mr. Phillips' case."

## Senator Chandler's Demand

*Senator Chandler* of Kentucky in the Senate in Washington on the 28th August 1944 demanded that President Roosevelt should make a full report on conditions on India. "I believe in co-operating with our Allies, but only by knowing the truth of the situation in other countries can we hope for a genuine co-operative peace".

He said the American Political Adviser, Mr. William Phillips, had been attacked by the British for his report on the Indian situation and declared that British representatives in the United States had even approached certain American publishers with a view to preventing publication of Mr. Phillips' view.

Senator Chandler, who, with five other Senators, visited India some time ago, said high British officials in the United States had told him that what is happening in India is none of his or the Senate's business.

"I repudiate that statement", he added. "Conditions there had a bearing on the war with Japan. If the British are going to be able to force a recall of our diplomats merely because they submit truthful reports, I think, we ought to know about it."

"Our British Allies have taken an incredibly harmful step which can only injure the friendly relations between ourselves and them in declaring President Roosevelt's personal Ambassador, Mr. Phillips, *persona non grata*". Mr. Chandler continued : "The British Foreign Office took this action because Mr. Phillips made a report on the conditions in India which the British don't like. Is the Government of the United States so weak and our people so incompetent, has our sovereignty been so impaired that even the President is no longer permitted to know the truth about conditions in friendly countries ? Only by knowing the truth of the conditions in countries not as we wish them to be but as they exist, can the American people in future organise and promote a policy of friendship with other nations that will lead to lasting peace."

### British Spokesman's Denial

In answer to the inquiry made in the Senate, a spokesman of the British Embassy said that it was not true that the British Government had described Mr. Phillips as *persona non grata*. It was also untrue that the British Government asked for his recall.

The United States State Department spokesman said that the British Government at no time asked for Mr. Phillips' recall and that the arrangements for his return were made sometime ago. The British Embassy spokesman denied Senator Chandler's assertion that Mr. Phillips was recalled at the request of the British.

### Lord Halifax's Denial

The British Ambassador Lord Halifax, emphatically denied the charges that Mr. William Phillips was recalled at London's request. He said, "the State Department had denied the truth of this allegation before this Embassy denied it and I hope it will not be repeated."

### Mr. Sol Bloom on Mr. Phillips' Resignation

The Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Mr. *Sol Bloom*, siding with Lord Halifax and the State Department, made the statement that "neither the British nor the Indian Governments ever requested or even suggested Mr. Phillips' recall."

Mr. Sol Bloom declared that there was no connection whatever between Mr. Phillips' resignation and the "unauthorised publication of the views he had commu-

nicated to the President concerning India." Mr. Bloom continued: "When Mr. Phillips was first assigned to London, the Secretary of State advised the Press on September 8. 1943, that his assignment was for a temporary period. The British Government was at that time confidentially advised that Mr. Phillips would be doing special work in connection with the planning of the invasion of the continent and that it was contemplated that he would remain in London only during planning period. In April 1944, Mr. Phillips indicated that his work was approaching completion and before long he would wish to resign for personal reasons and return to the United States. On July 19, 1944, Mr. Phillips wrote specifically that he wished to return in September 1944. The Secretary of State reluctantly agreed to his request. It was only on July 25, 1944, that the unauthorised publication of certain of his views on India occurred."

### MR. PHILLIPS DECLINES TO COMMENT

Mr. Phillips declined to comment on Senator Chandler's charge that he was recalled because of British objections. "I think Secretary Hull's statement disposes of the matter", Mr. Phillips said. He added that he has planned to return to the United States before long.

### MR. KRISHNA MENON MEETS MR. PHILLIPS

Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, Secretary of the India League, had a long discussion with Mr. William Phillips, on the 29th. August 1944. Both declined to comment, but the impression gained was that the conversation was satisfactory.

### BRITISH COMMENTATOR'S RETORT

The well-known Commentator "Candidus" writing in the *Daily Sketch*, discussed the "world problem of colour which must be faced." "Candidus" says, "In the interests of Anglo-American unity it will be better if some prominent Americans would deny themselves the luxury of criticising our administration in India—undeterred by the fact that they are completely ignorant of what they talk about."

Quoting Senator Chandler's recent statements as an example of a "tissue of inaccuracies" "Candidus" characterises Senator Chandler's demand that President Roosevelt should make a full report on the conditions in India as "independent suggestion" designed merely to whip up Anti-British feeling in America. Incrediable as it may be to the Senator Chandlers of the United States, Indians would rather have us there than any other foreigners." "Candidus." remarks that Indians are not likely to be weakened in this attitude by incidents in the United States such as the recent riots in Philadelphia arising from the promotion of Negro transport workers against which white Trade Unionists revolted.

Emphasising the extent of colour prejudice in the United States, "Candidus" declares that the position of coloured peoples *vis-a-vis* the white is a problem which will figure conspicuously on the agenda of post-war world reconstruction. Nations of every complexion are fighting with the Allies to kill the blasphemous doctrine of the "master race" and, adds "Candidus": "What do you propose to say to them when the war is won and won with their assistance? Are we, whites, going to say to them, 'You have given us wonderful help in winning the war but you can not share in the fruits of victory? Do we mean to tell them that equality of status and opportunity is to be denied them on account of their colour? If we do, then though we have won the war they will very thoroughly have lost it. On the long view we shall have lost it, too, for the coloured peoples will refuse tamely to accept the implication of inferiority which has no biological justification. And thus will the ground be prepared for the most terrible of all wars, let alone of all racial wars—war of non-whites against whites, wherever they may meet."

## Senator Chandler Offers Proof

*Senator Chandler*, referring to the British denial that Mr. Phillips' recall was requested by the British Government, made public a telegram on the 3rd. September 1944 which, he said, had been sent to London by *Sir Olaf Caroe*, Secretary to the External Affairs Department of the Government of India, in which he said that India could not again receive Mr. Phillips.

The telegram said in part: "We feel strongly that the British Embassy should be supported in carrying this matter further with the State Department. We are doing our best to prevent the entry of newspapers or letters carrying the text of Mr. Pearson's article. We understand that the designation of Mr. Phillips is still the President's personal representative to India. Whether or not he was connected

new forces are gathering through the world which affect their hold over India and they. have therefore, gone out of their way, so they believe, to offer freedom to India as soon as there are signs that the Indians themselves can form a secure Government. This the Indian leaders have been unable to do and the British feel that they have done all they can in the circumstances. Behind the door is Mr. Churchill who gives the impression that personally he would prefer not to transfer any power to an Indian Government eirher before or after the war, and the *status quo* should be maintained.

Indians. on the other hand, are caught up in the new idea which is sweeping the world, of freedom for oppressed peoples. The Atlantic Charter has given the movement great impetus. Your speeches have given encouragement. British Declarations that freedom would be granted to India after the war, have brought the picture of Indian Independence as never before into the thoughts of the entire Indian intelligentsia. Unfortunately, as the time approaches for ending the war, the struggle for political prestige and power between parties has increased, and this has made it more difficult than ever for the leaders willing to reach a compromise agreement. Furthermore, Mr. Gandhi and all the Congress leaders, not to mention fifty or sixty thousand Congress supporters, are in jail, and as the Congress is the strongest political party, there is no one available to speak for it. There thus is a complete deadlock; I should imagine that the Viceroy and Mr. Churchill are well satisfied to let the deadlock remain as long as possible. That at least is the general impression in most Indian circles.

### Deadlock Must Be Broken

The problem therefore is, can anything be done to break this deadlock through our help? It seems to me, all we can do is to try and include Indian political leaders to meet together and discuss the form of government which they regard as applicable to India, and thus show the world they have sufficient intelligence to tackle the problem. We must not assume that they will adopt American or British systems. In view of the importance of guaranteeing protection of minorities, our majority form of movement may not be applicable and a coalition may prove to be the one and only practical way of guaranteeing internal harmony. We cannot suppose that the British Government can or will transfer power to India by a scratch of the pen at the conclusion of the Peace Conference. unless there is an Indian Government fit to receive it. The question remains, therefore, how to induce leaders to begin now to prepare for their future responsibilities. There is, perhaps, a way out of the deadlock, which I suggest to you, not because I am sure of its success but because I think it worthy of your consideration. With the approval and blessing of the British Government, an invitation could be addressed to the leaders of all Indian political groups on behalf of the President of the United States to meet together to discuss plans for the future. The Assembly could be presided over by an American who could exercise influence in harmonizing the endless divisions of caste, religion, race and political views. The conference might well be held under the patronage of the King Emperor, the President of the United States, the President of the Soviet Union and Marshal Chiang Kai-shek, in order to bring pressure to bear on the Indian politicians. Upon the issue of invitations, the King-Emperor could give a fresh assurance of the intention of the British Government to transfer power to India on a certain date, as well as his desire to grant a provisional set-up for the duration. The conference could be held in any city in India except Delhi.

### Indians' Lack of Confidence in British Promises

American Chairmanship would have the advantage not only of expressing the interest of America in the future Independence of India but would also be a guarantee to Indians of the British offer of Independence. This is an important point because, as I have already said in the previous letters, British promises in this regard are no longer believed. If either of the principal parties refused to attend the conference, it would be a notice to the word that India is not ready for self-Government and I doubt whether a political leader would put himself in such a position. Mr. Churchill and Mr. Amery may be obstacles, for notwithstanding statement to contrary, India is governed from London down to the smallest details. Should you approve of the general idea and care to consult Mr. Churchill, he might reply that since the Congress leaders are in jail, a meeting such as is contemplated is impossible. The answer could be that certain of the leaders, notably Mr. Gandhi, might be free unconditionally in order to attend the conference. The British may even be searching for a good excuse to release Mr. Gandhi, for the struggle between him and the Viceroy is over with honours for both—the Viceroy has maintained his prestige and

Mr. Gandhi has carried out his protest against the Government through his successful fast and has come back into the limelight.

There is nothing new in my suggestion, except the method of approach to the problem. The British have already announced their willingness to grant freedom to India after the war if Indians have agreed among themselves as to its form. The Indians say they cannot agree because they have no confidence in British promises. The proposed plan, perhaps, provides the guarantee required by the Indians, and in line with Britain's declared intentions. Possibly, this is a way out of the impasse which, if allowed to continue, may affect our conduct of the war in this part of the world and our future relations with the coloured races. It may not be successful, but at least America will have taken a step in furthering the ideals of the Atlantic Charter.

I offer the suggestion now in order that it may have your consideration before I return to Washington at the end of April or early in May when I shall be able to give you at first-hand, further information on the subject.

Sincerely Yours, (Sd.) William Phillips.

## Reactions in Delhi

Official circles in New Delhi maintained complete silence on the 4th. September 1944 over Mr. Phillips' report and the disclosure in Washington of a cable alleged to have been sent to London by Sir Olaf Caroe.

Their attitude is believed to be that the matter is now one for London and Washington to clear up and that any statement must be made there. If a statement is issued here, it will presumably be in accord with London.

The general public here consider that these opportune disclosures are more closely linked with the American presidential election and the desire of President Roosevelt's opponents to prove his subservience to Britain than with any desire to help India at this juncture. The tone of some of the press here to-day is a partial reflection of this view.

Mr. Phillips' reference to the Indian army as purely mercenary, his statement that General Stilwell has expressed concern over the poor morale of the Indian officers and his declaration that Britain would only give token aid in the war against Japan have aroused great indignation in both British and Indian army circles in New Delhi. Similar sentiments are likely to be felt in Kandy which is concerned with actual operations.

Mr. Phillips' remarks on low morale and on token aid were much criticised to-day in Indian army circles. "Of course, we grumble about our pay being lower than the British", said another officer, "but it is the soldier's privilege to grouse and the citations of awards will prove that our morale is not low."

"As to fighting", he continued, "there are three Indian divisions now fighting in Italy. Indian troops formed the bulk of the British and Indian division which repulsed the Japanese advance into India and recaptured one-tenth of Burma. General Stilwell and his Chinese troops were only opposed by one Japanese division which was being constantly harassed by Chindits. But five Japanese divisions fought the British and Indian troops in Arakan and Manipur and three of them at least were totally destroyed. It was an Indian division too which came to General Stilwell's assistance by taking Mogaung. It is not the Indians or the British who are the token force in India."

## J. J. Singh's Revelations

Further revelations concerning Mr. William Phillips' position in India and the demand that Colonel Louis Johnson's report on India should also be made public, was made on the 4th September 1944 in New York by Mr. *J. J. Singh*, President of the India League of America. Mr. Singh also urged the lifting of British censorship to and from India. He said that Representative Chandler's publication of Mr. Phillips' report would be welcomed by Americans, Englishmen and Indians interested in a just solution of the deadlock. Mr. Singh said that reports received by the India League showed that he had made a sincere effort to gather all relevant data and be helpful. He asserted that despite the fact that he was hampered in obtaining the Indian side of the picture, it would be remembered that the British authorities in India prevented him from seeing Mr. Gandhi and Pandit Nehru, "his report supports the view that British policy in India is hampering the war by preventing a political settlement."

Mr. Singh said that the League understands that upon his return from India Mr. Phillips had a conversation with Mr. Churchill in which he stated his views.

"We understand on unimpeachable authority that Mr. Churchill was adamant, refusing to face the facts laid before him,"

He added that it was also understood that Mr. Phillips verbally made it clear that the British alone were unwilling to make a move towards a solution. "This opinion is amply confirmed by the recent rebuffs to Mr. Gandhi's offer for a settlement".

Mr. Singh said that it would also be helpful to know what Colonel Johnson reported to the President after his return from India. He said Colonel Johnson who was the President's First Representative in India and was present during the Cripps Mission was at that time quoted as saying that there should some day be a "Johnson version" of the Cripps Mission. Mr. Singh said that it was most disturbing to learn that Sir Olaf Caroe prevented news of Mr. Phillips' reports reaching India and other American expressions on this affair "were being withheld from the Indian press". The deadlock in India will not be difficult enough to settle when everyone is in full possession of all facts. But it will be made hopeless when Indians are prevented from knowing how Americans feel and Americans can get only fragmentary reports of the real situation in India. British censorship must be lifted".

Mr. Singh concluded that a solution of the Indian problem would mobilise India, give a new impetus to China and peoples under Japanese domination. "It is important that the United Nations should realise that India is not merely a concern of the British."

## Seal Supports Johnson's Move

Mr. *P. B. Seal*, Chairman of the Committee of Indian Congressmen in Britain, sent a message to Republican Representative, Calvin D. Johnson who introduced the resolution in the House of Representatives, now under consideration of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House, to declare Sir Girja Sanker Bajpai to be "persona non-grata" to the Government of the United States.

The message, it is understood, says that Representative Johnson has "truly voiced the opinion of the people of India. Only the people's organisation, namely, the Indian National Congress, can appoint a popular representative to voice the opinion of the people."

In his message to Mr. Johnson, Mr. Seal further stated that Mr. William Phillips should be sent back to India as President Roosevelt's Special Ambassador at New Delhi.

## London Journal Attacks Senator Chandler

The official code cabled by *Sir Olaf Caroe*, Secretary to the Department of External Affairs in India, to the British Foreign Office was obtained in some mysterious way by Senator Chandler of Kentucky—one of the leading anti-British members of Congress, says the Washington correspondent of the "*Daily Telegraph.*" The correspondent says, "Its authenticity has not been denied by British officials who are naturally concerned at the way in which it came into the Senator's possession. The cable dealt with the publication in the United States of the report of Mr. William Phillips, President Roosevelt's Special Representative in India, which mysteriously fell into the hands of the anti-British columnist Drew Pearson. These two leaks have occurred at a time when the only hope of the Nazis is to bring about a division among the leading Allies. Mr. Phillips' subsequent recall by the State Department from the position of Chief Political Adviser to General Eisenhower, to which he was later appointed, was at once attributed to British pressure. But the British Ambassador Earl Halifax has finally issued a formal denial that the British Government had ever represented to the United States Government that Mr. Phillips was *persona non grata* or made any request to them for his withdrawal. Senator Chandler denied the truth of this statement and to support his position made public the text of Sir Olaf Caroe's cable which stated in part "whether or not Mr. Phillips was connected in any way with the leakage, the views he has stated would make it impossible for us to do other than regard him *as persona non grata* and we could not again receive him. His views are not what we are entitled to expect from a professedly friendly envoy."

The "*Daily Telegraph*" correspondent adds, "This incident would be less important if it were not the symptom of a widespread tendency on the part Americans to pounce on any incident which could be turned against the British just as though England, and not Germany, were the chief enemy."

## New York Journal's Comments

The New York Journal "*American*" gives prominence to a dispatch from its Washington correspondent on the 5th September 1944 stating that Congressional speeches on alleged British interference with American diplomacy "threatened to bring a Congressional investigation of British interference in American internal affairs." The newspaper is owned by Hearst Chain. The dispatch cited recent speeches by Senator Chandler and Representative Calvin Johnson in Congress and articles by columnist Drew Pearson on the subject of Mr. Phillips' return to Washington.

The journal "*The American*" said on the 5th September in a Washington despatch that Senator Chandler, entering the controversy surrounding Mr. Phillips' return to Washington anew, has called on President Roosevelt to reveal the contents of the second confidential report on India submitted to him by Mr. Phillips.

Mr. Chandler is quoted as saying that Mr. Phillips' second letter is "much stronger" than the original report. Mr. Chandler added: "Contrary to the British view-point that conditions in India are none of our business, they are of paramount importance, inasmuch as the United States is carrying on the brunt of the fighting in the Pacific. India is not only of great value as a base for our future operations against Burma and Japan, but can shorten the victory road to Tokyo and save thousands of American lives. I fully agree with Ambassador Phillips in his statement that India has only lukewarm interest in the war against Japan because of British treatment. Aside from indications of British interference with our diplomatic appointments the Phillips incident reveals the necessity of knowing just where we stand in the fight against Japan after the European war is finished."

### Debate Continues Unabated

The debate on Ambassador William Phillips' return to Washington continued unabated in the American Press.

The "*Chicago Sun*" published an editorial on the matter and the British Conservative member of Parliament, Mr. *Reginald Purbrick* wrote a critical letter to the "New York Times". Mr. Purbrick who represents Walton Division, Liverpool, referred to Republican Congressman Calvin Johnson's resolution of 30th August which he said included "fantastically inaccurate statements."

To Mr. Johnson's statement that Britain will play a "token" part in the war against Japan, Mr. Purbrick declared: "Everyone but Mr. Johnson knows that Great Britain is coming into the fight against Japan immediately the European situation permits the release of any of its forces and fleet at present engaged there."

Mr. *Purbrick* said that in regard to the "inertia of the Indian army" he could not do better than refer Mr. Johnson to "the great American in whom doubtless he had confidence, General Eisenhower, and ask the General how many divisions of this army are engaged actively in the war along with the British and Americans and whether they are not displaying a magnificient fighting effort."

The "*Chicago Sun*" editorial said: "Britain baiters including Representative Calvin Johnson of Illinois have had a field day on the resignation of Ambassador William Phillips as Political Adviser to General Eisenhower. Allegations that the British have forced Mr. Phillips out because "the publication of the report he had made to President Roosevelt, criticising Britain's Indian policies, have set Isolationists and Jingoes to hysterical demands for investigations and reprisals.

"Actually it appears that Mr. Phillips had long intended to resign and wrote his resignation to Washington before his confidential report of India leaked out. Competent British authorities have denied that they in any way asked for his return. Yet, there is Mr. Phillips' case that is valid. Frederick Kuh reports convincingly from the *Sun's* London Bureau that Mr. Phillips had been cold shouldered in official British circles because of his critical views on the Churchill Government's stand vis-a-vis India. For our part we believe that the Ambassador, who was President Roosevelt's Emissary in India some months ago, is on unassailable ground in holding that America has a right to differ with British Indian policy. We believe that the restoration in India of confidence in the official British intent to permit early Indian freedom would aid the war in the East and would increase confidence in American war aims. We by no means share Mr. Phillips' reported views which undervalue Britain's share of the war burden in Asia, but if the Indian political phase of the controversy drives home how deeply averse that country is to Imperialism it can yet do more good than harm."

The journal "*American*" on the 6th September 1944 in an editorial declared that the Phillips' incident "is assuming serious proportions and indeed is a serious

matter". It added that while the State Department denied that Mr. Phillips is *persona non grata*, "there has been no repudiation of his purported report on India. The significance of such a report would be not in any objections the British have to it, but whether or not it is true".

For the past week the journal devoted much space to stories on the Phillips incident, most of them featuring alleged British interference in American affairs. *Karl von Wiegand*, the columnist of the journal, said that "Mr. Phillips is pro-British and while American Ambassador to Rome he did not welcome criticism of Britain."

Wiegand, who is described by the journal as "the dean of American war correspondents" continues, "The British attitude towards him, therefore, is somewhat astounding to us, who knew Mr. Phillips in Rome and I knew him when he was in the State Department at Washington. In Rome he did not like my contacts with Mussolini, not understanding that my business was to get big news and get it first. Americans usually are for freedom and independence because they enjoy it themselves. Few Americans know anything or very little about India. They know the name of one Indian—Gandhi—and some know a second—Nehru."

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# Bombay Docks Explosions Report

## Inquiry Commission's Findings

Five causes for the Bombay docks explosions on April 14, 1944 are set out in the first report of the Commission of Inquiry which also lists fourteen points in which action taken before or during the disaster was defective.

In the two explosions aboard the S. S. "Fort Stikine", 231 were killed and 476 injured among the various services, fire brigade and dock employees and at least 500 civilians were killed while the injured treated in hospitals including the services above totalled 2,408.

Material damage done is estimated at several million pounds and is being checked up by a committee of insurance companies acting for Government which is bearing the burden of compensation, apart from the 15/20 per cent borne in certain cases by insurance companies.

The Commission considers that the possibility of deliberately planned sabotage could not be seriously entertained and the most probable cause of ignition of the cotton was careless discarding of a cigarette or match by some one smoking in the hold.

### Causes of the Disaster

The five causes given by the Commission are:

"The existence of a state of war, resulting in the practice of bringing into docks ships laden with explosives and ammunition; the stowage of S. S. "Fort Stikine" at Karachi in such a way that cotton was stowed above and below explosives and ammunition; accidental ignition of the cotton in No. 2 lower hold; failure at the outset of the fire by those present in authority to appreciate the gravity of the situation and during the course of the fire failure by those then present in authority to take energetic steps either to extinguish the fire or to take alternative action to avert the disaster and the absence at the fire of a centralised executive control with power to issue paramount orders and co-ordinate the various authorities and services concerned".

"Many errors and mistakes, both of omission and of commission," observes the report, "go to the building up of the final tragedy. But we are conscious and desire to record that, with our powers of summoning evidence before us and experts to advise us and with time to deliberate in the security of our Court Room, we are in a favourable position to judge what ought to have been done, whereas the actions it has been our duty to submit to searching scrutiny were taken either under the stresses of everyday affairs or in the heat and turmoil of a desperate situation."

### Government Accept Findings

A statement published simultaneously by the Government of India accepts the

Commission's findings about the causes of the explosions and explains the various steps taken by reorganisation and revision of regulations to make a recurrence humanly impossible. The statement says the Commission is incorrect in suggesting that vested interests of peace-time have influenced and governed war-time control of the Ministry of War Transport ships in India. The suggestion is made in connection with stowage of commercial cargo at Karachi and the statement declares the Ministry's representatives were authorised to make the fullest use for local service of any available space in ships passing between Indian ports and the operators had no financial interests in the results of the voyage. The statement also dissents strongly from the allegation that two of the Master-Mariners' Rules and Regulations have been scrapped.

### COMMISSION'S REPORT

The Commission was set up by the Government of India ( War Transport Department) on May 2, 1944, by a Resolution which stated that "the Governor-General-in-Council has been pleased to appoint a Commission of Inquiry to inquire into and report on the causes of the fire and explosions in the Bombay Docks on April 14, 1944, and into the adequacy of the action taken before, during and after the disaster". It consisted of the Hon'ble Sir Leonard Stone, Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court, President ; and Mr. S. B. Dhalve, formerly a Judge of the Patna High Court and Rear-Admiral C. S. Holland, R. N., on the staff of the Commander-in-Chief, Eastern Fleet, Members. This, the first report, has not been dealt with the adequacy of the action taken after the disaster, which will form the subject-matter of another report. Its narration stops with the first explosion which will be the starting point of the second report. The Commission examined 133 witnesses and a large number of documents. The enquiry was held *in camera* for security reasons.

The report states that, among the personnel of various Services and employments, 231 were killed and missing and 476 injured. Including these casualties, 2,408 cases were treated for injuries in hospitals of which 961 were detained. "However, the figure 2,408 is too high as indicating the number of injured, as it includes persons who were treated at more than one hospital." From a compilation of the various sources of information available to them, the Commissioners estimate that about 510 civilians were killed and missing, which they regard "is not an over-statement."

### EVENTS LEADING TO THE TRAGEDY

Narrating the events leading to the tragedy, the report says that S. S. "Fort Stikine"—the ill-fated ship which caught fire and exploded in Bombay—was a single screw coal burning vessel of 7,142 gross and 4,216 net registered tons of the British Ministry of War Transport. She left Birkenhead on February 24, 1944, with a cargo consigned partly for Karachi and partly for Bombay. The cargo for the former port was composed of aeroplanes, R A F and general stores, explosives and ammunition; that for the latter consisted of about 1,395 tons explosives and ammunition and some service stores.

The ship arrived alongside at Karachi on 30th March. The unloading of the cargo consigned for that port was completed on the morning of 3rd April ; this was done practically with no disturbance of the cargo consigned to Bombay. The shipping space released thereby amounted to about 286,000 cubic feet. This space was utilised by taking on new cargo, comprising upwards of 8,700 bales of cotton, a large amount of lubricating oil, some timber, scrap iron, sulphur, fish manure, rice, resin and a large number of other commodities. The loading of the new cargo was completed on 7th April and the ship sailed for Bombay on the 9th.

Bombay was reached in the early morning of the 12th. The red flag—the International Code Signal indicating that a ship coming into the harbour had a dangerous cargo on board—was not hoisted and never flown at Bombay. The ship came alongside No. 1 Berth, Victoria Dock at 11-30 A. M. ; this was the berth which had been previously allotted to her. Under the Bye-laws of the Bombay Port Trust a ship carrying explosives is not allowed into the Docks ; but under Rule 88 of the Defence of India Rules this Bye-law is suspended in cases in which the Military Officer authorised for that purpose has given a Certificate of grave urgency : such a Certificate was, in fact, given in respect of S.S. "Fort Stikine."

Unloading commenced in the afternoon of the 12th, general cargo being dealt with in the first instance. Because of the anxiety to get rid of the dry fish and the delay in the arrival of the lighters and the wagons—into which explosives and ammunition were to be offloaded—no explosives or ammunition were offloaded until the ship had been alongside for over 24 hours. "This seems remarkable," observes the report, "as a Certificate of 'grave urgency' had been issued enabling S. S. 'Fort Stikine' to

come into the docks." During the afternoon of the 13th and the 13-14th night unloading of explosives and ammunition from No. 2 'tween decks and dynamos and scrap iron and wireless sets from No. 2 lower hold—where the fire broke out—continued at the same time. The scrap iron was finished on the morning of the 14th except for the large piece weighing over 3 tons which required a double lift. Some of the timber had also been taken out before the cessation of work for the refreshment hour from 12 30 to 1-30 P. M. on the 14th.

### Time of Outbreak of Fire

The alarm of fire was raied aboard S.S. "Fort Stikine" at about 1-50 P. M.,being the time when the stevedores saw smoke in No. 2 lower hold in which they had returned to work. "In spite of this", the report says, "there is no doubt that there existed in Bombay on the days subsequent to the disaster persistent rumours to the effect that the ship at No. 1 Berth was on fire in the forenoon of the 14th of April and even that she was on fire before she came into the dock." After noticing the evidence of six witnesses who averred that they saw smoke issuing from the ship between 12-30 and 1 P. M., the Commissioners observe: "We accept the evidence of these six witnesses, with the consequence that other persons in the dock probably saw what was, or what appeared to be, a column of wisps of smoke coming from No. 2 hold at some time or times between 12-30 P. M. and 1-30 P. M. This fact may well, after the disaster, have given rise to the rumours that the ship was on fire before 2 o'clock and although we understand that the rumours put the fire at even earlier in the morning than midday, we consider that this may be accounted for, either by exaggeration as no witness has come forward to give any evidence of seeing smoke before 12-30 P.M., or by the mistaking of the Bombay time for Standard time, both of which are kept in Bombay, the former being 1 hour 39 minutes behind the latter." They further observe: "In spite of the fact that no trace of any early manifestation of the fire was felt in the hold when the stevedores returned to work, the possibility that the lower hold was on fire at 12-40 P.M. remains; and although it is established to our satisfaction that the ship cannot have been on fire when she came into the docks, there remains sufficient ground for the starting of the rumours."

### Fire not Considered serious at first

The work of discharging cargo was resumed at 1-30 P.M. after the refreshment interval. About four slings of cargo had been worked from each hook when smoke was noticed coming from the cargo in No. 2 lower hold. The general alarm of fire was raised and within a few minutes water from three of the ship's hoses was being directed into the hold. "No one at this stage paused to consider the alternative plan of closing the partially open lower hatchway and turning on the steam injectors. Thus the first step along what proved to be a fatal road was taken, by applying the instinctive sense that water is in all circumstances the antidote to fire and applying it in this case without ascertaining the heart of the fire. The steam injectors would not have extinguished the fire, but by excluding the oxygen they would have held it in check, thus enabling the ship to be moved.

"The time when the fire alarm sounded at the Fire Station in Alexandra Dock was 2-16 P.M., it being then relayed to the Control Room, so that nearly half-an-hour from the discovery of the fire had elapsed before any message was sent through to the Fire Brigade Services, and, the message sent indicated an ordinary fire not one of a serious character." The Commissioners state that "at the outset nobody present regarded the fire as anything but a small affair. There is no doubt that the ship's company and the trailer pump party thought they would soon have the fire under control."

As no No. 2 message—signifying that a ship carrying explosives was on fire—was despatched to the Control Room in the first instance, only two fire engines belonging to the Bombay Fire Brigade Service arrived by 2-24 P.M; The No. 2 message was received at 2-30 P.M.—i.e., approximately 40 minutes after the alarm of fire had been raised on board. On receipt of this message eight more pumps were ordered. "This delay", the report says, "set the principal officers of the Fire Brigade Services, when they did ultimately arrive, a far more difficult situation to cope with than ever ought to have been allowed to develop."

Captain Oberst of the Indian Army Ordnance Crops arrived on board the ship at about 2-25 p m. He saw the Second Officer of the ship, pointed out the extreme danger and suggested that the ship should be scuttled. He would appear to have stated that the explosives on board were equivalent to 150 "Blockbursters" and that the docks would be blown up. Commander Longmire (Chief Salvage Officer R. I. N.) too urged the Master to scuttle the ship. The Master said he could not take any responsibility,

### FAILURE TO GET AT HEART OF FIRE

"From the very outset," the report states, "there was a failure to get at the heart of the fire. No more efficacious steps were taken by Mr. Coombs (Officer Commanding the Bombay Fire Brigade Services) and his principal officers when they arrived to get firemen down on to the "tween decks than had been previously taken."

Between 2-45 and 3 p.m. a heat patch was noticed on the port side of the ship at the aft end of No. 2 hold and at a level which placed it below the "tween deck. This tell-tale indication of the approximate heart of the fire did not escape either observation or action being taken upon it. The emergency tender of the Fire Brigade Services contained a gas cutting appliance and Mr. Coombs gave order for a hole to be cut alongside the heat patch in order that water could thereby be directed on the heart of the fire. The attempt did not, however, succeed. Desperate attempts were now made to get further apparatus: but the appliances and the apparatus came too late.

At about 2-50 p.m, Col. Sadler, General Manager, Docks and Railways, Bombay Port Trust, arrived on the scene and suggested to the Master of the ship that an attempt should be made to take the ship out. The Master, however, was unable to make up his mind. "He was receiving conflicting advice from a number of different people, most of whom were experts in their respective spheres."

At about 3-15 p.m. the position was that, except for the unsuccessful attempt to cut a hole in the side of the ship with a view to getting at the heart of the fire, no plan of action had been devised other than the continuation of the course automatically pursued at the outset of projecting water into the lower hold from the main hatchway. As time advanced, the possibility of interfering with the course of action being pursued became increasingly impracticable. "There can be very little doubt that before 3-30 p.m. some of the tiers or layers of the cotton in the lower hold covered with timber had become buoyant, and, with water projected into the lower hold, without reaching the heart of the fire, floated gradually upwards thereby bringing the burning cotton towards the underside of the magazines 'tween decks and increasing the heat in the magazines until ignition finally took place".

At about 3-45 p.m., some of the explosives must have ignited, causing black smoke suddenly to billow up through the upper hatchway. Very shortly afterwards fierce flames appeared. The flames rose and fell, but each rise roared with increasing vigour, reaching to the height of the top of the masts and even higher. The heat became intense and the order for the firemen to withdraw was given at about 3-50 p.m.

In the words of the report: "So was the scene set for the sacrifice of the firemen and the destruction of their equipment, which factors were to be such a heavy handicap in fighting the flames so soon to be spread by the subsequent explosions about the docks, adjacent godowns and storehouses and into the residential area itself."

### NO EFFECTIVE WARNING OF FIRE GIVEN

Right up to the first explosion, the police at the various gates were checking the passes of people leaving, which impeded the exit of persons. No effective warning of any kind was given to any other ship in the docks by any one. "So it came about that at 4-6 p.m. (when the first explosion occurred) all the firemen were still in the immediate vicinity of S.S. "Fort Stikine", most of the ship's company were somewhere near the Red Gate, Prince's Dock, life was proceeding almost normally on board the other ships, and there was a large number of Indian workmen working in these ships and generally in the docks."

"The explosion was a terrific detonatian spreading destruction over a wide area. There was extensive fragmentation of red hot metal from the ship which destroyed all who stood in its path. Vast quantities of debris and blazing cotton were cast upwards to fall and spread a sea of fire over sheds and ships. S.S. "Fort Stikine" glowed red through a cloak of black fog, so that none of the few who miraculously escaped the blast have been able to give any description of the shattered ship."

"The repercussions of the explosion shook Bombay Government House, the Bombay Municipality, the Headquarters of the Commissioner of Police, the Chairman of the Port Trust, Naval Headquarters and many other centres of authority, received their first intimation that something unusual had occurred. Those who glanced from a window in the direction of the docks saw a darkening column of blackish smoke billowing from the scene of devastation."

At 4-33 p.m., the second explosion occurred, more powerful in its effect and devastation than the first.

PRIMARY CAUSES OF THE DISASTER: THE WAR FACTOR

Discussing the five primary causes of the disaster, to which a reference has already been made, the report says regarding the first cause, viz., "the existence of a state of war resulting in the practice of bringing into docks ships laden with explosives and ammunition", that "it is not our opinion that there is available any practical alternative. The real need is the setting up and enforcing of proper and adequate safety precautions. Explosives and ammunition in bulk are not actually dangerous in themselves, provided they are properly handled and not subject to fire or friction.....What is dangerous in the existing circumstances is not, in our opinion, so much the bringing of explosives and ammunition along-side, as the failure to treat them properly."

IMPROPER STOWAGE

The second cause was the stowage of S. S. "Fort Stikine" at Karachi in such a way that cotton was stowed above and below explosive and ammunition. The result of this stowage was, the report observes, "to produce a situation in which, if a fire should break out in the cotton stowed as it was in No. 2 and in No. 4. holds above and below explosives and ammunition, there would be imminent danger of a grave disaster." The manner in which cotton was stowed in the ship was therefore, in the opinion of the Commission, "wrong and dangerous and a primary cause of the disaster."

SABOTAGE OR ACCIDENTAL IGNITION ?

According to the report accidental ignition of the cotton in No. 2 lower hold—was the third major cause of the disaster. Deliberate sabotage is ruled out as being highly improbable. Elaborate inquiries were made both at Karachi and at Bombay. Previous reports on cotton fires in Karachi were carefully gone into. As a result of these and other investigations the Commissioners have come to the conclusion that the possibility of deliberately planned sabotage "could not be seriously entertained".

By far the most probable cause of the ignition in the cotton was, according to the report, "the careless discarding of a cigarette or other smoking material by some one smoking in No. 2 lower hold."

FAILURE TO APPRECIATE GRAVITY OF SITUATION

The fourth major cause was the failure at the outset of the fire by those present in authority to appreciate the gravity of the situation; and during the course of the fire failure by those then present in authority to take energetic steps either to extinguish the fire or to take alternative action to avert the disaster. Regarding this the report observes:

"No action was taken to discover the heart of the fire. Water from the ship's hoses and from the trailer pump was merely projected into the hold.....Thus the proper point of attack, namely the heart of the fire, remained undiscovered. The delay in summoning the Fire Brigade Services points to the optimistic view that fire would soon be got under control.....The fire was in fact in the upper layers of the cotton on the portside of No. 2 lower hold and inaccessible to a jet of water projected over the hatchway from the main deck. Even the approximate location of the heart of the fire was not discovered until much later when the heat patch gave some indication of it. The urgency of dealing with a cotton fire in a ship still partially laden with explosives did not find any place in the course of action pursued, resulting in the difficulty of its extinguishment increasing as the fire consolidated in the cotton."

Again:

"If fire-fighting as opposed to taking S. S. "Fort Stikine" out of the docks, was the course to be pursued, then in our opinion the only certain method of extinguishing the fire was to get directly at the heart of the fire with water at all costs; but if this failed, then, to flood the hold with maximum speed, using open-ended hoses and bringing into operation every available pump. That neither of these courses was pursued compels us to come to the conclusion that the most effective means were never employed and that by attempting to flood the hold without using open-ended hoses the firemen could not fill the hold quickly enough".

The fifth and the last major cause of the disaster mentioned by the report is "the absence at the fire of a centralised executive control with power to issue paramount orders and co-ordinate the various authorities and services concerned."

INADEQUACIES IN ACTION

The report then gives and discusses in detail a series of fourteen "inadequacies of action" which, in its opinion, contributed to the disaster. These were:

(1) At Karachi there was not exercised by the Ministry of War Transport's Representative any control or supervision from the point of view of safety when commercial cargo was to be stowed in S. S. "Fort Stikine" already partially laden with explosives."

(2) At Bombay there was a failure to inform, either by the regulation red flag or by any other means, the other ships in the Victoria Dock that S.S. "Fort Stikine" was laden with explosives.

(3) No adequate steps were taken in Bombay to ensure that matches, lighters or smoking materials were not taken on board ships carrying explosives as is done in magazine areas on shore.

(4) There was a lack of co-ordination in Bombay between the ship's anti-sabotage guard (Dems and Maritime Regiment) and the civilian watchmen in the ship, resulting in a haphazard and insufficient watch being kept when the hatches were open.

(5) By dismantling at Bombay the main engines for repairs, it was impossible for S. S. "Fort Stikine" to move under her own steam, although at all material times she had sufficient steam up to be able to move herself.

(6) There was lack of co-ordination at Bombay between the civil policy and the military Field Security personnel:

(7) On the discovery of the outbreak of the fire at approximately 1-50 p.m., there was a failure to appreciate the gravity of the situation or even summon the Fire Brigade Services till 2-16 p.m.

(8) No No. 2 message, signifying a serious fire, was immediately despatched to the Central Room of the Fire Brigade Services.

(9) There was a failure to take energetic steps either to get water at the heart of the fire or to batten down No. 2 hold, turn on the steam injectors and take S.S. "Fort Stikine" out of the docks.

(10) The Bombay Fire Brigade Services' gas cutting apparatus or its manipulation was defective and failed to cut any hole in the side of the ship when the attempt was made.

(11) There was no method or alarm signal in Bombay by which a dock or docks could be cleared of non-essential personnel. It did not also occur to the civil police or to any body to give any general warning to other ships in the dock of the impending disaster.

(12) The failure to cover the hatchways of No. 4 and No. 5 holds after the outbreak of fire in No. 2 hold left a direct means access to the spread of the fire to the explosives in No 4 hold.

(13) Neither Commodore, Royal Indian Navy, nor the Naval Officer-in-Charge, Bombay, to whom authority was given under the Defence of Iudia Rules to order a ship on fire in the docks to be scuttled or beached, was even informed of the fire.

(14) The Law, Bye-laws, Regulations and Rules concerning docks, fires and explosives were uncoordinated, resulting in the failure in personel concerned either to know or appreciate or to act upon them.

## Govt. Resolution

The Government of India, in their resolution on the Commission's report state:

In resolution No. 8-P (29)/44, dated the 2nd May 1944, the Governor-General-in Council appointed a Commission of Inquiry, with the Hon'ble the Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court as President, to inquire into and report on the cause of the fire and explosions in the Bombay Docks on the 14th April 1944, and into the adequacy of the action taken before, during and after the disaster. The proceedings took place *in camera* and in the interests of expedition and security the witnesses were sworn to secrecy and no legal representative of any interested parties was permitted. The Commission commenced taking evidence on the 8th May, 1944, and their first report which covers the events and action taken up to the first explosion at 4-6 p.m. on the day of the disaster, is now published. The Government of India have carefully considered the suggestions and criticisms contained in the report. In the observations that follow they have dealt with the precautions and remedial action considered by the Commission to be necessary and the measures to be taken to ensure that they are adequate and are strictly enforced.

2. The Commission have pointed out that war necessitates considerable movement of explosives and ammunition in bulk and that the discharge of such dangerous cargo in docks or alongside wharves is, in many cases, unavoidable, and is the practice in other countries of the British Empire. Although they consider that the bringing of explosive into docks in war-time is a primary cause of the disaster, it is not their opinion that there is any practical alternative to it. They observe that "real need is the setting up and enforcing of proper and adequate safety precautions". The Goverment of India agree. They also accept the other findings viz., that the method of stowage, at Karachi, of cotton above and below explosive and ammunition on s s. "Fort Stikine" was one of the primary causes of the disaster; that the possibility of deliberately planned sabotage cannot be seriously entertained and by far the most probable cause of the ignition in the cotton was the careless discarding of a cigarette or other smoking material; and that there was failure to apprecite the gravity of the situation at the outset.

### Orders Passed to Coordinate Action

3. The Commission have also come to the conclusion that the absence of an officer with power to issue paramount orders and co-ordinate the various authorities and services concerned was one of the primary causes of the disaster. Under the orders issued by the Central Government the Naval Officer-in-charge and the Commodore R. I. N. had been given concurrent powers to give directions, when a ship was on fire, or had suffered damage and constituted a danger to other vessels in the port, to the owner or master requiring him to scuttle or beach the vessels. These orders were known to officers concerned and to the Deputy Conservator of the Port, but neither the Commodore nor the Naval Officer-in-charge received information of the fire, and the Deputy Conservator only came to know that the fire was a serious one at a very late stage, when he promptly hastened to the spot. He omitted, however, to inform the Naval Officer-in-charge with whom he normally maintains close liaison. It is open to doubt whether, having regard to the delays that occurred in giving information of the serious nature of the fire to the Deputy Conservator and the uncertainty as to the time it would take for the ammunition to explode, the notification of the danger to the Naval Officers and their presence could have entirely averted the tragedy which took place. They could not have been of much assistance in fire fighting which was the responsibility of the Chief Officer of the Fire Brigade, but it is reasonable to suppose that they might, by issue of warnings to other ships and to the personnel in the docks, have mitigated the effects of the explosions. The Government of India agree that there was a lacun which have needed to be filled up by orders as to when, how and by whom the Naval Officer-in-charge and other authorities concerned should be informed of a fire; and necessary action in the matter has already been taken.

### Omission to Give Warning to Other Ships

4. In Chapter IV the Commission have drawn attention to a number of points on which action was inadequate, or in respect of which regulations ought to be laid down or revised. These include the need for warning other ships by the hoistings of a red flag by day and a red light by night on a ship carrying explosives when in harbour; the necessity for precautions to ensure that matches and other smoking materials are not allowed on or near a ship carrying a explosives or dangerous cargo; the importance of ensuring that there is adequate co-ordination between the ship's anti-sabotage guard and civilian watchmen when the hatches are open; the importance of ensuring that ships carrying dangerous cargo can be moved at any time during discharge without undue delay; and the importance of setting up a mechanical alarm system by which ships and dock personnel can be warned. Certain omissions on the part of the Master of the ship and the Fire Service have also been referred to, and the failure of the gas cutting appliance condemned. The cause of the failure of the appliance is still not known. As regards the acts of omission by the Fire Services, the Government of India are inclined to agree with the view taken in paragraph 115 of the report that the situation which had been allowed to develop was beyond their knowledge and training. It is gratifying to note that, whatever omissions may have occurred, the officers of all services concerned displayed most praiseworthy heroism in the discharge of their duties.

### Regulation For Handling of Dangerous Cargo

5. As regards the other matters referred to in the preceding paragraph, very soon after the Bombay explosions, the Government of India in the War department

set up a technical committee known as the Dangerous Cargo (Ports) Committee, to examine the adequacy of the existing regulations on the subject of handling dangerous cargoes at major ports, and to enquire into local dispositions and the machinery for the enforcement of the regulations. This committee has completed its investigations at all the major ports and and after considering the points referred to in the report has drawn up regulations to be observed by all concerned while ships carrying petroleum or explosives are in port. These Regulations which have been issued, as well as the Port fire regulations, which have been revised at each port in consultation with the Naval and Military authorities, cover all the important matters referred to in the report, except method of stowage, which are dealt with in paragraph six below. All port authorities have been directed to maintain in working order a mechanical alarm system. Immediately after the explosions, the Naval Officer-in-charge issued a notice on Masters of ships directing them to communicate immediately with him in the event of any emergency likely to endanger a ship. A similar direction in case of fire has been included in the revised fire fighting regulations.

6. A standing sub-committee on Transport by Sea of the Explosives Storage and Transport Committee in the United Kingdom has since the beginning of the was regularly reviewed the general question ot the loading of types of cargo which are normally regarded as safe but which when loaded with explosives might give rise to danger. A sub-committee of the Dangerous Cargoes Committee in India has this question under consideration as also the supervision over stowage of cargo at Indian ports on ships carrying explosives and ammunition. The Ministry of War Transport had, soon after the explosion and without waiting for the Commission's report, issued provisional instructions as to precautions to be taken when cotton is loaded in ships carrying explosives. The Commerce department has taken similar action in respect of Indian tonnage.

7. The Commission have commented on the mistakes made and on the inadequacy of the action taken by individual officers. In assessing blame, the Commission observe in paragraph 59 of their report: "We are in a favourable positon to judge what ought to have been done, whereas the action which it has been our duty to submit to searching scrutiny, were taken either under the stresses of every day affairs or in the heat and turmoil of desperate situation." Some of the officers referred to have perished in the disaster, while those living have not had an opportunity of being informed of the comments that have been made by the Commission or of being heard in their defence. In the circumstances the Government of India refrain from making any observations and they are confident that any action which may on enquiry be found to be justified will be taken.

8. The Commission have made a number of statements regarding the British Ministry of War Transport and its representative in India. As regards these the Government of India have been in consultation with His Majesty's Government, who point out that, as a result of the procedure, which was adopted for reasons set out in the opening paragraph, there was no means of knowing what evidence was being given to the Commission or of testing its accuracy by cross examination. Since as a consequence the report contains misconceptions about the activities and responsibilities of the Ministry of War Transport, His Majesty's Government have asked that a clear statement of the facts so far as they relate to that Ministry should be made public. The "Fort Stikine" was a ship registered in the name of His Majesty represented by the Ministry of War Transport. In accordance with settled practice she was assigned for the voyage in question to the Bibby Line as operators under the Ministry's Liner requisition scheme notified to Parliament in 1940. One of the bases of the scheme is utilisation of the skilled experience and facilities of existing organisations of the Liner Companies. Accordingly booking of cargo at Karachi was arranged by the British India Steam Navigation Company since the Bibby Line had no berth on the Indian coast. In paragraph 97 of the report the Commission have stated that they have "shown how it comes about that the vested interests of peace time come to influence, even if they do not govern the war time control of Ministry ships in Indian waters carrying explosives on their way to a theatre of war". It is not correct that vested interests of peace time have influenced or governed war time control of Ministry ships in India. Throughout the war, the British Ministry of War Transport has been under constant pressure from the Government of India to supply shipping assistance towards maintenance of Indian economy and programmes of shipment of Indian costal cargoes have been under constant review between the Indian Shipping Controller and the British Ministry of War Transport representative in India. The Ministry have authorised

their representative in India to make the fullest practicable use for local service of any available space in overseas ships which may pass between Indian ports, especially as the maintenance of the economic life of India is an essential part of the war effort. When, therefore, it was found that the "Fort Stikine" would have available space on the voyage fram Karachi to Bombay, the Ministry representatives readily made this space available for shipment of coastal cargo. Though normal peace time machinery was utilised for actual booking and loading of cargo and though these services were paid for by way of a commission on freights, the operators had no financial interest in the results of the voyage nor any financial incentive in the choice of individual parcels. Of the cargo shipped at Karachi, cotton had admittedly very high priority, the Textile Commissioner, Bombay, having recommended "that any available space in any ship should be utilised for movement of the priority commodity from Karachi to Bombay subject only to Naval and military operational considerations". Timber is also a high priority cargo and the particular parcel shipped was intended for specific purpose of high strategic importance. The lubricating oil was discharged at Karachi from an American Army Transport with Bombay as its final destination. The sulphur was shipped to the Shipping Officer, Bombay, on behalf of the Supply department of the Government of India. Fish manure was also an essential commodity for Indian agriculture. Whatever answers may have been elicited from the witnesses, the position, in fact, is that the priorities of cotton and timber were so well established that no question arose as to whether they should be carried from that point of view.

9. In paragraph 75 of the report the Commission find the crux of the whole situation in the statements of two master mariners that rules and regulations "have been absolutely scrapped" or "gone by the board". These statements, however, are incorrect. Loading of explosives and other dangerous goods in the United Kingdom is done in accordance with the advice of a body of eminent experts. Their advice is incorporated in departmental documents which are issued by the British Ministry of War Transport and which are also used as guides by Indian authorities.

Though in the interests of the war effort, the rules have in certain respects—mainly in regard to quantity of explosives that may be carried in one ship—been modified where modification could with safely be permitted, in other respects rules have been tightened up as war experience has shown this to be necessary. Statutory responsibility for safe loading in Indian ports does not rest upon the Ministry of War Transport, and while it is no doubt true that the Ministry's representatives in overseas ports would not tolerate an admixture of cargoes which was obviously dangerous, reliance must in the main be placed upon local shipping authorities and upon Masters of ships upon whom, apart from statute, rests primary responsibility for seeing to safety of ships. In the particular case of the "Fort Stikine" no protest was made by the Master or the Chief Officer as to the cargo actually loaded though they did exercise their rights in rejecting a parcel of turpentine which was tendered for shipment but which they considered dangerous.

10. His Majesty's Government cannot accept the implications contained in the following passage: "Even so questions of policy are involved which would necessitate the consideration of whether the Ministry of War Transport and its representatives are entitled to exclude from consideration the fact that the loyalty, patriotism and courage of the Masters of merchant ships may overcome their discretion as experts, and induce them to take and to stow with explosives cargoes potentially dangerous, but which they believe to be necessary in furtherance of the war effort and which the Ministry of War Transport impliedly allow them so to believe. It may be a debatable point whether if, as Mr. Leman suggests, the Master is in effect the arbiter of safe stowage, he should be told when the cargo which he is expected to stow in a Ministry ship with explosives is not being shipped as a part of the war effort but in order to maintain the normal commercial life of the community, particularly in cases in which it is known in advance that the ship must ultimately discharge in Docks and not in midstream". It is wholly incorrect that Masters are deceived with the connivance of the Ministry into carrying unessential and potentially dangerous cargo by being led to believe that such cargo is being shipped as part of the war effort. Furthermore it is common ground with His Majesty's Government of India that the maintenance of the civil economy of India is an essential part of the war effort.

11. In conclusion, the Governor-General in Council desires to take this opportunity of expressing his appreciation of the services rendered by the President and Members of the Inquiry Comm. in conducting the inquiry. Their report has been of great assistance to him in assessing the position and deciding upon the action required.

# India In Parliament & Abroad

## House of Lords—London—25th July 1944

### Gandhi's Scheme for Interim Govt. Criticised

Opening the debate on the political situation in India in the House of Lords on the 25th. July 1944, *Lord Strabolgi* said that Labour Party wanted facts on this subject. There had been fierce censorship in India, both military and political. There had been complaints that the military censorship had been aimed, primarily at preventing news reaching the British people which was already known to the enemy and not to prevent news reaching the enemy. The political censorship had been most rigid and it had been very difficult to obtain accurate information about what was going on in the political field.

After remarking that it had been reiterated that the Cripps Offer still stood, Lord Strabolgi continued: "We have no desire to dwell on the past, but desire to look forward to the future, and it is, surely, inconceivable that, now that the Japanese danger has passed and the war everywhere is going well, the policy of the Cripps Mission should be thrown overboard." Lord Strabolgi added, however, that he was not accusing the present Government of doing anything of the kind.

#### "Remarkable Change Of Front"

One important piece of news received from India early this month, despite censorship, Lord Strabolgi said, was the remarkable interview given by Mr. Gandhi to Mr. Stuard Gelder of the *News Chronicle*. After quoting from the interview and also from a subsequent interview given to the same journalist, Lord Strabolgi said that those who knew Mr. Gandhi would recognise that these statements constituted a remarkable change of front.

Lord Strabolgi said that he wanted to ask three questions on behalf of the Labour Party Peers. What information had the Government about these matters? Could they see in these developments the long-waited chance to break the present deadlock in India? What did the Government intend to advise the Viceroy to do? In particular, were opportunities going to be provided for the imprisoned Congress leaders to consult with Mr. Gandhi and each other? "We are dwelling on the past. I am not posing these questions in a hostile manner. We are looking to the future. We certainly see more than a ray of hope", Lord Strabolgi concluded.

*Viscount Elibank* said that no one could help being tremendously impressed by the military effort being made by India towards winning the war. At the same time, every sound-thinking person both in India and this country must feel that any withdrawal from India at the present time, during the war would be quite wrong and impracticable. The differences between Hindus and Muslims must be settled before our pledge for Indian Independence or Dominion Status could be fulfilled. If Independence or Dominion Status were given in the conditions of to-day, with the differences still persisting between castes and religions, it was quite certain, India would revert to a state of anarchy and the progress she had made during the past two centuries under British guidance and with British help would perhaps be lost altogether.

#### Attack on Gandhiji

"There is", Vicount Elibank continued, "one individual in India—I have not the same regard for him as Lord Strabolgi has—one individual who is the greatest obstacle to a settlement and the biggest bamboozler of the century and in Far Eastern history. He has bamboozled many of his own countrymen for years and I am sorry to say he has bamboozled a good many of our countrymen in this country. One of the greatest tricks of bomboozlement is when he inflicts on himself starvation just up to the point of dying and, in this way, plays on the sympathies of the Indian people and leads them into further difficulties."

#### "Trust The Man On The Spot"

Regarding the suggestion for a meeting between the Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi, Viscount Elibank suggested that that was a matter which should be left to Lord Wavell to decide. Vicount Elibank continued: "The Viceroy has all the strings

in his hands and knows what is going on. I suggest, you must trust the man on the spot, especially when he is a man of Lord Wavell's calibre and fine administrative and military qualities, with keen sympathy with the people of the country he is governing and the intense interest which he has in trying to lead India into that path which will enable her to achieve the Independence she is seeking. I would add a word of commendation of Mr. Amery. I know his keen sympathies with the Indian people. At a time when there was a good deal of controversy in this country, I was aware of the attitude which Mr. Amery adopted in those days towards giving India much greater control over her own affairs than many were prepared to do at the same time. My own view is that, with Mr. Amery here and Lord Wavell in India in these days, we should be prepared to leave these matters very largely in their hands to solve. We should trust the Secretary of State for India and the Viceroy on the spot to do the best for India in the present circumstances."

*Lord Munster*, Under-Secretary of State for India, replying said that he wanted to remind the House of the speech which the Viceroy made to the combined Legislature on February 17, this year. Paying a tribute to the qualities of statesmanship and the characteristics of a great soldier which Lord Wavell had displayed, Lord Munster said he thought Lord Wavell's personal and prompt intervention into the food problem, from the very earliest days of his arrival in India, had considerably enhanced the morale of the Indian people and had certainly encouranged Indians with a sense of civic responsibility to one another.

Lord Wavell's actions in the political sphere had been no less striking. Lord Munster proceeded to quote Lord Wavell's remarks in the speech referred to and his reiteration that the Cripps Offer was still opened and remained in all its essentials, his appeal to Indians to co-operate with Government and his advocacy of the setting up of a small authoritative body of Indians to make a preliminary examination of the constitutional problems.

### Viceroy's Reserve Power

Lord Munster reminded the House that the Cripps Offer implied two essential things—first, there must be agreement amongst Indians, amongst the main elements in India, regarding the terms of the constitution to be framed by Indians after the war; and, secondly, that any interim Provisional Government must be within the terms of the present constitution and on the basis of the Viceroy retaining his existing reserve powers.

Lord Munster said that the reasons for these stipulations were clearly inherent in the solution. We had to ensure that not only should nothing affect the continuance of the war, but everyone should assist in its successful prosecution, and also make quite sure that the activities of the interim Government would not prejudice the claims of minorities with respect to the ultimate constitution. "His Majesty's Government have not departed, in any way, from the intentions declared by the Cripps Mission, and which have been repeated again by the Governor-General in his speech to the combined Legislature", Lord Munster declared.

Lord Munster added that it was wrong for Lord Strabolgi to suggest that because we are at war in 1941, we had been prepared to come to an agreement at any price. "These plans were being worked out before Singapore and Rangoon fell, and that the arrival of Sir Stafford Cripps should have coincided with the fall of Rangoon, had nothing to do with the position we were then in."

Turning to the recent political moves initiated by Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Rajagopalachari, Lord Munster said that, at the beginning of the month, Mr. Rajagopalachari published details of the correspondence which had taken place between him and Mr. Jinnah earlier in the year on the basis for a Congress-Muslim settlement, which was proposed by the former. "Mr. Rajagopalachari states," continued Lord Munster, "that the draft scheme which he submitted was discussed with Mr. Gandhi at the time of his fast in 1943, and that he was authorised to say it had received his full approval. At no time, so far as his Majesty's Government are aware, did Mr. Gandhi append his signature to any document which was delivered to Mr. Jinnah through Mr. Rajagopalachari.

### C. R's Scheme

The document which is full of importance contained the term for a settlement and it laid down: first, the Muslim League should endorse the Indian demand for independence and would co-operate with the Congress Party in the formation of a provisional government for the transitional period. Secondly, after the termination of the war a commission was to be appointed for demarcating contiguous

districts in North-West and East India wherein the Muslim population was in absolute majority. In areas thus demarcated a plebiscite of all inhabitants was to be held and this would ultimately decide the issue of separation from Hindusthan. Thirdly, It was open to all parties to advocate their points of view before the plebiscite closed. Fourthly, in the event of separation mutual agreements would be entered into for safeguarding defence, commerce and communications and for other essential purposes. Fifthly, any transfer of population was to be held entirely on a voluntary basis. Sixthly. these terms would be binding only in case of transfer by His Majesty's Government of both power and responsibility for the Government of India. This then was the scheme which Mr. Rajagopalachari urged Mr. Jinnah to accept and suggested thereafter that both he and Mr. Gandhi should advise the Working Committee of the Muslim League and the Working Committee of the Congress Pary respectively to accept it. Now Mr. Jinnah was prepared to submit, though not previously, to endorse the scheme of the Working Committee if he received the scheme from Mr. Gandhi direct but declines to accept responsibility for agreeing to it or rejecting it before doing so.

"The exact position", Lord Munster stated, "is somewhat obscure, but the negotiations seem for the moment to have been suspended. The publication of this scheme had a very mixed reception in the Indian Press, and it is difficult, at the present moment, to understand or appreciate their reactions to them. It does appear, however, that Mr. Gandhi's association with these particular proposals marks a very significant change in his attitude towards the Muslim League's position. That, in itself, might improve the changes of an agreement between the two major parties. So far as this should prove to be the case, we can, of course, only welcome the fact that there has been such an advance on Mr. Gandhi's part. The House will appreciate that this scheme has not been put to it. I understand a meeting of the Working Committee of the Muslim League is to be held at the end of this month, when the position may be clarified. The House will have observed that neither during the communications between Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Rajagopalachari, nor during the flow of correspondence between Mr. Rajagopalachari and Mr. Jinnah has the Viceroy received any communication from anyone of these three participants."

### GANDHIJI'S STATEMENTS

"What I already said", Lord Munster continued, "is by no means the end of the tale, for directly after the publication of the scheme, there appeared a series of statements in the Press which were attributed to Mr. Gandhi. The more important of these statements contained seven points, and was issued after the publication in the *News Chronicle* of an interview which Mr. Gandhi had given to one of its Press correspondents. Indeed, Mr. Gandhi stated, himself, that the premature publication of the interview with Mr. Gelder, the *News Chronicle* representative, had led to some confusion in the minds of the Congress and therefore Mr. Gandhi had advanced the following views : Firstly, Mr. Gandhi said, he would never use the weapon of Civil Disobedience during the war unless for a very grave reason, such as, the thwarting of India's right to freedom. Secondly, he would be satisfied with a National Government during the war, with full control of the civil administration, composed of persons chosen by the elected members of the Legislative Assembly. Thirdly, the Viceroy would be, like the King of England, guided by responsible Ministers. Fourthly, Popular Government would be automatically restored in all provinces, that is, provinces at the moment under Section 93. Fifthly, while under National Government, the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief would have complete control of military operations, there would be a portfolio of Defence in the hands of the National Government, which would be genuinely interested in the defence of the country and may render great assistance in the shaping of policies. Sixthly, the Allied forces would be allowed to carry on operations on Indian soil, but the expense of such operations would not be borne by Indians. Seventhly, Mr. Gandhi would advise Congress participation in the National Government if formed."

Lord Munster, proceeding, said : "The procedure follwed is a little complicated and a little difficult to understand. A few days after Mr. Gandhi published these seven suggestions through the intermediary of the Press, he gave further explanations to Press correspondents, in which he emphasised that his statements constituted his personal effort to end the deadlock, but that if his suggestions are not acceptable to Mr. Jinnah or the powers that be, he would consider it a most unfortunate incident. In clarification—if indeed it be clarification—of his offer to Mr. Jinnah, he stated that his proposals were wholly different from the Cripps Offer which, he insisted, contemplated almost perpetual vivisection of India. Frankly, it is difficult to under-

stand if these statements by Mr. Gandhi have, in point of fact, definitely improved the chances of an inter-communal settlement."

PROTECTION OF MINORITIES

"The main point, so far as His Majesty's Government are concerned," Lord Munster declared, "is that he (Mr. Gandhi) is still clinging to precisely that claim which wrecked the Cripps Mission and put an end to negotiations in April 1942, for he is no more prepared to-day than he was then, to accept the formation of an interim Government with the Viceroy maintaining his existing reserve powers. He demands a so-called 'Interim' Government in full control of the civil administration, with the Viceroy occupying the position of a constitutional monarch as we understand it in this country. Let it not be forgotten that, if an agreement is set up under the present existing constitution, there are still a number of very important questions, not the least of which is the protection of the minorities, to be resolved. All these matters must be settled before the final constitution can be evolved. In this, it will seem that Government have not departed one iota from the pledge they gave some time ago and which I will repeat now, that the proposals which were taken to India by Sir Stafford Cripps still stand in their entirety."

Referring, in conclusion, to the question by Lord Strabolgi, who asked whether the Viceroy was prepared to allow Mr. Gandhi to see the members of the Working Committee, Lord Munster said : "I would refer Lord Strabolgi to the letter which the Viceroy sent to Mr. Gandhi on June 22nd last. He said that another meeting between himself and Mr. Gandhi could only raise false hopes. He said, that Mr. Gandhi had publicly stated that he adhered to the 'Quit India' Resolution which he (Mr. Gandhi) regarded as innocuous. The Viceroy did saw that as soon as Mr. Gandhi had any definite or constructive policy to put up, he would be very glad to consider it at that time."

Withdrawing his motion, *Lord Strabolgi* said with regard to Lord Munster's speech, "It might have been worse. I thought I detected one or two gleams of understanding and hope," he added, "but I would like more of warmth and sympathy. I think there is a chance now of a wide settlement if we take it, but I suppose Lord Munster was bound to take the attitude he did. He became acclimatised to the India Office atmosphere all too soon."

Lord Strabolgi particularly welcomed the statement that the suggestions made towards Mr. Jinnah might improve the chances of an agreement between the major parties and that this would be welcomed by Government. It was also good to hear that the Cripps Offer still stood.

With reference to Gandhiji's proposal for a provisional government Lord Strabolgi continued: "This is a delicate matter. It seems to excite some apprehension in Lord Munster's mind. I should have thought if we could get this form of provisional government for All-India composed of all parties with, of course, necessary safeguards, we should welcome it and it would be a magnificent step forward. But it seems to have created some alarm that it should be suggested that the Viceroy should hold the position of a constitutional monarch with his reserved powers."

*Lord Munster* : "Constitutional monarch without his reserved powers."

*Lord Strabolgi* : "No, with his reserved powers. The constitutional powers behind the monarch in this country if set down on paper look immense. It could be argued that as confidence grows and as democracy has its chance and Indian statesmen become trained to responsibility these powers would recede more and more into the background. That is what has happened in this country. But the power is there all the same. I really think that the India Office and Lord Munster make too heavy weather of that particular point."

## House of Lords—London—25th. July 1944

### Debate on India's Food Position

The question of India's food situation was raised in the Lords on the 25th July 1944 by *Lord Faringdon*, who said that many people were becoming increasingly uneasy and he wanted to know what provision was being made to deal with it. According to an article in the *Times*, by September next, something like 800,000 tons would have been imported towards the million tons of grain recommended by the Gregory Commission, but nothing would have been imported towards forming the half a million tons reserve. In such circumstances, optimism if not ill-placed, was at least hardly justified. It meant that there was already 200,000 tons deficit for consumption purposes and no reserve. Moreover, it would be extremely difficult

to ration and control prices which would have been possible if the Government had got the half million tons reserve.

### EPIDEMICS IN BENGAL AND BIHAR

Lord Faringdon also referred to the report by Dr. Roy, the head of the Bengal Medical Co-ordination Committee, that something like 20 million people in Bengal and Bihar were affected by epidemics, and said that it had also been reported that the cholera situation in Bihar was worse than that in the gravest recorded year of 1920. The health situation, he added, was adversely affected by the famine and reacted upon it, since one could not hope to obtain from a country, with a serious epidemic situation, that production of foodstuffs which might otherwise have been hoped for. He hoped, Government would be able, in some future debate, to give assurance about the steps they were taking to promote the manufacture of drugs in India and facilitate the import of drugs from this country.

Lord Faringdon added that if the anticipated food surpluses were obtained from the provinces and additional supplies could be found in Australia, the United States and Canada, then transport would be a critical problem.

*Lord Munster*, Under Secretary of State for India in reply, said that he thought, if a balanced view were taken between optimism, and pessimism, there was reasonable justification for thinking that they were on the road to better days. If the present monsoon proved favourable, as there was some justification for thinking it might, then it should be possible to resolve the difficulties and meet all the requirements in the current year. The wheat crop in North-west India had suffered this year from a spell of bad weather before the harvesting, and the portion of the surplus which would have been available for distribution to the deficit areas would have to be found from elsewhere. Although this event should not in itself cause food shortage, it must, nevertheless, be taken into account in examining the position as a whole. Last year's famine, which occurred mainly in the rice-growing areas, was caused by a variety of events of which, not the least, were the abnormal climatic conditions, but, in so far as it was a matter of human control, every measure had been taken to ensure that there should be recurrence. They could not, of course, deal with elements which were beyond their control.

Lord Munster proceeded to give an account of the ration system adopted in cities and towns throughout India, of the procurement plan, the price control system and the import programme for which shipping has been supplied by His Majesty's Government. Giving the most recent news of the food position in Bengal, he said, since last year's famine ended, conditions had immensely improved in rice crops. The Government of India had given the undertaking that they would make themselves responsible and supply from sources outside Bengal 640,000 tons of food grains to feed the city of Calcutta. That in itself would remove a burden off the Bengal market which, obviously, must be suffering to some extent from the inevitable aftermath of last year's disaster.

### "BENGAL ALMOST OUT OF THE WOOD"

The difficulties which originally postponed the introduction of complete rationing in Calcutta had now been overcome, and he was told the system was working smoothly and well. The new Bengal Governor, Mr. Casey, had put in hand a number of measures all directed to reorganising the whole food position, and had stated that food grains which had been procured under the scheme operating in the province justified all his expectations and hopes that the total procurement would be adequate to meet all the essential needs of the deficit areas within his particular province during the present year. There might be certain relatively small areas in which difficulties would perhaps be experienced, but everything was being done to anticipate and meet these difficulties before they arose. In the beginning of July, Mr. Casey had stated, in a broadcast speech, that they were within reasonable sight of having procured the minimum of rice to see the province through until the next winter crop in November was harvested, and this meant that Bengal was almost out of the wood so far as this year was concerned. Lord Munster paid a warm tribute to Mr. Casey for the superhuman efforts by which he had steered his province towards brighter days.

### "ASTRONOMICAL PROGRESS IN RATIONING"

Discussing the rationing system, Lord Munster gave facts and figures to show the progress made and described them as astronomical. In the whole of India, 219 cities and towns with a population exceeding 35 millions had now come on to rationing. However good the rationing system might be, he added, the whole

organisation might be seriously impaired if price control was not taken into consideration. The Government of India had, therefore, to make quite sure that the prices charged for vital foodstuffs were not only fair and equitable and gave a reasonable return to the producer, but that they were such that the community at large could afford to pay. It was vital to stimulate confidence amongst the people in the ability of the Government to maintain rigid control and if anything should occur either at Home or in India through hasty or ill-considered remarks which might shake or lessen the prevailing spirit of confidence, built up so successfully by the present Viceroy, difficulties might emerge which might well have the very gravest consequences.

If a spirit of confidence reigned and the price control was firm and fair, then the tendency of the producer to hoard his surplus crop would be considerably lessened and probably overcome. "The Government of India's price control policy has, therefore, been directed to this end". Lord Munster said that the procurement policy had been well thought out. It was an entirely new departure in India and the whole scheme was designed to supply the needs of cities and other deficit areas, as well as to give the Central Government stocks with which to control the market. As regards the Punjab, he gathered that the Government scheme of purchases through agents was not working altogether satisfactorily, and an amendment was now contemplated to ensure closer control by the provincial authorities.

### Grain Shipments to India

After giving details of the procurement schemes in other provinces, Lord Munster said that in normal times, there should never be any great difficulty in importing into India sufficient quantities of wheat, which, together with the amount secured inside India by any procurement policy, would place a substantial reserve in the hands of the Government to enable them to control the market.

"It has been the object of His Majesty's Government to try and provide the maximum quantity of imports for current consumption as recommended in the Gregory Report, but the House knows well enough the ever-increasing calls made upon our shipping last year and again this year. In spite of these demands—and we obviously cannot allow our military operations to be imperilled—we have provided sufficient ships for carrying to India of 800,000 tons of wheat from outside sources in a period of twelve months ending October, 1944, and we have given an undertaking to the Government of India that we will consider in August and again in November the allotment of further shipping for this purpose."

### Importance of Long-term Policy

Dealing with the action the Government of India proposed to take to ensure a steady and continued all-round increase in the internal production of foodstuffs, Lord Munster said that though a short-term policy might assist in increasing the immediate quantity of edible foodstuffs, a long-term policy was required which would come into operation and full effect year by year. "We cannot therefore rely on a short term policy during our existing troubles, but we can and must lend all our efforts to secure that a permanent policy is produced and should start operating at once continuing over future years, so as to meet the threat of famine or shortage of food due to the continual increase in population, but before it arises".

Owing to the war circumstance and the loss of Burma, the rice market imports had been very heavily cut, said Lord Munster, and it was not possible to guarantee the immediate restoration of them when the war ended. It was, therefore, all the more important that a scheme for the further expansion and development of agriculture should be worked ont now. The Government of India had not been negligent in their duty in this respect. He went on to give details of the various measures being adopted to increase food production and referred to the mission now in India to advise the Government on the possibilities of increased manufacture of chemical fertilisers, the target figure for which had been set at 350,000 tons a year. Other measures included the promotion of better methods of husbandry including proper crop rotation.

### Plan to Double Crop Yield

"A plan has been envisaged to double India's agricultural yield with the immediate object of increasing production by 50 per cent over the next ten years and ultimately by 100 per cent in 15 years. The capital cost of this immense plan is estimated at 1,000 crores with a recurring annual expenditure of Rs. 20 crores. After stating that the plan had been drawn up by a special committee appointed by the Advisory Board of the Imperial Council for Agricultural Research, Lord Munster

said that the plan aims at securing enough food of the right kind for every individual and improving the standard of living of the people. The Provincial Governments had been asked for criticisms and suggestions within the next three months, but the order of priority for the more important items of improvement is stated to be (1) irrigation by construction of tanks, wells and canals. (2) manure and manufacture of ammonium sulphate. (3) land improvement. (4) tillage (5) the establishment of seed farm and (6) the grading of cattle. Some of these suggestions in this big plan have already been put in hand by the Government of India's 'Grow More Food Campaign'. The Government of India has not been behind the Bombay Industrialists in thinking ahead and planning an agricultural economic policy which year by year can bring into production more and more areas of cultivable waste. It is true perhaps that progress in the political field may tarry awhile but if the standard of living and the general welfare of the Indian masses can be raised to higher levels then we shall at any rate have met one of the essential needs to political as well as industrial progress."

*Lord Faringdon* warmly welcomed Lord Munster's reply though he said he was still slightly anxious about the immediate position. No one would underrate the difficulty of rationing a population so vast as that of India. So far as the Government were coping with this monumental situation they were to be congratulated. He particularly welcomed the assurance that His Majesty's Government hoped in August and November to be able to offer the Indian Government additional shipping and he congratulated the Government on their agricultural policy.

*Lord Samuel* (Liberal) joined in welcoming Lord Munster's statement, which he considered one of the most important statements on India they had had in the Lords for many a long day. It had fully recognised in many quarters that the Indian problem was not merely and perhaps not primarily a political problem. The rapid increase in the population of India in recent years, which was still continuing had added to the anxiety which had been widely felt on account of the low standard of living of so many millions of the Indian population. Now the Government have taken in hand this fundamental problem with great vigour, energy and foresight, and if the large programme which Lord Munster had in mind was fully carried into effect, it would have a vast and the most beneficent effect upon the welfare of the population of India."

## House of Commons—London—28th. July 1944

### Amery Rejects Gandhi's Proposals

Opening the debate on India in the Commons on the 28th July 1944 Mr. *Pethick Lawrence*, Chief Labour speaker, said that those associated with him had, hitherto, hesitated to ask for a full debate because of the extreme delicacy of the situation and the feeling that a debate might injure, instead of improve the prospects of a settlement. He added: "Though it is still true that it would be unwise for recriminatory words to be uttered that might do harm, we feel that helpful and constructive words may be fruitful of great good, and I hope, very much, that only wise and statesmanlike words will emanate from all parts of this House to-day."

#### DISTRUST MUST BE REMOVED

"We all realise that super-imposed on the very inherent difficulties of this problem, there has been a psychological personal distrust, which has greatly aggravated the difficulties. Is it too much to hope that this debate will help to remove one at least of these distrust, by showing to the peoples of India and the outside world that all sections of this House are willing, and indeed anxious, that there should be Self-Government in India after the war is over."

Mr. Pethick Lawrence, proceeding, said that, how far India would continue as single and undivided, was one of the issues in dispute. Nevertheless, he was quite certain that it was of supreme importance that there should be an Indian representing the great Indian peoples in the comity of nations—an Indian with whom power of decisions rested, and in whom the world would see a country destined to play a vital and important part in the whole history of mankind. "We, in the House, cannot solve that problem, it rests with the Indian people themselves. We can only note with satisfaction that, in the last few months, Mr. Gandhi has made a gesture of approach to the other sections in India. In these subtle matters, it is very difficult for most of us, not completely immersed in Indian politics, to judge how far he has gone, but that he has made some move will not be denied. When things have reached an impasse, even a small move may be of supreme importance."

Mr. Pethick Lawrence said that there had been events of immense importance in the political sphere in India. Terrible famine in more than one quarter of India had brought home the great danger which India, with its rapidly increasing population, faced. Famines were frequent in old days, and it was one of the merits of the British administration that until recently, it had succeeded in keeping famines down. If the population of India was to increase at the present rate, then, undoubtedly, the problem of famine might recur. He hoped that, behind all the political differences, the problem of feeding the mass of population might bring the people of India together.

### INDUSTRIALISTS' PLAN

Another great event in the economic sphere had been the turning of India from a debtor to a creditor country. From being a great debtor country, India had become one of the word's creditor countries, and that had a bearing on the economic future.

"Then there has been," Mr. Pethick Lawrence continued, "the publication of the Tata Pamphlet, sometimes called the Millionaires' Pamplet. I think, it is the greatest of all steel plants in the empire and anything emanating from that firm might not be lightly brushed aside. It is not for me to express an opinion on the details with figures on a scale which has hardly hitherto been mentioned, but, undoubtedly, having recently been published, it provides a basis for discussion, which cannot afterwards be entirely put aside.

"Can India—can the peoples of India, poor, malaria-ridden, with poor standards of life, with an immensely high rate of mortality be brought into line with the progressive countries in the world economically ? Whatever may be thought of the details of the Tata Plan, the suggestion, that is possible, is one of the great and arresting importance".

Mr. Pethick Lawrence continuing said that, all these things, taken together, showed that economics were likely to play an exceedingly important part in the future problems of India.

### INDIA'S FREEDOM ESSENTIAL FOR WORLD PEACE

Referring to the military aspect of the Indian problem, he said, many things had happened to cast some doubt on the power of Britain alone to keep the peace in the Seven Seas, and in no part of the world was that more the case than in the neighbourhood of the great sub-continent of India. "As I see it, India is a great strategic bastion. I do not believe the peace of the whole world can be firmly assured, unless part of the strong pillars supporting that peace consists of India itself. Therefore, the whole question of the future of India does not concern even only the principal parties to the present discussion—this country, other parts of the British Empire and the peoples and parties in India. It also very deeply concerns all the nations of the world and, particularly, the United Nations, who desire to place the military basis of the world upon a fundamental basis which will stand the tempests and shocks of national desires and will give to the hard-pressed peoples a promise of real prosperity."

### GOVT. MUST TAKE STEP FORWARD

Reverting to the political and the racial aspects of the whole problem, Mr. Pethick Lawrence said, "I suggest to Government that the time is coming, if it has not already arrived, when they can contribute to the solution by a new step forward. I notice Mr. Gandhi has said in his speech or writings, that 1944 is not 1942, and that many changes have taken place in objective facts and in his views regarding them in those intervening years. Mr. Gandhi is careful of his words and we can put such interpretation as we like upon them, but I would put forward this for the consideration of Mr. Amery and the House. We cannot expect people who are put into prison or kept in detention on political grounds to recant their past views. I believe, Mr. Amery realises, quite well, and I am sure the Viceroy also realises, with him, that we cannot expect these people to stand in a white sheet and admit the errors of the past. But I do believe, most men of sense—and those who are detained at the present time are men of sense, whatever mistakes it may be that they have made—will recognise, with Mr. Gandhi, that 1944 is not 1942, and that a great many things have changed in the meanwhile. One of those changes, of course, is that at the time the Cripps Offer was originally made, it looked to the outside world as though we were losing the war. There were few parts of the world who considered we had a dog's chance and, no doubt, in India, that view was as largely prevalent. It appeared to a number of Indians that we were drowning men, clutch-

ing at a straw and promising things to India which we had no intention afterwards of carrying out. That of course, was not the case, and I think, it is apparent to the peoples of India, to-day, that it was not the case. I am quite sure they recognise, as is recognised in other parts of the world, that, far from losing the war, we are going to win both the war in the West and the war in the East and that before a very long time. Therefore, the promise we made two years ago and still make, of Self-Government, is a very much more real and substantial thing now, than it ever was before and that alone, if there were not a number of other factors, must have a great influence on the minds of the members of the Congress Party. Mr. Gandhi has made use of words which might fairly be interpreted as a measure of goodwill and as a desire to come to a satisfactory solution both inside and outside India with regard to this problem."

### LEADERS MUST BE SET FREE AT EARLY OPPORTUNITY

Pointing out that when a man was detained preventively, no term was set upon the length of his imprisonment. Mr. Pethick Lawrence said that it rested with the Executive authority, in such cases, to release him when the appropriate time came. "In the last resort, it is with the Secretary of State and the very wise man he has appointed to be the Viceroy, to decide the time and place and the arrangements suitable for his release. There are risks to be faced in releasing people who have been in detention. The risks are very real and he and the Viceroy will have to weigh up those risks; but there are also risks involved in not releasing people, and those risks are very grave indeed—the risk of permanently alienating men who are not guilty of what are described as moral turpitude, but who have been detained for political reasons. I am quite sure he will not ignore the grave risk of continuing detention, however much he may see the risk of bringing it to an end."

Mr. Pethick Lawrence added that it would be quite impossible to make an important pronouncement on their release on this occasion, but he hoped Mr. Amery would not feel it necessary, as a result of what might be said during the debate, to make a positive adverse statement which might tend to make the situation worse. "We do ask them to bear in mind the great importance of choosing a suitable and early opportunity of bringing into a life of liberty, men who must, in the end, be parties to the agreement made between ourselves, them and other sections of opinion. We look forward to a wise decision being taken."

Concluding, Mr. Pethick Lawrence said, let us get rid of old distrust on all sides, let us think of the future—the future of this great country, containing in its population one-fifth of the whole human race, a great country which has been brought from its somewhat anarchic conditions to its present great position, largely through the medium of this country, and a country which we here have the power to help to speed forward on its path for the future. I believe we can do that. I believe we should do that, this country will show the great British spirit of Democracy, and that we shall set an example to the world which will long be remembered —the greatest tribute to the genius for statecraft of the British race.

### "FORMER ROADS LEADING NOWHERE"

Mr. *Walter Elliott* (Conservative), said that the fact seemed to stand in the present situation, "was that they were going nowhere along the former roads. The urgency of the problem has been shown by the Bengal famine and still more by the situation underlying the Bengal famine. Another vital fact in the position to-day was that it had moved Mr. Gandhi to a momentous decision. He had decided to recognise the principle of partition. His views did not differ greatly from the Cripps Proposals. A great step forward has been made. But these proposals could not be left simply kicking about. What Commission was going to have greater knowledge or better leaders than Parliament? What greater jury was there than the Imperial Parliament to sit and consider a proposal brought before it by, say, the present Government? He said that the Pakistan solution suffered from over-simplicity and a dual solution was a solution to perpetuate antagonism.

*Lord Winterton* (Conservative) interjected: "It is not a question whether it is right or wrong. It is put forward by a vast number of the Indian people and has to be considered in conjunction with Mr. Gandhi's offer."

Mr. *Elliot* continuing said: "The essence of the Pakistan scheme is the perpetual subjection of the minority to the majority which it cannot change by any voting process. That is to produce an impossible situation and some means of escape must be found from it—whether a dualist solution or more than a dual solution—the setting up, it may be, of four or five units."

Mr. Elliot said that he was more attracted by a solution such as the River Basin scheme, which suggested four Great units, and there had been other suggestions including the Five-State scheme. "But", he added "on the principle of two or more than two, it seems to me that two is a more dangerous solution than many, because two seems to make for antagonism, which would be exacerbated more and more as years go on.

"As for the States, they want to be free to start Dominions in their own right —development and administration will be their main tasks—to put through enormous changes to handle the bringing of industrial revolution to millions of people. I believe the greater their powers, the quicker will be the solution. The essence of Dominion Status is Responsible Government.

"People talk, as if this were the partition and vivisection of the live body of India. But if you can get units of the human race to live comfortably with each other by the hundred million, that is sufficient for a miracle. We have seen Iceland declaring that there is no one in the world, not even Denmark, she could live with and setting up a pocket republic in the Artic. This is the way things are developing in the world. Marshal Stalin is developing armies and Foreign Offices in different parts of the Soviet Union. This is the way in which the world will move. So, I would not put limits on the powers of the States. Regarding Finance and Customs, they must not be subject to one central bank and locked up inside one customs union. It was the lack of a Custom Union which enabled Britain to live in amity with Australia, South Africa, Canada and Newzealand. I suggest that His Majesty's Government should announce, in the next King's speech, an India Bill which this House can get to work on and which will enable advances to be made."

### Defence Problem—No Bar to Ending Deadlock

Dealing with the question of Defence, Mr. Elliot said: "All over the world, we have had to work out the relations between the bases of what we may call an Imperial or what may be a World Force of the future and the rights of local inhabitants. Defence is a big problem and cannot be treated simply on the basis of the Indian Army. I am quite sure much bigger factors will have to be brought into consideration. Again, I do not think difficulty about that should justify a deadlock in which nearly one-fifth of the world's population are locked on a dead centre, where half of them die of hunger before the age of 22."

*Sir George Schuster* (Liberal National) declared:

"I do hope that, although we recognise the communal difficulties in India and the need for devising new constitutional forms which may allow to each of the communities a measure of freedom in their own administration, on which I feel sure they will insist, yet I hope we shall say nothing which will give a push forward to a move for the complete breaking up of India. The unification of India is, perhaps, one of our greatest achievements. Let us not, at this stage, adopt the attitude that we must face a breaking up of that unity. It would be disastrous to have anything which prevented India operating as one unit in the security structure of the world. I know of the difficulties in achieving agreement among Indian parties, but I would not throw up the sponge yet."

Agreement between parties was what we had to try to achieve. To suggest, at this stage, that we should step in again with a new Government of India Bill before they got together to consider their own future, was dangerous and not a timely suggestion.

### "No Believer in a Halfway House"

Sir George Schuster added that he had never really believed in a halfway house being satisfactory or possible. A great deal had to be done to associate leading Indians with the Government of India. A constitutional change unwritten but none the less real had taken place. But all our attempts to bring the two main political parties into participation in the government had failed. All that we had been able to do was to ask them to come into a Coalition Government. To ask political parties whose main plank was opposition to British rule, to join a Coalition Government under a British Viceroy, was to ask a great deal.

The first of the tasks before us was to concentrate on carrying the war to a successful conclusion. The second was to do everything in our power to help the Indian parties to get together and join in realistic constitutional discussions round a table, so that they might get on with preparing for the final constitutional plan; and the third was the use of the remaining period of our own responsibility to prepare the way for the introduction of those economic programmes without which there was not the slightest chance of maintaining either the international stability or inter-

nal security of India or fulfilling the advancement of the genuine welfare of the Indian people. Sir George Schuster hoped that the United States and the British Governments would do all they could to give the necessary priority to further shipment of food grains to India.

Regarding Finance, he said: "I feel grave doubts whether our policy in this war by which, maintaining a fixed rate of exchange, we have expended vast sums of money in India and Egypt, has not contributed more than was really necessary to the inflationary price rise which has taken place".

### CONSTITUTIONAL DISCUSSIONS MUST BE INITIATED

Sir George Schuster hoped that Parliament would indicate very strong support for the Viceroy in his efforts to help the Indian parties to get together and that it would welcome any constructive measures that may be taken. "I feel Mr. Gandhi's recent utterances have at least given a gleam of new hope. I regard the Viceroy as a man of courage and generous liberal spirit, and I hope, we shall say nothing to embarrass him or hamper his discretion in any way. If he, in his discretion, thinks the time has come to take a bold step and release political prisoners in order that there may be a start with a full political discussion, then, I would give him my support."

Sir George Schuster explained that he was referring to confidential talks designed to prepare the way for the more formal proceedings of a Constituent Assembly. Saying that the millions of Indians in the armed forces were entitled to be heard, and it was one of Britain's chief responsibilities to see that they got a hearing, Sir George Schuster added: "I would still press urgently that the time has come for starting a process of discussion, which we should do all in our power to promote."

Proceeding, Sir George Schuster asked: "Will Mr. Jinnah be prepared with plans to show how a Mussalman State will be set up? It will not be any good for him saying: 'I will fight rather than accept. India in the future cannot be governed by opposition nor can the welfare of the people of India be provided for merely by parties which say 'no'. I want them to realise that we, on our side, mean business and that the day is near when each must shoulder his part in the responsibility and all parties must fit in together."

### ECONOMY POLICY

Sir George Schuster added that the third British task for the remaining period of their responsibility was to prepare the way for the economic policy. Economic problems should take the front place in the political discussions, and the political parties should concern themselves, more and more with these matters and less and less with barren communal controversies. That was why he himself welcomed the Bombay or Tata Plan. There was a special opportunity for the Government of India to collaborate with Indians and even with those who for political reasons had not been able to join with the Government. There should be as wide a collaboration as possible and minimum controversial rivalry. If a preliminary All-Party Conference on the constitutional issue could be started, there might be, as a part of it or parallel to it, an all-party conference on economic lines. In this co-operation in the economic field, it was not merely a question of what the Government of India could do. We in this country had also a part to play. He believed that there was really a bright prospect for true co-operation between this country and India in India's industrial development. There should be a complete frankness in our approach to these matters, and the unreserved recognition that Indians had the right to be masters of their own destiny; this destiny in turn depended upon industrial and economic development. We should beg of Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Jinnah or any other leader to turn from manoeuvering any clever formula to the consideration of the basis of an agreement so that we, with good conscience, could transfer constitutional responsibilities.

### INDIA MUST RANK AMONG THE GREAT POWERS

Finally, Sir George Schuster said that the structure of world security could not be other than insecure, unless the Eastern half was strong, but the Eastern half could not be strong if India was divided and a centre of chaos. Sir George Schuster added that he desperately wanted to see India take her place as one of the great nations of the world. When people spoke of the Four Great Powers in the world including China, it hurt his feelings that India should not be mentioned. China could be a great power for the peace of the world, but India ought to stand forward equal with China.

Mr. *Price* (Labour) did not think that Government should take any very definite line until Mr. Gandhi's views had developed further. He thought that the Govern-

ment of India should rally opinion in India on the economic issue and the raising of the standard of living.

Mr. Price deprecated the breaking up of India into a number of Dominions—a kind of bastard Pakistan. India must be kept an economic unit. He advocated a big campaign for the education of the Indian peasants and hoped that India would obtain real Independence within the British Commonwealth.

### DIVISION OF INDIA OPPOSED

Prof. *Hill* (Conservative) stressing the urgency of the Indian problem said: "India is living on the edge of a precipice. The factor of safety is so low that any disturbance, even a comparatively minor one, may send her over the edge. I have grave doubts about the wisdom of urging that consideration should be given to partition. Devolution, yes; Self-Government as we have in this country within limited regions. But partition, having five separate regions in India, could only lead to a Balkanisation of that great peninsula. I would like to emphasise the frightful penalties which would result from the disaster if it occurred. The machinery in India is heavily over-loaded, and if we were to take liberties with it, by allowing disorder or a bloody revolution, as some people lightly speak of it, then, the disaster would not be a minor one, but a major catastrophe. This is no time to talk lightly of a disaster in India as a possible way of solving her difficulties."

### INDIAN INDUSTRIALISTS' VISIT

Referring to the forthcoming visit of Indian Industrialists this Autumn, Prof. Hill hoped that a group of Indian scientific men would also visit Britain. "There is a chance", he said, "of co-operating with Indian Industry if we show courage, generosity and vision, but the alternative to our not showing those qualities is not that Indian industry will not develop, but that Indians will turn to America and not to us for help. They would rather turn to us and if we can help them, they will co-operate with us, but only on some terms which seem to them reasonable."

Prof. Hill said that we had everything to gain in the end by the kind of co-operation that Indian Industry would like and would be very willing to offer. He urged that every encouragement possible should be given to the development of Radio as a means of education in India.

### ECONOMIC PLIGHT OF THE MASESS

Regarding population, food and health, he said that reference has been made to his recent comments on the subject. He admitted he had tried deliberately "to make people's flesh creep". The situation was not one which could be tolerated for a long time. The solution of the difficulties in India depend upon health, food, population, agriculture, and education. They would not yield simply to political dialectics or manufacture of political machinery. They required deliberate co-operation all-round, deliberate thinking and hard work.

Dealing with the Bengal famine, he said that the fundamental reason for it was that the factor for safety in India was almost zero and tended to be held there all the time by excessive reproduction. He deprecated endeavours to place the blame upon the Secretary of State for India or anybody else. The question was what our friends in India and ourselves were going to do about these problems. "If they do not do something and do it pretty quickly, I can see nothing but calamity, misery and poverty ahead."

### MUST HAND OVER GOVT. TO INDIANS

Prof. Hill said that he was wholly in favour of repeating in India, when conditions allowed, the experiment which had always been amazingly successful hitherto except in Eire where people's eyes were always turned backwards. That was why he was in favour of the experiment of handing over to Indians, Government including the defence of the country. It was an act of faith, and we could not be sure of the result. If it failed, that would be too bad, but it would not be our fault. Mere continuation of the present system would certainly fail anyhow. If it succeeded, India might become, after a few years, a proud and contended member of the British Commonwealth.

Prof. Hill, continuing, said that if the House made it perfectly clear that Britain was determined to see that the best possible chance was given for the improvement of the life of Indian people, that would do more good than if one argued for ever about the political machinery. "India is ripe now for a great technological development. I can see little hope of India having greater prosperity apart from going with the stream of modern life and seeking the prosperity in that kind

of development. The essential condition for success is a reasonable degree of economic and political unity."

As regards Defence, there must be external security because if India achieved high industrial prosperity but had no adequate unified defence, she would be an easy prey for any aggressor. Thoughtful Indians knew this and realised that the Balkanisation of India would leave her defenceless against external aggression.

Mr. *Clement Davies* (Liberal) recalled that he had listened to every debate on India in the House for the last 15 years and said he did not remember during all those years such a note of unanimity as marked the speeches in to-day's debate —such single current of opinion all flowing one away. "It seems to be summed up like this: There is everywhere not only a genuine desire but a genuine anxiety to see these problems settled satisfactorily. There is also this: Let there be no recriminations of any sort. Let the dead past bury its dead and let us look forward to the future. With goodwill and co-operation, a settlement can be achieved." On the political side there was complete unanimity that India was entitled to and should have Self-Government at the earteast possible date. On the social and economic side, there were two problems—one an immediate problem with which the British Government had to deal because at the present time they were trustees for the Indian people and the other that could only be settled by a long-term policy. The long-term policy could only be satisfactorily settled by the Indians themselves under their own Government. Mr. Davies continued, "Britain has a record with regard to India of which she is entitled to be justly proud. I wonder if, some other nation, had fate so decided it, had to co-operate with India as Britain has had to do for 200 years or more, what would have been the position of India to-day. Britain has brought immense benefits to India, toleration and understanding and she is trying to inculcate law and order. It has always been our policy that every nation should look after its own affairs and stand upon its own feet and enjoy its own liberty and that moment is coming when we can say, not goodbye but 'good luck, the responsibility is yours'. Let us forget mistakes and try to see whether we cannot work together for the general benefit of Indians and the world."

## "BRING INDIA AS INDIA INTO THE WAR"

Mr. Clement Davies said that everyone would like to see the end of the political deadlock and he proceeded to put forward his own personal suggestions in the hope that these might lead to new negotiations. The first thing was to bring India as India into the war. The South-east Asia Command should be extended to include India and the Indian seas. There should be an Allied Council for South-east Asia composed of representatives of the principal Governments concerned, namely, the British Government, China and the United States and India herself should provide a representative for the Council. Representatives of others interested like the Netherlands, Indo-China and naturally the Union of South Africa and Australia and New Zealand should be consulted. They would be appointed in name by the Governor General but after consultation with either parties or leaders or whoever it might be. He suggested the Governor-General might invite the leaders of principal representative parties to submit the names of the representatives whom they desire to sit on the Council. The Governor-General would function as the constitutional head of popular Government but holding in himself special responsibility in relation to the armed forces and in respect of Crown relations and by virtue of his office, he would be a member of the South-east Asia Allied Council and of the All-India Defence Committee.

With regard to the relationship between India and London, the Secretary of State for India would become more important in his duties than to-day. He would occupy a much more important position than that occupied by the Secretary of State for the Dominions as between the Dominions and the Home Government. The Government of India would be no longer represented on the War Cabinet because it would be represented in the South-East Asia Command. There should be provision made for the protection of minorities, for determining what was reserved legislation, for guarantees for the minorities and for the setting up of a rational tribunal to settle any differences. After stating that his plan was merely a suggestion, Mr. Clement Davies added, "The idea I would have in mind would be something like the United States with individual provinces which would be sovereign ones, reserving to themselves full right but by transferring to the central federal authority such rights as they agree should be exercised by the federal authority. There should then be drawn up a constitution which is to bind

each one of them with complete right in any state to contract itself out. What we are anxious about is that this deadlock should end as quickly as possible. We are anxious to seize this opportunity now presented to us after this tremendous world fight of extending to India a chance for her to settle her own affairs for the benefit of their own people.

Mr. *Sorensen* (Labour) said that they were confronted in India with something much more than could be settled by offering them more food. In the debate members of all parties seemed to stress the economic side. He would issue this warning, "We must be very careful not to leave the impression that we are now to be concerned very much with India's economic problems in order to sidetrack India from her demand for political liberty". Mr. Sorensen emphasised that it was impossible to separate economic plans from political development and political freedom and proceeded, "For good or ill, Mr. Gandhi whom many have criticised in this House and who certainly is not an infallible person, nevertheless, is recognised as being in India not a man above the average, but one of the great souls of the Indian race. Even those frankly hostile to Mr. Gandhi, nevertheless respect him as one of the few great men the world has thrown up in recent years. Even Mr. Rajagopalachari recognises the outstanding significance of Mr. Gandhi. I am glad Lord Wavell, with such advice as he had had, has released Mr. Gandhi not only on the ground of ill-health, but I hope for other reasons as well. I hope that that release will be followed before long with the release of other Congress leaders. Mr. Gandhi's views on non-violence did not commend themselves either to members of this House or members of the Congress whereas Pandit Nehru has always made it perfectly clear that whilst he will accept non-violence as an expedient for internal political education, as far as external affairs are concerned, he is prepared to use arms in the defence of his country against the Japanese.

"Therefore, from the standpoint of the great majority of this House, Mr. Gandhi is much more dangerous of the two, but he is released while Pandit Nehru is still detained. I cannot understand the logic of this matter. Having released one who is looked upon as an arch agitator, we could undertake the far smaller risk of letting the other be free as well. To release that portion of the politically conscious life of India which was now gagged and bound might perform a tremendous service to India, to ourselves and to those who wished to see the gulf that separated this country and India bridged. We shouid be grateful to men like Mr. Gandhi fer stirring India out of its stagnation. We must see that at one and the same time, India had a great opportunity of economic advance, but not at the expense of political advance.

### Plea for an Encouraging Response

It seemed there was now a hopeful sign. To throw Mr. Gandhi's suggestions on one side was not doing sufficient justice to the fact that Mr. Gandhi himself might have altered his position. Whether he had or not, here was a sign that the deadlock that previously seemed insoluble and unbreakable was giving way. Mr. Sorensen said that, in a cable to-day referring to the House of Lords debate on India, Mr. Gandhi had said, "I must confess that I am disappointed". Referring to his proposal Mr. Gandhi had further said: "If it is not accepted as the basis for friendly discussion and if permission is not given to me to see the members of the Working Committee who alone can speak with authority, then I must reluctantly come to the conclusion that the British Government do not want a fair solution of the deadlock."

Mr. Gandhi would have liked to have seen a warmer and more encouraging response. "Government could, if it liked to-day when Mr. Amery replies, give some positive indication that they are glad to see that Mr. Gandhi made these proposals to the Muslim League and that they hope the Muslim League will respond". Mr. Sorensen continuing said, "We ought not to ride the high horse in this matter. The opportunity of the present time seemed to be an encouraging one. I make a plea to the Government and to Mr. Amery who is firmly in earnest in this matter. Mr. Amery should strike a note which would bring forth from India an equal response; let him emphasise that the situation is more hopeful than it was, and that Mr. Gandhi is at least opening the door.

Mr. *Godfrey Nicholson* (Conservative) maintained that the prevailing evil in India was political uncertainty. We had to consider whether the Cripps method alone could remain the only means by which we hoped to bring India to freedom. There prevailed in India to-day a sense of being in complete vaccum. This was not a deadlock but a whole series of incompatabilities. Speaking of the effort towards solution of "this deep problem", Mr. Nicholson said, "If we are to succeed, we must

carry India with us and if we are to carry India with us, there must be no doubt about our intentions. I fear there is doubt and that hope deferred has made the heart sick. Sooner or later—I do not wish to hurry Government—we shall have to make a re-statement of our intentions. There is one quality above all needed in our relations with India and that is courage—courage to carry through in the face of misrepresentation. I am not a pessimist. I do not believe British and Indian statesmenship are anywhere near bankruptcy. If we hold the door open for the resumption, firstly, of Provincial Self-Government, and for some form of Central Government in the course of time, then Indians will come forward, who will take the reins and take up office. Do not let us talk as if there were an appalling deadlock. Give the situation time. Keep the door open. Let us decide in our minds what we mean by freedom and what we mean by the Cripps Offer. Let us make up our mind what we conceive to be our duty, make known our decision to the world and have the courage to carry it through".

Mr. *Harvey* (Independent) described the debate as most remarkable, adding, "I have never been in any debate on India when we have had the same atmosphere and if we could only get our friends in India to realise that, it would be a great thing for the future relations between India and this country, and for internal development in India itself." Mr. Harvey continued, "There is hope in the fact that Mr. Gandhi has come forward with concrete suggestions to meet the claims of the Muslim League. I hope we may have some response from Mr. Jinnah and the Working Committee of the Muslim League which is meeting to-morrow. Mr. Jinnah is a remarkable man and I hope he may feel that the eyes of many are on him at this moment and that the people in England are looking to him to make great steps from his point of view to meet the needs of his country. He will do a great service not only to Muslims but to India and the whole future civilisation if he can help to bring about some measure of understanding". Mr. Harvey said they wanted to see every step for co-operation encouraged both on this side and in India. On the release of the Congress leaders, he added his appeal remarking, "It is surely a tragic thing that a man like Pandit Nehru, with his extraordinary ability, with his deep interest in the welfare of China and Russia, as well as the welfare of India, should be eating his heart out, unable to take part in constructive work for the good of his country, the good of the United Nations and the good of the whole world. We may say it is his fault that he does not come out, but I do hope that the way will be made open for him".

Appealing for a fresh start, Mr. Harvey said : "Let us cease quarrelling over what has happened in the past and look forward together to the future in which England may co-operate in fellowship with India for the good of the whole world".

*Sir John Wardlaw Milne* (Conservative) said, "Quite frankly, I am considerably disturbed and somewhat surprised at the tone of the debate, to-day. I am the last person who wishes to indicate we are not more than anxious to co operate with everybody in India. I have heard that sentence 'the necessity for co-operation' at least 20 times to-day. We must deal with these matters in a practical way. It is no use continually getting up here and saying 'Let us co-operate' (hear. hear). Surely to goodness the whole world knows we are more than anxious to co-operate with India. Co-operation had been offered.

"The Cripps Plan—the plan which no nation in the world has ever put to the country with which it had relations like we have had with India—that plan amazed me with its generosity and to say now that what is wanted is for us to show our co-operation seems to be begging the question." Referring to the statement attributed to Mr. Rajagopalachari that he "challenged British statesmen to produce an alternative plan", Sir John Wardlaw Milne said, "Is that the best that can now be produced from India that again the British Parliament should be asked to do it. I do not know any better scheme than something like the 1935 Act because as conditions are in India, to-day, whatever they may be to-morrow or ten years hence, no one in this House and no thinking person in this country would be prepared to hand over India to one faction alone and that is what is demanded of us."

He welcomed Mr. Gandhi's overtures to the Muslims and hoped negotiations with Mr. Jinnah would continue although they appeared at the moment to have broken down. He welcomed the Bombay Plan because he welcomed anything that would make for economic development of India, but let them realise the position: "Here you have the President of the Indian Federation of Labour rejecting the Bombay Plan altogether and claiming it a plan to exploit Indian workers for the benefit of Indian industrialists. They want self-rule for India, the same as Mr.

Gandhi does. But they do not want Mr. Gandhi's plan. I do not think the Indian people are such fools that they like us to get up and say 'Oh yes, we all want to co-operate."

Sir John Wardlaw Milne continued, "What we have to realise is that it is impossible for this country to do anything that will really help beyond what we have already done and that the real move must come from India. Is there anything we can ask Mr. Amery to do, is there any declaration we can ask him to make that has not been made by this Government on behalf of this country? We want India to have her independence if she likes. What more can we offer her?"

Mr. *Montague* (Labour) asserted it was about time the people of this country, including the Labour movement, woke up to the fact that there was a working class in India and there was organised trade union movement. The Depressed classes workers, organised and unorganised, and the untouchables were never so much as mentioned throughout these debates. It was an exceedingly deplorable thing because, after all, the question of the political future of India has to do with the enfranchisement, some day or other, of the vast majority of 400 million people.

Surely Britain was entitled to ask any political party in India what it proposes to do, what guarantees it had for the rights of minorities. Mr. Montague said that to call the Congress with about one-fifth of the membership of the Trade Union Congress in Britain so representative that all reins of Government were to be handed to it was not realism at all as far as the politics of India were concerned and its relationship to this country.

The *Earl of Winterton* (Conservative) said that in all the speeches during the debate there has been hardly a single reference to the position of the Muslim Party. The Congress had membership of no more than half a million and it was fantastic to talk about these people as if they led all India. "How can we expect Indians to take us seriously when when talk nonsense of that sort?" Earl of Winterton asked. Mr. Jinnah had said again and again and so had the supporters of the Muslim League that Congress derived its principal financial support from wealthy industrialists. We had no objection to that on grounds of principle. The Muslim League had made a further point that many of these employers of labour were pretty poor employers. "It is perfectly true", said Earl Winterton, "that both the Muslim League and the Congress are going to meet in the near future with a growing opposition from organised labour in India. At present, it was only a little cloud on the horizon but it might become a mighty thunderstorm and sweep away the Congress as it stands." It is not for the commons to make suggestions. It was for Indians and Muslims to come to an agreement. Mr. Gandhi had come to step forward to try and meet the Muslim League because his position was not so strong as it was *vis a vis* the Muslim League. If there was such an agreement, he thought we should make a clean cut after the war and the Dominion Status right out. He could visualise three or four Dominions in the general sense of the word bound together by some customs union in India.

He could see such Dominions entering into arrangments with us over matters of defence. What we required was not a great army based on India but air and sea bases. Earl Winterton said he thought some States would attach themselves to these four or five units and the British should try to protect their interests.

Sir *Stanley Reed* (Conservative) said, "There is a move from a purely sterile atmosphere of non-co-operation, civil disobedience and "quit India" and there is recognition of the fundamental right of the Mohammedan community for the security of their own religion, their own future and their own economic status. This is essential to any Indian settlement but these tendencies must be developed in India itself by Indians. They cannot be overrun by a dictaton from this House or this country. When that settlement comes, it will not be just a settlement between Mr. Gandhi representing the Congress and Mr. Jinnah representing the Muslim League. There will be 60 millions of Scheduled Classes, a great army of trade unionists, a growing body of organised labour in every direction—all are equally entitled to full consideration and security under the constitution and we must see that they are respected."

Sir Stanley Reed added that we were moving very rapidly and getting very near to the date on which, under our pledge, we would have to establish a constitutional assembly made without preparation was bound to stumble either into an unworkable improvisation or into an alleged settlement whieh was no settlement at all.

Mr. *Leopold Amery*, Secretary of State for India, replying said, that the debate had been most interesting. He complimented Mr. Pethick Lawrence on this very wise

and thoughtful speech with which he set the note for the whole discussion. "I do agree", Mr. Amery added, "with my Rt. Hon. friend (Mr. Elliott) that a division of anything into two may be more difficult to reconcile with ultimate co-operation than a division into a number of units. I agree with him, and indeed, it underlies not only the present situation in India, but any constitution which may be formed that economic development to be effective, must have the support not merely of passive acquiesence but involve something in the nature of patriotism. Therefore, to get the economic development of India as a whole, you must have behind it something like Indian patriotism. On the other hand, he held out South America to us as an example for the solution of the Indian problem. I confess, I was not altogether able to follow him. After all, when the present nations of South America came into existence over 100 years ago, that continent, nearly five times as large as India, was an empty continent; not only empty of population but, even more important, empty to history, with all its memories, conflicts and interlocking ambitions. The colonists who revolted from their European mother-countries were scattered along the coastline. They had no serious frontier difficulties. They had no communications which would enable an effective central government."

"Now, Sir", continued Mr. Amery, "If we want a nearer parallel to India, let us come nearer home to Europe and more particularly to those regions of Central and Eastern Europe which have not been shaped by long history into clearly separated nations, but where Teuton and Slav, Moslems and Christians, have been fighting it out for a thousand years; and where the disappearance of two great autocracies, the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire, have left behind not peace and progress, but twe terrible conflicts for which perhaps, the only ultimate solution is some possible form of European unity. Therefore, I should hesitate to say that we should, of deliberate purpose, jettison that Indian unity, which geography and 250 years of British influence have brought about.

### RIGHT OF UNITS TO SEPARATE UNDER CRIPPS SCHEME

"But it is just this inherent and unescapable complexity of the Indian situation", Mr. Amery observed, "which both precludes rigid unity and yet forbids complete severance. Though His Majesty's Government was bound to address itself to this when it framed those proposals that the Minister for Aircraft Production took out with him to India just over two years ago, the whole objective of those proposals was to enable India, after this war, to attain complete freedom to unfettered control of her own destiny in the world, whether within the free partnership of the British Commonwealth or even without it, and an agreed constitution of her own devising. It was obvious to us that only under an agreed constitution could at any rate some measure of Indian unity be preserved. Any constitution which was based on the coercion of such a powerful element as the Moslem majority in North-Western and North-Eastern India clearly could not have lasted, but would have been bound to break down in eruption and civil war. It was in order to secure unity by agreement and compromise, and not that we favoured partition, that we insisted on the right of the predominantly Muslim provinces—a right already conceded to the States—to stand outside any constitutional scheme which imperilled their culture and way of life or lowered their status. The same stipulation made it equally clear that we were not prepared to make non-agreement an excuse for indefinite postponement of Indian freedom.

### VICEROY'S RESERVE POWERS

"It is against this background of the indispensable conditions for the major problem of India's future constitution that we were further prepared," Mr. Amery continued, "for a bold and immediate advance by inviting party leaders to form the proposed Indian Government. Such a Government would necessarily have been under the existing constitution, that is to say, subject to the Viceroy's reserve power—a latent power that has never yet been exercised in the course of the last four years—but essential not only as a guarantee of continued loyal support of the war effort, but also as an actual guarantee to the minorities not only to a concrete and powerful element like the Moslems, but also other elements not so powerful as the Moslems. It is the only guarantee that a Government, once in power, would not use that vote to prejudge the constitutional future to their detriment.

### "BRITAIN STANDS BY THE CRIPPS PROPOSALS"

"A member asked for an assurance that the promises we made two years ago still hold good. I will readily give that assurance. His Majesty's Government stand by the proposals that we then laid before India, and before the world, in all

their generous amplitude. We shall stand by them in the hour of victory as we did in the days of adversity. The shifting fortunes of war have played no part in their inception and they cannot be limited in their fulfilment. For the sake of India's peace, we must stand by the indispensable conditions which accompany them. In answer to Sir John Wardlaw Milne, I can say that, on that main issue, there is no other declaration we can make.

### GANDHIJI'S OFEER TO MUSLIMS

"This brings me to Mr. Gandhi's recent gesture. The House will remember that, so far as India's future constitution is concerned, Mr. Rajagopalachari was the only Congress leader at that time prepared to admit the justice of our stipulation, that an agreed constitution could only be arrived at if the predominantly Muslim provinces were free to adhere or stand out. How far the formula is likely to be acceptable to the Moslem League which, I understand, is meeting in the next few days or, indeed, to Moslem or, for that matter, to Hindu opinion generally, is not yet clear. What is clear to my mind is that neither meticulous criticism nor uncritical commendation of Mr. Gandhi's proposal in this House will help what we all have at heart, namely, the removal of what is undoubtedly the greatest stumbling block in the way of an agreed foundation for India's constitutional future. We shall be wise to be content with the fact that an approach has been made".

### GANDHIJI'S STATEMENTS

Mr. Amery continued: "Apart from that particular issue which affects the future, Mr. Gandhi has, through press interviews and statements recently, expressed his views as to what he conceives to be the immediate solution. These statements are not free from obscurities and reservations on particular points. I do not need to go into those, for they are, in any case, all bound up with and dependant upon one central demand upon which he does not leave any room for ambiguity. That is, the demand for the immediate recognition of India's Independence under a Provisional Government, in which the only powers reserved to the Viceroy are those which deal with the control of active military operations. All reserve powers indispensable to ensure that the various functions of administration are co-ordinate with war effort and also those indispensable to safeguard the constitutional position for minority elements—all those are to disappear. Well, that is, after all, just the demand upon which the negotiations with the Congress broke down two years ago and were bound to break down. I will only invite the House to read Mr. Gandhi's statements side by side with those then issued by Congress leaders, to see that, in this respect, at any rate, there has been no real advance. Indeed, Mr, Gandhi now adds the further stipulation that India is to bear no part of the cost of her own defence. So long as those are the basis for his proposals, they obviously do not form even the starting point for a profitable discussion either with Lord Wavell or with the interned Congress leaders. They are, in no sense, a response to the Viceroy's invitation to Mr. Gandhi to produce constructive proposals. All we can do is to continue to hope that the time will come when we shall have before us proposals which will conform to conditions not arbitrarily imposed by us, but which are indispensable both because India is at war and because no agreed future constitution is yet in sight."

### SOUTH-EAST ASIA COMMAMD

Mr. Amery said that Mr. Clement Davies' detailed plan for an immediate solution of the Indian problem was based on bringing India under the South-East Asia Command. "I must remind the house that the South-East Asia Command and the India Command were one, up to not long ago, and were separated because tt was more than one organisation could manage to deal with both operational needs and the immense problems of administration involved in making India a recruiting and supply base for those operational needs. The operational needs are indeed already under international control. They are directed in the first instance, by the Combined Operations Staff in Washington. They have, as their background, the Pacific Council which, at the times when it has met in this country, has been attended by representatives of India on the War Cabinet. None of these things can get away from the fact that, India, as a base, is a single administrative unity in which all elements of Government must come together and, in so far as it is such a unity, then, the essential difficulties which I have already referred to in connection with the proposals by Sir Stafford Cripps, are still there and are, I fear, not brought appreciably nearer solution by what Mr. Clement Davies suggests.

### INDIAN ARMY EXPANSION

"However if the deadlock in the political field has not yet been resolved, there are other fields in which India has made great advances as well as encountered grave difficulties. Political leaders and their followers do not, after all, cover the whole infinite varied range of Indian life. Fighting forces too are in India and they embody a long glorious tradition of valour and loyalty. India's army has expanded from a nucleus of some 200,000 to over two million—the largest voluntary army in the world (cheers). That expansion has involved the stupendous task of equipment, supply organisation and training which could never have been accomplished without the resource and ingenuity of all concerned, British and Indian. No one has stated more emphatically than Lord Wavell, what he owes to his Indian divisions and Indian staffs in that first campaign in which, against an overwhelming army, he saved the Middle East and with it the Allied cause.

Indian divisions had, he said, won victories from the mountains of Abyssinia to the Apennines and from Damascus to the Arno. "Those who fought with them and those who fought against them have alike acknowledged their quality. Indian troops have held for the Allied cause the whole vast area of Iraq and Persia. They bore the brunt of our ill-fated retreats in Malaya and Burma and, to-day, they are effectively repaying old scores against the Japanese on the Burma front". Apart from that, there were some 200,000 serving overseas. In this unity in arms, racial and other differences between Indians and Europeans were transcended in one common brotherhood. There was no racial distinction in the army to-day. Some 35 per cent of its officers, a steadily increasing portion, were Indians. Those Indian officers have stood up well to the exacting demand of modern war. Mr. Amery said, "Some are already in command units and qualifying by their war experience, for higher commands in future years. Has not that fact a bearing on the underlying condition of India's future freedom, namely, acquisition of power to defend herself by her own forces under her own leaders? Has it no bearing on her future that, on demobilisation, something like half a million Indians will return to civilian life, who have been trained to technical service during war." That applied equally to the Royal Indian Navy and the Indian Air Force.

Mr. Amery gave figures showing the growth of Indian land, air and sea forces, and spoke of the immense contribution India had made to the Allied cause by the provision of munitions and military equipment and stores of all kinds.

### STRAIN ON INDIA'S ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

Mr. Amery continued, "Measured in terms of money, the material contribution of India has already amounted to some 500 million sterling. It has been an invaluable contribution. It has made a great contribution to India's industrial capacity and has also involved a great strain upon India's relatively primitive economic structure, upon her limited transport facilities and not less upon that mere handful of senior civil servants, British and Indian. How they have stood up to their work over all these years is a thing this House ought to recognise. That economic strain was enormously accentuated after Japan entered the war and by the ever-increasing difficulty of furnishing India with imported consumer goods to match the ever-growing production for outside and the development of her industries for war purposes. That steadily increasing disparity between expenditure and consumption for the first two and a half years was so held in check that the wholesale prices only rose by 50 per cent. After the entry of Japan into the war, prices advanced in the course of 12 months by something like a 100 per cent, accentuated not only by the lack of goods but by lost confidence headed by a civil disturbance. It is to meet that situation that the Government of India has taken very vigorous measures over wide fields.

Mr. Amery mentioned also that India, in the last two years, had borrowed £326 millions internally, a sum by no means contemptible when judged by the extra-ordinarily limited surplus wealth which existed in India. Everything had been done to increase the import of consumer goods, including quantities of standard cloth, and drastic steps have been taken to see that it got on the market. He mentioned the selling of gold on the Indian market and the silver lent by the United States to ease the inflationary strain. As a result of these measures, the price leavels had now been held steady for a whole year, and were lower than in any country in the Middle East.

"But the position is one which needs watching with the utmost care. By far the gravest consequences of the strain imposed upon India's economy has been the strain on the food situation. That has been and will continue to be, quite apart

from the war, an increasingly serious problem. It has, of course, been greatly aggravated by war conditions, by the cessation of normal imports of rice from Burma. By the general uncertainty of the military situation and political disturbances and no less, by the effect of inflation on the vast population of rural producer consumers who have been reluctant to sell their surpluses, seeing that their need for consumer goods could not be satisfied at reasonable prices or even satisfied at all".

### Bengal Famine

Regarding Bengal famine, Mr. Amery mentioned the appointment of a Commission to investigate the famine in Benal, paid a tribute to its Chairman and other members for their exceptional knowledge of Indian affairs and added that its terms not only covered the past, but, what was more important the future. Its investigations would later cover the whole wider problem of famine in the provinces over the whole of India. "In any case, there can be no dispute as to the broad fact. A dreadful fact, that, in Bengal, last year, something like 700,000 human beings died as the consequence directly of starvation or, to a much larger extent, to the effect of the ever-present endemic diseases on constitutions impaired by under-nourishment. There was a record rice harvest in January and the fear of recurrence of last year's famine in Bengal has definitely receded. Following on Lord Wavell's decisive intervention—to which a tribute has rightly been paid—the very first act of his Viceroyalty—and with the ability and energy of the new Governor, Mr. Casey at the disposal of the Bengal Ministry in their efforts to grapple with the situation, real progress has been made. The valuable help of the Army, particularly in regard to transport for distribution, has been continued and river and canal boats removed in 1942 for fear of a Japanese invasion have been restored," Mr. Amery observed. On the health side he gave details of hospital provisions and referred to the decline in the cholera epidemic. After mentioning the allocations of medicine, he said that last year there were undoubtedly serious local shortages owing to inadequate distribution arrangements. "I will not claim" he added "that even now the arrangements are entirely satisfactory, but at any rate the situation in this respect has been greatly improved."

### Food Distribution and Control Measures

Turning to the work of the Central Government, Mr. Amery said that the Centre worked away steadily at creating effective and reasonably uniform control, distribution and food prices throughout India. The difficulties which originally delayed effective co-operation between the Central Government and the Provinces had been progressively overcome.

"No measure", Mr. Amery added, "taken within India's own confines, would be wholly adequate to secure the best possible distribution of the internal resources and the confidence, which is essential for that purpose without some measure of help from without. It is not only that India was already an importing country before the war and that its population has since grown by twenty millions, but the immense increase in the armed forces, more particularly from this country and the United States, had added to what is in effect another province—a consuming but not a producing province—to the problem of food supply. The House can rest assured that neither the Government of India nor His Majesty's Government has failed to be alive to that aspect of the question of any moment in the last two years. The House has been told that some 300,000 tons of wheat will have been shipped to India in the year ending this September. I fully realise that the Indian Central Food Advisory Council have expressed disappointment with these figures, as compared with their own standard of one million tons a year of importation, with half a million added for reserve. That is a point that is only natural in view of India's own great anxiety, but the pre-occupations of His Majesty's Government over an even wider field are no less anxious and critical. There never seems to be a limit to the urgent demand for shipping and it is only by the closest scrutiny of the situation from quarter to quarter that those responsible can manage to scrape together the ships required of any great task."

"The question of finding shipping for further consignments of grain to India," said Mr. Amery, "is at this moment under the active consideration of the technical service directly concerned". On what he called the greatest of all problems—how to enable her natural resources and increased efficiency in their utilisation and in the development of new industries to raise the standard of living and production, he said, "There is no other way of bringing happiness to India's teeming millions or giving to India as a whole material strength and revenue, without which political independence would be little more than nominal. Mere numbers do not constitute either wealth or strength. Unless they are matched by increased efficiency, they are

indeed the greatest menace to all efforts to raise the standard of living or sustain political freedom.

### DEVELOPMENT SCHEMES

"I agree heartily with Prof. Hill", Mr. Amery observed, "that there are elements in the problem which depend on social customs and religious pre-conceptions, which can only be dealt with by a slow process of education and a gradual change of outlook. That is all the more reason for bold and prompt action in a field in which Government can hope to produce early results. How urgent this has been is shown not only by the recent famine and anxiety about the food situation generally, but also by the progressive deterioration of the position shown by statistics.

After giving details of the £750 million agricultural development plan, Mr. Amery claimed that the Government of India could certainly not be charged with any lack of courage and imagination in facing the problem of India's agricultural development. The Government of India was bound to turn to agriculture first and foremost, because it was and must always be the mainstay of the great majority of her population. Industrial expansion could make an immense contribution to India's prosperity by balancing India's economy through furnishing a market, which could absorb a great part of the output of India's agriculture. In that respect, India was already the eighth industrial country in the world. India stood to-day undoubted on the eve of a great industrial advance.

"To that industrial advance accompanied, as I hope it will be, by corresponding social advance we here can only wish well," proceeded Mr. Amery. "The day has long gone by, when British industrialists tended to look upon India as their own preserve and to look upon Indian industry as an uneconomic intrusion on their domain. On the contrary I have found whenever I have discussed this problem with our own industrialists, universal readiness to welcome India's industrial progress, a universal desire to lend their co-operation in helping forward that progress and a confident conviction that in the growth of India's prosperity, there will always be an opportunity for British trade, provided we supply India with what she needs, and not simply with what we have been accustomed to sell in the past."

Mr. Amery said how strongly that vision of India's industrial future had appealed to her imagination was shown by the eager reception accorded to the plan put forward by a group of Bombay Industrialists. An even bolder plan laying greater emphasis on agriculture than on social reform has been put forward by the Indian Federation of Labour. What mattered in these schemes was the boldness of their conception. The Government of India had shown no sign of failure to appreciate the greatness of the opportunity before it in this respect.

Continuing, Mr. Amery said: "As Mr. Pethick Lawrence has truly said, progress in other directions cannot be fully sustained if there is a fundamental disequilibrium in the political structure. All I want to say is that these reforms are the essential requirements to provide the material foundations of the individual standard of living and collective resources, without which Indian freedom would mean very little, either at home or in relation to the outside world. At any rate, there can be no reason for not pushing ahead with these reforms, while conditions for a political solution are maturing, so that at whatever stage the new constitution comes into being, no time will have been lost in giving it the best possible start, nor is it too much to hope that in the light of practical difficulties and the immense opportunities for Indian reconstruction, even political difficulties may find a truer perspective in relation to the immense political opportunity before Indian statesmen."

"I am voicing the general sentiments expressed in the course of this debate", Mr. Amery added, "when I say that we look forward undoubtedly to the satisfaction of India's natural aspirations to unfettered control of her destiny as a partner in the British Commonwealth and as a member of the comity of nations, fully worthy to stand as equal with any nation in the world (cheers). We all look forward to that and we also wish her to start on that new chapter of her history, under the most favourable auspices possible—at peace within herself and secure from aggression from without and some measure of unity is essential for that purpose—able to play her part in contributing to the peace of the world, able to make her contribution to the welfare and to the culture and the thought of the world and enjoying in ever-increasing measure prosperity, health and happiness." (cheers:)

# The International Monetary Conference

## India's Proposals Rejected

India's second proposal to the International Monetary Conference at Brettonwood (New Hampsire) was rejected on the 6th July 1944. It was an amendment presented by *Sir Shanmukham Chetty*, regarding the help through the proposed world money fund to economically backward nations, such as India, China and others.

Sir Shanmukham said : "I am greatly disappointed at the attitude of the conference, and especially the United States delegation, towards the Indian amendment seeking to mention specifically resources of economically backward countries as objectives of the policy enunciated in the joint statement on the fund."

He explained : "The statement refers to balanced growth of international trade and maintenance of high level of employment as the definite objective in the working of the fund. It is stated that in these terms it does not meet the case of backward countries like India and China. The mere growth in volume of international trade will not necessarily benefit those backward countries."

Sir Shanmukhan Chetty elaborated that expanded imports and exports between Europe and America, for example, would not benefit Asiatic countries. He maintained that the fund only provided for European and some South American countries, which have already established industry but need to reconstruct and develop it. He said that the fund did not provide for the setting up of new industries such as India propose to do. Sir Shanmukham Chetty said : "What India aims at is more balanced International trade, meaning that India should also be in a position to produce and export finished goods. If the standard of life of the vast millions in Asia is to be raised, these countries must be helped to industrialise themselves on a large scale. A purely agricultural country cannot raise its standard of living."

He declared : "The Indian amendment was intended to enable these countries to get help from the United States and the United Kingdom in suplying those capital goods needed for industrial expansion. The position taken by the Indian delegation was consistent with the objectives of economic policy as stated by Mr. Morgenthan in his opening address to the conference." Sir Shanmukham Chetty then quoted Mr. Morgenthau as saying "world prosperity can only be built up by an increasing number of prosperous customers, and prosperity like peace is indivisible."

Sir Shanmukham stated : "The Indian delegation attempted through the amendment to translate this noble sentiment into practice. To our surprise and disappointment our amendment was opposed by the United States delegation."

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# The British Labour Party Conference

## Demand for Release of Indian Leaders

A big surprise was caused at the Labour Party Conference in London on the 15th December 1944 when, in defiance of the Executive, who opposed it, delegates carried a resolution on India which called for the release of Indian political leaders to facilitate negotiations to end the deadlock.

When the Labour Party Conference resumed to-day a composite resolution on India, submitted by the National Union of Railwaymen, was debated. The resolution declared : "This Conference, being of the opinion that the granting of freedom to the people of India to establish an independent Indian National Government will be a decisive factor in the fight against Fascism and towards the unification of all anti-Fascist forces, urges the immediate ending of the political deadlock by negotiations with all leaders of the Indian people, with a view to the formation of a responsible National Government which will rally the entire population in India to the anti-Fascist cause. With a view to facilitating the negotiations we call for the release of Indian Political leaders."

Mr. *Charles Bridges* moving the resolution, said that India was like a great running sore in the side of the British Commonwealth of Nations. The Executive sent a deputation to Mr. Amery and put their point of view, and there the problem seemed to have been left. The Viceroy, in his speech in Calcutta, said that the Government of India has done everything they possibly could and the next move must come from the Indian side. How could negotiations be conducted from the Indian side if the people who could put forward the Indian views were inside prison dungeons ? If the resolution was carried, he expected to see the Executive taking a much firmer line in the matter.

Mr. Bridges added: "We can be a great nation. Our battle-ships can go from sea to sea, and our armies from land to land. But as long as this poverty and destitution and this terrible situation exists in India, it is a blot on the whole community in this country and the Labour movement. We must throw our energy into this fight. The Indian problem is as great a problem for the Labour movement, as any of the great domestic problems which have been before the Conference this week.

The Member of Parliament for West Leyton, Mr. *R. Sorensen*, said that we should release Indian political prisoners who for years without charge or trial had been languishing in custody.

A prospective candidate for the Sutton division of Plymouth, Mrs. *Luch Middleton*, said: "The key to the Indian problem is in Downing Street and it lies in the hands of one man alone. Mr. Churchill can go to Quebec, Washington, Casablanca, Teheran and Moscow. If the Government are really in earnest with regard to India, why cannot Mr. Winston Churchill go to Delhi as well and there meet the Indian leaders."

The Constructional Engineering Union put forward a resolution declaring that no time should be lost in resuming negotiations, with the ultimate object of India being given a place in the British Commonwealth of Nations similar to that enjoyed by other partners.

### INTERRUPTIONS GREET COMMITTEE SPOKESMAN

When *Professor Laski* called upon Mr. *James Walker*, Member of Parliament, to reply for the Executive, a delegate shouted, "I protest against Mr. Walker being called up to speak on this. He is an unfit representative of the British Working class." Professor *Laski* immediately jumped to his feet and said. "You sit down and don't be insulting. The Executive is the body appropriate for choosing those whom it wishes to speak on its behalf." The delegate again tried to protest, but *Prof. Laski* said: "You have no basis in your protest except in your natural insolence to Mr. Walker."

When he rose to speak, Mr. *Walker* said: 'I am sorry there are some people in the hall who do not seem to like me very much. If they do not like me, because I have the habit of speaking in a forthright manner about some things they come to the rostrum and talk about—well, they will just have to put up with it. They ought to be able to take as well as give in our debates".

Mr. Walker said that the Executive accepted the resolution of the Constructional Engineering Union. They opposed the resolution of the National Union of Railwaymen, because it carried the conference much further than the past declarations. In effect it would mean we quitted India to-morrow. None of the Allied nations, including Russia, would wish us to quit India before the Japanese were defeated. Great Britain must carry our duty to Indians as well as to Burmese and defeat the Japanese in order to give India a chance for political self-government. The Cripps Offer had the backing of the Labour Ministers in the Government and it stood to-day. When the Indian political parties formulated a constitution it would be carried out. The British Government would cease to have any governing authority in India and India would possess full and complete self-government.

### SUPPORT FOR RADICAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY

There had arisen, Mr. Walker said, another party in India—the Radical Democratic Party. The Radical Democratic Party, a working class party, stood for the same objects as the Labour Party—the lifting of standards of life of the working class of India. It was not subsidised by the Government of India. It wanted free self-government for India and was demanding an extension of franchise for every citizen in India so that a complete Democratic India could be evolved. These people were gaining strength all over India. "The Executive yields to none in its determination to bring about self-government for India, but we do not believe that we shall be carrying out our duty to the Labour movement in this country, or to the people of India, if we simply adopt the irresponsible attitude of washing our hands of the whole affair and leaving Indians to settle it themselves in the only way it would be settled when people feel so strongly."

After *Prof. Laski* declared the result of the voting on the resolution, there was an uproar for several minutes. One delegate shouted to Mr. Walker, "Put that in your pipe and smoke it". Mr. Walker reported: "I can take all that comes to me, and you can't." This was the second time during the week that the Conference had acted against the wishes of the Executive.

# The Convocation Addresses

## The Mysore University Convocation

### The following are extracts from the Convocation Address delivered by Rajadharmapravina Diwan Bhadur K. S. Chandrasekhara Aiyar on *September 30th, 1944.*

Gathering up the varied advantages you have gained under the fostering care of your Alma Mater, you are, most of you, about to pass into a wider world where you will come under new conditions, which will impose unaccustomed duties and responsibilities, but also offer enlarged freedom and scope for talent and initiative. The subject of first interest to a young man about to start in life is naturally the search for a career. This, at all times a somewhat difficult matter, has in these later decades become increasingly hard. While education, both secondary and higher, has made fairly rapid expansion, there has not been a corresponding increase in the available openings for the products of such education. Every avenue of employment from Government Service to the independent professions, is or is on the way to become overcrowded. The development of trade and industry, till quite recently, has been too slow to absorb more than a very small percentage of the qualified unemployed.

In most countries it is coming to be recognized that large scale unemployment is a very grave social evil, which can only be effectively tackled by the full use of the authority and resources of the State. To fit educated youth with appropriate occupation has always been a rather perplexing task. In the peculiar circumstances of India it is one of special urgency and importance. The intelligence and energy of young manhood must have sufficient and suitable outlet. If legitimate openings are denied, then the temptation to follow out rash and reckless courses may prove difficult to resist.

There are people who, lamenting what they regard as the over-production of graduates, would counter the phenomenon by making education more costly and difficult, especially in its higher grades. A few would not hesitate to restrict admission to schools and colleges in drastic ways, leaving the disappointed many to shift for themselves. Not a few would take away from higher education what is at present one of its chief attractions, namely, as a gateway for merit to the better paid appointments in the public service. Some would be content with insisting on special or additional qualifications as a means of reducing competition and at the same time for ensuring greater efficiency among those employed. Others would narrow the range of selection, without particular reference to efficiency by means of communal ratios and class preferences. Needless to say, devices which serve but to contract, instead of enlarging the prospects of employment for large numbers, will only aggravate the real evil.

Ways and means for relieving the tragedy of unwanted and idle talent cannot be indefinitely put off. The task of finding suitable remedies, which will not narrow the benefits of higher education, requires to be taken up seriously and in a broad-minded spirit. The matter is one which concerns alike the Government, the University, and the public. The primary responsibility, naturally, rests with the Government, as the supreme guardian of the interests and welfare of the people, not to speak of its unique position as the largest employer of labour and intelligence. It is up to the University to consider, among other things, how far its courses of instruction can be endowed with a greater measure of relevancy to the after-careers of pupils. The fact that some of the existing courses, as in Medicine and Engineering, do directly lead to professional competency, is sufficient proof that the equipping of students for practical life is not beyond the purview of recognized schemes of study. An immediately practicable and useful departure would be the institution of new or alternative courses with a definite vocational utility or trend, to which pupils with little or no aptitude for academic subjects could be switched off at the proper stages. This would have the incidental advantage of relieving the occasional over-crowding and congestion in some of the classes, and also of obviating the not uncommon spectacle of melancholy processions of students wandering from class to class and from college to college in the search for admittance. Then there is the very helpful part which can be played by public bodies, industrial organizations, and classes and individuals generally who are possessed of influence and patronage,—

if their sympathy and co-operation be enlisted—in providing attractive openings for an increasing number of University men.

In the meantime, you the new fledged graduates can but make the best of the situation. This is rather better at the moment than it might have been, because of the great demand for trained personnel for services connected with the War. The choice of a profession is, when all is said, an individual matter, dependent on necessity, opportunity and personal inclination, just as much as in the matter of choosing a partner for life. It scracely lends itself to practical advice of a general kind. But I will say this, that you should not make a haphazard choice, led by an idle desire to follow a beaten track, or drift from lack of imagination and energy into the first opening that offers; nor should you be influenced solely by the pecuniary or other superficial attractions. It is at least as important as anything else for your future happiness and success that the profession of your choice is congenial to your interests and your temperament, and that it is one for which you have the requisite aptitude and capabilities. Once you have made your choice, you have of course to stick to it and make it the serious business of your life. You should gain mastery of its rules and principles, its unwritten standards and conventions, and spare neither time nor patience to acquire skill and readiness in applying your knowledge. I need hardly add that, in striving for success, you will use such means only as are strictly honourable and as your better nature will approve.

What work you undertake (and this applies equally to work outside your profession) must be done as well as you can; to ensure this, you must refrain from taking on more than you can efficiently deal with. The temptation to overstrain the energies is one to which ambitious young men are prone; but it must be firmly resisted. You cannot afford to neglect the requirements of physical health in the stress of professional labour. Business success and a comfortable bank balance are poor compensations for an enfeebled constitution and diminished capacity for the rational enjoyment of the good things of life. A too close and pertinacious attention to the call of business is apt to get a person into a narrow groove. The springs of culture will stagnate and eventually dry up, if you cut yourselves away from the refining influence of art and music, if you neglect those humanizing studies which serve to broaden the mind and help it to remain fresh and alert, and make no serious attempt to keep abreast of the trends of advancing knowledge.

You must not be like those short-sighted and self-centred persons who are so engrossed in themselves or in the making of money that they have no time to spare for their duties as citizens and members of society. The education which you have received brings with it fresh opportunities and also added responsibilities. Instead of being the recipients of the influence of others, you will from henceforth stand in positions whence your own influence will largely tell upon others. Your new responsibilities cannot be properly discharged unless you take a keen interest in the events and movements of the day, and keep yourselves conversant with important questions affecting the country and the people. Your minds must be receptive of new facts and new ideas, and able to appreciate other points of view than your own. But do not be carried away by catch-words and party-cries, and do not slavishly echo a more forceful person's voice. No self-respecting person with pretensions to education will blindly accept ready-made opinions, from whatever source, be it a book or newspaper or platform orator. It is best in every way to form your own independent judgment on the data available to you. Only as you can stand firmly on your own feet and see your own way clearly will you be in a position to give a sound lead to others who may look up to you for advice or guidance.

Leadership is not a matter of possessing a following, however numerous and influential, but implies a certain capacity for constructive direction. No country can attain to greatness without leaders wise as well as valiant; but no country need despair as long as its seats of learning can produce men and women of vision and sanity of judgment, with the intellect, character and physical vigour which will fit them to guide their fellows aright. Never were the services of such more urgent and pressing that at this supreme moment when India's destiny is in the balance; and the need is not confined to politics, but extends to all other spheres of national life. The hour often finds the man; and it may be that some of you, the products of this University, are cast for that arduous role.

At any rate, it can be said of most of you and your generation that, through the corporate life of school and college, the friendly rivalry and the team spirit of games, the intelligent participation in debates and discussions, the activities and

amenities made possible by the University Union s social work among the poor outside the University walls, and things such as these, you have had useful preparations, not only for leadership, but for that which is no less important, the capacity for concerted action. Nothing great or lasting can be accomplished in social life without willing and organized co-operation. Given this and the spirit of mutual accommodation, which is prepared to yield on unessential points of difference in order to secure unanimity on essentials, there is practically no limit to what can be achieved in the way of national unity and well-being.

Even the communal disagreements which have grown into such regrettable prominence in recent years should be amenable to friendly settlement in an atmosphere of reciprocity and neighbourly understanding and consideration; the more so because they are not to any large extent due to religious causes, but are grounded mainly on divergences of motive and viewpoint affecting social, economic and political interests. A reasonable spirit of genuine compromise has, at all events, better chances of composing differences of this kind than mutual denunciation or one-sided appeasement.

There are many directions, besides sectional politics, in which the public spirit of educated youth may find ample scope for useful service. To help the illiterate masses to rise above their age-long condition of stagnation is a great mission, increasing in importance with the growth of the national spirit in India. It requires organized effort, not through paid officials alone, but to a large extent by voluntary agency, devoted to the spreading of popular education and enlightenment, the improvement of traditional methods of agriculture and industry, and the raising of the general standards of living. Another fruitful field is the reform of injurious social customs which, having largely outlived their original purpose and utility, now hamper progress or cause needless humiliation or suffering. Life must be made worth living for all; and the first step towards this is to alter or eliminate, in a spirit of cautious firmness, all such sources of mischief as offend against that supreme ideal. The elevation of the status of womanhood is a third great sphere in which there is need for sympathetic and concerted action. The seclusion of women, with its apotheosis of the purdah, is bound to disappear, as it is indeed already doing. The fact that there are so many of them among the new graduates is itself a significant indication of a better time coming. In that auspicious future women will surely play an increasingly useful part in social and public life. This makes it all the more necessary that their facilities for education should be amplified, and that it should be on lines appropriate and adapted to their place and functions in the home and outside. Women should undoubtedly have a just measure of property rights (—a matter in which the Mysore State was the first to take legislative action—), and likewise an adequate part and voice in public affairs.

There are, of course, various other lines of progress, which will suggest themselves to you. But in the case of all alike, their significance and effect at a time like the present can only be realized by viewing them, not independently by themselves, but against the great background of national rehabilitation. For we are living in one of those momentous periods of revolutionary change which come in the wake of a protracted and devastating war.

The greatest War of all time is swiftly moving to its climax. Already, while it has lasted, it has inflicted untold misery and suffering on millions, and spread death and destruction on a scale hitherto undreamt of. Its influence on moral standards, whether between nations or among individuals, has not been altogether beneficial. But, as against this, it has served to quicken many virtues usually dormant, such as fortitude, fellow-feeling, intense love of country, heroism, self-sacrifice. It has in many different ways changed the aspect of civilization; and more than this, it has altered the angle from which men are accustomed to view their own interests and those of their fellows.

War is no blessing even in disguise; but it has some mitigating features, and so is not an unmixed evil. It can be placed to its credit than it makes possible large-scale innovations and advancements which, but for it, would never have been attempted. This present conflagration has compressed into the space of a very few years developments—scientific, mechanical, economic, and other—which might have taken centuries to bring about. Against the dislocation of established conditions of life, the inflation and scarcity, the vexatious restrictions on individual freedom, and the over-widening control over private action and discretion, may be set the fact that it has led to a far-reaching process of nationalization of essential material assets and of the enlistment of human intelligence and inventiveness in the common cause. In these and other ways the War has helped to

demonstrate the almost unlimited possibilities of organized planning and co-ordinated activity. It is no exaggeration to say that, if all those tremendous efforts, those unequalled resources and talents, that concentration of enthusiasm, self-denial and determination, which have been devoted to the supreme purpose of winning the War, could be diverted, when it is won, to the restoration and reconstruction of national existence on a wide front, mankind would find itself lifted to an almost unimaginable level of well-being and prosperity. The result cannot but be improved, both in performance and in quality, by the fact that it would be brought about, not by fear and compulsion as in war time, but mainly by willing co-operation and free initiative functioning within a comprehensive and approved national plan.

Several countries have already taken up in right earnest the vital and complex question of post-war reconstruction. In India the time cannot be far off when she will be in a position to manage her own affairs, and there will rise a vast number of problems clamouring for attention. Those of you who can should begin from even now a close study of these problems and the manner in which they were being tackled elsewhere. No doubt, circumstances vary from country to country; but it should be possible to learn something from the example and experience of other peoples, and occasionally even to profit from their mistakes. Soviet Russia affords the most striking instance in history of what resolute national planning can do in entirely changing the social and economic character of a vast territory with racial, political and other conditions somewhat resembling those we have here. In not more than twenty years, at a time too when the imminence of war had not begun to act as a goad, Russia's far-sighted leaders achieved a complete industrial and agricultural revolution, which has reacted powerfully on the cultural and all other aspects of the national life. It has also, beyond a doubt, put Russia in a position to wage a gigantic war, with ever mounting and impressive success, againt a powerful and ruthless enemy. Nazi Germany, it is true, achieved equally spectacular results in an even shorter interval; but she did this through much more questionable totalitarian methods, and then employed the resulting strength and resources for unscrupulous purposes of aggrandizement and oppression. A notable illustration of bold and statesmanlike planning, on a comparatively limited scale confined to social security problems is the famous Beveridge plan, which is still under discussion in Britain and has not yet been implemented. Here in India various important matters, such as educational reform, agricultural improvement, increased food production, famine prevention, public health, marketing and transport facilities, the extended use of machinery and distribution of power, monetary stabilization, and so on, are being considered by special committees and departments. Notable spade work, some of which has already attracted much interest, has been done in the same field by able and experienced public men and bodies. You will have plenty of material, therefore, in the way of results and recommendations, to study, digest and form your own opinions upon.

Meanwhile, if you yourselves are hoping to take some useful and active part in building the India of the future, you will have to make very clear to yourselves what is the sort of future you are looking forward to. It is not one in which not only will more wealth be created, but that wealth will be more widely and equitably distributed; where effective measures will be put in hand for eliminating those great enemies of progress—poverty, ignorance, disease, and compulsory idleness; where standards of living and comfort will be generally raised, the purchasing power of masses materially increased, and the duty of finding work for the able and willing accepted as a national obligation? Would you not claim for all persons no less than for yourselves a due measure of life's opportunities, in the way of ensuring to each individual the full development of his personality, of providing him with such vocational training as may be suited to this capacity and aptitude, and thereafter of putting him in the way to obtain appropriate occupation? Would you tolerate social arrangements which imposed or perpetuated artificial inequalities not related to merit or character, or interfered needlessly with legitimate form of self-expression? Would you not require of any future polity that may be evolved that it should be democratic in spirit and substance, that it should safeguard the fundamental rights of free citizenship, and that it should give to you and others like you a proper voice in the ordering of matters touching your own interests, local, personal and social? It is questions like these which you must put to yourselves and consider in all sobriety; for upon the answer to them will depend the kind of world you will be helping to build, and the conditions and materials you will contribute to the work of reconstruction.

It may, possibly, occur to some among you whether, in the circumstances in

which our country is placed, it would not be best to follow the method the of wise architect, and build from the bottom upwards, securing the foundations, instead of from roofing to ground level. The work might begin with a real and substantial extension of the democratic principle of self-government to the smallest units of popular life and common interest,- the village, township, factory, or, in general terms, the compact and convenient neighbourhood. This would leave to the people themselves the management of their own immediate concerns, and at the same time serve as basis for further devolutions of collective responsibility on larger and larger groups. The process would find its natural culmination in the autonomous State, founded on affinities of language, manners and customs, and cemented by the bonds of loyalty and constitutional rule. A broad framework of self-government in ascending stage of expansion will, without doubt, be capable of supporting the vast dome of a great Indian Union, offering ample shelter for all peoples and all varieties of culture, and abundant inducement for that close partnership among free and equal States which is necessary for internal soliditary and external security. The very substantial advantages evolved during a hundred and fifty years and more of the British connection, in the way of a coherent political structure and a growing identity of national interests throughout the vast geographical unity of India, should not be lightly abandoned without adequate substitutes being provided. On the other hand, the independence which consists in the self-sufficient isolation of a number of rival sovereignties jealous of each other is not perhaps the safest guarantee of national freedom.

This takes us to a region more or less of uncertainty and speculation ; and so I stop, my object being simply to make you think about various vital questions for yourselves. The future may not altogether conform to your expectations. It is nearly always the case that visions are rosier in prospect than in realization, and that achievement falls far short of the ideal. But this does not detract from their value as objective and as inspiration. A clear conception of things not yet in being will itself tend to invest them with substance and shape. Without the uplifting power of our ideals we should be but as creatures crawling on the ground. The greatest men of all nations, the outstanding leaders, the spiritual teachers, the famous heroes, the selfless benefactors, all have been in their own way idealist but with a strong sense of reality ; in other words, they were dynamic personalities.

Youth is eminently the season of hopes and ideals. It is true enough that disillusionment often follows in their wake,—it may be because the hopes are pitched too high and beyond the measure of one's capacity, it may be because the ideals are insufficiently tempered with the elements of good sense and hard fact. But not on that account should you underrate their importance. Entertain lofty aspirations, cultivate generous ideals, but give to them the sharp edge of discipline and practical knowledge ; faith and confidence will then bring accomplishment within reach.

The world into which you, my young friends, are about to go forth may be full of difficulties and discouragements ; but the resolute mind will find in it sufficient room for personal advancement and distinction, and abundant scope for unselfish service. You may not all of you, or all the time, win worldly success ; but you can and should always strive for something much better, the approbation of your own conscience. Use your opportunities, then, well and worthily, and in a manner befitting your new position and standing. Preserve by your attitude and by your conduct in life the best traditions of your University. In its name and and on its behalf I bid you farewell, wishing every one of you pleasant, useful, and honourable future.

# The Travancore University Convocation

**The following are extracts from the address delivered at the Sixth Convocation by *Sir V. T. Krishnamachari, K. C. I. E., (Retired Dewan of Baroda)* on Saturday, the 11th November 1944 :—**

The war is now nearing its end and victory is in sight ; and we are entering upon an age of reconstruction in which the basic ideas on which civilisation rests are being tested so that a new order may be evolved. All over the world, men's minds are thinking "of 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 live out their lives in freedom from fear and want." In our own country plans of post-war development, economic and social, embracing all aspects of national life are being drawn up by the governments, with the object of raising the deplorably low standards of living. As His Excellency Lord Wavell has said: "We must lift the poor man of India from poverty to security; from ill-health to vigour; from ignorance to understanding." These plans are not ideals to be realised as and when circumstances permit, but definite projects to be executed within the shortest period of time, and everywhere ample financial reserves are being built up to enable this to be done. The plans include within their scope agriculture, including Animal husbandry, Forests, and Fisheries; industries, major and minor: communications; electric power; and social services in which are comprised education on a nation-wide scale with provision for compulsion for boys and girls between the ages of 6 and 14; medical relief, public health etc. The governments of advanced Indian States have also taken their share in this great movement. The Travancore government have given a notable lead; as you know, they have prepared very comprehensive plans for post-war improvements and are accumulating a reserve fund, which is expected to amount to nearly rupees eight crores, for their execution. All this means that a much more extended use will be made of science and scientific research than in the past; and graduates in India will be called upon to play a great part in this difficult task of rebuilding the level of national life.

In many respects graduates of recent years of this and other universities in India will be more fortunate than those that completed their studies before the war. Many of these latter were faced by the daily spectre of unemployment; the depression that prevailed in 1929 and the following years made it extremely difficult for them to obtain positions in which they could utilise for the benefit of their countrymen the knowledge they gained in the universities at so much sacrifice. Happily, this soul-killing experience will not be yours. On the other hand, there will be much difficulty in securing, in sufficient numbers, the qualified men needed by the governments in India for their plans of reconstruction, As Professor Hill has said:—"The first of India's scientific needs is to strengthen and expand education and research in biological sciences, in medicine and its associated subjects, in physiology and biochemistry, in genetics and all applications of biology to fisheries, agriculture, public health, pest-control, animal and plant diseases and forestry. There must also be better facilities for teaching and research in Physics, Chemistry, Metallurgy and Engineering without which industrial prosperity could not be obtained." Provincial Governments and States should regard it as their first concern to establish a sufficient number of institutions for the purposes described by Prof. Hill, so that reconstruction may not be impeded. What is important is the widest diffusion of the scientific spirit and the new order of values it creates. Nor will the need for the social science—sociology, philosophy etc.—be less insistent. Many of India's problems are social and the readjustment of an old social order to suit modern conditions will demand trained thinkers in large numbers. As has been well said "Contemporary society is veined with the blood of science; no aspect of life remains unaffected."

No form of social service is nobler than that of assisting the masses of India to a better life. This privilege will be yours and I wish you all every success in whatever capacity it may fall to you to take part in this great endeavour. Only one thing is important; what you undertake, you must do in the true spirit of service, as a labour of love.

I now come to another topic which is much in the minds of all of us today—the constitutional problem of India.

India has been offered the full status of a Dominion in the proposals of the War Cabinet made in March 1942—the Cripps proposals. This offer stands. The conception of Dominion Status represents the high watermark political thought has hitherto reached. As you will recall, the report of the Inter-Imperial Relations Committee of 1926 describes the group of self-governing communities composed of Great Britain and the Dominions in the following terms:—"They are autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations." The basic ideas underlying the conception are: Firstly, Great Britain and the Dominions are associated on a footing of complete freedom and equality. Every community is at liberty to develop according to its own genius and tradition. Secondly, the common link is the Crown which is the symbol of the unity of the Commonwealth and an integral part of the constitution of each one of them,

Thirdly, unity of political action is not secured by control of policy by Britain or by legal or constitutional provisions, but is based on the possession of common ideals. The British Commonwealth has always been a powerful influence for peace; and it is the pattern on which a world order for securing peace can be evolved.

My convication is that India can attain its highest political destiny as a Dominion. As a result of the British connection India has achieved a sense of unity which did not exist before. The British rule has enabled us to check the fissiparous tendencies in our society and evolve a sense of common citizenship. India has also imbibed from the Brirish connection the love of freedom and rule of law which are at the root of the conception of Dominion Status. Besides, modern India has been considerably influenced by British culture and thought, British history, and British political institutions. The war has shown the kinship of ideals in the fundamentals of life between Britain and India. When in the "Testament of Beauty" the poet refers to the democratic way of life and says that :—

"The high goal of our great endeavour
Is spiritual attainment, individual worth,
At all cost to be sought and at all cost pursued,
To be won at all cost and at all cost assured."

he expresses the central teaching of Indian thought.

9. The late Mr. C. R. Das welcomed the goal of Dominion Status for reasons which he explained thus :—"To me the idea is specially attractive because of its deep spriritual significance. I believe in world peace, the ultimate federation of the world and I think that the great Commonwealth of Nations called the British Empire—a federation of diverse races, eaeh with its distinct life, distinct civilisation and distinct mental outlook if properly led with statesmen at the helm, is bound to make a lasting contribution to the problem of knitting the world into the federation of the human race. I think it is for the good of India, for the good of the world that India should strive for freedom within the commonwealth."

There is another aspect. India is the test of the commonwealth principle, If the principle is applied to India—with history, culture and traditions different from those of Britain and the Dominions—it would be one of the supreme achievements of history; and India as a Dominion will be a link between the civilisations of the East and West: "It would build a bridge of understanding" between the two civilisations.

The establi shment of a Dominion constitution for India immediately on the the cessation of hostilities should be the joint effort of Britain and India. I am confident that the best minds in both countries working together can bring about agreement on essentials among the important elements in India's life. If this be not possible the procedure should be that followed in regard to the Act of 1935. The British Government should arbitrate on the outstanding issues and all parties must accept the awards till they are replaced by agreed solutions.

At the same time, we in India should realise that the war has radically changed the character of our internal problem and that we should now re-examine it in a new setting and from a fresh point of view. I shall mention two important considerations.

In the first place, the world has become one in a real sense and its parts, however remote, are closely linked. As Mr. Wendell Wilkie has said :—"The highways of the world are crowded. From Hongkong to Narvik, and from the North Pole to the South, there are no empty seas, no air spaces which are not traversed, no land where interests on many people do not meet and may not conflict," Interdependence is the keynote of the new order and everywhere, recognising this, powerful countries are organising new measures of co operation with other countries in important spheres of national activity. This is the trend of world events—the forgoing of new links. The lesson to us in India is clear. The food problem for example has shown that the economy evolved in all parts of India over decades is organically connected and that the slightest disturbance in one place can have serious repercussions all over the country.

Secondly, the coming era has been rightly described as that of the "common man." All over the world, the main duty of governments will be to formulate and execute plans for social security. India is no exception. The gravest menace we have to face is the low level of the national income—millions of people living in conditions perilously near the starvation level. The energies of all the governments in India will have to be devoted, for as long a time as we can foresee, to the single problem of raising the standard of living; differences, religious or provincial, do not come into it at all.

Do not these two factors alter the nature of the problem of inter-communal relations in our country? On this subject, the best advice we can have has been given by His Excellency Lord Wavell. He said:—"That two communities and even two nations can make arrangements to live together in spite of differing cultures or religions, history provides many examples. The solutions of the problems have varied.....in Canada, the British and French elements reached a federal agreement which operates satisfactorily; the French, Italian and German elements in Switzerland agreed on a different form of Federation. In all the above there were religious as well as racial differences. In the United States many elements, racial and religious, have been fused into one great nation with a Federal structure, after the bitter experience of a disastrous Civil War. Ireland has a sort of Pakistan, though the analogy is of course only relative. The Soviet Union in Russia seems to have devised a new modification of its already flexible system which will also no doubt repay careful study. These examples are before India for her constitutionalists to study.....But man cannot alter geography."

As regards the Indian States, they have repeatedly declared that they welcome the attainment of Dominion Status by India and that they would be prepared to co-operate with British India in setting up a central government for the effective co-ordination of matters of common concern, on condition that, in other spheres, their autonomy is not affected and they have freedom to develop in accordance with their distinctive genius and traditions. As Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar said, only the other day, "No Indian State has a right to exist which is unwilling to come into line with the all-India national policy of objects to the erection, creation and maintenance of a central authority charged with the duty of looking after the affairs of India as an integral unit."

I earnestly hope that these internal questions of ours will be reviewed in the light of the revolution in thought created by the war. If they are examined in the light of these changes—that all parts of the world have become interdependent and that the only preoccupation of the governments in India for many years will be the raising of the level of living of the people—I am confident that, with the help of precedents elsewhere, a working arrangement can be effected which will be in the interests of the millions in India.

16. Before concluding I would like to remind you that the real object of education is to make us understand life and its significance. Most of you will derive this from one of the great religions of the world. I would commend to you the following advice from Lord Haldane who did more for the maintenance of high university ideals than any one in his generation. "What is the lesson of it all? It is that you must aim at the largest and widest view of life and devote your highest energies to attaining it. This view of life with its sustaining power will come to you, if you strive hard enough, in one form or another according to temperament, intellectual and moral. To some it will come in the form of Christianity, to others in that of some other high religion.....To yet others it will come in a more abstract form in the shape of philosophy. To yet others Art will bring the embodiment of the truth that the ideal and real, the infinite and the finite, do not exist apart but are different aspects of a single reality. Such a faith if it comes will, as the experience of countless thousands in different ages has shown, help you in sickness or in health, in poverty or in wealth, in depression or in exaltation. Only, the faith must be a real faith. No mere opinion, still less mere lip-service, can supply its place. It necessitates renunciation of the lower for the higher and the renunciation must be a real renunciation—extending if need be, to life itself.....To those who are worth most, there comes home early in life the conviction, that, in the absence of a firm hold on what is abiding, life becomes a poorer and poorer affair the longer it lasts. And the only foundation of what is abiding is the sense of the reality of what is spiritual—the constant presence of God who is not far away in the skies but is here within our minds and hearts."

# The Agra University Convocation

## The following is the text of the Convocation Address delivered by Sir Mirza M. Ismail K. C. I. E., O. B. E. *on Nov. 18, 1944.*

Not many years ago, there were only six universities in India. There are now fiteen, and soon there will be many more. This is made inevitable by the increasing complication of our civilization, and the growth of our population, our commerce. and our wealth. Each university will have its own separate task to undertake, differing from that of any other. Each must work out its own salvation in its own way, and any idea resembling centralization of control, direct or indirect, would, in my opinion, be prejudical to their growth and development. Naturally there is, and always will be, need for co-ordination, and for mutual consultation and influence. In the higher reaches of learning and discovery they will certainly arrive eventually at some scheme by which they supplement each other's work, thereby avoiding waste and raising standards to the highest possible level. But also in ordinary university education, every one of them must be willing to respond to the general influence, so that, for example, there may be uniformity of standard, however variable and individual the methods and courses may be.

It is ridiculous that a first class post-graduate degree in some universities should mean no more than second class in others. Both practical convenience and academical rectitude demand that there should be equivalance. It is a scandal that the matriculation of some universities should be years lower than those of other bodies, so that intermediate classes elsewhere are flooded with people who can hardly understand a word of spoken English.

There are so many discrepancies, indeed, and in many universities there is such desperate need for all sorts of reform that one can understand the temptation to create a central grants committee, or whatever it may be called, with complete coercive power by means of the purse. I am convinced, however, that nothing can justify such a method. The absolute independence and individuality of universities must be maintained. But in all academic affairs their mutual influence must be immensely strengthened by the strengthening of the Inter-University Board. It should have the most drastic power of non-recognition drastically used, branding without friendly scruples and without remorse that which is academically disreputable. As for what is administratively disreputable, that is inevitably an affair for local governments, though, even in this, the Inter-University Boord might exert itself in the examination of general principles, and might make an advantageous study of the appaling types of traffic that in some universities have resulted from so-called "democratic" methods. Though, in considering this inter-university question, one naturally thinks still more of the constructive possibilities of a free system of mutual co-operation, among the universities of India.

There is one matter pertaining both to the dignity and efficiency of universities and to their mutual influence in which this university has set an example to others. It has realised that the standard, in every sense, of university work depends almost entirely upon the quality of the men on the staff of the colleges; and that, therefore, the salaries must be such as to attract men of the very highest quality. Here is a most difficult problem. There are so many colleges which, with the best will in the world, are handicapped by meagre resources. Yet there is no escape; there can be no compromise. Teachers of second-rate quality will not do if we are to do justice to the young people of this generation. I believe that this university has gone far towards solving this problem, and its good example must have a notable influence in the country,

We must have first-rate men. But it is to be remembered that "first-rate man" does not necessarily mean 'a man with a first-class degree". Many of you will know whom I mean when I speak of the greatest professor of English Literature in England within the last fifty years, whose qualification for a profesorship of English was a third class degree in History! A dangerous example, the application of which would certainly land me in a absurdity! But I am sure you will agree with what I mean. Quite apart from variations between universities, and between different subjects and different generations within the same university, a man's academic worth, not to speak of his personal worth, is often far above, and often far below, his ranking in his university examination. I mention this because I think there is a general tendency to define a man for ever by the class of his degree, and this is

extremely likely to be an incorrect definition of him. And indeed it is almost as likely to flatter as to depreciate him.

In making college or university appointments, a man's worth must be the only consideration; this is a sphere in which there can be no consideration of community. How disastrous it would be to choose medical officers, or one's own doctor, on communal principles! It would be equally disastrous to choose in this way those whose function is intellectual and moral leadership. Again, these first-rate men, paid first-rate salaries, must also be treated in a first-rate way, so that their work may be the very highest of which they are capable. If college teachers are required to lecture almost on a school timetable system, lecturing perhaps four or five times a day six days a week—all I can say is, that is not a college, and these are not professors or lecturers! They cannot be. This problem also has been tackled by Agra University, and the suggestion that reform might go still further is only an attempt to strengthen the hand of the university. In the south, as you know, colleges do not, in general, work on Saturdays, and I believe that this two-days week-end is essential to any man who wants to keep abreast of scholarship and produce original work. This arrangement is made difficult in the north, because other holidays are so numerous, but their random relief can never take the place of the scholar's Saturday and Sunday. And as for totality of hours, if we let colleges require of a man of twenty-four periods, eighteen hours, of lecturing a week, we shall simply get that sort of lecturing, and it will reduce our good men to hacks and keep most good men away. And to distinguish mathematically in this matter, or in the matter of salaries, between those who take post-graduate classes and those who do not, seems to me rather hazardous.

Of similar importance to first-rateness of professors is first-rateness of courses, and this is why the idea of the three years' degree course is of critical interest and importance. It is frequently said that the pass degree course in India is not and need not be a really university affair, and it is in the post-graduate classes that a man really becomes a university student.

Is this really true? If it is true, are we to accept it and be quite comfortable about? Surely we must challenge and change such an idea. If degrees are not degrees, they should not be called so. But I believe there is a general movement among the universities to see that their pass, as well as their honours, degrees are genuine *university* qualification. Now this is most obviously the intention in Delhi. In the three years' course there is such continuity of study, such opportunity for gradual understanding by the maturing mind, such leisure as it were to think and grow, that one feels we really have reached here something more truly academic than the normal two years' degree. I think that this change should be very seriously considered by all universities.

And now that this principle of continuity is approved, even at the pass degree stage, what are we to think of our present broken post-graduate courses, where two years is considered too long to trust a student (though in a small class, under the guidance of a professor), so that he must be pulled up after a year by the Previous, and dominated by the thought of it from the first day of term, and consigned to a final year of hopeless effort if he has not found his feet by Previous time, and therefore has lost his "class" already? The university idea demands that a post-graduate student shall be given freedom to grow into his subject.

This university has always been conscious of its responsibility towards the rank and file of the students, and has never neglected them. I am sure that it shares the general worry about the inadequacy of the education given to them in universities throughout the country. It would be amusing, were it not in reality rather tragic and humiliating, to hear the remarks of military commentators on our graduates who come before them as candidates for commissions. The simple and pregnant remark made by one of them the other day was, "You really *must* educate these people better". Now surely the kind of quality for which these selectors of military officers are looking—so vainly that the proportion of the rejections is enormous, quite apart from rejections on purely physical grounds—the kind of quality that a military officer should have is, in the main, just the sort of thing that we should be seeking to cultivate in all our undergraduates. They should be well informed; they should be alert, and accustomed to use their brains; they should be able to think clearly, without emotional distraction: they should be able to express themselves clearly and correctly, and they should have a certain capacity for leadership.

Is not this just what we should aim at in our university colleges? You might say that leadership can belong only to a few; but still a certain degree of leader-

ship must fall to the lot of all the tiny proportion of our people who become university graduates. I do not wish to dwell upon this matter, or to speak about the revision of curricula and methods which we in Jaipur have thought might meet this need in a new university.

But I should like to consider, for a moment, one aspect of the failure of universities. Where are the men who in the days immediately to come, are to place themselves at the disposal of the country in its public life?

The great need of India is the need of men. The world to-day is above all else a practical world, and it demands results. What it is looking for is men who can and will do things.

Think of the enormous development of the requirements of the country in respect of public bodies, even now, as compared with what they were even twenty years ago. The country is dotted over with legislatures, each requiring not only members, incorruptible, earnest, self-sacrificing, tolerant, co-operative, but also ministers with the same utter freedom from axe-grinding and a still greater breadth of view and restraint of behaviour. Take again the enormous development of municipal life all over the country, for which we require equally honourable, incorruptible and strenuous men, if these municipalities are not to degenerate into something very perilous to the well-being of the state.

Where are we to get these men if not from the universities? How are we ever to get them unless the universities and all their colleges are determined that their atmosphere shall nurture such virtue and their daily routine shall give scope for its practising?

Speaking of municipalities, may I, without grave peril, say a word about your famous city? I do not know—I am an utter stranger to this place—how far either the Government or the public of Agra are satisfied with the outward appearance or with the sanitary condition of this city. May I, however, say frankly that it presents a most dismal and woe-begone spectacle even to the most casual visitor? If I may give only one instance, I happened to drive along the Jumna Road not long ago. It looked to me so utterly untidy and neglected. And yet what could not one make of such a road? The road skirts the river Jumna—the river was full at the time I saw it—with that noblest of all architectural monuments standing in all its beauty in the distance on the river's bank, and with another magnificent structure, Itimaduddaula's Tomb, on the opposite bank. On the other side of the river rises, as you know, the massive Red Fort, surmounted by the famous "jharoka" from which the Emperor Shah Jehan is said to have gazed during his long confinement on the wonder which he had created. Why such a splendid opportunity of giving the city one of the finest roads imaginable is neglected, it is not easy to understand.

Surely, the citizens of Agra should bestir themselves, and, with the help of a benign Government, make thier city worthy of the historical monuments which it possesses, and to which it owes all its fame and not a little of its prosperity.

But this, alas! is the tale that can be related of almost every city in India. How is it possible for any progress, inward or outward, to be achieved if the people get accustomed to living in an unhealthy and insanitary environment, and are habituated to filth and squalor? Squalor and enlightenment cannot exist together.

It is a sad commentary on the public life of our country that so many of our municipalities should be found so utterly lacking in efficiency and enterprise. It is here that the universities should help the country by producing men of the right sort. How is it possible for this country to progress and prosper so long as she is unable to produce a far larger proportion of men of the right mental calibre and character? It is undoubtedly a fact that our hopes are centred now as never before upon our youth. Men trained in old schools of thought, men wedded to tradition and precedent, and worn by the mental and spiritual struggle to adapt these to new conditions, seek and deserve relief from further responsibility. It is at such a time that you, graduates, are in training for entry, at no distant date, into the front line of service.

Graduates, I should like to suggest to you certain characteristics which may be regarded as indispensable evidence of a good education, not one of them should be lacking in any one who is recognized by his university as its graduate.

(1) Correctness and precision in the use of language. There is a whole philosophy of this. It is not merely a practical asset; both its causes and its effects lie deep in mind and character.

(2) Refined and gentle manners; for manners reveal the man, are the reflection of fixed habits of thought and feeling.

(3) The power and habit of reflection. An educated man must become able to study and think without the supervision of others. He must be—to some extent—a thinker, not a mere imitator. And his thought must be dispassionate.

(4) Sufficient knowledge of history, in its broadest sense, to enable him to understand the main achievements of man, and to see the past as background and origin of the present.

(5) Desire to improve his knowledge and to acquire the power to do and to enjoy the things that are most worth while.

The roots of all these fine growths are certainly within every one of you; and I am sure that many of your teachers have sought for them, and day by day have done all they could, in kindness and in wisdom, to bring them to maturity. Those who have had such teachers and now must leave them will miss them sadly, and perhaps for a time will feel even stranger and more diffident than others in the larger world you are entering now. Yet you will soon feel the strength with which they have inspired you and you can never lose what they have given you of their own generous life. New associations now begin for you—and with that great idea of association—inter-dependence, I should like to close my address to you. For remember, not independence but inter-dependence is the law of our life. It is in ministering to one another, in bearing one another's burdens, in sharing one another's joy, that we realize our humanity and truly live. Such is the personal life, and such is the way of national and international health, safety, and prosperity. Go out into the world resolved to serve your country in a spirit of true loyalty and devotion, forgetting the petty differences that divide men, regarding all the people living in this land as your own brothers.

# The Nagpur University Convocation

## The following is the text of the Convocation Address delivered by *C. Rajagopalachariar* on November 25, 1944.

The total number of students undergoing University education in India is about 1¾ lakhs. You hold nearly 5,000, that is, you are responsible for three per cent of the total number of the University students in India. Universities play a supremely important part in the system of education in any country. Their standards, their methods and their requirements have a large share in the shaping of the system of education right through to the bottom. Universities should serve to raise the intellectual tone of society as a whole, to cultivate the public mind and to purify the national taste. They should enlarge and at the same time give sobriety to prevailing ideas. They should by producing men with trained minds and well equipped understanding facilitate the exercise of political power by the people. It is only if people can elect enlightened representatives to act on their behalf that democracy can do good and flourish. Apart from these utilitarian functions, Universities should refine the intercourse of private life. Applying these tests to Universities in India, the Sargent Report arrives at a disappointing conclusion. Let us remember that the report is not the production of ill-disposed and discontented nationalists. It is the considered official report of a committee guided by a very capable and conservative English adviser who must be inclined to justify the policy and work hitherto pursued in the field of education in India. The report says that much remains to be done before the Indian Universities can be regarded as fulfilling their true functions.

The Committee is of the opinion that the activities of our Universities have not been duly related to the practical needs of the community as a whole. This is very severe condemnation. The political and economic condition of the country is mainly to blame for the deplorable state of unemployment among University graduates in India. 20 per cent of them, it is estimated, are wholly unemployed. 50 per cent are in jobs for which an ordinary High School education should have been enough. Only 30 per cent., it is calculated, can be said to have secured employment of a type in keeping with their attainments or commensurate to the time and money spent on their education. When we enquire into any evil, we come up against multiplicity of causes and generally discover a vicious circle. Dealing, however, with a particular institution it is well we examine the defects in

that institution although there may be collateral causes and defects elsewhere. If we followed true and equitable principles of national expenditure, the output of the Universities should be limited to the actual absorption-capacity of the community. Otherwise the waste involved would be most justified. Our Universities are largely dependant on college and examination fees. They are unwilling to take any step which must mean a drastic reduction in fee-income. They do not therefore feel inclined to reduce admissions and bring them to the level of the suitable employment available in the country. They may talk about planning, but they have no mind to plan their own out-turn to suit the actual requirements of the nation. On the other hand, students and parents of students have become the victim of what may be called a new gambling habit. A few prize-jobs are available and everyone who has acquired the necessary previous equipment seeks to invest time and money in order to qualify for the mere chance of obtaining one of these prize-jobs. The lucky ones are not necessarily the best, for communal considerations also come in when the allotments are made. Those that get the prizes are of course happy and have no cause to complain. They are in no mood to see defects in the system. The rest, and they are the vast majority, eighty per cent. are thrown upon their own resources after having lost in the gamble. These proceed ruthlessly to ous those that possess only a High School education in the competition for ordinary jobs for which High School education is enough. The wise and careful are ousted by those who have spent time and money on an education not relevant to the jobs themselves but who have lost in the gamble for higher prizes. The evil thus spreads. The system drives boys who have satisfactorily finished the High School course to a scramble for Univerisity education, in order that they may not be pushed out in the competition for employment. This explains the remarkably high proportion of students in India resorting to Universities out of the total High School products as compared with the proportion prevailing in Britain and Germany. One out of every three High School pupils goes to the University in India, whereas in the western countries mentioned it is less than one in seven.

What I have said is not the outcome of a bullock-cart mentality and anti-higher-education psychology developed in me by continued association with Sevagram. You can read the Sargent Report and find full justification for all that I have said. Yet, as that report admits, this does not mean that India is over-provided with University education. Calculated in relation to the total population India is the most backward of all civilised nations in University education. In Germany the number of students in the Universities was before this war 1 to 690 of the total population ; in Great Britain it is 1 to 837 ; in the United States it is 1 to 225 ; in Russia it is 1 to 300. In India it is 1 to 2,206. The economic structure of the body politic should be re-built. Things should be planned and not left to speculation and individual exploitation. The University programme should be an integral part of a scheme for the whole of the national life, its present activities and its hopes for the future. There should be no waste and no unemployment or misemployment of men and women trained at great expense.

It is a matter of congratulation that the old war against affiliating Universities as distinguished from unitary Universities on the model of Oxford and Cambridge has ended with the Sargent Report. It has laid down in clear terms that affiliating and examining Universities are a necessity in India, because in a vast country like India higher education cannot be concentrated in a few selected centres.

The Sargent Report has rightly observed that there is nothing to be said for uniformity at any stage of education in a country of India's size and variety, and that there is great need for constant experiments at all stages. One experiment that requires to be made at once is at least the partial use of the regional language as the medium of instruction in colleges. The dominant position of the Universities prevents genuine efforts at a change over from English even in the High Schools, although it has been made clear beyond all doubt that High School instruction to be efficient must be in the mother-tongue, the latest re-affirmation of this being in the Sargent Report. The language of instruction is a thing quite distinct from the language of technical terms and a change over in the one need not wait for an overhauling of the other.

You did not invite me as one with any special qualification to advise on matters of education. You have done it, I presume, because of my service in the political field. You would like me to tell what I think at this moment when our national aspirations have received rebuffs all round and it appears that our political luck is at its lowest point. Even His Excellency the Chancellor, not to speak of the new graduates, may be surprised if not disappointed if I conclude my address

without making some remarks on the political situation, of course in language and manner suited to the academical atmosphere of this gathering.

A friend in Canada recently sent me a marked copy of a Canadian magazine containing a contribution of the Rt. Hon'ble Malcolm MacDonald, the British High Commissioner in Canada. The article seeks to explain British intentions towards the Colonies and towards India after the war. The British High Commissioner says that the primary purpose of British administration, even among the primitive races in Africa, has been and will be to train them to stand firmly on their own social and political feet. I do not know what General Smuts on the one hand or the natives on the other may have to say on this point. But let us see what this high British official says about India. No one can predict yet, says he, when any particular colony will reach the goal of complete self government. But so far as the British Government and the British people can determine it, the time for its arrival in India has been fixed. For many years past, says he, the British Government have been anxious to press ahead with reforms which would result in the assumption by India of the full powers of a sovereign nation. He says that certain practical difficulties prevent fulfilment and that these difficulties exist not in British policy but in India. We are told that partly the Princely Indian States complicate the issue, but the primary difficulty is that the Hindu and Muslim communities have not yet been able to compose their political differences and to agree upon constitution of a self-governing India. The British High Commissioner in Canada is certain that if the people of India could agree among themselves, their complete national freedom either as a Dominion or as an independent nation outside the Commonwealth is assured at the end of this war, as the British Government have agreed as soon as the war has ended to implement this policy in the letter and the spirit.

You are well aware that I hold the view that these pronouncements should be taken at their full face-value and constantly placed before the world, so that when the time comes the British may be stopped from backing out of the position. In spite of this policy that I recommend to Indian nationalism, I must say that reading this article of the British High Commissioner, one is reminded of a Mahabharata story, which is well known in India. When the truthful Yudhisthir said on the battle-field "Dead is Aswatthama the elephant," the Machiavellian leader of the Pandav forces loudly blew his conch as the word 'elephant' was uttered. The message was partially jammed and Drona the Commander of the Kaurav Forces had to die having heard from the lips of the truthful Yudhisthir that his son Aswatthama had died. A halftruth is worse than a lie. What the British High Commissioner in Canada has said and British propagandists all over the world are saying is not the whole truth judged from their present conduct. Let us not be misled by the blast of conches.

Does Britain wish to present these two points about the Princes and the Muslims as mere arguments and excuses for a policy of drift and negation, or does Britain feel unhappy over these two difficulties and wish to overcome them if possible? If the latter is the case, we shall accept any just and fair award that will end these difficulties at once. A court of arbitration may be constituted to the satisfaction of the Allied Powers or of Canada and the United States where all this propaganda is done. Why should we wait for the end of the war in the Far-East as well as in the West? Will the establishment of a representative government at the head of affairs in India be a greater distraction than the Presidential election in America? And are there not compensating advantages even if we should have to suffer a temporary distraction?

"Princely India", as it is called, cannot complicate the issue if Britain makes up her mind. We know how the British Governors-General have dealt with the Princes in the past and are still dealing with them when they are bent upon something. The stories of Oudh, of Nagpur, of Jhansi and of Satara can be read even in school books of Indian History. The difficulty about minorities is a problem that presents itself and is disposed of in every part of the civilised world. We may and should conciliate every minority, but even the most powerful minorities cannot be allowed to veto for all time the lawful wishes of the majority. The majority has never objected to an equitable distribution of power and responsibility and has always been agreeable to the most careful and particular protection of every civic, economic and political right of the minorities that is known to the civilised world.

When war broke out in 1939 and threatened to spread over the whole world, the Indian National Congress desired that to enable India to play her part in it, the people of India should be declared free and entitled to full self-government. The Congress made it clear in repeated resolutions that it did not adopt an attitude of

pacifism or neutrality in relation to this war, which it knew it could not do even if it wished. It declared itself ready and willing for the fullest association with the Allies provided her claim for a status of independence and equality with the other free peoples of the world was admitted. The Indian National Congress made this position as clear as was the obverse of it, namely that it protested against India being coerced into belligerency without recognition of her free status.

The issue was not handled by the British Government in the manner that the situation demanded. As a result mutual distrust developed and became fixed as a chronic disease so that even His Majesty's Government's declaration on March 11, 1942, to which no exception could be taken hardly made any impression on the people of India. Still, had more patience been shown by the British mission in the negotiations that took place in Delhi in April 1942 and more earnest co-operation been forthcoming from the Viceroy, the issue might have been solved. But as everyone now knows, greater attention was directed to propaganda as to who was to blame than to a settlement of the issue itself. I do not claim for the Indian leaders that on their side they made no mistakes in this connection. Blunders on one side could not bring disaster if on the other side were developed compensating tact, patience and statesmanship. We could have saved the situation in spite of Viceregal non-co-operation if we had these qualities in extra-measure. Instead we succumbed to the temptation of competing in pride, impatience and distrust and the negotiations broke down. The British Government were not prepared to go far in taking risks to appease Indian nationalism or in extending trust to those who showed so much distrust. They preferred to be content with such co-operation as they could get on their own terms and banked on the resources that they could commandeer with the help and power of the physical authority they exercised in this country. They decided to fight Indian nationalism along with the Axis. They adopted methods of non-co-operation as well as of repression in conducting this battle. They met every symptom of discontent with repression and adopted the method of passive resistance against all proposals for a solution of the deadlock. This policy continues and our own errors of pride and lack of statesmanship have helped the British. The future is full of danger for world-peace. Wisdom calls for a satisfactory solution of the Indian problem before the peace-treaty of 1945 overtakes the world.

The honour of an invitation to address the graduates of this University was extended to me on more than one occasion before this, but I was prevented for one reason or another from enjoying the privilege. I am very grateful to the authorities of the University for repeating the invitation in spite of my defaults. I understand that the invitation to me has displeased some of the people who hold the view that there should be no conciliation of Muslim opinion by any recognition of the right of separation for Muslim tracts in the future constitution of India. On behalf of the University authorities I must point out that the invitation to me was much older than the recent negotiations. In fact, I owe an apology to the late Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Kedar, for my inability to accept his invitations during his terms of office. Again on behalf of myself let me ask those who apprehend evil from my address, Is the case for undivided Hindustan so weak that it can be endangered by a speech of mine on this occasion? Such fear does no credit to the strength of your conviction. Obviously you doubt your creed. Or is it your view that these graduates who have gone through an intellectual course which has qualified them for various Degrees in your University are yet so poor of understanding that they cannot safely stand a single assault on my part? It would do little credit to your confidence in University education if you think its products should be kept in intellectual purdah lest the purity of their beliefs and opinions may be corrupted?

I know that the University authorities do not hold such views and that I am giving perhaps undue importance to a stray dissenter. But I feel that I had better point out the error of even one person who has such apprehensions. Our national problems are difficut and cry for solution. No one, least of all University men, should hold the view that truth is protected by suppression of opinion or that a University education that entitles one to a Degree is yet not good enough to enable one safely to hear some contrary opinions on national questions.

And what is the heresy I am guilty of? I stand for a solution of the Muslim issue on terms which have now obtained the approval and adherence of the acknowledged captain of our national affairs. The terms of solution are open to anyone to examine and criticise. By all means let us prefer to let things remain unsolved rather than agree to anything dishonourable or tyrannical, but it is not dishonour or submission to tyranny to allow the majorities in any area to be in more than subordinate charge of the affairs of these areas, which is the offer that we made to Mr. Jinnah and with which he is not satisfied.

Muslim leadership has, in my humble opinion, shown an incapacity for courageously following up its own declared policy. It is ever the case, that we show more courage when demanding something which the other party will not give, than when it arrives and claims our acceptance and responsibility. The dangers and troubles of a sovereign separate State become more obvious when it is offered than when it was demanded and refused. The Muslim League obviously prefers controversy to the responsibilities of government. It finds a sense of success in functioning as a well-disciplined party in opposition to any advance towards democratic rule in India, which is easier than the undertaking of a separate state in the present world. It is not the champions of unitary Government, not the Akhand Hindustan leadership, but the Muslim League itself that has dealt a severe blow and caused a set-back to the Pakistan claim. If the League's contention is that Pakistan cannot maintain itself without the inclusion of non-Muslim areas within its boundaries, it is a fatal admission against the case for separation and makes the argument for united India unanswerable. Yet this was one of the concrete claims over which negotiation broke down. May be that this is all to the good. It gives time for everyone to think more about it. If the Muslims can reconcile themselves to a united and federated India, they can have it and an honoured and even a privileged place in it. If the Muslims want a halfway house in the shape of a Confederation of free units in voluntary combination without prejudice to their potential sovereignty, they can have such an arrangement too. If they do not want to be a unit in any Federation or Confederation but want to be a separate sovereign State as was said when they met at Lahore in 1940, they can have that also, but we have stated the just, fair and feasible conditions under which they can have it.

Then we come to the seemingly greater constitutional obstacle to Indian freedom and Indian democracy, namely, the treaty-protected autocratic rule of Indian princes in extensive tracts sprawling all over India. Their able ministers speak two languages —one the language of the modern world, of democracy and progress, when they criticise the Muslim League's attitude, and quite another language when they seek to hold on to the privileges derived from Treaties, Engagements and Sanads, entered into during the time of the East India Company. They claim alliance with the King of Great Britain and sovereign status as against Indian nationalism. They claim as a corollary the right of non-accession to any Indian polity based on democracy to which they do not individually and specifically give their approval. In internal administration they refuse to march with the times and have so far failed to give to their own people the political rights that the people of the provinces in British India enjoy under statute, although there is no difference whatever in the condition, education and culture of the people of the two intermingled areas. The talk of their own genius and tradition and development along those lines is just dust in the eyes of the foreign critic. They use the phrase internal autonomy meaning thereby the maintenance of personal rule and opposition to the movement of democracy percolating into their domains. They claim under treaty with Britain the help of British military forces to protect their authority as against their own subjects. As Professor Coupland has described it in his recent book, the gatherings that take the name of legislative assemblies in some of the most advanced of these Indian States are still mere Durbars that add colour to the grandeur of the personal rule that prevails in those areas. Psychological illusions of democracy are sought to be created with the help of large nominated blocks that vote to order silently to neutralise any popular vote. The Madras States, Mysore, Hyderabad, the Central Indian States, the Eastern States, the West India States, the Rajputana States and Kashmir, form together a great sprawling patch on the map of India and are a greater logical impediment to the aspiration for unitary democratic rule in India than the vague and unparticularised desire of the Muslim League to form a sovereign State out of certain areas in the northwest of India and in East Bengal. What I have said about the absence of constitutional government in the Indian States does not mean that some of the Princes and their capable officials have not done a great deal for the prosperity and happiness of their people. Indeed in some matters autocratic rule can achieve quickly what takes considerable time and management in democracies. Some of the States have advanced beyond British Provinces in certain matters that do not affect the personal authority of the princes and their ministers. But good government is no substitute for self-government, as Dadabhai Naoroji quoting Campbell-Bannerman said 38 years ago, and is still as true as ever before.

That India has a great future is certain. My faith is as strong as ever, but we must shed the fond dream of driving the ball into the hole in one stroke. We have to work up to it and work positively. We must abandon the notion that is is

patriotic to be in the wilderness and that if we avoid present responsibility, the great prize will drop on us as a gift of the Gods in return for the *Tapasya* of abstention. We should cease hoping that by some magic our persisent refusal to help ourselves will outwit both the enemies of our freedom abroad and the opponents of nationalism at home and that till then we have only to be patient. Let us not imagine that by persistent abstention from exercising partial responsibility we shall achieve both our objectives at one and the same time, that of bringing about internal harmony and confidence in place of discord and distrust, and of wresting full power from unwilling Imperialists who have our country and its people in their grip. If we wish to advance in our programme we must seize such opportunities and such power as and when they come, and use them to heal the diseases that have developed in the body politic. We should use them to build up the habit of a common purpose cutting across clans, creeds and communities and to establish social and economic conditions that will help us to become strong as a united people and sustain the responsibilities of freedom. The cry will be raised that this is defeatist mentality and that I advocate surrender. Of such clap-trap we have had more than enough. To give up an illusion is not surrender but wisdom, especially when that illusion leads us to leave the field free to Imperialism and those that thrive on it, to corruption and the full play of all anti-national forces. The confidence that if we seize opportunities and take up power and responsibility we can build up is not defeatism but the contrary of it. Subjection has developed diseases of all kinds and I firmly believe that they cannot be healed by merely remaining in the wilderness and allowing reaction to do full mischief. By all means, let us keep our aim and our inherent right to a revolution intact. Let us not be committed to a course that takes us away from the goal and the path leading to it. But let us not discard precious opportunities for building up. The handiest and most effective tool for constructive work that rebuilds a nation is the government machine.

The journey along the route that I advocate may seem long, but it may prove much shorter than it may now seem. On the other hand the heroic short-cuts that appear in the map of our day-dreams may be nowhere available on the actual field and serve only to leave the enemies of progress in full and free possession. I advise this on its own merits but let us remember also that when this present war terminates, as a result of experience gained therein by the belligerents, the status of international sovereignty will be curtailed in material respects. "Inter-dependence, not independence" will be the international slogan raised by the Great Powers. Excepting America, Britain and Russia, all the peoples of the world will be less than sovereign. None of the small States properly so called or the States, which though big in size and population must lag behind in military and economic organisation, will be truly independent. All of these will be treated as legitimate fields for the activities of the International Police, which is another name for the triphibious forces of the Great Powers. But or rather therefore India will not be worse off than most of the so-called independent States of the world, if she takes up her own responsibility under any fairly decent settlement. The quality and numerical strength of our population are such that in spite of all that I apprehend may happen in the world immediately after this war, I am certain that we shall one day be a great well-governed people at the head of the liberated peoples of the world leading them in civilisation. Let me hope that you who have received Degrees this year will see that day in your life-time.

I congratulate you on the attainment of your Degrees, in particular the women-graduates. Do not be depressed either by your unemployment or by your environment. Even if you do not find work suitable to your equipment and commensurate with the labour you have bestowed on your education, remember your role as University men and women and do what you can to raise the intellectual tone of society, to purify the public taste, to make people broad-minded and to bring refinement in private life. In such endeavour you will find your happiness whatever may be your rank or condition. God bless you all.

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# The Patna University Convocation

**The following is the text of the Address delivered at the Special Convocation of the Patna University on the occasion of its Silver Jubilee Celebration by *Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan* on the 30th November, 1944 :—**

I am deeply grateful to the authorities of the Patna University for their kindness in asking me to speak on this memorable occasion when the University is celebrating its Silver Jubilee. When I received the invitation, my first feeling was one of doubt—doubt, whether I had anything to say, that would not be a tedious repetition of things more adequately said before, unless, avoiding that, I fell into the trap of developing some original solution of the world problems. Fortified by the hope that truths can bear repetition, I shall not amuse you with any novel tale of our civilisation, its cause and cure.

As institutions measure their lives, this University is very young, and your distinguished Vice-Chancellor, who has served for four terms, though old in years, is young enough to see visions and act on them. The address, which he recently gave at the inauguration of the Utkal University, reveals his obstinate idealism and constructive patriotism. Though he there reminds us that he is only a "matriculate," we know that he is a typical University man, sane, tolerant, and devoted to the service of learning and good manners. When he retires at the end of the year from the Vice-Chancellorship of this University, he can look back upon a singularly varied, interesting, and satisfying life, and in his period of retirement—may it be very long—he may yet see his University play an important part in the life of the province, and his country grow into a self-governing, contented and helpful partner in the federated commonwealth of nations.

Though this University has had about twenty-five years of life, some of its institutions are much older, and the traditions of University life in this city have been of great antiquity. Patna[1] and its neighbourhood have been the stronghold of a tradition so remote and uninterrupted as to startle our mushroom vanities. "As far, O Ananda, as there are noble places of residence," says the Buddha, "as far as merchants travel, this will become the chief town, the Pataliputra, a centre for the interchange of all kinds of ware."[1] Shortly after the death of the Buddha, the capital of the kingdom of Magadha was shifted from Rajagrha to Pataliputra. Under Chandragupta Maurya, a vast empire was established which absorbed the dominions conquered by Alexander the Great. Pataliputra was even then famous for great teachers of secular learning. Canakya propounded a scheme of government and political strategy which influenced the minds of the ruling classes for centuries. The great grammarians (Panini, Patanjali,[2] Vararuci) were associated with this place.[3] Asoka, whose edicts graven on rocks and pillars in all the provinces of his vast empire, preach in simple and familiar language the great truths of goodness, gentleness, charity, and mutual respect had his capital at Pataliputra.[4] His councils were held here, and his missions of peace and piety set forth from this place. Many great teachers of Buddhism, from Mogalliputta and Upagupta, came from these parts.

Jainism spread from here to all parts of India including Afghanistan. It was in Pataliputra that the eleven Jain *angas* were compiled about 300 B. C. Digambara Umasvati and Aryabhata flourished here. After the fall of the Maurya dynasty, the Sunga line came into power, aud its founder Pusyamitra repelled the forces of the Greeks, and performed the famous 'horse sacrifice', according to Vedic rites. This incident shows the rise of the Vedic religion. Under the imperial Guptas (4th and 5th Centuries A. D.) Pataliputra became the centre of a Hindu revival. A Vaisnava religion (which absorbed the beauty and gentleness of Buddhism) developed, insisting on love and charity to all mankind. Yuan Chwang found the city in a decadent

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[1]Archaeological evidence shows that the modern city of Patna is built on the site of the ancient Pataliputra.

[1]Rockhill : *The Life of the Buddha, p. 125.*

[2]Patanjali illustrates the use of a certain preposition by the expression, *anusonam pataliputram.* Pataliputra is situated on the river Son. Even during the visit of Megasthenes, it was situated at the junction of the two rivers, the Son and the Ganges. Apparently the bed of the river Son has changed its course.

[3]Cp. sruyate ca pataliputre sastrakara pariksa atropavarsavarsau iha paninipingala iha vyadil vararuci patanjali iha pariksitah khyatim upajagmuh.

[4]Of him H. G. Wells writes in his *The Outline of History* : "Amidst the tens of thousands of names of monarchs that crowd the columns of history, their majesties and graciousnesses, and serenities and royal highnesses, and the like, the name of Asoka shines, and shines almost alone, a star. From the Volga to Japan his name is still honoured. China, Tibet, and even India, though it has left his doctrine, preserve the tradition of his greatness. More living men cherish his memory today than have ever heard the names of Constantine or Charlemagne."

condition, and speaks to us of the monuments of past magnificence. The city was restored to power and prosperity under the Pala king, Dharmapala, 810 A. D. and flourished for a while. Epigraphic evidence reveals the glories of Pataliputra till the 12th Century A. D., when it passed under Mohammadan rule. Sher Shah, in 1541, built the fort of Patna which soon became a centre of trade and attracted European merchants. The Jesuits founded a settlement at Patna in 1620 and the English had their own base by 1657. In the years that followed the Battle of Plassey, Patna became a great military centre. On the 12th December, 1911, the new Province of Bihar and Orissa was constituted with Patna as its capital.

The viharas from which this province derives its name, were the Buddhist counterpart of the gurukulas of the Vedic period, with their rsis. They were the resorts of Buddhist monks and nuns for study and meditation. "To give viharas to the samgha, where in safety and in peace, to meditate and think at ease, the Buddha calls the best of gifts. Let then, the able man, regarding his own weal, have pleasant monasteries built, and lodge there learned men."[1] As learned men began to lodge in viharas, students were attracted to them, from various parts of India, as also from distant Java and Sumatra, from Ceylon and China, from Tibet and Korea. These viharas were centres of Buddhist study for nearly twelve centuries. Fa-Hien (399—414 A. D.), who spent three years in this city collecting rare Buddhist scriptures, speaks of two viharas or monasteries at Pataliputra, with six to seven hundred monks and thousands of students.

I-Tsing tells us that at Nalanda he saw not only those who were apprenticing themselves to the religious life of a monk, but also those who had no intention of renouncing the world, and so acquired general learning necessary for the life of the householder. In the words of the biographer of Yuan Chwang, the subjects studied included "the Vedas and other books, the Hetuvidya, Sabdavidya, Cikitsavidya, the Atharva Veda and Sankhya." In the first or the entrance course a knowledge of the following branches of study was required : Sabdavidya or vyakarana, grammar, silpasthanavidya or arts and crafts, cikitsavidya or medical science, hetuvidya or logic, and the adhyatmavidya or the science of self.

During the Mohammadan period in Patna were established many madrasahs. Sikhism also influenced the people, Patna being the birthplace of the Sikh leader, Guru Govind. Pataliputra has thus been famous for its retreats of spiritual life and seats of learning, secular and sacred. The author of *Kathasaritsagara* speaks of it in eloquent terms.[2]

The University whose Silver Jubilee we are celebrating today, is built on the site and should continue the tradition of Pataliputra sacred to memory, consecrated by legend and immortalised by history. The University of Patna was founded in pursuance of the policy of the British Government which assumed charge of the moral and material progress of this vast country in the middle of the nineteenth century. The first of the Indian Universities is the University of Calcutta, which was founded on 24th January, 1857, and in the course of that famous year, the Universities of Bombay and Madras were also established, These Universities were however only examining bodies, while the colleges affiliated to them undertook direct teaching. In 1882, the Punjab University was founded, which paid more attention to oriental learning than others ; and Allahabad was founded in 1887. At the end of the last century Calcutta University exercised jurisdiction over a large part of India—Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Assam, the Central Provinces, Burma and Ceylon. A University spread over such an area cannot be expected to exercise adequate control over the affiliated colleges, or help in the advancement of learning or efficiency teaching. A Commission was appointed to suggest measures "as may tend to elevate the standard of University teaching and to promote the advancement of learning." The Act of 1904 helped to make some of the Universities into teaching ones. In 1913 the Government of India issued a Resolution favouring the development of new teaching and residential Universities, and restricting the area over which the affiliating Universities had control by securing a separate University for each of the leading provinces of India. In pursuance of this policy the Universities of Dacca, Aligarh and Benares, Rangoon, Patna and Nagpur were established.

To satisfy the needs of the province of Bihar, which was the major partner in the newly-created province of Bihar and Orissa, and affiliating and examining

[1] *Cullavagga. VI. 1. 6.*

[2] tad idam diyyam nagaram mayaracitam sa pauram ata eva namna pataliputram ksetram laksmisarasvatyoh

University of the old type was established at Patna. Now that Orissa has become a separate province, it is only natural that it should have a University of its own and we are all pleased to welcome the establishment of the Utkal University, and find among us its first Vice-Chancellor.

Through modern Universities Western Culture has become an effective factor in our cultural evolution. The country is reborn after years of trouble, and her culture renovated through contact with the west. All the signs of a great Renaissance, the surge for freedom in all sides of life, the new conception of a national patriotism and public spirit, are stimulated by western thought and criticism.

When we stand on this site with its stones worn smooth by the tread of uncounted generations, when we incline before the monuments of the creative effort of earlier ages, the Brahmanical, the Buddhist, the Hindu and Moghul, in supplication for the renewal of strength, we are impressed by the deathlessness (mrtyunjayata) of the spirit, that, though bent to earth, rises buoyant from the pressure of cruelties and inspires us to new life. Generation have come and gone, standards of faith and courage have risen and fallen, but the spirit of the race is immortal, renewed from age to age in the great souls who most shiningly embody it. The history of this city is a mirror of the continuous development of Indian life and culture, which is not a haphazard collection like an album of old photographs, but a living organism where the life-giving currents still operate. They do not disappear though they change their incidence. The ability of the Indian mind to gaze backward, while moving forward, has made for both continuity and progress. In every civilisation there are certain constants as well as certain variables. The great constant of Indian culture, is the spirit which is not the product of one century alone, but part of a great vital thrust that had taken other forms in the far distant past, and will take still other shapes in the unknowable future. This spirit of India, which it is hard to analyse and hard to explain, is one in which all Indians in different ways share, this strange and exalted feeling is that there is a kingdom not of this world which is within our grasp.

In the ancient system of education the three main aims of human life were recognised. We are producers, citizens, and men or human beings. We all need to make a living, the best that conditions allow. We all live in a society, and so should be good members of it. We require a scale of values, an idea of the good life. The efficiency of a community depends on the vocational or technical training given to its members, its cohesion on the civic and social virtues cultivated by its members and its quality on the spiritual direction, the sense of values adopted by the society. The main purpose of education is not exhausted by the first two, by the acquisition of knowledge and technical skill or the social virtues. There is a hunger which will not be appeased by these. The soul of man is created for the vision of the Supreme. In its possession, though it were only a faint gleam caught from a great way off, is happiness. Bereft of it the human spirit is in torment. We need the attainment of wisdom which makes for spiritual freedom. Sa vidya ya vimuktaye. The spirit of Indian culture is dominated by the ideal of the integral or the whole man. In the cosmic staircase which the Taittiriya Upanisad describes as consisting of five stages of matter, anna, life, prana, the simple consciousness of the animal or primitive man, manas, the intellectual consciousness, vijnana, the integral consciousness of the spiritual man, ananda, we are of the fourth and must grow into the fifth order of awareness. Initiation into a higher life, rebornness, dvitiyam janma, is the purpose of education. We are born into a world that is visible, phenomenal, material and directly observable, the world of science and law; there is another world behind and beyond this world, the invisible, interior, spiritual, felt rather than perceived, sought rather than observed, the world of spirit. To this world of spirit there is an element in us which responds, which makes us trust in a Reality that is beyond the perception of the senses, beyond the scope of logical reason. We bow before the transcendent Reality which we cannot hope to enclose in any formulas formed by the human mind, but it is the source of the ideal that inspires the life of humanity. There is the pressure of the spirit in man, the force that inspires us to seek the better, not only in the order of knowledge but in the order of life.

When we get beyond succession, when the soul's ground touches essential Being, we find the inexhaustible fount of peace; the peace based on a deep confidence in God. It is the inward tranquillity of mind that looks beyond anxiety, conflict, destruction itself, that knows that pain and evil, even the world's dark future is enfolded in a deeper imperishable life, that gives us the eye of compassion with which we can see the cruelty and injustice of life, the violence of the strong,

and the sufferings of the weak. When the Upanisads declare that we must know the Self, when the Buddha asks us to seek bodhi, or enlightenment, when Jesus warns us that only truth shall make us free, they are pointing out in different ways the insufficiency of secular learning and the inadequacy of mere humanism as a guide to life.

The great teachers of ancient times were not only learned but virtuous. Yuan chwang gives us an account of the teachers, Brahmanical and Buddist, whom he met.[1] They had a disdain for the allurements of life, for its pleasures and prizes which were spread before them in vain. These strangely enfranchised beings lived in the world but were yet outside its jurisdiction. They carried on their duties with a decisive detachment and helped their pupils to become aware of a kingdom which is not of this world.

This University in the immediate future will have to develop a post-graduate school for sciences and letters, and establish professional and technological institutes. If the young of the province are to be prepared for life in a modern society, the University will have to provide facilities for training in the scientific, agricultural, and industrial departments. These developments will have to take place, war or no war. In the hour of her worst peril, Great Britain did not say 'let us win the war first before planning for the future.' Educational development is a part of the general plan for national reconstruction, which, of course, will include health and social security. If the University develops along these lines, it will carry out the traditions of the ancient University settlements but it will be disloyal to them if it overlooks the essential, spiritual aim of all education.

Your University is a war baby. It was founded in the midst of World War I and has come of age in the middle of World War II. We are all of one mind about the cruelty and injustice of war. Let us not hide from ourselves the actual meaning of war. Its history is written across all the skies in blood and fire, disclosing the shame and disgrace of our civilisation. War means the shrieks of the mutilated and the dying, the screams of children cut down or torn to pieces by shrapnel, in bombed cities, day after day, week after week, for years, leaving behind, when the war is over, thousands of soldiers, sailors aad airmen, blinded, mamed and mutilated, spitting blood out of their lungs, or beating their heads against the walls of mental hospitals. The conscience of mankind, which is not in the hands of a few ambitious politicians who manipulate the state machine, declares that war is the blackest of all crimes in human history. There is a profound feeling that, if we are to win the peace, if wars are not to occur again, we must bring about fundamental changes in the heart and mind of the modern world.

The most dangerous period is not the years of war when we struggle for victory, but the years when war ends and we serve to win the peace. In the exaltation felt at the ending of a long agony, we will be tempted to overlook the measures necessary to ensure the close of a gross, selfish epoch and the beginning of a happier era for tortured mankind. The statesmen will be busy as in 1918 with the forms of settlement but what happened in the years between the wars

[1] "There are men who, far seen in antique lore and fond of the refinements of learning, 'are content in seclusion', leading lives of continence. These come and go (lit. sink and float) outside of the world, and promende through life away from human affairs. Though they are not moved by honour or reproach, their fame is far spread. The rulers treating them with ceremony and respect cannot make them come to court. Now as the State holds men of learning and genius in esteem, and the people respect those who have high intelligence, the nonours and praises of such men are conspicuously abundant, and the attentions, private and official, paid to them are very considerable. Hence men can force themselves to a thorough acquisition of knowledge. Forgetting fatigue they 'expatiate in the arts and sciences;' seeking for wisdom while 'relying on perfect virtue' they 'count not 1,000 li a long journey'. Though their family be in affluent circumstances, such men make up their minds to be like the vagrants, and get their food by begging as they go about. With them there is honour in knowing truth (in having wisdom) and there is no disgrace in being destitute. As to those who lead dissipated idle lives, luxurious in food and extravagant in dress, as such men have no moral excellences and are without accomplishments, shame and disgrace come on them and their ill-repute is spread abroad."

Extract from "*On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, 629—645* A.D." E. T. by Thomas Watters, and after his death by T. W. Rhys Davids, and S. W. Bushell, London, Royal Asiatic Society (1904), pp. 160-61.

shows the inadequacy of political settlements and the need to educate the spirit of man.

Indian thinkers understand that peace or santi is born of control of greed and selfishness. The Chinese make out that there can be no peace without harmony (ho) and equality (ping). "Peace," said Augustine, "is the quietness of order, is the disposition, which, according to the likeness or unlikeness of things, assigns to each one its place." It is an organic, balanced condition of society. It is charity, intellectual charity, mutual understanding in which all those who believe in civilization, humanity, order should co-operate. The success of any political settlement will depend on the economic and intellectual, the moral and spiritual factors. It would be disastrous to devise the mechanism and neglect the human forces that regulate it.

The world has been burning for five years, and even when it was not on fire, it was steadily getting madder, more frightened, and more full of anxiety, unrest and hatred. The blindness of prestige, the arrogance of a master race, the fear of economic loss engaged the minds of the ruling classes in almost all countries. A philosophy of life which exalts lust for conquest and dominion, which makes a religion of war and a cult of mass murders, which puts gangsterism into uniform and calls it patriotism, which looks upon murder and atrocities as noble acts of duty, has been in the ascendant. There are laws against those who set a house on fire or murder another man, but if we burn whole cities and kill thousands of men, there are no penalties provided against such acts. The false philosophy has to be defeated in the world of thought.

Nazism is not a sudden accident in the pattern of history. If it were so, we might hope to secure a peaceful way of life, when once Nazism was crushed. The pre-world suffered from a fundamental malaise in which not only the Axis powers but all nations had their shares. A world of slave empires, racial discriminations, industrial struggles, and wastages of human life through preventible unemployment cannot make for peace. So long as we perpetuate such a world, we shall not have peace though we destroy the Hitlerite regime.

If we would find the real cause of the contemporary tragedy when men live in a hell of hatred and destruction, when the means of happiness provided by the resources of science are within our grasp, we have to look deeper than the political catastrophies or the economic disasters of a mechanised industrialism in which starvation and overproduction exist side by side. Never before in the history of man has it been possible for us to create the world in which we wish to live. In the past the desires of men were not difficult to discover, but the means for their satisfaction were not available in an adequate measure. Now, thanks to the marvels of science and technology, the means are available, but the act of spirit is lacking. In ancient India and ancient Greece, the seers imagined great ends and built great civilizations, but they failed, as the possibilities of good life were denied to large numbers, possibly due to the insufficiency of resources. We have today enormous resources, but are unable to imagine great ends and so ruin is staring us in the face. The contrast between man's greatness and his wretchedness, between his power and weakness, between his opportunity and his plight is due to the failure of spirit to man's incapacity to frame and strive for great ends, the real values of the individual soul, and the ends of the State which are not prestige, power or dominion, but the happiness of love, the joy of home life, the worship of God, the pursuit of truth and beauty through science and art. The world's descent into barbarism is due to an anti-democratic philosophy of life.

Sensible people are sceptical, disillusioned and unhappy as the whole development of recent thought which culminated in world-wars is anti-democratic. Owing to our preoccupation with the scientific method, which has given us marvels and revolutionised society, we failed to understand the value of the individual who is the creator of all science. As our study of the object—nature and society—increased, our attention to the subject, the inspirer of all values diminished. Copernicus seemed to destroy the old, comfortable assumption that the earth was the centre of things and by disclosing the vast extent of the material universe, dwarfed the importance of man. Darwin thought that the species which survived were obviously those which were best fitted to survive. When we take this principle out of its biological context and apply it to human affairs, we believe that there should be no interference of the State in economic affairs. Man's productive activities, economists tell us, are governed by their own laws and the less they are interfered with, the better will they function. Economic activities, we are told, are not to be judged or directed by normal considerations. The pursuit of enlightened

self-interest, Bentham declares, would lead to the greatest good of society. Freud suggests that the pattern of the adult mind is fixed in the relationships between a child and its parents formed unconsciously in early infancy. The individual is not, in any effective sense, responsible for his conduct. The behaviourist hypothesis dismisses the mind altogether. Mind is simply the sum of reflex actions of the nervous system, its responses and reactions. The scientific estimates of man, as biological, economic, psychological or sociological, have a strong hold on a considerable section of mankind. If we speak of religion and philosophy, plausible explanations which explain them away are offered. Religion, to Freud, is an immense superstructure, growing out of an infantile conflict with the father; to Marx, it is an instrument of social domination; to sociologists, it is animism or wishful thinking. More than the scientists or the philosophers, those who followed them seized isolated fragments of truth and exalted them into wide generalisations and became leaders of sects or schools of new thought. These exponents of new smartness use all the machines of publicity and impose themselves on impressionable minds and fill them with doubts about the value of the human personality. The gradual loss of the old simplicity and integrity, the progressive elimination of the human individual, has affected the roots of our life.

Yet there is the unappeased need in man to love and adore, to dare and risk, to suffer and sacrifice himself for causes. Lay religions of tribe and nation, of blood and race are exploiting man's aspirings for the high and the noble. The world has become pagan and barbarous. We have mastered the world and the self but sold ourselves to the devil.

When we therefore turn to the spirit of Indian culture. it is not a mere nostalgic longing for the past. It is necessary corrective for the civilisation which has taken a wrong turn, for the culture which has disintegrated. It offers a new integration of life, bringing religion and science, politics and business into a unity. If we are to make a better world, we must become different men with different standards and aspirations. The great tradition of philosophy—Indian, Greek, Muslim and Christian, recalls us to our unity in the rational nature, our unity in the supreme end towards which we all should strive. Each one of us has by virtue of his manhood and not birth or social status the right to exist, the right to keep one's body whole, the right to seek those good things through which a rational creature may perfect himself, and the right to travel toward eternal life along the road of one's conscience. Human dignity requires that all men should be treated as men, not as things. We must enjoy, in the words of Asoka, danda samata or equality of all before the law, vyavaharasamata, political or social equality. Each one should have an opportunity to achieve, according to his effort and his condition, his human fulness, to attain the fruits of wisdom and virtue whether he is digging the earth or governing a State. Social justice demands the free participation by each one of us in the good things, material and cultural, which will help him to gain that inner liberty, which is obtained by knowledge of the truth and mastery over self.

We have in India a double legacy of generous tradition and a blighting discord, a spiritual elation and an obstinate disease. We have preached equality and practised social inequality. The rigours of the caste system, the treatment of the Harijans are opposed to the spirit of Hinduism. Centuries before Christ, Yajnavalkya, who was a native of Videha (in North Bihar), laid down the maxim: "Let no one do to others what he would not have done to himself."[1] Many of the great leaders of Hindu thought and practice have denounced caste arrogance and proclaimed the equality of all men and women. As a rule, it is the privileged who have started movements of liberation for the down-trodden. The history of human progress is largely a record of the repeated efforts of exceptional men who found life based on servitude, insufferable and who set out to change it. In India we have had many protestant reformers like the Saiva and Vaisnava saints, Basava, Ramanand, Kabir, Dadu, Nanak, Caitanya and Namdev, who taught social equality. At the present time, it is Gandhiji who lights a lamp of hope in the hearts of millions of the down-trodden. More than ever today, the world is crying aloud for revolutionary reconstruction and sensitive men are in the front of every great upheaval of human spirit.

The Allied nations are fighting to maintain the right of nations to live their own life, the right of individual men to freedom of thought, speech and political action against brutal tyrannies which would deny and destroy human rights. In other words, we are fighting to release the whole earth from private and political appro-

[1] IV. 65.

priation to the beneficial use of mankind. We affirm that we stand for persuasion against force, for the many against the few, for freedom against slavery, for knowledge against ignorance, for unfettered inquiry against authoritarian dogma, for reason against unreason. We fight that we may survive as free peoples. If the objectives which the Allied nations proclaim are implemented at the Peace Conference, if there is a real change of heart, if imperialism is abolished, if race discrimination is given up, if a world court and organisation ara set up, the world may grow into a better place.

In this war, Britons, Americans, Russians, South Africans, Poles, Indians and Chinese are in action tide by side. They look not at each other, but in the same direction. They fight for the common objective of a federated commonwealth of free nations. They have been fighting on land, operating on sea or in the air under combined Allied direction in all parts of the globe. In spite of the diversity of peoples and governments involved, the common cause has called forth in an unparalleled way the brotherhood of nations. If we can co-operate in the art of wars, if peoples of different races and nations can work together in a fighting partnership, cannot we show the same spirit of co-operation and brotherhood in achieving tasks not less strenuous than those of the war? The brotherhood in arms should develop into a brotherhood in peace.

We teachers have also our part to play in the development of the world community. We must teach boys and girls that civilisation is a co-operative endeavour and all nations have contributed to it. In every educational institution, we may teach the pupils, not only legitimate pride in one's own tradition and love of motherland but also the brotherhood of nations which modern conditions of life demand, the futility of wars and militarism, which mean the withdrawal of immense human resources from constructive service to society, the need for universal co-operation to the advantage of all, the respect due to the great men of all lands and the necessity for the practice of toleration of all creeds.

It is empty rhetoric to proclaim great ends without organising the conditions which make these ends possible. Where the Allied nations have the power, they should even now set about implementing their ideals. The Indian situation at the moment is full of anxiety, but there is no ground for despair. The demand for political freedom is universal. There is no country in the world which would not rather govern itself anyhow than be ruled by another. Political subjection is the root cause of our progressive degeneration in character. Sir Thomas Munro's letter to the Governor-General, dated November 12, 1818, sums up the situation: "The strength of the British Government enables it to put down every rebellion, to repel every rebellion, to repel every foreign invasion, and to give to its subjects a degree of protection which those of no Native power enjoy.....but these advantages are dearly bought. They are purchased by the sacrifice of independence, of national character, and of whatever renders a people respectable." To be deprived of the freedom to solve the problems of one's country is the most depressing form of spiritual degradation that can be inflicted on thinking man. No amount of material improvement can compensate for the loss of spiritual dignity. There may be great difficulties in being free. It requires effort and vigilance. But freedom is the essential condition of the true life for the people. Subjection sterilises a nation's genius for civilisation. Political freedom means a great release, a soaring of the spirit, which will mean a healthy renewal of creative activity. If Indian people are politically restless, if politics have become an 'epidemic', it is not unnatural or unintelligible.

We are not concerned today so much with the maintenance of past glories as with the organisation of future progress. All schemes of post-war reconstruction assume a national government. In spite of British rule for over 150 years, the country is still an uneducated one. Twelve per cent of the people as a whole and only five per cent of the women are educated even to the degree of being able to read and write. The type of education which even the few get produces large numbers whose opportunities are disproportionate to their ambitions, and who are therefore transformed into misfits or enemies of society.

Mr. Sargent, with great imagination and resolute purpose, has suggested a radical reorganisation of our educational system from top to bottom. His objective is "to outline the minimum provision of public instruction which would place India on an approximate level with other civilised countries...The expenditure involved is admittedly heavy. The experience of War suggests that when a paramount necessity can be established the money required can and will be found. It is for India to decide whether the time has arrived when a national system of

education is a paramount necessity." Only an Indian government, broad-based on the will of the people, can implement the suggested scheme of educational development.

Professor A. V. Hill, after his recent visit to India, gave the House of Commons a ghastly account of the health of the country, its morality from preventible diseases, its semi-starvation, its barely imaginable poverty. He spoke in a tone of great urgency about the physical misery of the country. Expectation of life in India is twenty-six years against the British sixty-two. Only half the people born in India reach the age of 22 years while in Britain two-thirds reach the age of 60. 50 per cent more food is wanted in India for decent health and the undernourished are a prey to ill-health, infection and disease. Professor Hill believes in "the direction of all the methods of modern science and technology (including medicine, agriculture, education) to the fuller use of natural and human resources and the betterment of the life of the people." The Russain example demonstrates that modern scientific methods can raise very quickly the level of national efficiency and prosperity. Like Russia, India is a land of peasants; only 16 percent of her people live in towns of over 5,000 people. The vast majority are peasants and their urgent needs are more food, better food and health. The record of the Government in the past produces impatience and bewilderment. Only a popular Indian government can shake us out of our lethargy, combat illiteracy and superstition and promote industrial development. Professor Hill affirms that "progress in national development could be sensibly quicker under a purely Indian government, able to furnish an urgent sense of national purpose and daring to apply the necessary rigour of persuasion or compulsion."[1]

Through a conspiracy of circumstances, India is not only undernourished, she is ill-educated and over-strained. The vast majority of Indian poeple have no chance of full development, and are suffering from almost universal deprivation and misdirection, and yet her potential wealth for human culture and civilisation is immense. H. G. Wells observes: "In spite of the tangle of circumstances that has frustrated the self-realisation of all but an infinitesimal fraction of the Indian population, its contribution to the synthesis of human thought have been such as to justify the belief that the World Revolution will release a vaster amount of understanding and serviceable intelligence from this agglomeration of peoples than from any other part of the globe."[2] A free India will be able to make effective contributions to the culture and civilisation of the world.

The British Government have declared their readiness to recognise and accept immediately after the war a working constitution framed by the Indians themselves. But if the Indians, at present, are unable to do so, the responsibility for it is partly the Britishers'. The British Government has been in absolute power in this country for over 150 years but has so used its power as to create cleavages which today seem to be unbridgeable, and the suspicion is widespread that the British wish to retain in their own hands the effective reality of power and so are not anxious to help the Indian people to overcome the differences. It is an age of historic movement that we are living. Britain, by her long connection with India, is entrusted with the proud and fortunate duty of assisting India, by example, by sober friendly counsel, by material aid in the establishment of a just democracy which is impatient with feudal rights, which is intolerent of organised privilege, which aspires to see poverty abolished and an honourable social equality ensured to every person alike. This is possible only in an India which is united and self-governing, though not self-sufficient or self-contained.

With the increased interdependence of the modern world, the independent nation-state is becoming more and more unfit for the organisation the world needs. A world organisation, working through regional groups, is an urgent necessity. Of such groups, the three prominent are United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the British Commonwealth of Nations. The strength of the British Commonwealth depends on the recognition of the unqualified nationhood of its members. When the Dominions feel that they are free to shape their own life and destiny, they become equal partners in the common enterprise of working for a fellowship of nations. If India is granted full freedom as the other dominions have, she will be happy to be within the British Commonwealth of Nations. When Gandhiji was asked to explain what he meant by his 'Quit India' formula, he said that he understood by it that India should be entirely free to choose

[1] *Spectator*, 9th June, 1944.
[2] *Phoenix*, p. 157 (1942).

whether she should belong to the British Commonwealth of Nations or not. He added that he was certain that she would choose to be a member of the Commonwealth, if she were entirely free. The demand for independence is a cry born of despair. The Cripps' offer contained the proposal for Dominion Status with the right of secession expressly acknowledged as part of the Constitution. So the question of Independence versus Dominion Status loses all point.

A federal democratic state with autonomy for the Provinces and the States, should be our aim. Geographically, economically, and culturally, India is one and indivisible. In a recent work, edited by Mr. O'Malley as *Modern India and the West*, he observes: "Whatever other elements of unity may be lacking, India is united by a common culture, which for many centuries has been characterised by remarkable continuity."[1] To this cultural continuum, all races and communities, that have their home in India, have contributed. Indian music and literature, sculpture and painting, art and architecture, life and manners and even religion and philosophy show the influence of varied traditions. Any attempt to break up this unity, to divide the country into independent sovereign states will be a tragic mistake, which will hurt the interests of all communities and the country as a whole. It will be disloyalty to the ideals aimed at by our statesmen, Hindu and Buddhist, Moghul and British. We may redraw the boundaries of provinces, but we should have a central authority to administer vital subjects of common interest like defence and foreign affairs, communications and customs. It will be a tragedy, which every partriot should try to avert, if India, which is one in political subjection, gets broken when freedom is achieved.

If the Hindu-Muslim differences today are so acute, they are not entirely of our making. At a time when the people were beginning to think and feel along nationalist lines, we were invited to look ourselves, not as citizens of a nation, but as partisans of a community. Separate communal electorates were set up against the expressed wishes of the vast majority of the people. The nationalist impulse has been seriously hampered by these clever devices and we have now the demand for the division of India. Even if we bring about territorial readjustments, we cannot avoid the problem of minorities. So long as there is the fear of the domination of one community by another, steps will have to be taken to secure the legitimate rights of all. Perhaps an impartial commission will have to be set up at the centre charged with the task of protecting the interests of the minorities.

University men have special duty in dissipating the cloud of ill-will and misunderstanding and promoting inter-communal harmony. Political leaders on both sides, who have a superb confidence in the validity of their own prejudices, pervert historical truth to suit their own theories. When Bury said that history is a science, he meant that it must be released not only from the temptations of rhetoric but also from obscurantist obsessions and political prejudices. The interests of all the Indian people who have had a common history are the same in the matter of politics and economics.

A self-governing democratic India is not feasible so long as the Princes remain outside the Federation. A third of India and a fourth of her people belong to the Indian States. Their territories cut across the roads, the railways and the rivers of British India. Many of the progressive rulers are ready to join an Anglo-India Federation in which the States and the Provinces will be free to develop along their own lines in friendly accord with each other.

The States have no external sovereignty. The British Government represents them in external affairs and protects their subjects, when residing or travelling abroad. Inter-state relations are all conducted by the British Government. The States have different degrees of internal sovereignty. Political upheavals all over the world indicate that the only safety of the Princes lies in the support of the people and not in the treaties that bind them to the Crown. Again, even the Paramount Power has transferred responsibility for government to the people, where it has direct sway and so the rulers, protected by it, have to follow the example. Besides the States today are fighting with the Allies on behalf of democracy and against tyranny and they cannot legitimately stifle the movement for democracy and freedom in their own territories. Many of the States have introduced popular institutions and are showing great capacity for adaptations which is the only condition for survival. The power of paramountcy will have to be transferred to the Central government where power will be shared by the Provinces and the States. This government will deal with all matters of defence, foreign policy, finance and power to intervene, should government show signs of collapse in either the Provinces or the States.

[1] Modern India and the West (1941), p. 1.

At the time of the Cripps' offer, H.H. the Maharaja of Kashmir welcomed it and pledged his full support to it. I have no doubt the patriotic princes would be quite willing to deal with the Indian people and co-operate with them in the building up of a free and prosperous India.

Let us realise that a revolution is in progress in our country, which vested interests may delay but cannot prevent. It is for us to co-operate with a future from whose consequences we cannot escape, while yet the chance of co-operation is not altogether closed down. The evolving dynamic of history makes for a democracy, political, economical and social and the Universities must educate the youth, not for the world that is dying but for the one that is struggling to be born. It is too much to hope that this University, which is celebrating its Silver Jubilee today, which has inherited values, values which are older than modern civilisation, will work in the next twenty-five years for the emergence of a commanding aim, an overarching purpose, a magnificent resolve, which would capture the imagination of our people, drown our quarrels, overide our disputes and make us ashamed of our own littleness and help us to build a free and prosperous India ?

# The Utkal University Convocation

*Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha,* addressing the first convocation of the newly created Utkal University at Cuttack on the 2nd. November 1944 said :

I shall not be wrong in thinking that you all want "swaraj"—the term which was used by His Imperial Majesty King-Emperor George V, in the course of his Royal Message (sent through his revered uncle, the late Duke of Connaught) on the occasion of the inauguration of the Indian Legislative Assembly, in 1921. Now it is all to the good that a country should have economic freedom and political independence, if her people but possess the capacity and character to retain once they have acquired them and to hold their own against all aggressors. But what if the people do not possess such capacity and character, for want of which they are more likely to lose these most precious gifts—howsoever received or obtained—as soon as they are acquired. How did India come to lose her independence ? What was it that led to the establishment of British rule, throughout the length and breadth of this large country, or rather sub-continent—as large as Europe minus Russia—and what was it that had enabled the British to retain their undisturbed possession over their Indian territories for a longer period than the rulers of any important dynasty in India ? And how is it that, in spite of our strenuous efforts, the goal of Indian Swaraj seems almost as distant to-day as it was a quarter of a century back ?

I wonder if any of you, with all your desire to obtain independence, have cared to answer these questions to yourselves, after a careful study of the subjects involved in their consideration—the history of your country, its sociological condition, the capacity and character of your people, and also those of the British, whom you are so anxious to replace in the government of the country. To those who would care to grasp these questions, I would commend the serious study of the second part (dealing with India) of the late Professor Seeley's illuminating work, "The Expansion of England," which (though published over sixty years back) is still by far the most instructive exposition of the subject. If you will but study it with an open mind, you will realise the truth enunciated by Mahatma Gandhi when (replying, some years back, to the address presented to him by the Madras Corporation) he stated his conviction that "swaraj would be the inevitable result of the enlightened awakening of the masses of India, which was a hardy tree of patient growth, and required the patient toil of men and women,"

I fully share the conviction that the diffusion of sound political knowledge among the Indian masses is the only practical method for generating their "enlightened awakening." Remember that though an "emotional awakening" of the masses may be possible to bring about by inducing them to do certain things under the stress of an exciting impulse, their "enlightened awakening," which Mahatma Gandhi desired to usher, can only be brought about, slowly but steadily, by the diffusion of that sound political education which will require "the patient toil of men and women"—the effect and influence, of which have not yet been brought into full play in our public life, and on our political activities, by reason of "emotional awakening" having cast its shadow on them.

### IDEAL SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT

Allmost all educated Indians regard Democracy as an ideal system of Government. But Democracy is at present assailed in many quarters in the West itself, by serious doubts about its success as the best form of Government, and is said to be on its trial. It is no longer felt as certain, as before, that the basic assumptions of the theory of Democracy are absolutely tenable and sound, and it is now held by many highly qualified political thinkers that these assumptions, when subjected to searching criticism do not ring true—though there is a possibility of a swing again, in the opposite direction. "Government by the people as a whole"—was regarded by Abraham Lincoln as the hall-mark of Democracy, its one differentiating criterion from Oligarchy, the government by only a part of the people. But the greatest historian of antiquity, Thucydides—in his world-famous history of the Peloponnesian war—had put into the mouth of the most eminent political leaders and the greatest statesman of ancient Greece, Pericles, the definition of Democrcy in the following terms:—"Our constitution is named Democracy, because it is in the hands not of the few, but of the many." But the definition of Pericles—howsoever suited or applicable it might have been to the city-States of ancient Greece—is wholly impracticable if applied to larger areas, except by the method of the election of representatives, which system is regarded by many historians of constitutional development as the most important contribution made by our British fellow-subjects to the progress of mankind in good government.

An eminent American authority on constitutional subjects, Mr. A. L. Lowell, sums up, however, his views on the soundness of the theory of Democracy, in the following terms:—"The conception of government by the whole people, in any large nation is, of course, a chimera; for wherever the suffrage is wide, parties are certain to exist, and the control must really be in the hands of the party that comprises a majority of the people." And so ultimately the theory of Democracy breaks down in actual practice into a government by only a majority of the people—thus postulating two parties in the State, and in its Parliament. And far from being "the government of the people as a whole," it is in practice only an Oligarchy in disguise. In the result, Democracy becomes the government (of a State, or a nation) technically by the people as a whole, but practically by a majority only. The latest and sternest critic of parliamentary democracy is Mr. Bernard Shaw, whose "Everybody's Political What's What" (issued in September last) is a remarkable work for out-spokenness on the subject of parliamentary and responsible government, which many of us in this country set high store by. Writing at the advanced age of eighty-eight, with more than six decades of experience of public affairs, Mr. Shaw—one of the keenest intellects in Europe—opines that "the British party system should be scrapped ruthlessly."

But this system—with all its limitations—has the obvious advantage ( as emphasised by Lowell) of maintaining a political equilibrium or balance, in the State, between anarchy and absolutism, since for its efficient working it requires at least two major political parties of which one favour a greater and larger measure of individual freedom—a drifting towards anarchy, without desiring or working for anarchy while the other favours more and more centralisation—thus drifting towards absolutism, without desiring or trying for absolutism. Too much drift either way, when it is likely to disturb the balance, arouses a more or less general protest, and the voters then place the other party in power—which restores the political balance, the most important concomitant of Democracy. Thus it is a political system, which, in its present form, has not been long enough established, in the world, to be said of it that it will necessarily suit the sociological conditions of all races and peoples, since it is a complex and and complicated machinery of government, requiring special conditions for its success, which have not yet been found to exist even in all the countries of Continental Europe, or of the two Americas.

### A SELFISH DEMAND

Nevertheless there is practical unanimity among educated Hindus—and their view is now very largely shared by the other communities also—that the early, if not immediate, establishment of not only democratic, but full responsible, government (the system in which the Executive is responsible to the Legislature) is absolutely essential to India's well-being ; and Britain's refusal to yield on this point till now has but served to evoke much bitterness against that country, and to produce tremendous acerbity of feelings against the British—which finds daily, nay, hourly, expression in the press, and on the platform, in India. The argument that Indians should train themselves for political independence by rehearsing, in the course of an

unduly long series of years, if not decades, the whole drama of British history from William the Conqueror to King George VI, is regarded by educated Indians to be as senseless a demand as it is believed by them to be selfish, since they contend that the same process by which Nature compresses ages of biological evolution in a few weeks of early embryonic life in the mother's womb, applies equally to political evolution. These are but a few of the many arguments that—along with the political and the economic ones, with which you are familiar—are regarded as cogent and conclusive in favour of India's claims to immediate economic freedom and political independence.

The case for India's attaining swaraj is, in my opinion, so absolutely incontrovertible on much higher grounds than those usually urged in its favour, that it requires no resort to doubtful political methods or sharp tactics. Confining myself to the moral side of the problem, I would say that the desire for independence springs in the human breast from the psychological phenomenon that an environment which constantly suggests a subject people's dependence, incapacity and inferiority as compared or contrasted with the position of vantage of its foreign rulers, has the inevitable effect of debilitating, degrading, depressing and suppressing the ruled in their own estimation not to say in that of others—thus reducting them from the high level of humanity to that of lower creation. The daily and hourly, conscious and subconscious suggestion of the inherent inferiority of the ruled, as compared with the rulers, is thus the ineradicable defect of an alien domination. This is an insuperable defect which even the best foreign rule—such as that established in India by the British—cannot, in the very nature of things, ever be free from, and the sooner it is realised and tackled, the better would it be for all concerned—whether the rulers, or the ruled. I can tell you from my experience that there are, in almost every British Indian province, public men and others, who had been members of the Central, or a Provincial Government and who have lived to see not only Secretaries, but even Under-Secretaries, to Government, in their time, elevated as members of the Government of India, and even to the ranks of Governors in various provinces —while they themselves (inspite of their knowledge and experience, gained from inside, of the working of the administration) had been but ploughing the sands or, at best the lonely furrow, since their retirement from office. You will easily recall what but a few years ago threatened your own province but which was only avoided, at the last moment by reason of a very strong protest by the then Ministry backed up by public opinion, throughout the country. Nor is it all. Except once (in 1921) and that for less than a year, no Indian has been appointed a permanent Governor of an Indian province and the recent photographs taken of the Governors' Conferences at Delhi—the Viceroy sitting in the midst of eleven Governors not even one of whom was an Indian—which had appeared in the press, had evoked feelings which I have no desire to describe. Those amongst us who repeat the slogan that it is not high offices that matter but it is the constitution alone with does, have yet to learn that it is men who mould systems and transform even defective ones to subserve the end in view. All these facts clearly point their own moral if they do not adorn a tale. A system of administration so galling and humiliating to the self-respect of the people of this country as the one that obtains at present carries condemnation on the very face of it and the point needs no elaboration at my hands.

But apart from the psychological aspect of the subject to which I have invited your attention, there is another no less important, to which (in his Romanes Lecture for 1902) on 'The Relations of the Advanced and the Backward Races of Mankind' the late Lord Bryce—well-known as the author of two monumental works, The 'American Commonwealth and modern democracies'—drew pointed attention as bearing on the ethnological and the sociological sides of the effect of foreign rule on a people less advanced than their rulers or of a different race, or colour, from them. After having laid down the proposition that "the aversion to colour reaches its maximum among the Teutons", Lord Bryce discussed at length the troubles that, in the nature of things, are bound to arise frequently between the rulers and the ruled, where they belong to races not only marked off by colour, but also in sociological conditions. I shall quote a passage from the very striking observations of Lord Bryce :—"The social relations of two races which cannot be fused raise problems even more difficult, because incapable of being regulated by law. Law may attempt to secure equal admission to public conveyances or public entertainments. But there are injuries which cannot be prevented. Impunity corrupts the ordinary man; and even the better sort suffer from the consciousness of their own superiority not merely in rank, but also in strength and volition. One must have lived among a

weaker race in order to realize the kind of irritation which its defects produce in those who deal with it, and how temper and self-control are strained in resisting temptations to harsh or abitrary action. It needs something more than the virtue of a philosopher—it needs the tenderness of a saint to preserve the same courtesy and respect towards the members of a backward race as are naturally extended to equals."

These are facts which cannot be challenged or disputed by any impartial observer. It is much to the credit of the British in India that such acts and incidents, as were mentioned by Lord Bryce had been steadily on the decrease, on their part, consistently with the rise of a sense of higher self-respect, as the result of the diffusion of education, among Indians. But the broad sociological facts and ethnological conditions, enunciated by Lord Bryce, stand good for all time; and have got to be taken into account in considering the problem, which admits of but one solution—the economic freedom and political independence of the dependent country and its people. That seems the only solution of the problem, which concerns the destinies of about four hundred millions of human beings—nearly from one-fifth to one fourth of the population of the world. Thus by incredibly slow, painful, and reluctant steps, many of us, who started public life long years back, with far different views on the political problems of India, have been driven to this irrefutable conclusion that the only remedy, for the very unsatisfactory and deplorable situation in this country, is the establishment of swaraj, as soon as possible.

### COMMUNALISM

Speaking about the communalism Dr. Sinha said, "The source of the poison of communalism, that has been for now nearly forty years corroding our national life is to be traced elsewhere though we ourselves are not entirely free from blame for the growth of communal movements and tendencies. Those who will think over the matter dispassionately and impartially, will have to admit that the responsibility of the British Government for the present situation—howsoever well-intentioned their policy—has been no less great in this matter. That being the position, it will always be very difficult for nationalist leaders to drive out the evil of communalism from the land so long as it is freely and almost aggressively, recognised, not only in the administration of the country but even in its constitution."

# The Allahabad University Convocation

The following is the text of the Convocation Address delivered by Col. *Sir Kailas Haksar, Kt., C. I. E., LLD. on November 4, 1944* :—

Half a century, all but two years ago, when this my *Alma Mater* was herself a stripling aged nine years, I came to these hallowed precincts to receive the sheet of parchment, which entitled me to flaunt a Hood and Gown and put after my name, in their inverted order, the first two letters of the English alphabet.

During these years since 1896, a period relatively short from the standpoint of intellectual and moral advancement, what immense strides this academic centre has taken, how its activities have broadened, how obviously higher the standard of knowledge, in its multifarious aspects, has risen!

No one will question that this accelerated progress, in particular the conversion of the University from the mere affiliating and examining to the unitary type has, in the main, been due to the ambitious enthusiasm and unremitting toil of a worthy father and a worthy son, both inspired by love of learning for its own sake.

I, therefore, marvel at you Mr. Vice-Chancellor, that despite your discernment and the wide field of selection that lay before you, you should have chosen to unearth a fossil to deliver this Convocation Address unless it was your purpose to exhibit to the young graduates assembled here to-day the contrast between the past and the present in order to suggest to them that the law of evolutions is operating in the sphere of knowledge, as elsewhere, that the recent rapid progress is only the earnest of more rapid progress to come and that therefore they owe it, to themselves no less than to their country to exploit to the full their wonderful opportunities.

In any case, while your incomprehensible choice has heightened my feeling of embarrassment it has equally deepened my sense of the honour you have done me by calling me to my present task. I will content myself with saying simply but in all sincerity—"Thank you very much."

To those young persons who to-day join the time-honoured guild of graduates I would say: Life is not just a wonderful adventure as you should make it; it is also a wonderful privilege. Hence it imposes great duties. As the poet-philosopher, Lucretius, neatly puts it "Life is given to none in fee-simple, to all in usufruct." It is more still. Life is a racial heritage.

You stand between the Past and the Future: the world is yours to enjoy, to organise, and to reconstruct. Your lot is cast in these sad times of turmoil and tribulation, but so has been the lot of countless others in the past. Remember—

"The troubles of our proud and angry dust
Are from eternity, and shall not fail.
Bear them we can, and if we can we must.
Shoulder the sky, my lad, and drink *your ale*."

To-day Mankind anxiously asks if there be no way out from gloom and horror ino life and light. Centuries hence in different circumstances but with human nature little, if at all, changed, Mankind may be asking the same question. But such a reflection should not make you hesitate to blaze now the trail for great movements that you hope will build a happier world. You are put into the world to live and if you can to be happy. You can neither live nor be happy without displaying energy, without fighting, but your energy and your fights are vain, indeed harmful to yourselves and others, if you forget that you have a duty not to Posterity, that is too much to demand, but a duty to Humanity in your own short day.

Man's personality needs growth and development in its four different aspects—Intellectual, Physical, Aesthetic, and Ethical. These are the four facets of a complete life and the attainment of this consummation is dependent on self-culture for which you can derive guidance from the store of accumulated Knowledge which will be available in increasing measure as time goes on and wisdom reveals her face from behind the infinite folds which, in spite of the advance of civilization, still hide her. It is up to you to make of man—the jest and riddle of the world—its out-standing glory.

Resolve then to:—

"Follow Knowledge, like a sinking Star,
Beyond the Utmost bound of human thought:"

and as Tennyson recommended, to combine Knowledge with Reverence so that Mind and Soul may be in accord.

Yet here incidentally a word of warning. You may wallow in books and acquire a name for great learning but Wisdom as distinct from Knowledge comes from thinking about what you have read not from mere reading.

John Richard Green, the historian wrote:—

"I know what men will say of me, 'He died learning'." Whatever men said immediately after his death in 1883, it is doubtful, if comment to-day beyond admitting his picturesque style says much except that it is a pity that he misunderstood so much, of what he tried to learn. None the less the hope of this honest man was no ignoble one. Let men say of each of you "He died learning", and it may be, that you will get the chance of continuing to learn even after your farewell to this short life.

It is your duty to train and develop your Mind and acquire Knowledge, as much Knowledge as you can possibly obtain. Knowledge is like a deep well, fed by perennial springs and your Mind is the little bucket that you drop into it. Keep your bucket shining and you will get as larg draughts of crystal Knowledge as you can assimilate. The brain, which is the physical organ of the Mind, is one of the two precious products of the aeons of Evolution; the other is the imponderable "Social Instinct."

At all events remember that.—

"New occasions teach new duties: Time makes ancient good uncouth.
They must upward still and onwards, who would keep abreast of Truth,
Lo before us gleam her camp-fires! We ourselves must pilgrims be,
Nor attempt the Future's portal with the Past's blood-rusted Key."

At the outset, I referred to the present period as "the sad times of turmoil and tribulation" and the lines I have just quoted that "new occasions teach new duties."

I must elaborate both these points. For a proper appreciation of the dictum that "the old order changeth, yielding place to new" let us cast a rapid glance at our world's history as pieced together by the Sciences of Geology, Biology and an ever-growing host of other 'Ologies' and as preserved in ancient records—surviving monuments of a bygone Age, since disinterred, and the written page.

Science has demonstrated that life only appeared on Earth in the Lower Palæozoic Age in the shape of small shellfish and seaweeds, etc., when over half the period of one billion, 600 million years had already run. So it has to be realised that Man's appearance on the Earth had been preceded by the Age of Fishes, the Age of Coal-swamps, the Age of Reptiles, the Age of first Birds and first Mammals, etc., etc.

Do not let this narrative shock any of your preconceived notions of your cherished beliefs. You must keep an open mind and you must have the courage to face the truth. And for the comfort of your souls you may realise that this process of evolution may very well have been divinely ordained. No one can contest the belief begotten of Faith in a Creator whose Design is beyond the reach of logic based on demonstrable evidence and proof.

But to keep to my point, namely, that Change which means unfoldment by a continuous process of evolution, is a Law of Life. Just take a peep into the Kaleidoscope where you will see figures some eight or nine thousand years old, and you will recognise them all. You begin with Sumeria and early Egypt, you see the primitive Aryans, you get a view of the Empire of Darius, you witness the Greeks and Persians, the megalomania of Xerxes, and the glory and splendour of the Age of Pericles. You pass in review the Empire of Alexander the Great, you observe with reverence and awe, Siddharth Gautam and you get a bird's-eye-view of King Ashoka's Empire, dotted over with his bronze and engraven edicts You now reverse your "joy-tube" a little, you see the profiles of Confucius and Lao Tse, you see Rome and Carthage. You see the Huns and you alight upon the Byzantine and Sassanid Empires, you see the great days of the Arabs, the panorama from Cordova to Baghdad, Samurkund and Bokhara; further back you see the Mongols and obtain a view of Chengez Khan, Ogdai Khan, Halaku and Tamer-Lane, and so on, Empire that "fall successive and successive rise", changes occurring in every quarter of the Globe. Meanwhile, Art, Literature, the Science of Politics, Religion every phase of human life and activity is undergoing change, change and transformation,—God fulfilling himself in many ways. What wonder then that human society, human institutions, all that the will of man has planned and wrought, have their day and cease to be. You have then to regard the glittering Present against the background of the hoary Past and realise that "the Knowledge of to-day is the ignorance of to-morrow."

To-day there rages a global war which has plunged Humanity into the direst misery. And one wonders whether the words of Aristotle and Byron were prophetic?

The former described how "States passed through tyranny, oligarchy democracy, and back to tyranny" again and the latter versified, sententiously, the vagaries of the human lot.

"There is the moral of all human tales;
'Tis but the dull rehearsal of the Past.
First freedom and then glory—when that fails;
Wealth, vice, corruption—barbarism at last."

But if you are a man of Faith, a convinced believer in the Law of Evolution you cannot be a faint-hearted pessimist.

Some do what is Good, others choose what is Better, but you should love only the Best and hold fast to it, whatever befalls.

Tolstoy said, "The highest wisdom is not founded on reason alone nor on those wordly sciences of Physics, Chemistry, History, and the like into which intellectual Knowledge is divided. The highest wisdom has but one science—the science of the whole. The science explaining the whole creation and man's place if it."

Tolstoy's philosophy of history was developed by applying to events on a large scale one great fundamental law that can be observed operating in the lives of individuals.

Not until a man has liberated himself from the immemorial emotional delusion that he and his Earth are the centre of things and his mind something other than a purposeful function of matter determined by necessity; not until then will he begin to approach his goal as a human being. The evolution towards a truly human status will inevitably issue in Tolerance, the Rule of Reason and the annihilation of all dark aggressive instincts.

Contemporary form of thought, critical and objective, deems itself far exalted above former religious forms. Yet it, too, forgets its limitations in that it is also a form of thought. And I have the intuition at this moment that the past forms of thought will some day be the future forms and may look down with a smile upon our entire critical period. I know the argument that all Gods are but the mirrored images of our own corporal nature, and if an elephant were to believe in a God, it

would have to be an elephant. But this is no disproof of the being of Divinity but only a proof of the narrowness of the mortal mind limited to its own law of imagining. I do not belong to those who believe in a heaven in Heaven. But neither am I to be reckoned among those materialists who believe in a Heaven on Earth provided merely by better laws and machines. Both beliefs are too lazy, too easy, and so must be suspect.

It is a commonplace for each generation to say to the next that it did not have its successor's educational facilities; but whatever the truth may be, in my own particular case, I think I was unlucky during my University years. I am no historian and no scientist, but my later life might have been richer, had the History and Science teachings, of the 'eighties and' nineties been innately less repellent than they seemed to me. History in those decades was striving to get away for sentimentalism and the service of causes and to become "Scientific." Ranke and Mommsen had done wonderful and necessary research work in Germany for European and Ancient Roman History, work such as a century later we are only starting to think about for India, but History, as those professorial giants envisioned it, could not deal with moral judgments and yet remain "Scientific." How false was such a view the perverted teachings of von Treitschke and his pinchbeck imitators have amply shown. Still claiming to be "scientific" historians, they invented a new morality to suit German national heroes whom a claimed "greatness" was to set above normal moral standards. It only needed Nazism to go the whole way and out-nietzching Nietzsche to land a country in a sorry mess.

History (it was chiefly English History) as taught in Indian Colleges in my academic days was certainly not what Bolingbroke claims to have read somewhere namely that it is "Philosophy teaching by examples." English historians had not yet claimed to be "scientific." They were quarreling violently among themselves. A few days ago I read some amusing rhymes in a letter from Stubbs to Green—this was before Stubbs' researches had upset some of Green's most romantic statements, and the two were still in speaking terms. To quote the lines may relieve the tedium of this Address:—

"Froude informs the Scottish youth,
That parsons do not care for truth.
The Reverend Canon Kingsley cries
History is a pack of lies.
What cause for judgments so malign?
A brief reflection solves the mystery
Froude believes Kingsley a divine.
And Kingsley goes to Froude for history."

The word was unknown then, but as a student I subconsciously held the view with which Henry Ford was later to secure headlines in the papers:—"History is bunk."

Needless to say I have jettisoned so puerile a view years ago. I had forsworn the idea years before I read Lord Acton's impassioned claim for morality in History. You will find it in his Inaugural Address as Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge. But an inhibition remains; I am inclined to suspect the ablest historian of misleading his readers unless he emphasises ethical values even at the expense of art. In no branch of study, in no phase of life, can morals be ambulatory.

In my student days it was fashionable to be a materialist and to some extent I was in the fashion, but the Science of my days was an unsatisfying diet. It certainly did not study the whole man and his needs, make it clear to him where his highest welfare resides and point the way to its attainment. It deliberately ignored all man's higher faculties, his highest needs, and had started on its course of hypnotising the so-called cultured world into the belief that a study of the laws which govern the lower aspects of man constitutes the sum of knowledge.

Science to-day is growing wiser. We see now that Science must be directed aright and such a direction can only come from an attempted understanding of life as a whole, as correct an attempt as each scientific *guru* and each would be scientific *chela* can reason out for himself.

Only a correct understanding of life can give a right direction to Science; and the so-called sciences that profess to study man in his needs and objectively (that is to say, without any reference to the fact that besides being an animal he is also a reasonable being) are as specious and ineffective as would be a science that professes to know everything about an egg while remaining in ignorance of the one important fact that out of it can come a living creature.

The same blindness, which also pervades Philosophy, Education and the whole of modern culture, makes the very faculty of reason, which is the greatest gift with which man has been endowed, at its first appearance seem to be an unmitigated misfortune, since in its exercise he sees in his reflections only a denial of life, without realising in what direction a reasonable life can be sought. But in reality these sufferings are but the birth-pangs of a new awakening consciousness that perceives for the first time that all that he had formerly believed could give him happiness can give him nothing without showing him at once in what true life consists, and how he can live in accordance with its laws.

The desire for happiness is the desire for universal welfare, the desire for universal goodness; and once reason has ascertained that these are unattainable in the satisfaction of personal ambitions, then it inevitably seeks a different form of life in which such desires can be realised. And such a life not only exists but lies waiting to be entered as soon as the level of animal-personal consciousness has been transcended, and man, rather than save himself, is willing to lose himself in higher service.

To a man governed by reason, the renunciation of the welfare of the personal life is as natural as that a bird should fly instead of running with its feet. Because a bird runs with its feet, that is no proof that it cannot fly; and because the majority of men believe that the whole of life consists in the satisfaction of material desires it does not mean that this is natural for a man, and that his true life does not consist in transcending these desires, and so attaining the level of spiritual, or, if you prefer it, reasonable, consciousness.

But what I have been saying is in no sense a plea for the rejection of science. On the contrary the "new duty" owed by every one of you, to your country and indeed to humanity at large, in consequence of the world's altered situation is thoroughly to familiarise yourself with the body of Nature's laws discovered by all the sciences that have so far been developed and built up. Indeed, it is your duty that you, the young brains of India, should, sooner rather than later, add to the world's stock of scientific knowledge.

The study of Science is indispensable, too, for us Indians *en masse* from another standpoint. We have been, over centuries, gradually caught in the tightening meshes of a wide net of superstitions to which the sanction of Religion has been quite wrongly imparted. This in India, as elsewhere in the world, has resulted from the exploitation of human credulity and of the apprehensive state of mind begotten of fear or actual distress. Superstition has arrested our progress and brought our true Religion, which has a philosophic outlook and is based upon eternal verities, into disrepute in the eyes of the undiscriminating. Unhesitatingly, I assert that "popular religion" in India finds no warrant in the teachings of the Vedas, the Quran, and the Zend Avastha, or in the teachings of Gautam Buddha, Mahavir, and Guru Nanak. On the contrary, all those sources of spiritual enlightenment inculcate fearless action in the service of the one God through the service of humanity and indeed of all God's creature.

You must, therefore, study Science in the same spirit in which an intending wrestler builds up his bone and muscles in order to overthrow his foe remembering that the most formidable enemy of man in "AVIDYA"—Ignorance.

Make your intensive study of science a preparation for the discovery of the secret of man's true Destiny—the discovery of what lies beyond the scope of experiment and the grasp of Reason.

You will admit that the most eminent Scientists of the world, Physicists and Biologists, indeed explorers in every scientific field have had an intuitive feeling, nay more a glimmering—as through a glass darkly—of something which lies beyond the reach of their line of exploration.

Let me now turn to typically mundane matters which form the substance of the so-called "burning question of the day"—Nations, the State, Constitution War, Social Services, Economic Reconstruction, and the rest.

The first basic fact that the world has to accept is that Humanity is one and indivisible. The unity of mankind should be one of the most sacred principles of the civilised mind's creed.

The Anthropologists divide mankind into several "races" according to their complexion, stature, cephalic index, character of face, shape of nose, texture of the hair, etc., etc. But who can gainsay that all men and women belong to the species Homo Sapiens?

What are the feelings uppermost in the civilized mind to-day? Horror of War and a longing for lasting Peace. War has been admitted to be an immeasur-

able folly, an inexpiable crime, an unpardonable sin, a homicidal madness, an outbreak of savage fury, and a recurrent catastrophe that maims and mars human civilization. But it has still to be realised that it can only be abolished by abolishing the sovereign Nation-State and establishing in its place the sovereign World-State. No other palliative will cure this agelong deep-seated malady. Pacts, Treaties and Conventions among the Nation-States have been found to be illusory and ineffective.

A great student of History and a great authority in his special line—M. Valbert has recorded that :—

"From the year 1500 B. C. to 1860 A. D. more than 8,000 Treaties of Peace, meant to remain in force forever, were concluded. The average time they remained in force is two years."

Take the last thirty years and you have the Treaty of Versailles, the Anglo-German Naval Treaty, the German-Polish and the German-Czechoslovakian Treaties, and the Russo-German Pact.

Take the first of this group—the Treaty of Versailles which concluded the first Great War. That war, it was averred was fought to end War. While it lasted it was being proclaimed that at the end of it all the people of the world would be given the right of self-determination. It has been very aptly remarked by an acute analyst that "that conflict, terrible, and enormous as it was, ended nothing, began nothing and settled nothing. It killed millions of people ; it impoverished the world."

The peace of Versailles was a purely political peace and the League, which that Treaty instituted, a political organisation. It was an attempt to patch up human affairs while accepting existing Governments and existing conceptions of the State as inevitable conditions. This was the necessary consequence of the survival of the idea of the Nation-State. The Nation-State fosters the mentality of a selfish Nationality which will always seek money and power by crushing and robbing other Nations.

To end war those who lead nations must become cosmopolitan in politics and, if they sincerely desire that the world at large should enjoy peace and make progress, they must awaken to the fact of a mysterious law which ordains that no progress can be made without sacrifice. The creed of the world should be Meliorism for Meliorism is the gospel of Progress-plus-Personality. Meliorists we must be. We have had so much of the optimist who proclaims that we live in the best of all possible world and of the pessimist who fears that this is true.

War is the most prolific parent of a vast variety of evils. For one thing it increases economic inequality within a State.

Green wrote of the war between England and France (1793-1815) "The war enriched the Land-owners, the Farmer, the Merchants, the Manufacturer, but it impoverished the poor. It is indeed from those fatal years, which lie between the Peace of Luneville and Waterloo, that we must date that war of Classes which still forms the main difficulty of English Politics."

Hence, possibly, the palliative, in the present day, of the Beveridge Plan as the principal measure of Post-War Reconstruction—a step beyond the dole to the unemployed, yet in the basic view, a mere placebo, leaving the fundamental question untouched. What is more, is it impossible that the ostensible insistence on the banishment of poverty may have for its real purpose the increase of the poor man's purchasing power in order that he should consume the goods which the Industrial organisations infinitely extended by the War's need for the production of munitions, must produce after the war is over, in order to ensure the continuity of huge profits to the multi-millionaire capitalists ?

"A time like this demands
Stong minds, great hearts, true faith and ready hands ;
Men whom the lust of office does not kill ;
Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy ;
Men who possess opinion and a will,
Men who have honour, men who will not lie,
Tall men, Sun-crowned, who live drop above the fog,
In private duty and in private thinking."

If this was true of the Age of Pericles how much more true it is to-day ? Therefore, the present day youth of the world must boldly issue its Declaration of Independence and join the 'Open Conspiracy' outlined by H. G. Wells.

I fear I have given you too many quotations and perhaps those already a shade hackneyed but at this stage let me give you a motto :—

Six words there are that plead with me each day,
I ought, I must, I can, I will, I dare, I may.

I am also reminded of Aristotle's great saying :—

"Plato and Truth are both dear to us ; but it is a sacred duty to prefer Truth." And it takes courage to declare for Truth however mentally honest you be. Nor can I forget Voltaire's Epigram : "the cowardice of the honest ensures the success of the scoundrels," though it is a question whether any coward can be an honest man.

But I have permitted myself a long digression from my main point, namely, the evils of the Nation-State. In joining voices with great modern minds in the condemnation of this type of State, I am anxious not to be misunderstood. The recommended abolition of the Nation-State does not at all imply the abolition of the Nations. Certainly not. On this point I rather subscribe to the view of that remarkable woman Pearl Buck who has said :—

"All of us need a physical home to love and cherish to improve and beautify. All of us, for convenience in daily life, if for nothing else, need a sound and useful local political organisation. There would be chaos if there were no Nations or National Governments. But to insist that Nations must be the chief groups of mankind is to day to insist that a small province ought to have been the limit of man's thought yesterday, when already he thought in Nations. Today, man's thoughts include the Globe."

The history of mankind from the 16th century onwards has been a story of political and social misfits and *pari passu* an effort, however unconscious, on the part of man to adapt methods to suit new conditions. Conditions, however, changed so rapidly that the adaptation lagged behind, for man, in general, hates volun ary change. Nevertheless, the urge to reconstruct the whole scheme of human society in accordance with former experience has never abated.

There has perforce been a great change in human conditions, due to a change in the spirit of human life. The change has gone on side by side with the increase and expansion of knowledge and is subtly connected with it. There has been an increasing disposition to treat life based on the common and the more elementary desires and gratifications as unsatisfactory, and to seek relationship with and service and participation in a larger life. This is the common characteristic of all the great religions that have spread throughout the world in the last twenty odd centuries Buddhism, Islam, and Christianity. These religions have engendered forces that have helped to evolve a self-respect in the idividual and a sense of responsibility in the common concerns of mankind that did not exist among the populations of the earlier civilizations.

As means of quicker travel and communication have multiplied, these forces have naturally spread and affected the intercommunication and interaction of men with one another. The world has grown smaller. How small the world has becoming during the last less than one and three quarters of a century (1776-1944) was well brought out in an address by Hon'ble Henry Wallace, Vice-President of the United States. He said :—

"To-day, measured by travel-time, the whole world is actually smaller than was our little country then. When George Washington was inaugurated, it took 7 days to go by horse-drawn vehicle from Mount Vernon to New York. Now Army bombers are flown from the United States to China and India in less than three days."

But despite the world having thus contracted the great majority of human beings have still to see the human adventure as one whole.

At present they are obsessed by the air of permanence and finality in established things. As yet they accept current reality as ultimate reality. As the saying goes, they take the world as they find it, little realising that it has changed beyond recognition, and the changes that must come hereafter will be in geometric progression, if only because by the abolition of distance everyone has become next door neighbour to everyone else, and the silent revolution of thought that has occurred, and is occurring, is world-wide.

In such a situation for anyone to think in terms of out-moded forms of Government, however you veil or disguise them, betokens a deplorable lack of imagination, giving rise to the most deceptive wishful thinking. Such disguises may possibly delude the pigmies of Central Africa still outside the orbit of present day world thought, but can they meet, effectively, and for any length of time, the requirements of India whose peoples increasingly participate in the enlightenment common to the whole world ? It is only possible to uphold, in this country, a form of Government out of tune with the spirit of the age, by all manner of violence,

internment, imprisonment, repressive laws, censorship, propaganda, perversion of education and, in general, by various evil acts.

Your country is invited to compose its differences that is to reconcile all interests and parties to a common aim, and, having done so, to frame a self-governing constitution which will safeguard all interests including of course, those of the Power that has brought you into the present war and, having ruled this country for a century and a half, believes itself to have acquired some prescriptive rights.

It is unlikely that you will be called upon actually to take a hand in constitution-making but no one should ignore the fact that assuming such a constitution ever becomes a *fait accompli* and withstands for any appreciable length of time the forces of the as yet indistinct and dark future, you as the youngest section of the country's adolescent population, stand to be longest ruled by this constitution.

This gives you the right to say upon which category of rock the foundation of the constitutional edifice should be laid.

When the lines of the present Constitution Act of 1935 were being explored, one of the suggestions that was pressed by the Indian Members of the Round Table Conference was that fundamental Rights should be embodied in the impending constitution. The reply was that such Rights which were well understood and in fact acknowledged and in operation could not form part of a Legislative Enactment. What were eventually incorporated in that Act, however, were the special responsibility and the discretionary powers of not only the Governor-General, personally, but also of the Provincial Governors thus reducing the so-called "big step" forward to a nullity.

Whether the contention about the exclusion of fundamental rights was valid or otherwise, you are nevertheless entitled to remind the framers of the future constitution—your countrymen—of their own belief that such Rights should be suitably incorporated in an instrument which will govern and mould your lives.

To digress for a moment, you have all heard of the Atlantic Charter which was pronounced by the Prime Minister of England to be not applicable to India for the reason that its main principles had already been formally declared to be the objective of Britain's Indian policy. The 3rd article of this Charter which proclaims the principles of the National Policies of Britain and the United States reads :

"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."

Before going further I may quote some sentences from the Prime Minister's broadcast speech (21st March, 1943—seven months after the signing of the Atlantic Charter on the 14th August, 1942) which are as follows :—

"In Europe lie most of the causes which have led to these two world wars. In Europe dwell the historic parent races from whom our western civilization has been so largely derived.....Here is a real opportunity for what I once called 'bringing the magic of averages to the rescue of the millions....."

Now if the Atlantic Charter is not to embrace India for the additional reason that its third article contemplates the restoration of Sovereign Rights and Self-Government to those who have been forcibly deprived of them and India as a whole, had no Sovereign Rights and Self-Government at the date at which Britain became the Paramount Power, what are the basic principles upon which you would ask that the future constitution of your country which Britain graciously intends to permit your leaders to frame, should be founded ? I suggest for your consideration that you might seek guidance from the immortal, because essentially true, words of Jefferson which he made the basis of America's Declaration of Independence, nearly one and a half century ago. He said :—

"We hold these Truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal ; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights ; that among those are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights Governments are instituted amongst men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed ; that whenever any form of Government becomes destructive of those ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it."

If all those, including yourselves, who have passed through the portals of their respective Universities during the last five years adopt this credo and unitedly voice it whenever the occasion demands an expression of the aspirations of India's youth, you will have taken an effective part in politics, in other words you will have done your part and done it nobly. I venture the opinion that you can do worse than read, mark, and inwardly digest those words. If you do, you will, by

implication, declare that India must be free, so as to order her future in accordance with her genius and to decide for herself the manner of her association with the International world order of the future.

In spite of frequent insistence by leaders of the Allied Nations that after the present holocaust a better world than Humanity has so far known is coming into being, I fear the prospect of the emergency of an equalitarian world state is far from bright. Races, religion, wealth, climate, geography all constitute divisions against which you, the youth of to-day, will have to fight. The dying words of Edith Cavell, "Patriotism is not enough" were a prophesy of the Great War in which we are to-day involved. And the real roots of the present war lie deep in the essential difference between those who cling to the old concept of the Nation as a division-unit of mankind and those who see the new concept of the peoples. We owe a deep debt to Science for she, more than anything has taught us to think in terms of the Universe. The very business of working with scientific methods, of thinking in scientific terms, as well as the fruits of science, have led us to universality. The scientifically mechanical means which have brought nations close together physically have at the same time destroyed the mental and spiritual boundaries of those nations, so that to-day there are folk in many nations who are closer together, through their ideas and their feeling and desires,—through their temperaments than they are to other persons of their own nation and race. If to-day, therefore, the Big Powers, seek to make 'Nationhood' the chief division of man and the chief cause for which this war is being fought, they are doomed to fail, for too many have found a larger cause, To-day man's thoughts include the Globe.

And yet there are still in every country, India included, some among the mighty, whose minds belong to yesterday, and these will try with all their strength to force the world back. It is a very stubborn strength, since stubbornness and lack of perceptive imagination are almost invariably team-mates.

The mind that only knows what it has seen is the mind that arrogates to itself, too, the valuable attributes of realism. But true realism is not to be found in the reactionary mind. That mind lives in a dream of the past. The old gospelites, who sing of the religion that was good enough for their fathers and is therefore good enough for them, are, whatever their religion, not good enough for victory in this war. If arms could win any war, they might be able to win this war, for yesterday's men can handle a gun and shoot it off as well as anybody. But if man is to show himself superior to brute force he has to show himself capable of winning the peace.

Were the present War just like so many of its countless predecessors, then I would feel as hopeless, as apparently did the author of some lines published in the *Observer* in 1940. Sadly he rhymed:—

"After the quarrel the victor's laurel
To him who gave the final thrust.
And what's the moral? What use the quarrel
If Cain be damned and Abel dust?"

But happily this war is a revolution as well as a war. The great powers either can recognise this fact to-day to their advantage or they can recognise it to-morrow to their cost. The word "revolution" has taken on evil associations because it has been so often accompanied by hateful acts. But, stripped of those hateful acts, it means simply a great change. A revolution of people and such a revolution has taken place in India and will and must not be burked or suppressed, except at the cost of much misery which would not be confined to this country.

It may be, according to some unimaginative people a counsel of perfection. Yet in the common interest of a vast mass of humanity it appertains to wise statesmanship to set India free to carve out her own destiny. India need not shed tears over her exclusion from the intended beneficiaries of the Atlantic Charter or the "Four Freedoms." India only wants her freedom in order fully to co-operate with the Nations of the world in preventing Injustice, Aggression, and their concomitant-War, in the future.

Europe has been frozen into, perhaps, is still freezing into nations. Its peoples enamoured of their comparatively recent discovery of nationality seem unable to think beyond national units. Where religious differences in the past caused localised wars, horribly bitter as they were, nationality to-day causes World Wars; and the nations show no sign of shame.

It is lucky for Asia that the peoples inhabiting that continent are still thinking in terms of people. Nation is not important to any of them. China is the Chinese people. India is the people of India.

This war is basically a conflict between the concept of national supremacy, and the concept of the equality of peoples in a free world.

If this seems simplification let not to-day's big, powerful nations be afraid of simplicity. It is only the strong who dare to be simple, who dare to reduce great problems to their essentials. Simple questions go deep and their answers, if they are honest, go deeper still. People ought to know—history teaches it, life's experience confirms it—that no great stride forward is ever made for the individual or for the human race unless the complex situation is reduced to one simple question and its simple answer.

How shall this war be won for the freedom and happiness of mankind? The simple answer, clearly indicated by the present temper and the heartdeep conviction of the people of the world is, that lasting victory and abiding peace will come only by sacrificing everything the dominant nations have which denies that for which they do not yet seem willing to make. Materially they have shed all that they like to have and are equipped for an all-out effort—but spiritually they are not. They want to freeze their souls, as they have frozen foreign and enemy assets, until after the war. It cannot be done. No great war can be won without the spirit behind the weapons. The mind must be clear and the soul free, before men can fight a "War for Freedom" and win it. It is now time, therefore, and high time for the Big Powers to see what they are willing to give up for the freedom, I say even of their own people, in a free world. First must come the sacrifice of race prejudice. Let them prove to their Allies everywhere in the world that they have seen wisdom and therefore, will not permit Imperialism and human inequality to survive. Unless such proof is given now, there can be no victory, no enduring peace.

No man, it is true, can cut himself off clean and instantly from his Past. No change among people comes in the twinkling of an eye. Yet there are more pleas than one that can be made now for a swifter process.

This war is between peoples, and the battlefield is everywhere. The Allies fight in every nation and on every soil. While their Armies and Navies and Air Fleets swarm over the world, the leaders of the big nations must not lose sight of the real war which is between the Haves and the-Have-nots and must not forget that the present catastrophic conflict will have been waged in vain, if at the end of it the seeds of tares are driven underground by the colossal tractor which is tearing up the Earth's surface and if the "Toad beneath the Harrow" is further pricked by the toothpoints until after a while he croaks all the louder.

In other words, if this war, as is professed, is in fact a war for the liberation of people it must assure the Sovereign equality of peoples throughout the world. Discrimination between peoples because of their race, colour, and creed must be abolished. The age of Imperialism must be ended as a result of the realisation of its debasing evil effects.

It is unlikely that what has been said here to-day will be heard outside and pondered over at any great distance from us. Yet I may take this opportunity to remind people of other climes of a fact already known to them by the admission of their own historians. That fact is that India, an unhappy land to-day, stripped in the race of material advancement, inhabited by people who are serfs, vassals, and bondsmen psychologically as well as politically, this India had, thousands of years before the now successful, prosperous, and mighty but also unhappy. West emerged from a state of stark barbarism, evolved and developed a high and progressive civilization. The development of that civilization had been the glory of our forefathers; its decline was the disgrace of their descendants; our present inglorious laps from its ideals is our own personal shame to-day. To attribute India's decay to some such material cause as malaria or any other is a facile explanation as unsatisfying to the intellect as it is to the heart. For that civilization had been achieved by the valour and energy of her own people. Those people appreciated two qualities in a special degree—bravery and truthfulness. They preserved the achievements of the greatness of old in two epic poems which are the vehicles of moral teaching to this day.

They held up Rama to the admiration of the people as an ideal man. Rama, who embodied in his person self-abnegation, the courage to face hardships, valour, faith in Right and in the goodness of human nature and thus presented to the world a high ideal of domestic duty combined with a deep-regard for and a willing deference to public opinion. And if I mention Rama, I may not—in the firm hope that more and more of the gentler, sex, will cross the portals of and add lustre to our universities forget to mention Sita—perhaps the greatest heroine that has adorned the pages of any history or legend in any country. She was the embodiment of love, purity, duty, and sacrifice. If India's daughters are true to her and

the great ideals she exemplified in a life fraught with trials, they will surely play a great part in the moral regeneration of India and the world.

The people of India also developed the doctrine of religious toleration and the Emperor Ashoka enumerated it in his Edicts. Since that date (Second Century B. C.) the Hindus and Buddhists have not persecuted any one for his doctrines and worship. But one passive virture or a host of passive virtues is not enough. Passive virtues makes small demands on valour or energy.

My young friends, should the dream of your leaders come true and yet get an opportunity to manage all your affairs yourselves, let me hope that the conduct of young and old alike will conform to the ethical standards enshrined in the country's Epics and fully represent a revival of our ancient tradition of justice, toleration, valour and energy.

This brings me to a point which is labouring within me for expression and I must disburden myself, even though I may appear to sermonize. I feel that I must not let the occasion pass without saying, if not to the present audience, at least to a wider one.

The fact that for a few centuries we have been a subject people with the result that opportunities for rising to our full stature have been denied us, has operated to weaken our moral fibre and has bred some vices in us, the principal being fear of candid speech. This lies at the bottom of the charge of 'slave mentality' which is levelled against us and explains the 'inferiority complex' which is, not always unjustifiably, imputed to us. Even our characteristic virtue—Courtesy—is undoubtedly marred by a substratum of timidity or moral cowardice. We regard the straight, plain-spoken man as blunt, curt, and ungracious.

Not only with those from whom we may have expectation of favours or whose displeasure we may have reason to fear but even amongst ourselves we often resort to circumlocution and prevarication. We camouflage the truth, we sugar-coat it—just out of tenderness for the other man's feelings. This is an entirely false idea of courtesy. It is better to be frank and true than polite and false. When courtesy gets yoked to insincerity it becomes a Social Evil. It is kinder to hurt a person's feelings for a moment than to deceive and mislead him for a life-time, and purposive courtesy, courtesy which has an eye to the main chance, is dishonesty and therefore contemptible. Polite you must be but strictly within the limits of veracity. Truth must be spoken unflinchingly, fearlessly, and without regard for consequences, otherwise you will have a guilty conscience and your self-esteem suffer.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I fear I have strained your indulgence and by an error of judgment, possibly bred of self-conceit, tried to hold your attention too long.

The address to which you have listened with generous patience is all a patchwork. If there is anything in it which by its inherent truth or aptness has received the assent of your minds, I may safely assume that that something is not the product of my own but of someone else's brain, because I have borrowed, consciously or unconsciously, in extensive measure.

It appertains to honesty: it is a part of ethics that any obligation incurred should be openly owned. Here and there I have tried to discharge this obligation. But if I have, in other instances, omitted my acknowledgments to living or dead authors, I take the opportunity even if I cannot specify names, to own my debt and to express gratitude for every bit of the borrowed material which has gone to the construction of this address.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I thank you for the compliment you have paid me by your presence and to you, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, my debt is immense for the honour you doubtless intended to do a recluse by dragging me into the lime-light.

I pray that such occasions in future India may be signalised by attracting the attention of the wide intellectual and cultural world of the Fellowship of Nations.

# The Delhi University Convocation

The following is the text of the address delivered by **Sir Maurice Gwyer**, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., D.C.L., LLD., Vice-Chancellor, on the **Decmber 16, 1944.**

The most important educational event of the year has been the publication of the report of the Central Advisory Board for education on Post-War Educational Reconstruction, commonly known as the Sargent Report after the

Educational Advisor to the Government of India who is popularly believed to have inspired it and who we are glad to know is a member of the Executive Council of this University. The proposals in the Report relating to Universities, if adopted and put into effect, will profoundly influence the future of University education in India, and in my opinion wholly for good. They include proposals for the establishment of a University Grants Committee, on the lines of a very successful body with a similar name in Great Britain, whose function is to be the distribution of Government grants to Universities in such a way as to co-ordinate their educational efforts and to prevent overlapping and wasteful competition between them. Fears have been expressed that the establishment of such a Committee might interfere with the autonomy of the Universities. In my view this is based on a misconception of the idea underlying the proposal; and since I have some knowledge of the University Grants Committee in Great Britain, I can say with confidence that no apprehensions of this kind need be entertained. There is also this to be said. The older Universities in England and Scotland are the fortunate possessors of substantial endowments, which up to every recent times enabled them to finance their activities without any outside aid, so that their autonomy was complete. In a country like India, where few, if any, Universities could continue at all without a subvention from public funds, it is less easy to assert an unqualified claim to the tax-payer's money to be expanded as the Universities alone may think fit; and hence the great importance of making certain that Governments hold sound views on the educational policy. I think that Governments throughout India might have realised educational standards more than they have done, if they have insisted that every educational institution in receipt of Government assistance must qualify for that assistance by complying with certain minimum conditions. Autonomy is purchased at too high a price, if for example it implies freedom to neglect the interests of University teachers; and I fear that in far too many cases Governments have stood by and watched without visible emotion teachers being compelled to accept conditions of service which are a scandal and a disgrace. These things must stop, if there is to be any progress in education; and the interests of teachers, which in the fullest sense means also the true interests of the Universities, must be the first care of every Government which is distributing educational grants.

In this particular respect we have happily no cause for complaint and good progress has been made in Delhi during the last two years. Much, however, still remains to be done. The teachers are perhaps not yet fully conscious of the new freedom which is theirs; but I hope that the day will come when it will be the teachers of the University, inspired by motives wholly free from self-seeking and self-interest, who will be the principal factor in guiding the policy both of the University and of the Colleges. It is probable that no educational institution in India can dispense with the lay element in its affairs, and that lay element, when composed of wise and disinterested men with a genuine interest in education, can be a real source of strength. Their practical knowledge will often be greater than that to which the academic world can lay claim; and their advice must necessarily be of value in matters affecting the relations between the institution and the world outside. But in its internal administration they can and should play only a minor part; and academic matters should be beyond their jurisdiction. It may be that the course of events in the past has sometimes deprived the academic element of the opportunities which it should have enjoyed of exercising responsibility within its own sphere. The notion of private and proprietory interest dies hard; but no institution is likely to flourish where men of affairs try to assume functions which properly belong to others. On the other hand, if the teachers claim, as I think they are entitled to do, an unrestricted freedom in their own sphere, they must deserve it. In the teaching world, as elswhere, the price of freedom is eternal vigilance; and the profession will best achieve the status which it ought to have by combining with its educational ideas a spirit of manly independence.

I believe that this University, like other Universities in India, stands upon the threshold of great developments. It will, I hope, be our constant endeavour to fit ourselves for such further tasks as Providence and the wisdom of men in public life may see fit to impose upon us. I think that we may look forward with confidence, for the foundations of the building are sound. I hope that the University may be an ornament to this city and a credit to India; and that those whom it seeks to educate may serve their generation well and be diligent and faithful citizens, knowing their duty to God and to their neighbours, as good citizens should. I hope that they will play their part in the new India which will be born after the war, as champions of true freedom, merciful and peace-loving men and women,

but not lacking in courage to defend what is right and to redress what is wrong. It is from men and women of this kind that India will choose her leaders in the times to come, and I hope that this University may become the fruitful mother of many of them.

To those who have received their degrees today and have thus crowned their University career the University wishes Godspeed and happy and prosperous days hereafter. I hope that they will not be unmindful of the debt which they owe her and that they will regard it an obligation of honour to repay something of it later on. For it is thus that a University tradition, that most valuable profession of a University, is preserved and handed on to generations yet unborn.

# The Punjab University Convocation

The following is the text of the Address delivered by The Hon'ble Sir Manohar Lal, Kt., M.A., D.Litt., Barrister-at-Law, Finance Minister, Punjab at the Annual Convocation held on the *December 21st 1944* :—

The Great War of 1914—18 made profound changes in the world ; vast and irrepressible economic forces operated in unprecedented directions on a scale hitherto unknown ; the political structure of large parts of the world underwent change beyond recognition. While the foundations of democracy held firm in a few countries, elsewhere time-long absolute monarchies crumbled rapidly giving rise to authoritarian dictatorships or facist rule—everywhere the individual had to submit to the growing demands of the State. Imagination staggers at the havoc and destruction caused by the present war. What the world will be like on the morrow of its conclusion, how its rebuilding will be undertaken and achieved lie beyond man's sure reckoning. Ideals are under sharp interrogation, but in spite of apparent wish to bring a New Order where truth and justice would reign, there is no definition of the steps to lead up to its realization. And, indeed, as the end of the War is fairly in sight, the voice of the conflict is once more heard, and national jealousy rears its ugly head. The question rests mainly on the position of Germany, and the fate of Empires—mighty issues to grapple with by chastened but weakened peoples. naturally intent everyone on seeing her own life quicken and her own house put into repair. Does a war, while it may reveal weakness in certain existing systems and lay bare how the seeds of trouble thrive and the forces of evil gather strength, create in man the character necessary for God's battles—the struggle for true peace and contentment hereafter. A noble cause has been steadfastly pursued and the shining war record of the Allies is rich not only in the glory of successful arms, but in the unshaken resolve to strike for the right. The dream of victory is fulfilled but as a great Englishman, endowed with calm reflection, has proclaimed, the prize is that we are left the impoverished leaders of a distracted and half ruined world, with immense responsibilities and precarious powers, and Professor Gilbert Murray, for it is to him that I refer, is reminded of the state of those Arthurian Knights who, in the quest of the Holy Grail, dared to sit on the Siege Perilous and straightforth saw around them the vision of a welcoming city full of triumph and splendour, which as they sought to enter it, turned to dust, leaving only a parched land and a sound of wailing in the air. Must complete victory remain a dream, increasingly remote from realization as time passes ? Hitler's wild boast : "I will see once more in youngmen's eyes the instincts of a beast of prey, I will rear a generation at whose prospects the world will tremble"—that evil design is shattered for ever. Such wicked thoughts shall never find utterance again. But war breeds war, and war is incompatible with civilization—for it is the instrument of destruction, both material and moral. Shall there be courage in the world, determination and foresight to stand firmly in the ways of lasting peace ? Victory is coming to-morrow, nay is already with us ; the day of right thinking and of faithful and firm endeavour has come. Whence shall our healing flow, and how will the vain cares that vex our life cease ? We need a clear vision and a strong resolve, wisdom to see and the will to act.

Victory is no end in itself, it must form a glorious new beginning. May I press into service the words of a living poet skillfully conning the meaning of time ;

What we call the beginning is often the end
And to make an end is to make a beginning
The end is where to start from.

We are truly at the threshold of man's plans and the dispositions of Providence.

THE INDIAN MIND.

At such a time it is no wonder that Indian minds should turn with peculiar fervour and intensity to problems of India's destiny. That is not my appointed purpose as it has recently been of others who seemed to survey the World Scene with confident knowledge, and to bring that knowledge courageously to bear upon the Indian question. They have spoken with uncommon emphasis, some in the strains of a prophet whose vision cannot be denied, others pronouncing as mighty judges whose verdicts are open to no challenge. Into their confident footsteps I may not step, I do not know whether from the present academic platform I would even be entitled to enlarge upon such a theme. But perhaps I may venture upon one or two thoughts gathered from the teachings of ancient sages. Independence is unquestionably an ideal that must be steadfastly pursued, as a national goal it cannot be put aside even for a moment, for in that possession lies life, otherwise there is death and darkness. But while ideals are to be fought for, even more they require preparing for. The course of time, in spite of the rapid changes in man's ideas and outlook that the Great War and the present War have wrought, has not quickened in the measure which our impatience so often leads us to affirm. Time does not quite fly, it moves slowly when we think of the weary preparations that all great tasks, all worth-while efforts, involve. Certain things are good, but they can nonetheless be only hard-won. Can there be much doubt that distant gods who watch over our doings to-day might well reason that our endeavours, howsoever well-intentioned to attain our goal, are misdirected, and our preparations for the prize we wish to seize ill-contrived? Do these gods, with all their benignity, not often remark at their high tables that here with us in India there is a sad tendency, instead of addressing ourselves to our immediate tasks and thereby acquiring strength, to think and act as if all things will be added unto our stores if only independence would come. Independence may furnish facilities for advance in certain of our strivings, but in the main it is a goal to be sought after and worked for, it is not a mere means without which we have to sit with folded hands in idle waiting for the day that we imagine must inevitably arrive at once. I trust I have not stressed the point over much, for to speak otherwise would have been the easier and the pleasanter course. But as I have spoken of the need for true preparation, perhaps you would permit me to refer to that master thinker who more than two thousand years ago laid precisely the true foundations of the study of man in organized society. Aristotle emphasized man's innermost character as a 'political animal', and clearly marked off religion from politics. That was unquestionably Aristotle's greatest contribution to the history of thought. History, particularly during the Middle Ages, furnishes a record of how departure from this compelling and sane principle threw the world into the turmoils of dissension. It took centuries in Europe to dispel the gloom and dismay of the Dark Ages induced by States confusing their properly appointed function with another sphere of man's nature claiming imperiously his allegiance even more. Perhaps in this learned gathering, I may recall in support the words of the Latin Poet: "Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum." Lucretius is not writing a precise treatise like Aristotle but is unerringly delivering a warning. I leave it to you to consider whether we have not a lesson to learn from these wise men of old in the difficult art of preparing ourselves for our desired destiny. The highest for us is not attainable, competent and gifted thinkers tell us, without complete freedom in our own house, without a truly national government. No one need quarrel with this, no one does or can dispute its essential validity, but that makes our duty to prepare for this supreme gift all the more instant and paramount. Here there is no scope for impatience, none for deflection.

POST-WAR INDIA

The world has suffered immeasurable destruction during the present War. It lies all around us prostrate in the agony of death, and ruin and collapse are still moving fearfully apace, for even with the undoubted certainty of victory for the Allied arms, the intensity of conflict has not abated. We in India have enjoyed a comparatively sheltered position, Japan's threat of invasion lasted but a short while. But the impact of war has been nevertheless keenly felt, and the economic life of the people has suffered a tremendous shock. Prices have risen here several fold, in the

Punjab the index has nearly touched 400, as compared with 100 in September, 1939. In England the figure stands at only 167. This is a stupendous fact, the implications of which bear upon every aspect of our economic life. Since all prices, including those for services, do not move in equal measure, it furnishes at least a part of the explanation for present day impoverishment and scarcity of food for the whole areas and whole classes of people. Indian attention naturally fastens to-day on India's undoubted poverty. How are we to escape this poverty, and its inevitable consequences? The remedy was pointed out in an unerring manner by the Famine Commission of 1882 more than sixty years ago. We must not rest our economy exclusively on agriculture, we must develop industries, for unbalanced economy not only imposes serious limitations on the possibility of growth, it means without doubt for an old country like India with its teeming population, poverty and starvation. Much thought has since been expended on plans for our deliverance from this perilous state, and several important steps taken to remedy the deep-seated fundamental evil; but industry has grown but slowly, and the unbalanced character of our economy still persists in all its dire vigour. The result of it is that while elsewhere the challenge to master poverty has been successfully overcome: 'Science and invention have so increased our power to produce wealth that poverty in the modern world is becoming an anachronism', declared a large body of leading thinkers in England some years ago, emphasising in this connection the need for a comprehensive and thorough-going policy of industrial reorganization, in India as Prof. A. V. Hill put it in a nutshell the other day the factor of safety is very low and appalling disaster will quickly follow unless radical remedies are immediately adopted and industry poperly put in its rightful place.

Yet in India thought itself seems to waver in the distressing complications of actual circumstances and the day's immediate need. Lord Wavell said the other day: "Agriculture must take a high place—perhaps the highest place of all—in our plans for the development of India after the War. Unless we succeed substantially the standard of living in our villages, not only for the small farmer, but for all who make their living on the land, India cannot become a wealthier or a healthier or a better educated country." And many have taken the counsel literally to the detriment of the essential need for a comprehensive and thorough-going policy of industrial organization if we are going to survive the impact of a determined and advancing world. Lord Wavell could have meant no challenge to the well-established doctrine for a balanced economy and the imperious need in India of industrial development—he was bringing into pointed relief what must be if our overwhelmingly large rural population is left inadequately fed and generally uncared for and ill-provided; perhaps he was thinking also that India like most other countries must largely produce her own food, at any rate, as far as one can see at present, and agriculture, therefore, must always be a primary interest with us. But real danger lurks here of erecting a false conflict, I refer to it because I have seen signs of it not only in the hurried arguments of short-sighted and interested political-platforms, but also in some other circles where calm reflexion should prevail. There is growing up a tendency to decry the champions of industrialization who are held up to ridicule as giving a wrong twist to our real economics. An abiding lesson of the Great War is that a mainly agricultural country conducts her trade with the outside world at a growing disadvantage. With the advance of years, States, mainly agricultural, are faced with certain disaster; they may, in exceptional circumstances, enjoy only a strictly limited measure of temporary well-being. But let there be no mistake about the import of the fast approaching fate that would confront an unhappy India maintaining world's largest population on her own agriculture and struggling to buy manufactured goods from abroad on terms increasingly unfavourable. He who teaches otherwise is no friend of India. We are drifting towards perils that are of a certainty, we must strain every nerve to reconstruct our economic life. If we are not determined and alert to-day, the world is not going to stay for us in her swift and clear-sighted march forward and our doom may be irretrievably sealed. Experience and teaching alike point to one course of salvation. Plan to-day or perish, for man's vision holds no prospect of another tomorrow for us. And remember that with poverty search for political freedom is idle, a thing of mere vanity and emptiness.

## THE UNIVERSITY

Your University has grown with remarkably rapidity in size and numbers during the last forty years, to-day it is well-nigh the biggest in India. Such expansion must raise problems of the highest moment. Do numbers exhibit an equal measure

of progress and achievement? Others more competent to remark have dwelt on the theme; I must resist the temptation to embark on it, for it must be clear to those who are charged with the duty of watching over its destiny that we are at a bursting point, and machinery that was competent for its purposes two generations ago must already have proved to be inadequate. The question must be squarely faced: Is the organization of higher education in the province on a proper and satisfactory footing to-day? for, if it is not, if there is undoubted scope for improvement nay for fundamental change, and we are in our conservatism or otherwise merely drifting, the youth of the province will have a heavy indictment to frame against us. We shall not have done our duty by our beloved Punjab. We have in our charge the most precious gift that God offers to the world, the youth of the people and its intelligence. Attend to it properly, cultivate it duly—strenuous tasks for the most alert and the most sincere, there lies the road to national greatness; falter in your course, engaged in mere tinkering and petty repair, and you forfeit man's richest treasure. Our learned robes and complacent doctrines will not save us form unanswerable challenge at the bar of history. Society has undergone much radical transformation during the past two generations, even governments have cast their previous forms under pressure of changing circumstances, every sphere of activity has altered its methods and procedure, we alone remain unmoved. Do you pretend to have discovered the final form in which the organization of higher education should rest or have we just dropped into a blind and unthinking alley? Are we making our rightful contribution to the community's welfare? Can we do so chocked in the tares and weeds of idle form and unprofitable langour? The world is astir to day, reconstruction and planning are the prevailing ideas that inspire all man's action. Let us also share in the quickening and raise the song of harvest home that we may be pure and wholesome grain acceptable in the eye of future generations.

Of our youngmen I often hear dispargement. I wish to bear my witness, and I speak with intimate knowledge and experience, that the average graduate of to-day carries a large measure of attainment than his brother of yesterday or of a generation ago, and the more gifted accomplish work of increasing distinction, the best would take their place among scholars and path-breakers anywhere in the world. We have proved material of the highest excellence, and learning here is attended with the virtue of enlightened courage and the desire to act fearlessly. But society has failed to provide the right direction for the ability and character of our youth. They flounder in the sad morrass of unemployment where they fall easy victim to despair and all its attendant gloom and frustration. As life's tempest rage around us, if your youngmen are not able to contend with the actual needs of troubled humanity, our task of repairing the immense disasters that encompass us must remain unperformed.

The question is often raised: Is the world threatened with a new dark age? Certain it is that many lamps have gone out, and many lights grown dim. Hitler has gone so far as to say that knowledge is ruin to a youngmen. New Philistines stalk every path and encumber our vision. The riddle of life is to be read anew, and many knots are to be united afresh. We must raise men of vision and strength, of force and determination, if we wish to take our rightful place in the march of human progress. The will in public life has to be encountered, and forces around have to be dealt with. An earnest thinker, a genuine friend of India, advises in the words of Voltaire that the best one can do is to cultivate one's garden. The same set of values, it has been asserted, cannot be applied to public life as to private life. Moral standards change, the world is often powerful for us; our characters and our actions are strangely co-mingled. We have to seek enlightenment and firmness, we may then see the dawn appear, we may then rise like giants refreshed in joy's new rising morn. And in the battle for peace, in the struggle for advance, in the achievement of fullness of life, rigid ways must go. As the French poet, Gautier, said addressing Titian across the spread of centuries: 'Let me effect, thou great old man, by changing my lute with thy palette, a transposition of art.' This is the youth's great privilege, may you be able to pursue the great adventure, ever striving after nay ever attaining the glorious goal.

To your ownself be true. That is the surest path to unfaltering success, to that achievement in which you contribute of your best, for the ways of insincerity, howsoever speciously disguised even in the slightest measure, lie strewn with sad wreckages in the life's great enterprise. And I venture to think that we cannot be true to ourselves unless, in the words of Iqbal, in our devotion to our motherland, we consider every particle of this dear land of our divine, nay a divinity in itself. The call of duty to-day is undeniably manifest; let us all, specially as we pass out,

equipped with knowledge and light, of this temple of learning to enter upon life's larger struggles, resolve to consecrate our utmost, our every thought and energy to the service of India. India has need of it as never before in her history. We can deny it to her only at the peril of irretrievable extinction, if we offer it to her, we may win for her life everlasting glory and fadeless splendour. The moment to decide is to-day, or the choice goes by for ever.

# The Bombay University Convocation

The following is the text of the address delivered by Mr. B. J. Wadia, Esq., M.A., L.L.B., Bar-at-Law, Vice-chancellor, at the annual convocation held on the **15th. August 1944** :—

All over the world the War has mobilized man's will to prepare new plans of development and expansion for the post-war period. New theories and new ideas ot education are being freely discussed, and the time has come for us, with a wider horizon, to take larger views of our educational aims and activities. It will always be our ambition in the years of future development to keep before us high standards of excellence, and equally to keep a high conception of the Truth as an end to be pursued for its own sake. The more democratic we become, the more important it is that we mantain high standards in literature, in art and in science. With these standards before them our students must seek to discover and unravel the Truth by experiment, by reason, and even by the imagination, in order to widen the bounds of human knowledge from year to year. The path of knowledge is beset with difficulties, which can be overcome only by endurance and self-denial. Though the second oldest of the Universities in India, our University is still young in years. It has not yet been greatly moved by the stir of the centuries, but in an age which measures most attainments by their market value it has gone its way with quiet perseverance, attracting many scholars bent on learning for its own sake, and yet prepared to face the hard realities of life. It is our pride that this University has always been cosmopolitan, and knows no barriers of birth, or class, or fortune. Its door are open to all. Our University is not only cosmopolitan in its composition, but also catholic in its range. There are no limits to our range of study and scholarship, for we have not sought to restrict the pursuit of Truth within the narrow confines of a single field. We aim not only at the creation and equipment of experts and specialists, but also humanizing and broadening the mental outlook of the students generally. We wish to be judged not merely by our efforts to equip our students to compete successfully in the crafts and professions, but also by the influence which they will exercise on the imagination and the character, not only of themselves, but of their fellow-citizenship also, with a view of enriching the corporate life of the community. It is not the purpose of higher education to teach our youth only to make a living, but also how to live a full life.

No plan for the future development of education in the country can be complete without a full reconsideration of the scope and aims of University education. It is not the schools and colleges alone that are concerned, but the whole problem of the fitness of students is involved, and also the consideration of the aims and object of Universities and all they represent. A University is not a place for professional education. Its object is not to produce skilful lawyers, or physicians, or engineers:but capable and cultured human beings. We have facilites for the study of the professions, but that is not our primary object. What professional men should carry from a University is not mere professional knowledge, but the general culture which provides the background and throws light on the technicalities of a special pursuit. We believe in the relatively greater importance of Research over Teaching in the dual aim of the Universities, and urge the need of a worthier output of original work from our graduates. There is no doubt that our Indian Universities have struck their roots deep into the soil, and are greatly affected by their environment, social, intellectual and political. At times there is an arduous struggle between the student and the environment, especially when it is overshadowed by communal feelings which often involve considerable bitterness. We have tried our best to see that communal bitterness does not distort our higher education and its aims, but I am not sure that we have always succeeded. That great factor, the sense of man's equality and freedom which affected the development of ancient Greece and the Roman Republic, is still absent from India. The country

will, however, look for its future leaders principally to the men and women who pass through our doors; but true leadership will be difficult of attainment unless we give something more than lip-service to the great ideal of—country first and community afterwards.

It is difficult to address an assembly of this nature without feeling that one cannot always avoid all the common places of education usually dealt with in Convocation addresses. There are some problems which are none the less important because they are commonplace. It is an old charge that we are yearly turning out more educated men than can get work suited to their abilities, and that therefore there must be something wrong with our educational system or with the world they enter after the school and college days are over. There is probably a great deal wrong with both; but we can possibly have too many educated men in a country like India? Do we not in these days think far too much in terms of what a man can do, not enough in terms of what he is or should be? The so-called "failures" amongst our educated men are not an argument against education, for they might well be worse without it. No impartial observer, however, will deny that our system of education has been found wanting in many ways and that there is urgent need for reform. For the moment the "humanities" have been relegated to the background, but it is refreshing to be reminded now and again that spirit and matter are mutually attractive, and that what has inspired man through the ages is something intangible which is not to be found midst the din of machines and in the activities of the factories and the workshops.

There are at present signs of intense activity on the whole educational front, and it is evident that we are in for a prolonged struggle about the education of the post-war world. Ideas of education take diverse forms, but though all of them runs a common aim, that of a system in which the mind and spirit of our youth should be nurtured into a fine personality and useful citizenship. We are today confronting a world in which cultural values are momentarily in dissolution, but we feel certain that sooner or later they will be restored to their proper places. Every one is agreed that the quality and quantity of our education must be improved after the war, and that we must aim at quality rather than quantity. There is, however, a great divergence of opinion as to where the improvement is to be effected, and nowhere is the divergence greater than among educationists themselves. It is for the Universities to see that such divergence does not confuse our perception of the higher values, so that a man's self may not seem greater than the race, and the present benefit more important than the permanent good. A sense of these values is the surest safeguard against the influence of catchwords and phrases; the great things of the human spirit still shine like stars pointing the way to the triumph or the tragedy of life. The democratic tradition which the greater part of the world has inherited is rooted in certain beliefs about human nature and about the moral end which underlie a proper system of education. We must go back to the fundamental principles of moral training and responsibility, and give such training a larger place in our courses of study than we have been doing. The battle on the moral front has not yet been won. And it will not be won, so long as there is the tendency to plan the new world only in terms of material well-being and to think always of economic, and never of moral and spiritual values.

No one can in our time deny the value and importance of scientific knowledge and study, and the ever-increasing numbers of students who wish to join the science classes in our colleges and the Department of Technology testify to this value and importance. It is sad to think that so many of them fail to secure admission. We want more science colleges and better equipment in our existing laboratories. This is the age of the machine, and it is only those scientifically developed countries with highly organized industries that will survive the present struggle. But even with regard to the methods of scientific study educationists are not agreed. One thing is clear. Students of science need a broad and deep background to their training as much as others, and it is true to say that the want of a proper balance between the study of science and a study of the "humanities" largely accounts for the unbalanced state of our modern civilization. This is not the occasion to discuss details of the different courses of study which will have to be recast. Speaking generally, there is a consensus of opinion that the education of the future ought to have a double aim, the aim of developing the student's individuality, and the aim of developing in him a strong sense of national obligation. What is specially required is not the teaching of party views nor of narrow communal predilections, but the teaching of great and united purposes which aim at the production of the good and liberal minded citizen.

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