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& Kashmir

6-11-46 to 23-6-47

"Hindu" dated 6-2-46

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

SIR B. L. MITTER URGES STATES PARTICIPATION

BARODA, Oct. 3.

Indian States ought to participate in the Constituent Assembly even if some members from British India choose to be absent from it. Sir Brojendra Lal Mitter, Dewan of Baroda, said in an interview to the Associated Press of India to-day.

"It would be folly on their part to wait for the settlement of the communal controversies of British India in which they have no concern," he added. Sir Brojendra was of the opinion that the absence of some members from the Constituent Assembly might render the task of constitution-making difficult, but "difficulties should not be allowed to hold up the task indefinitely."

The following is the text of Sir B. L. Mitter's statement:

"The Constituent Assembly, envisaged in Paragraphs 17 to 19 on the Cabinet Mission's statement, has been elected by British India. The States have set up a Negotiating Committee to represent the States in the preliminary stage of the Constituent Assembly on December 5.

"Meanwhile the Interim Government has been set up and is carrying on the administration. There is nothing to prevent the States from participating in the Constituent Assembly due to meet on December 9. I think the States ought to participate even if some members from British India choose to be absent. Such absence may render the task of the constitution-making difficult, but difficulties should not be allowed to hold up the task indefinitely.

"The States have harder tasks to tackle. Their treaties have to be revised. The Crown's obligations under Paramountcy will have to be replaced by adequate provisions in consultation with British India. Matters of common concern will have to be discussed with the Interim Government. In fact diverse questions involved in the change-over will demand close attention of the States. It would be folly on their part to wait for the settlement of communal controversies of British India in which they have no concern. They should get along with the work which bristles with difficulties and hasten the dawn of Indian freedom."—A.P.I.

REACTION TO SIR S. AHMED'S STATEMENT

NEW DELHI, Oct. 4.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar's statement from Trivandrum challenging Sir Sultan Ahmed's right to speak on behalf of States has been widely appreciated here. It has been pointed out that the Princes Chamber is not a party and even the Chancellor is not more than a General Secretary as officially stated in the Chamber itself.

The only recognised body competent to represent the views of the Chamber is the Standing Committee which has not authorised even the Chancellor to make a statement, much less Sir Sultan Ahmed, who is only Constitutional Adviser to the Chancellor and not the Chamber. The Standing Committee which is meeting in Bombay a fortnight hence is expected to deal with Sir Sultan's statement.—F.O.C.

FARIDKOT AND BILASPUR ANNOUNCE REFORMS

LAHORE, Oct. 5.—Dussehra Day was the occasion in two Punjab states, Faridkot and Bilaspur, for the announcement of reforms by their rulers.

The ruler of Bilaspur announced that a representative assembly, elected on the basis of adult franchise, would be formed to run the administration of the state. He also indicated that within two days a commission would be set up to report on elections to the proposed assembly and that the assembly would start functioning by April next year.

The Faridkot ruler announced the formation of a legislative assembly,

consisting of ten elected members, two non-official nominated and one official nominated members besides members of the Executive Council who would be ex-officio members of the assembly. The life of the legislature would be three years and the vice-president of the Executive Council would be the Chairman of the assembly.

One of the elected members, he declared, would be appointed on the Executive Council as secretary in charge of the self-government department.

The work of framing the constitution of the legislative assembly has been entrusted to the Laws Committee.—U.P.L.

"National Herald" dated 10-2-46

"Dawn" dated 6-x-46

KASHMIR SECURITY ACT-A REVIVAL OF GESTAPO RULE

(By 'Dawn' Srinagar Correspondent)

SRINAGAR, Saturday.

THE passing of the so-called Public Security Act by the Kashmir Assembly in the teeth of opposition by the Muslim Conference Party has caused a wave of resentment in the mind of the Muslim public of Jammu and Kashmir.

Voicing the typical feelings engendered in the popular mind by the passing of the Act, Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas, President of the Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference, in the course of a statement says: "The passing of the so-called Public Security Act is the blackest of all the black deeds perpetrated by the Kak Administration against the peoples of Kashmir and Jammu.

The new enactment seeks to invest the Magistracy and the police with very wide powers of arresting without warrants even before one has been suspected of having acted in an unlawful manner. The police under this savage Law can enter and occupy private premises, set up watch-dogs at every table and every private meeting. It gives unlimited discriminatory powers to petty officers.

"This Act is as shameful in its conception as it is sinister in its designs against the Muslim majority of the State. It contemplates to revive Fascism and set up Gestapo rule in the State. Everything that Muslims hold sacred is threatened with extinction, their religion, their freedom and their honour.

"I appeal to all to unite against this savage attack on peoples fundamental rights. As for Muslims I can only state that they will fight against this wicked attack on the rights of the peoples of the State.

"Hindustan Times" dated 7-x-46

SANGLI STATE REFORMS

Full Responsible Govt., Says Ruler

SANGLI, Oct. 6.—Announcing the new constitutional reforms in Sangli State at a Dussehra Durbar (briefly reported already) the Raja of Sangli said that the reforms now introduced in the State would bring the administration in Sangli into line with the autonomy granted to British Indian provinces under the Government of India Act of 1935.

His Highness hoped that this step, which was of an interim nature and would last until the final constitution for the State was drawn up, would meet with the approval of the people of the State.

The new Government would be fully responsible, his Highness said, and the new constitution would be drawn up by a constitution committee, after it had a clear picture of the constitution of British India to be drawn up by the proposed Constituent Assembly.

Deccan States Union

Referring to the proposed Union of the Deccan States, his Highness said: "If these proposals materialize, a Constitution Committee will have to be approached for the Union as a whole, and in that case a separate constitution committee for Sangli State will be both superfluous and out of place."

He detailed the scheme of the proposed Union of Deccan States and agreed that the decision to exclude Kolhapur State from that Union was a wise one. His Highness said: "The scheme is at present being delayed owing to the lukewarmness of public support. As you are all aware, I made three attempts to enlist the support of the Sangli public in favour of the Union scheme. The almost unanimous opinion expressed at these meetings was, however, that the transfer of responsible Government in Sangli State should precede the Union scheme. I have accepted this view with the result that we are today meeting in this Durbar to inaugurate a new constitution in which the new Government will hold autonomous powers in all the subjects which British Indian provinces administer at present and will be fully responsible to the legislature."

Hoping that "the new Government will, with the full backing of the people, support the Union scheme wholeheartedly and actively," his Highness added: "That way lies salvation for small States like ours. It is impossible for States of our size to stand on their own legs in the new set-up of a free India. They must therefore merge either among themselves or with British Indian provinces when full responsible Government will be guaranteed to the people. Under the proposed Union the advantages are immensely in favour of a merger of the States among themselves and not with a British Province."—A.P.I.

"Hindustan Times" dated 3-10-46

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"Free Press Journal" dated 2-10-46

Direct Action Threat By Patiala Sikhs

(From our Correspondent at Patiala)

PATIALA, Oct. 1.—A threat to start direct action against the State administration if their demands were not met by the beginning of November, was voiced at a public meeting of Sikhs here yesterday. Giani Kartar Singh, M.L.A. (Punjab), Sardar Kartar Singh and Jathedar Udharn Singh Naoke spoke in support of the Sikh demands.

The demands include introduction of the Gurdwaras Act, placing of all the Sikh shrines in the hands of the community, establishment of responsible Government in the State with 60 per cent representation for Sikhs in the assembly and termination of the services of outsiders who "were doing more harm than good to the State."

By a resolution the meeting demanded that both the Patiala representatives to the Constituent Assembly should be Sikhs.

States Cannot Stay Out Of Constituent Assembly

SIR C. P. RAMASWAMY IYER ON THE NEW SET-UP IN INDIA

NEW DELHI, Oct. 1.

"If the duly constituted and 'de facto' Government of India summons a Constituent Assembly and takes other steps outlined in the statement of May 16 the Indian States, in my opinion, cannot withhold their participation, though Sir Sultan Ahmed is technically correct—in observing that such an Assembly, if it happens, to compromise in the main the members of one party will not be fully representative of all the interests and communities concerned and its mandate may thus not be comprehensive," said Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, Dewan of Travancore, commenting on the statement said to have been issued by Sir Sultan Ahmed on the question of the States participating in the Constituent Assembly.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer added:

"I have considered the statement reported to have been made by Sir Sultan Ahmed with the great attention that it deserves. Generally speaking, Indian States have kept themselves scrupulously aloof from the political and communal controversies of British India and have in the past dealt with British India in crucial matters through the Crown Representative and department's specially under him. The declaration of May 16 and subsequent developments in British India have definitely brought about a vital change in the outlook and future programme of the State who have to adjust themselves to the circumstances attendant on the likely creation of an independent India. Their internal administration and their policies in relation to British India and the outside world have to be remodelled so that they may fit them-

selves to the new set up.

NO TROUBLE IN STATES:

"At the same time it must not be forgotten that the communal troubles that disfigure British India are much less evident in Indian States for reasons on which it is not necessary to dwell just at present. In view of these aspects I maintain that the right procedure to be followed by Indian states is not to be come parties to any communal discussion and controversies that are now proceeding or are likely to take place.

They should be prepared to deal with the new raj, whatever its political or communal complexion may be as they have dealt with the Government of British India in the past, remembering however that paramountcy, as now understood, will cease to exist with the emergence of any new constitution based on the idea of an independent India."

Statesman dated 3-10-46

KASHMIR ASSEMBLY DISSOLVED

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

SRINAGAR, Oct. 2.—The Kashmir State Assembly has been dissolved by the Maharaja with effect from October 1. Fresh elections to the Assembly will probably be held in December or January 1947.

There are indications that the National Conference and the Muslim Conference and the Hindu organizations in the State, namely the Yuwak Sabha and Hindu Sabha, will contest the elections.

"Statesman" dated 1-2-46

"Dawn" dated 1-2-46

REFORMS FOR REWA STATE

RULER APPEALS FOR CO-OPERATION

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

REWA, Oct. 4.—On the occasion of his first Dussehra Durbar last evening the Maharaja of Rewa appealed to his subjects to extend their co-operation to the Constitution Reforms Committee appointed by him under the chairmanship of Sir Hari Singh Gour.

His Highness said: "Times are now changing and changing rapidly, and you can no longer be content to live in the past. It is my firm determination to go forward so that Rewa may occupy its rightful place in the free and independent India which is now being carved out."

He expressed satisfaction at the mounting income of the State, which is estimated to reach the record figure of Rs 1,33,00,000 this year. The expenditure is estimated at Rs 1,24,00,000. In addition to this Rs 22 lakhs has been allotted for road development.

"Our position is satisfactory," added His Highness, "but more and more funds will be needed to finance our development programme."

The nation-building departments—education, agriculture, medical, public health, etc.—will be expanded and re-organized.

About industrial development, he said that his policy was to develop the industries of the State as quickly as possible. "Throughout India there is now a race for industrial development. I need not tell you that my State has undeveloped resources second to none in any part of India. It is my earnest desire that in the interests of the welfare of my people, these resources should be developed with the utmost possible speed." He announced that a licence for the establishment of a textile mill at Satria had been granted. Negotiations for the establishment of a paper mill were in their final stages.

Referring to the food situation, he said: "Rewa is self-sufficient in the matter of food supplies. Her problems, as elsewhere in India, is to secure fair and equitable distribution of available supplies, so as to make our surpluses available to deficit areas in other parts of India. A separate food department has been organized and rationing has been introduced in the larger urban areas."

In conclusion, he said that Rewa would keep pace with the rest of India in the matter of reforms. "But whatever changes we may undergo, I am fully confident of one thing, namely, that the relations which have always existed in Rewa between the Ruler and his beloved subjects will ever remain firm."

PRINCES' ATTITUDE TOWARDS CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY DEFINED

SIR SULTAN AHMAD, Constitutional Adviser to the Chamber of Princes, in an interview to the OPI, declared that in his opinion "the Constituent Assembly, if it functions without all the important political parties in India taking part in it, would not be a Constituent Assembly."

"It would be as good a Constitution-making body as the Nehru Committee, or the Moti Lal Committee and the Constitution framed by such an unrepresentative body will be as good or bad as the Nehru Report or the Moti Lal Report or Dr. Rajendra Prasad's constitution, because it would not have the sanction of the people of India as a whole behind it."

About the Princes joining the Constituent Assembly, Sir Sultan Ahmad said: "Even Sir Stafford Cripps had made it clear that the Princes could not come into the picture until there was agreement between all the political parties."

"First of all, there is to be a Constituent Assembly for British India, and it would be after this body forms a Constitution for British India that the Princes will come in. All this time the Princes will be represented by the negotiating Committees. There would

be no question of the Princes coming in if there is no settlement between the Indian parties."—OPI.

DELHI PAPER'S DISTORTION CONTRADICTION

The following Press Note was issued on Monday from the Directorate of Public Relations, Chamber of Princes, New Delhi, as a section of the Press has misquoted from the statement of Sir Sultan Ahmad issued on Sunday:

"The 'Hindustan Times' of September 30 has reported that a statement has been issued today by Sir Sultan Ahmad, forecasting non-participation by the States in the work of the Constituent Assembly." No such statement has been issued by Sir Sultan Ahmad. His view which he has publicly expressed, and which has been supported by many patriotic elements in the country.

"The question of the participation of the States in the Constituent Assembly does not arise at present because under the declaration of the Cabinet Delegation the States are not invited or expected to come in the Constituent Assembly at this stage. They will be represented in the preliminary stage by the Negotiating Committee appointed by the States, and it has been officially stated in Parliament that this Negotiating Committee will have to negotiate in the first instance with the representatives of 'major British Indian parties'."

"It is after these negotiations have resulted in agreement on certain essential preliminaries that the States will participate in the work of the Constituent Assembly. As regards the States' attitude towards this issue, His Highness the Chancellor has made the position clear in the statement issued in Bombay on June 10, 1946 on behalf and with the concurrence of the Standing Committee of Princes, and he has repeatedly declared that the Princes not only desire but are keenly anxious to help and co-operate in the framing of an agreed constitution which may forthwith bring complete independence to India."—OPI.

STATES' ROLE IN CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

"A report is published in Delhi today (not in the Statesman) that a statement has been issued by Sir Sultan Ahmad forecasting non-participation by the States in the Constituent Assembly." No such statement has been issued by Sir Sultan Ahmad. A Press note issued by the Director of Public Relations, Chamber of Princes, on Monday.

"Sir Sultan Ahmad's view which he has publicly expressed" the Press note adds, "and which has been supported by many patriotic elements in the country is that no Constituent Assembly as such can successfully function unless the major elements in the country are represented in it."

"The question of the participation by the States in the Constituent Assembly does not arise at present, because under the declaration of the Cabinet Delegation the States are not invited or expected to come in the Constituent Assembly at this stage. They will be represented in the preliminary stage by the Negotiating Committee appointed by the States, and it has been officially stated in Parliament that this Negotiating Committee will have to negotiate in the first instance with the 'representatives of the major British Indian parties'." It is after these negotiations have resulted in agreement on certain essential preliminaries that the States will participate in the work of the Constituent Assembly."

"As regards the States' attitude towards this issue, His Highness the Chancellor has made the position clear in the statement issued in Bombay on June 10, 1946, on behalf and with the concurrence of the Standing Committee of Princes, and he has repeatedly declared that the Princes not only desire but are keenly anxious to help and co-operate in the framing of an agreed constitution which may forthwith bring complete independence to India."—API.

"Tribune" dated 23-9-46

Princes Must Wake Up Betimes

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya's Warning

NEW DELHI, Sept. 21.—Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, President of the All-India States People's Conference, today urged the princes to "recognize the rapidity with which events are moving in the country and brace themselves up to the tasks demanded by the times".

Dr. Pattabhi, who was referring to the resolution passed by the conference on constitutional reforms in the States, said, "In the States there is a stir not merely amongst the people but also amongst the princes. The dry bones in the valley are becoming distinct with a new life and we must admit that even some of the stolid princes are just trying to shake themselves up to see what is going on around here. But this will not do. They must wake up betimes, recognize the urgency of the situation and the rapidity with which events were moving in the country and then brace themselves up to the tasks demanded by the times."

"In this view it is not extravagant to hope that the princes will realize the dangers ahead. Their task will be much more difficult after the new constitution has come into force in the provinces and after the union formed, for then they cannot depend upon paramountcy or British troops to protect them from internal commotion or external invasion. They will have to depend upon themselves and that means that the princes and the people will be brought face to face with each other as comrades or as combatants in a new context in which a third party will not be present."

"This is not a situation which even the princes, with all their stolidity and conservatism, can look upon with any complacency. If they are wise they must keep pace with the changes and recognise that the time spirit is inexplorable in its operations."

"The announcement made by the Maharaja of Cochin is a proof in this behalf and it is trusted that the Maharaja himself will rapidly complete the circle of progress in which he had left a little gap, having reserved to himself finance and law and order. When this is done, Cochin will

have been admitted to a responsible Government. And that Cochin does to-day no wrong will certainly do, though in its own way, almost sure to be. No one can lag behind. Bar, which is still living upon its old reputation, will have to cut new ground and in the meantime the smaller States are rapidly increasing and the complications and merging processes are going on so that it is not unreasonable to think that the princes will weigh their weight in this great struggle for independence of the whole of India."

The pathetic position of premier States like Hyderabad and Kashmir calls for particular attention. The former deserves a place in the museum of political antiquities and it is piously hoped that the new curator will renovate it. But renovation means the announcement, immediate and unequivocal, of responsible Government as the objective and the reworking of the current scheme of reforms suitably and adequately."

In Kashmir the situation is so tense that it can be eased only by the immediate release of Sheikh Abdullah Sahab by the Durbur without any sense of false prestige. Political problems cannot be solved by any programme of vindictiveness. Already in Kashmir fines amounting to Rs. 15,000 have been collected from students who have been fined in some cases Rs. 500 each. One hundred and fifty detenus are still in jail and 700 have been convicted out of 1,200 arrested. These do not make encouraging reading. The end of law having been met, there is no purpose in keeping popular leaders behind prison bars. The Working Committee of the Congress was so kept for three years, only to be called upon to form the National Government."

"Daily Herald" dated 25-9-46

ALL-INDIA STATES PEOPLES CONFERENCE

Dr. Pattabhi to Act as President

NEW DELHI, Sept. 21.—Clarifying the change in Office-bearers of the All-India States Peoples Conference, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru in a statement to the Press says:

"I felt that I should not continue to function as President in present circumstances. Though I propose to remain a member of the Standing Committee of the All-India States Peoples Conference. In my place Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah, the Vice-president, has naturally been chosen to function as President."

"Meanwhile owing to Sheikh Sahab's incarceration in a Kashmir Prison, he is unable to take charge his presidential duties. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya will therefore act on his behalf till such time as Sheikh Sahab is free to take charge."—A.P.

'OLD STATE SYSTEM MUST GO'

PEOPLE'S CONFERENCE: WARNING TO RULERS

NEW DELHI, Sept. 20.—"Where the people's movement is sought to be crushed, the challenge will have to be accepted," says a resolution passed by the standing committee of the All-India States People's Conference on the general situation in the states, at its final session yesterday.

The committee, however, points out that "any action must be disciplined and authorised, and sporadic and unauthorised action must not take place as this leads to indiscipline and weakness and injury to the people's cause."

The following is the text of the resolution:—

"While the standing committee recognises that in a few states attempts at change are being made, and the introduction of a democratic structure are contemplated, the committee regrets to note that the general position in the states is entirely unsatisfactory. There appears to be no sufficient realisation of the pace of events, and the urgent necessity of fundamental changes in the old state system which has completely outlived any useful purpose and must, of necessity, give place to a free, democratic and responsible structure of Government everywhere. Even in regard to civil liberties, the declaration formally and officially made in the Chamber of Princes has been largely ignored in practice. In consequence, the position is deteriorating. This passivity, when active change is essential, creates a lag, which might lead to serious consequences."

NEED FOR DISCIPLINE

"The standing committee must meet the situation by developing the organised strength of the people of the states and by emphasising the need for discipline. It will continue, as before, to make a friendly approach to the governments of the states because it desires a peaceful solution of the problems facing the states. But at the same time, it cannot remain a passive spectator of reaction and reaction in the states when India, as a whole is on the move. Where the people's movement is sought to be crushed the challenge will have to be accepted."

Any action, however, must be disciplined and authorised, and sporadic and unauthorised action must not take place, as this leads to indiscipline and weakness and injury to the people's cause. It has come to the notice of the standing committee that occasionally certain irresponsible elements in the states precipitate action and clashes between Princes and state Governments, often in order to discredit the states people's organisation. Any such unauthorised action must be discouraged. Where necessity for any direct action arises, reference must be made to the regional council and to the general secretaries of the A-I.S.P.C."

KASHMIR GOVT. MUST BE OPPOSED

"The people of Kashmir will emerge triumphant from the ordeal they are going through," says the resolution on Kashmir.

The resolution reads: "The standing committee, as well as the general council, have previously considered and expressed their opinions on the situation in Kashmir, which arose after the arrest of their vice-president, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, and the brutal repression of the people that followed it. In spite of every effort made by the committee to find a peaceful and honourable solution, they were thwarted and hindered at every step by the Kashmir State authorities, who have continued to pursue a policy of intense repression of the people in order to break their spirit and their organisation. The recent sentence of three years' imprisonment passed on Sheikh Abdullah, and the inhuman treatment of political prisoners are the latest instances of the continuation of their policy by the Kashmir Government. Even the great changes that are taking place in India, which are going to result in the early end of British domination and far-reaching changes in the states, have thus far not affected the Kashmir Government, which is functioning not only in a completely authoritarian and despotic manner towards the people of Kashmir, but also arrogantly ignoring the sentiments of the Indian people as a whole."

ABDULLAH CONGRATULATED

"The committee, in view of these circumstances, has nothing further to say to the Kashmir State authorities, and the only course that is open to self-respecting people is to oppose a Government, which has functioned and is functioning in this manner."

"The committee congratulates Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah on his statement before the court and assures him of the solidarity with the people of Kashmir. It has learnt with great concern of the ill-treatment accorded to him in prison, resulting in his abstinence from food."

"The committee also sends its greetings to the general secretary of the A-I.S.P.C., Pandit Dwarika Nath Kachru, who has been kept in prison for many months without trial."

"In spite of every effort of the Kashmir Government to break up the Kashmir National Conference and in spite of the brutal repression the standing committee has noted with satisfaction that the National Conference has stood this hard test with success. The spirit of the people is strong and unyielding. This fact makes the success of the people's movement for freedom assured and the standing committee has no doubt that, despite every effort to the contrary, the people of Kashmir will emerge triumphant from the ordeal they are going through."

COCHIN REFORMS

By its resolution on Cochin, the committee welcomed the formation of the all-party coalition government in that state "in pursuance of a transfer by the state of all departments, excluding, however, Finance and Law and Order, to popular control". It added, "The committee sends its good wishes to the new cabinet and trusts that the spirit that made possible this

step will immediately lead to the establishment of full responsible government in Cochin State."

The resolution on eastern states agencies views with concern the reported decisions of the rulers of the small states of the agencies to form themselves into a federation without bringing in the people of the states and reiterated the view that these small states should come under one administration common to the states and to the province of Orissa.

NIZAM-BASTAR DEAL

The resolution on Bastar said, "The committee learns with great concern the report of an agreement entered into by Hyderabad with the Political Department, which is now administering the state of Bastar during the minority of the prince, to the effect that the former will develop the resources of the latter and shall have control over the latter's finances till the cost debited to its account is cleared up. This reported agreement has not taken into consideration the interests of the people of Bastar and should, therefore, be set aside till the people of Bastar have had an effective say in the matter."

The committee decided that arrangements for publicity on behalf of the A.I.S.P.C. should be made with the India League, London.

Mr. Harekrishna Mehtab and Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, secretary of the India League, were present at the meeting by special invitation.

Mr. Jai Narain Vyas and Mr. Baiyant Rai Mehta, general secretaries of the Conference, have been deputed by Pandit Nehru to attend the meeting of the Constituent Assembly expert committee today.—A.P.I.



"Tribune" dated 21-9-46

"ACCUSED TRIED TO ALIENATE ALLEGIANCE OF PEOPLE TO RULER"

"ROUSED FEELINGS OF HATRED AGAINST AUTHORITY CONSTITUTED BY LAW"

JUDGMENT OF SESSIONS JUDGE IN CASE AGAINST SHEIKH ABDULLAH

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

SRINAGAR, Sept. 16.—"It is proved beyond any manner of doubt that all the three speeches delivered by the accused on the 13th, 14th and 16th of May, 1946, which form the subject matter of the charges, are seditious. Offences under Section 124 (A) R.P.C. for all the three speeches are proved against him," observed Lala Barkat Rai, Sessions Judge, delivering his judgment in the case against Sheikh Abdullah sentencing the accused to three years' simple imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 1,500.

Complaint was lodged by the District Superintendent of Police, Srinagar, with the sanction of His Highness' Government under Section 124-A, R.P.C. against Mr. Abdullah. It was "inter-alia" alleged in the complaint that "the accused with the object and intention of bringing into hatred and contempt His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur and the Government of Jammu and Kashmir as established by law, with a view to exciting disaffection towards His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur and his Government established by law, convened public meetings of the National Conference in different parts of Srinagar city and its suburbs on 9th, 10th, 13th, 14th and 16th of May (and on many other dates and at other places as well) in which he addressed the assembled people."

Twenty-eight witnesses were produced on behalf of the prosecution and four in defence.

Sessions Judge's Observations

The learned Sessions Judge observed: "During the course of the arguments the learned counsel for both the parties indulged in politics, but in my opinion such a discussion is out of the pale of the enquiry in hand. The points that have to be determined and decided in this case are:

1. Whether the accused, Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah, delivered the speeches alleged by the prosecution to have been delivered by him.

2. Whether those speeches were seditious and calculated to bring into hatred, contempt and disaffection His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur and the Government of Jammu and Kashmir as established by law.

3. What was the result of those speeches and what reaction they had on the general public?"

Discussing Mr. Abdullah's speech of May 13, the learned Judge observed: "It is absolutely clear that the object of the accused was to excite the people to end the Dogra Raj. He had preached direct violence."

Referring to Mr. Abdullah's speech of May 14, the learned Judge said: "The accused had said in clearest terms that they could no longer brook the Dogra rule. He had used the word enemy (dushman) for the Government."

Regarding Mr. Abdullah's speech of May 16, the learned Judge said: "This speech had surpassed his previous speeches in virulence and vilification. In this speech the accused had tried

his level best to rouse feelings of the general public to the highest pitch against His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur and his government as established by law."

Stirred Feelings of Ignorant Masses

Summing up, the learned Judge held that "in all the above speeches the prevailing thought is that the Dogra rule should be ended and the Ruler should go back to the small estate from which his ancestors had come. The accused wanted that Kashmir should be free at any cost. He had stirred up the feelings of the ignorant masses against Maharaja Bahadur and his family. He had roused feelings of hatred and contempt against the authority constituted by law and spread disaffection towards it. The accused drew a parallel between 'Quit Kashmir' and 'Quit India' movements. He had told the audience to adopt for themselves the slogan 'Quit Kashmir' as the Indians had adopted that of 'Quit India' for themselves. Mr. Asaf Ali has argued that the term 'Quit Kashmir' as used by the accused in his speeches did not mean exactly the same thing as the term 'Quit India'. But I do not agree with this interpretation which had been put on the words 'Quit Kashmir' by the learned counsel for the defence. The accused had used the words 'Army of occupation' with regard to Dogra army. He had been thinking all along the Dogras as aliens who had no sympathy and no relationship with the people of Kashmir."

The learned Judge added: "The ultimate responsibility for all devastations, destruction and loss of human lives rests on the shoulders of the accused. It was due to his preaching of violence, that misguided people committed enormities and excesses. Due to the vigilance of the authorities and timely action taken by them, much of mischief and calamity had been averted, otherwise the city of Srinagar would have presented a ghastly picture of destruction, ruins, devastation, conflagration and loss of human life. By taking timely precautions, the Government did its duty which it owed to the people. The first and most fundamental duty of every government is the preservation of order, since order is the condition precedent to all the civilization and the advance of human happiness."

The learned Judge referred to the rulings of the Patna High Court and the Federal Court quoted by the Defence Counsel to show that abusive language, even when used about a Government, is not necessarily seditious and held that in the present case the facts were quite different and the accused "had tried his best to lower the Ruler in the estimation of his subjects by telling them that he had no sympathy with them or the land of Kashmir and by pointing out that he spent the hard-earned money of the poor on his own luxuries and pleasures. The accused by his speeches had tried to alienate the allegiance of the people to the Ruler."

Blitz dated 14/x/46.

H. Times dated 14/x/46

Dear Mr. Sharma,

I write to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated 16th July and to say that I am sorry for the delay which has occurred in sending you a reply. You will readily appreciate the reason which is that in the last few weeks I have been extremely busy with urgent state work and could find no time to attend to my private correspondence.

Since you wrote Mr. Nehru has come and gone. I am grateful to you for your offer to send volunteers to assist us in case a strike or agitations arise when such assistance will be necessary. Happily such a situation has not arisen and we hope it will not arise even in future, but should it arise I will keep your offer in view.

As regards your suggestion relating to the securing of sympathy and good will of the press we should like to know full details before we offer an opinion. If you will be good enough to let my Prime Minister have those details we shall be in a position to decide whether your coming here will, in this connection, be necessary or not.

Yours sincerely

BRINDABAN,
21 Sept. 1946.

H.S. SHARMA Esq.,
65, Fair Bazar,
Delhi.

★ This facsimile of a letter written by Hari Singh, Maharaja of Kashmir, to Mr. H. S. Sharma, office-bearer of the Delhi Provincial Hindu Sabha, demonstrates how Hari Singh and his Dewan were conspiring to secure the help of a communal body and bribe the press to crush the popular movement in Kashmir.

UNDS NEEDED FOR RELIEF WORK IN KASHMIR

The Congress Working Committee recently passed a resolution in regard to the hardships in Kashmir. Quite apart from the political and other implications of these hardships and the possible steps that may have to be taken, there is a urgent need today for relief of those who have suffered and are suffering for political reasons in Kashmir," says an appeal issued by the General Secretary of the A.I.C.C.

"Reports received by the A.I.C.C. office indicate that many people have been ruined by the State Government's action and a large number are in distress. The imposition of punitive taxes has caused great distress, especially at this season of the year when winter is at hand. Relief, therefore, is urgently needed.

When the Congress President, Pandit Nehru, was in Kashmir in July last, he nominated a relief committee, there whose sole function was to give relief in cases of distress. Some of the members of this committee were later arrested and imprisoned by the State authorities. The committee is, however, still functioning, but it lacks funds. We appeal, therefore, for funds for relief work in Kashmir. This is the least we can do at the present moment to help a brave people who have suffered greatly in struggling for their freedom and who are still being crushed by all the powers of the State.

Contributions earmarked for Kashmir relief work may be sent to Shri Kamalnayan Bajaj, Bachraj and Company Ltd., Jehangir Wadia Building, 51 Mahatma Gandhi Road, Fort, Bombay, or to the A.I.C.C. Office, Swarn Bhawan, Allahabad. A.P.I.

H. Times dated 12/x/46

CABINET GOVTS IN COCHIN

PANDIT NEHRU'S APPRECIATION

NEW DELHI, Oct. 11.

Rao Bahadur K. Nar, Minister for Public Health, Cochin State, met Pandit Nehru to-day and conveyed to him the Maharaja's felicitations on his acceptance of office of Vice-Presidency of the Interim Government.

Pandit Nehru enquired about the working of the State's new constitution and the progress of the new Government. Pandit Nehru gave him the following message:

"I send my greetings to the Maharaja Sahab, the Ministers and people of Cochin State. I have been watching with interest and pleasure the new constitutional developments in the State. I hope they will be worked fully so that very soon the rights of the people of Cochin State will be secured. The working of the Cabinet System in Cochin is especially gratifying. In this matter, Cochin has given a lead to the other States in India, which they were wise they would follow soon. I congratulate Cochin on it."

Rao Sahib J. Mathew, Secretary to the Cochin Government and Mr. C. K. S. Moni also met Pandit Nehru. A.P.I.

Statesman dated 14/x/46

Tribune dated 14/x/46

NEHRU'S GREETINGS TO COCHIN STATE

"I send my greetings to the Maharaja Sahab, the Ministers and the people of Cochin State," says Pandit Nehru in a message.

"I have been watching with interest and pleasure the new constitutional developments in the State. I hope they will be worked fully so that very soon they might lead to full responsible Government. The working of the Cabinet system in Cochin is especially gratifying. In this matter, Cochin has given a lead to the other States in India which, if they are wise, they will follow soon. I congratulate Cochin on it."

MUSLIMS AND SIKHS PRESENT JOINT DEMANDS

PATIALA RULER ASKED FOR RESPONSIBLE GOVT.

PATIALA, Oct. 11.—More than 15,000 Muslims and Sikhs assembled on a common platform on Monday for elucidating their joint demands to the Maharaja of Patiala.

Their demands include the setting up of an elected Legislative Assembly, introduction of responsible government, adult franchise with separate electorates, re-election of municipal and small town committees, setting up of District Boards, proper representation of the Sikhs and Muslims in services as well as in trade by giving them depots of controlled articles.

Sardar Kartar Singh, Advocate, the principal speaker, stressed the point that the Praja Mandal, as at present constituted, did not represent the Muslim and Sikh point of view.—United Press.

Hindu dated 16/1/46
DU, WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER

STATE CONGRESS AND TRAVANCORE GOVT LEADERS' TALKS WITH DEWAN

TRIVANDRUM, Oct.

The following statement by Mr. Thann Pillai has been issued on authority of Sir C. P. Ramaswami A. Dewan, and it is understood this represents an agreed version of the discussion between the Dewan and Mr. Patnam Thann Pillai and T. M. Verghese.

The statement says:
"Mr. T. M. Verghese and myself (Mr. Thann Pillai) interviewed Sir Ramaswami Aiyar, the Dewan, at a.m. on October 13 at Bhakti V. The conversation mainly related to the question of constitutional reforms. In question of constitutional reforms, reference being made also to State, references being made also to full Responsible Government under aegis of the Maharaja should be wished in the State. The Dewan said that the Executive should be irrevocable during the term of the Legislature. We then pointed out that in any case the Executive should be constant from the majority party in the Legislature. The Dewan was definite that choice of the Executive should be at discretion of the Maharaja and not from the Legislature or outside it, as the case even in England. He said objection, however, to a full discretion of the matter, the only condition in being the irrevocability of the Executive merely on the basis of an ad vote of the Legislature."

"We questioned the scope and purity of Act I of 1122 and the Dewan said that similar Acts had been in some British Indian Provinces and whose Governments are run by the United Provinces and Bihar whose Governments are run by the Ministries and Indian States. The present situation in the State defied the promulgation of that Act that it was not meant to be used at the normal political activities of the duals or organisations and that it would not be a bar against any association Responsible Government. The Dewan also told us that Constitution Bill would be introduced only after discussion with the State Congress and other political organisations and he would meet us again early in November. The conversation terminated 12-30 p.m."—API.

STATE ASSEMBLY RESIGNATIONS

DENIAL BY KASHMIR GOVERNMENT

SRINAGAR, Oct. 14.—The following Press Note has been issued by the Kashmir Government: "In the course of a statement to the Press, the General Secretary of the All-Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference says that with the resignation of their seats on the Muslim Conference group and one Nationalist as a protest against the Public Security Bill not a single Muslim elected member was left in the Jammu and Kashmir State Assembly."

"The truth is that the joint resignation on behalf of eight members only was submitted on September 28, 1946. Under the rules, resignation has to be submitted by an individual member and not collectively. In any case in addition to these eight, there were 13 elected Muslim members in the Praja Sabha, four of whom were under detention."

"It is therefore a mischievous lie to say that no elected Muslim members were left in the Praja Sabha after the resignation of eight Muslim members of the Sabha. It may further be pointed out in this connection that the Praja Sabha itself was dissolved from October 1, 1946."—API.

"F.P. Journal dated 17/1/46"

Grouping Of Central India States

RULERS TO DISCUSS DRAFT SCHEME

FREE PRESS OF INDIA

TIKAMGARH, Oct. 10.

The Committee of Rulers and Ministers of the Central India States set up at the Indore Conference of the rulers, will be meeting at Bhopal on October 17 under the Presidentship of Maharaja Dewas (Jr.) to discuss the draft scheme for grouping of the Central India States, prepared by Mahendra Kumar Raghubir Singh, heir apparent, Siwana State and convener of the Committee.

The Free Press of India reliably understands that the scheme provides for separate grouping of Bundelkhand and Malwa States. The proposal to form separate provinces of Bundelkhand and Malwa, seems to have been abandoned for the present. It is further learnt that the boundaries of the groups will also be demarcated so that the areas concerned may be absorbed in separate provinces if the occasion arises later on.

Prajamandal circles feel that the group constitution scheme does not provide political freedom and responsible self-government to the state subjects.

It is understood that the Maharaja of Orchha, who promised self-government to his people and propagated a demand for a separate province for Bundelkhand, is supporting the scheme. The All-India States' People's Conference has sent a representation to the convener of the Committee of Rulers and Ministers, demanding full responsible government to the people of the States.

HYDERABAD REFORMS TO BE OPPOSED

HYDERABAD, Oct. 20.

"As long as the present 'reforms scheme' is being adhered to and the declaration recognising the principle of Responsible Government is not made, the policy of boycotting the 'Reforms' and opposing their introduction shall continue," says the resolution adopted by the Working Committee of the Hyderabad State Congress at the close of its two-day sitting yesterday. Swami Ramanand Thirtha presided.

The resolution demanded the withdrawal of the reforms scheme and the "recognition of Responsible Government based upon sovereignty of the people." The resolution called upon the people to rally round the banner of the State Congress for effectively opposing the implementation of the present reforms scheme and getting them withdrawn through struggle and sacrifice. "With a view to conducting the struggle in a disciplined and non-violent manner, the Working Committee authorises the President to appoint a Committee of Action and directs that the struggle be carried on under its guidance and control". The Committee, it is learnt was acquainted with the recent discussions which Congress leaders had with Sir Mirza Ismail on the "Reforms". The Committee also went in detail into a note sent to the Hyderabad State Congress on certain changes proposed in the reforms scheme, which, it is further learnt, relate to the transference of certain subjects within the purview of the Legislative Assembly. The Committee was also understood to have considered the correspondence that took place between the Congress High Command and the State Congress leaders on the subject. The Congress High Command is reported to have informed local Congress leaders not to compromise themselves on fundamentals, namely acceptance of the principle of Responsible Government by the Government, but they at the same time cautioned them not to embarrass Sir Mirza, in whom they had confidence that he would do his best.

STATE CONGRESS PREPARES FOR "STRUGGLE"

HYDERABAD (De.), Oct. 20.

The Working Committee of the Hyderabad State Congress reiterated its opposition to the constitutional reforms of Hyderabad announced recently in a resolution adopted last night.

The resolution authorises the President to appoint a committee of action to direct the "struggle" against the reforms.—A.P.I.

"Hindustan Times" d/- 21/10/46

STATES' VIEWS MUST BE HEARD ON ALL-INDIA QUESTIONS

Sir C. P. Urges Collaboration Among Princes

TRIVANDRUM, Oct. 19.—The view that the Indian States should insist in having a voice in the settlement of all-India questions which vitally affect them, was expressed by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer, Dewan of Travancore, in an interview.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer said: "Quite recently I felt it my duty to emphasize that it would be inexpedient for Indian States to be parties to any communal controversy or discussion; and the events that have now happened must fortify this opinion in the minds of all who are interested in the problem of Indian States. Such a position however, is not inconsistent with the demand for participation by and on behalf of the States in matters that profoundly affect their administration and future progress."

Cleavage Remains

"In my view the present is a juncture when such a participation is essential and has to be striven for. The strenuous efforts of the Nawab of Bhopal as a mediator have proved unavailing in the matter of bringing the Congress and the Muslim League together for the purpose of evolving a joint policy or a joint programme. The correspondence released by Mr Jinnah proves that the cleavage between the major political parties in India is as wide as if not wider than ever. Mr Jinnah has fully utilized what has been admitted to be a slip made by Gandhiji which has compelled him to undertake a vow of silence. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on October 8 had to declare that he and his colleagues could not accept the formula agreed to by Gandhiji and Mr Jinnah."

Gandhiji's undoubted pre-eminence as a spiritual force and a notable centre of inspiration is perhaps best preserved by his leaving the conduct of such negotiations to men in the thick of the fight like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Patel. However, this may be the following political results have ensued:

"Firstly, assuming the same position as Gandhiji, Mr Jinnah has kept out of the Government and proposes to guide the party from without, but unlike Gandhiji he is not likely to confine himself merely to giving advice from outside."

Not A Coalition

"Secondly, his followers are members of a Central Government which in the light of the correspondence now published and in the nature of things is likely to be not a coalition, but a loose congeries of divergent elements."

"Thirdly, he has not given up the ideal of two nations and Pakistan and obviously proposes to pursue it. Such manifestations as the demonstrations against Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in the Frontier Province and the recent statement of the Bengal Premier regarding the duty on jute furnish abject lessons. It may be observed that the demonstration were so fierce that Dr Khan Sahib was forced to declare that normally they would have necessitated opening of fire against the Muslim League participants in the anti-Nehru disturbances."

"Fourthly, he has as an offset to the choice of a Congress Muslim chosen among his nominees to the Central Government, a member of a depressed classes organization whose programme is just the opposite of that of the Congress nominees. This step has evoked a surprised protest from Gandhiji."

"Fifthly, and finally, Mr Jinnah has not only not consented to the long-term plan, but as appears from the last of the nine points stressed by him he wants to postpone the Constituent Assembly until a better atmosphere is created and agreement has been reached on his nine points."

"In effect such an unstable equilibrium has been created that Mahatma Gandhi has been forced out of his usual philosophic calm into expressing a doubt as to whether Mr Jinnah's procedure was straight and whether the Muslim League was not entering the Cabinet to fight from within. Those conflicts and controversies may not seem directly to affect the Indian States, but it must be obvious that the interests of the States are bound to be ignored in the struggle that will probably take place between the two political parties in the course of which the States may only be brought in, if at all, as pawns in a great game."

What States Should Do

"It thus becomes necessary that the following programme should be adopted by the Indian States over and above the policy of keeping aloof from any future polemics or discussions of a communal nature."

"They should at least from now on act in close collaboration *inter se* with advertance not only to the present posture of affairs, but to the inevitable political and economic developments of the future."

"That from now on the Indian States should insist on having a voice in the settlement of all-India questions which vitally affect them. It may be noticed that pronouncements have been recently made as to the all-India policy in regard to textile mills and appliances, prohibition, imports and exports, tariffs, shipping and many other matters in which decisions are taken or are about to be taken without reference to the opinions or the interests of States."

"Committees sought to be constituted to conduct consultations with the Government of India in regard to matters of common concern affecting British India and the Indian States should begin to function immediately and appropriate steps should be taken for focussing the point of view of the States on the problems that emerge for solution."

"It is to be regretted that neither the constitution nor the function of the Negotiation Committee or the Consultative Committee have been notified either by the Government of India or by the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes who is regarded as being in charge of the task of implementing 'shauz-e-hamam'—A.P.I."

150
"Dawn" dated 26/1/46

Indian States Should crystallise their Ideas Before Negotiations

BOMBAY, Thursday.

SIR BROJENDRA LAL MITTER, Dewan of Baroda, who is on a visit to Bombay, said in an interview to the Associated Press of India today, that he was in entire agreement with the views of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan of Travancore, regarding participation by Indian States in the internal controversies of British India.

Sir Brojendra Lal stressed the need for Indian States to crystallise their own ideas before the commencement of negotiation with British India.

He said: "I entirely agree with Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar in his recent statement and I share his apprehensions. The aim of the States is to find an honourable place in the map of free India. Participation by the States in the internal controversies of British India will not only retard the advent of freedom, but will add to the complexities of their own relations with British India. Such participation is likely to divide the States into different schools of thought and thereby weaken the order as a whole."

"What is wanted," Sir Brojendra Lal said, "is team work. Individual or sectional interests must be subordinated to the larger interests of the whole. It should be realised that the problems between British India and the States are of greater complexity than the problems of British India itself."

"The States should lose no time in crystallising their own ideas before negotiation with British India begins. Let not these ideas be coloured by British Indian controversies"—API.

"statesman" 27/1/46

FOUR KASHMIR MUSLIM LEADERS ARRESTED

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

SRINAGAR, Oct. 26.—Four leaders of the Jammu and Kashmir Muslim conference were arrested last night for defying the State ban on public meetings.

They are Chaudhri Ghulam Abbas, President of the All-Jammu and Kashmir Muslim conference, Agha Shaukat Ali, General Secretary, Moulvi Nooruddin, President of the Committee of Action, and Mr Allaraka Sagar, a prominent leader of the conference.

They spoke last night at Muslim Park, Srinagar, where the annual session of the conference was held in spite of the refusal of the District Magistrate to grant permission to hold the conference.

Chaudhri Ghulam Abbas, who presided, said that a decision was to be taken at the conference regarding the launching of direct action. But the Government's attitude to the conference had precipitated a crisis and they had no option but to start a campaign of individual civil disobedience. He announced that only he, the General Secretary and the President of the Reception committee of the conference would court arrest.

Police and military pickets have been posted at strategic points in Srinagar city and in district towns. The Prime Minister of Kashmir, Rai Bahadur Pandit Ramechandra Kak, told the Associated Press of India that the Muslim conference leaders had forced the issue by making speeches at the annual session of the conference and had broken an undertaking given by their own party.

He added: "The Chairman of the Muslim conference Reception committee wrote to the Government yesterday requesting that permission may be granted for holding the annual session of the conference just for a few minutes when an announcement would be made to delegates and others assembled there that the session had been postponed in view of the ban imposed by the authorities on the holding of the session. This request was granted by the District Magistrate on the clear understanding that no speeches would be made."

"It appears however," said the Prime Minister, "that certain truculent elements in the Muslim conference decided to defy the undertaking given by their party. Under the circumstances, the only course left to the authorities was to let the law take its normal course."

Indus dt 28.10.46
Hinduistan Times dt 28.10.46

RESPONSIBLE GOVT. FOR TRAVANCORE STATE CONGRESS URGES NEED

THIVANDRUM Oct. 27

The Working Committee of the Travancore State Congress at its recent meeting resolved inter alia that it was aware that the people of the State have become disheartened and restless in consequence of the delay in and obstacles to the realisation of the object of Responsible Government. Reluctance on the part of the Government to satisfy the people's political aspirations has led to the accentuation of discontent and unrest among the people. The Committee adds that when occasion arises for resorting to "direct action" methods for achieving their goal, the State Congress Committee will take the necessary steps and lead the country in the struggle.

Proceeding the resolution says: "Today, the country is passing through a great crisis. Further on one side Government by its repressive laws and measures are forcing the hands of the Congress. On the other, certain elements, professing to be extremists, are leading people to cause riot and disturbances by violent methods. The serious situation existing in the country, the lawlessness and Ambalapuzha taluka to-day is the direct result of their activities. In consequence of the violent methods pursued by the Communists of the locality, people in these areas are living in actual terror. The struggle that the State Congress envisages is a purely non-violent one. It is not that they are deliberately creating an atmosphere of violence, calculated to destroy the foundations of satyagraha. Their aim is at the disruption of the State Congress by exploiting the fighting spirit of the people and diverting the same into violent channels and thereby making the struggle that the State Congress may launch for the attainment of Responsible Government a failure. These Communists have hitherto enjoyed the patronage and support of the Government. For the attainment of their objective, they are carrying on false and malicious propaganda against the State Congress and the Committee desires that the public should not be deceived by the same."

Concluding, the Committee emphasises the necessity to mobilise popular forces in the country for action and to ensure that the public not to allow themselves to be influenced by malicious and false propaganda and be ready to respond to the call of the State Congress.

DEWAN'S COMMENT

Commenting on the State Congress Working Committee's resolution, Sir C. P. Ramasami Aiyar, the Dewan, has on October 24, glanced through the resolutions passed by the Working Committee of the State Congress at its meeting held on October 24. I cannot help reminding that right through the document there is an attempt to weaken the Government's position while appearing to condemn the activities of the Communists. An intimation is made that certain Communists have enjoyed special patronage of the Government and a suggestion is thrown out that this support has been aimed at enabling the State Congress to attempt to attain Responsible Government. This statement is wholly unwarranted and is unworthy of the State Congress.

The State Congress also asserts its readiness to start "direct action" whenever occasion arose. Talk of this kind has always encouraged subversive activities. It is a pity that the State Congress does not realise the effect of such a pronouncement especially at this juncture.

"It is with some relief that I noticed the reassertion of the non-violent character of the State Congress and recognition of the avowed programme of violence indulged in by Communists."—F.O.C.

Muslim Conference Defied Solemnly Undertaking, Says Kak

SRINAGAR, Oct. 27.—Pandit Ramchandra Kak, Prime Minister of Kashmir, said in an interview yesterday that the four Muslim Conference leaders, who were arrested on Friday night had forced the issue against the general making speeches at the annual session of their conference, held last night, had broken the undertaking given by their own party.

The Prime Minister said: "The Chairman of the Muslim Conference Reception Committee wrote to the Government yesterday requesting that permission may be granted for holding the annual session of the conference just for a few minutes when an announcement would be made to delegates and others assembled there that the session had been postponed in view of the ban imposed on the authorities on the holding of the session and also in view of the present moment being inopportune. This request was granted by the District Magistrate on the clear understanding that apart from the above indicated announcement no speeches would be made."

"It appears, however," said the Prime Minister, "that certain truculent elements in the Muslim Conference decided to defy the undertaking given by their party. Under the circumstances the only course left to the authorities was to let the law take its normal course."

An earlier report adds:—Permission to hold the conference had been refused by the District Magistrate in view of the disturbed political condition in the Kashmir State. No reports have yet reached Srinagar of any arrests effected in other parts of Jammu and Kashmir State.

Additional police and military have been posted at strategic points in Srinagar city and in district towns.

Two weeks ago the chairman of the reception committee of the Muslim Conference annual session applied to the District Magistrate for permission to hold the annual session in Srinagar in view of the ban in force on public meetings and processions. The permission was refused as the Government took serious objection to statements issued by Chaudhri Ghulam Abbas that the Muslim Conference had decided to launch direct action. Thereupon the General Secretary declared that the Muslim Conference was not in any way bound by restrictions imposed by the Government and they would defy them.

Efforts made by the moderate elements in Muslim Conference to arrive at an agreeable solution failed and last evening Chaudhri Ghulam Abbas, Agha Shaukat Ali and Moulvi Nooruddin declared at the annual session that they had decided to defy the ban.

Two more workers of the National Conference were arrested yesterday at a huge meeting and spoke on the "Quit Kashmir" movement.—A.P.I. and Globe.

The Committee expressed the hope that the Travancore State Congress would give a correct lead to the people of Travancore.

Free Press Journal"
dated 29/1/46.

Hyderabad Reforms Acceptance

Kher Repudiates Report

BOMBAY, Monday.

Mr. B. G. Kher, Premier of Bombay, has issued the following statement to the press:

"My attention has been drawn to a report dated October 14, issued from Hyderabad (Dn.) to the effect that I advocated acceptance of the proposed constitutional reforms and further that people should thereafter strive for the establishment of a government fully representative of the people, and that I added that Hyderabad would reach the destined goal in course of time.

"As a matter, I did not make any statement about the political movement in the state as I did not think it proper to do so. Both in my public address and at the informal conference of workers I made it clear that I did not presume to give advice to the States people as regards their political movement.

"I notice that Swami Ramananda Tirth, who presided at the Physical Education Conference, has also repudiated the accuracy of the news.

"I also repudiate it as wholly untrue."

"Dawn" of 1/11/46

JINNAH APPRISED OF KASHMIR SITUATION

SRINAGAR, Thursday.

MIR WAIZ MOHAMMED YUSUF, Chairman All-Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference Committee of Action told the Associated Press of India yesterday that he is in communication with Mr. M. A. Jinnah regarding recent events in Kashmir resulting in the arrest of Muslim Conference and other leaders.

He said: "A detailed letter has been sent to Mr. Jinnah in this connection and I have requested him to give us proper lead at this critical hour."

He also advised Kashmir Muslims to be patient and await Mr. Jinnah's instructions. For the present they should act upon the advice given by Chaudhri Ghulam Abbas, President Muslim Conference, in his presidential address in which he appealed to Muslims of this state to fight the forthcoming elections to the Kashmir Assembly and show to the world that they are behind Mr. Jinnah and not Pandit Nehru's nominees.—APL

NO INDICATION OF TRANSFER OF POWER TO PEOPLE

"Struggle Has Become Inevitable In Mysore"

Mr. K. C. Reddi's Presidential Address At Congress Session

(From Our Correspondent)

BANGALORE, Nov. 2.

"We want to build a new Mysore to enable her to play a notable part in a free India. For that we want power to be transferred to the people's representatives. We would welcome such transference in a spirit of goodwill and harmony. It will be good for all. But, as we see no indication of such action, we have to launch a struggle. It has become inevitable," observed Mr. K. Chengalaraya Reddi in the course of his presidential address to the sixth session of the Mysore State Congress held here to-day.

The following is a summary of the address:

We have passed through a period of unparalleled distress during the last year with regard to food. The whole world has been faced with a crisis in this regard. Neglected agriculture, requirements of war, failure of rains and Government's inefficiency have brought us distress and agony. What with corruption and bribery, black-marketing and failure to rouse the enthusiasm and secure the hearty support of the people, the Government have failed to meet the crisis ably and well. Coercion in procurement, faulty measurements, delays, leakages, corruption in the procurement and distribution machinery, absence of scientific rationing in rural areas, failure of timely imports, ineffectiveness of the grow-more-food campaign—all these have laid low the people of Mysore. There has been partial starvation and people in certain areas were necessitated to eat roots and leaves. The sight of the emaciated people in certain rural areas has been heart-rending. Our sympathy goes out to all the sufferers. The next year should be a year of plenty. Let us hope it will be aided over with the help of timely imports. Fortunately, there have been good rains recently and we may look forward to a fairly good harvest. The morale has somewhat improved but a terrible lesson has been learnt. Let us make the State self-sufficient with regards food if it is possible.

The world has witnessed events of revolutionary significance since we met at Shimoga last year. For us in India, this has been a revolutionary year. Great events have followed one another in quick succession. The Interim National Government led by Nehru has come into existence. Let us solemnly salute and send it our hearty greetings. We are watching with joy and admiration its initiative, courage, vigour and drive. It is making history. It is taking quick and giant strides towards an independent India and will take us to the haven of full freedom in weather, either fair or foul. Let us assure them of our unflinching loyalty and unwavering support. We welcome the decision of the Muslim League to enter the Interim Government and hope that they will play a role of helpfulness and co-operation.

THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

The stage is now set for the deliberations of the Constituent Assembly. In this connection, it is necessary for us to consider only such of the proposals as pertain to the States. Momentous decisions have been arrived at after consulting the Princes and their nominees. The people of the states have been ignored. The equation of the states with the rest of the country is dangerous, since they or their nominees cannot claim representative status so long as democratic Governments are not functioning in the states. The states' people cannot and will not accept a subordinate role. All decisions, therefore, which are harmful to the interests of the Indian people will have to be challenged and resisted by them. The non-recognition of the sovereign rights of the states' people, as manifested by the Cabinet Mission's proposals in important particulars.

If steps had been taken by now by all the states to establish representative institutions and elect their Governments, with mergers or unions wherever necessary, there would not have been much controversy over the various steps described in regard to the constitution-making. But, excepting Cochin and few other states, expeditions in this regard have generally been shattered and the sweet professions of the Chamber of Princes uttered to the ear have been broken to the heart. It is against this background that we have to consider the proposals submitted for the states to participate in the Constituent Assembly.

The states in the preliminary stages are represented by a Negotiating Committee. The composition of this Committee is of paramount importance. As constituted already, it consists of only a few Princes and Dewans. They have no representative status and in any case they cannot claim to represent the people of the states. The A.I.S.P.C. had urged that the Negotiating Committee should include states' people's representatives. There is not even one such on the Committee. The states' people, therefore, are not represented. The Negotiating Committee should not represent them and that such of the Committee's work which is at variance with the people's wishes will be repudiated by them. I would not want to exaggerate the dangers inherent in the corresponding Consomably Committee agreeing to carry on negotiations with an unrepresentative Negotiating Committee.

I shall now state our stand. The Negotiating Committee should be reconstituted on a satisfactory basis. The States should join the union. The States' representatives would participate in the Consomably. They should all be elected by either direct or indirect or by the people's representatives where they exist. They should be elected well in time to participate in the preliminary meeting of the Assembly when the Chairman will be elected, proposals decided upon and the Committee to deal with fundamental rights etc., will be set up.

LINGUISTIC PROVINCE

The question of the formation of linguistic provinces in India is of special importance to us. The principle underlying it was accepted long ago by the Indian National Congress. The time has now come to implement it in the drawing up of the constitutional map of India. This will be one of the tasks of the Consomably. A Karnataka unit has to be brought into being out of the disrupted fragments under various administrations to serve the cultural, social, economic and political advancement of the Kannadigas. Mysore is an important and vital segment thereof. Nay, it is the very heart of it and comprises about half of all Karnataka. Evolution of a unitary Karnataka is beset with difficulties. Mysore with an undemocratic constitution is a stumbling block. There is a way out in His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore becoming a constitutional monarch not only of Mysore but also of all Karnataka provided there is a give and take by all the parties concerned. I devoutly wish for such a happy consummation. Otherwise, a sub-federation comprising of Mysore and British Karnataka as units is a feasible proposition. The small Karnataka states should merge in the provincial unit. The Hyderabad alliance, however, presents a conundrum. This problem should engage our earnest and constant attention.

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

Let me now take up the issue of responsible Government in the states. I consider it unnecessary to consider all the arguments in favour of responsible Government and make out a case for the same. It has been done so many times before. I will content myself to just consider a few important points. There was a time when it was strongly contended that Paramountcy and treaties stood in the way of the establishment of responsible Government in the states. But it is now no longer possible to take cover under that plea since the paramount power has signed its own death warrant and the treaties will be only forgotten memories. The paramount power has definitely exhorted the states to conform to the highest standard of administration. And in view of the disappearance of paramountcy the establishment of responsible Government has become vital as never before. The existence of royalty with its power, privileges and prerogatives has been stated to be a hindrance to the establishment of responsible Governments. But its existence is inconsistent with responsible Government. Let it be remembered that responsible Governments are demanded under the aegis of the respective rulers. Only the ruler should become the constitution heads. Why should they not elevate themselves to the position of constitutional monarchs like the King of England? The Princes should trust their people, transfer power to them, take the advice of peoples' chosen representatives and carry on the Government themselves.

RAINS HINDER SESSION

BANGALORE, Nov. 2.

Ramgar repeated itself in Mysore. Just as in the case of Indian National Congress at Ramgar in 1940, heavy rains marred the progress of the Mysore Congress Session this morning. The flag-hoisting ceremony could not take place.

Heavy rains hit the A.M.C.C. and Subjects Committee meetings are being held this afternoon at Sree Theatre instead of Subhannagar—F.O.C.

Responsible government is the only kind of government wherein every citizen can play a part. It has a definite place in the shaping of the government and its policies. All other kinds of governments dwarf its stature and stultify its personality. The present complex and varied situations that governments have to face cannot be tackled without the willing co-operation and the enthusiastic support of the people at large. Responsible government will satisfy the people's aspiration.

In keeping with the time spirit, it will enable the states to fit into the new Indian union—free and independent. I need not at present detail the intolerable conditions prevailing in many a state where money liberties are non-existent, rule of law is conspicuous by its absence, food conditions are the order of the day and there was autocracy is supreme. Let me confine myself to the position in our State. I have already referred to the food situation. Even in normal years we have to import rice annually to the tune of 50,000 tons. Production of milk and other dairy products, meat, fruit and vegetables on a small basis has been going on. But the physical stamina of the people is low mainly due to malnutrition. People particularly in the villages are ill-clad and they cannot afford to buy enough cloth. Even if there were money, they have not enough to go round. Production has not been organised to make for self-sufficiency. Housing conditions are deplorable particularly in the villages. There has never been a thought given to progress in rural housing. The problem is acute in the cities as well. Literacy is as low as 13 per cent even today and in the villages the percentage is even much lower. The position is scandalous. The demand for compulsory primary education has never been squarely met. The average income of the Mysoreans continues to be very low. The standards of living are poor. Through people are steeped in debt there has never been a bold debt redemption scheme.

DISAPPOINTING RESPONSE

The excise revenue has gone up by leaps and bounds. It is now about 180 lakhs per annum. In the words of a great administrator, it is a money drawn from the misery and degradation of the poor. Prohibition has been demanded unanimously and resolutions have been passed to that effect. But the Government have ignored them, with meaningless talk about "Prohibition". The land revenue system is as antiquated as it is inequitable. It is oppressive to certain people and in certain areas. Labour legislation is not kept pace with even the developments in British India, leave alone those in the West. There are no social security schemes whatsoever. Corruption and nepotism in the administration is prevalent to a high degree. The list can be lengthened out the above is sufficient to indicate the general level of the tempo of the administration. What has been the cause for the same? The main cause has been the absence of democratic Government which could tap and mobilise the initiative, enthusiasm and untiring support of the people. We are seeing how such Governments which have come into existence in the provinces where conditions were more or less similar are making determined efforts to change the order of things. We want to fall in step with them and therefore we demand Responsible Government.

What has been the response to that demand? Disappointing and distressing. It is a tragedy that people who cannot understand or assess the time spirit are holding key positions and tendering advice to His Highness on reactionary lines in the interests of Royalty! There can be no safety for any one unless peoples' representatives who have the confidence of the people are duly called by His Highness the Maharaja to shoulder administrative responsibility.

The people of Mysore have time and again reiterated their demand with acclamation and vigour. They have paid the penalty for their conviction. Loyal memorials by the legislature have been submitted to His Highness by an overwhelming majority of members belonging to several parties for the establishment of Responsible Government amongst other things. It is humiliating that the memorials have not even been acknowledged. One wonders if they have been submitted or not to His Highness. The legislature has shown in an unmistakable manner that the Government under the present constitution do not command their confidence. On the issue of Government bills have been thrown out by the Assembly both in June last and again in the recent Dasara Session. Several out motions have been passed by the Legislative Council. All the attempts made by the Government and their supporters have been of no avail. The Government stands proved today as an autocratic agency bereft of support from the Legislature. Still, its withers are not ungirded and it wants to go on without anything has happened.

CONSTITUTIONAL METHODS EXHAUSTED

It looks as though we have exhausted all constitutional methods. We have known exemplary patience. But our demands have been ignored and even ridiculed. We are told that circumstances are different in the states to those in the provinces. We are advised that slogans current in British India can have no meaning or potency here. Exhortations of loyalty are made suggesting thereby that dualism is current when there is none. The outworn concept of association of people with the Government is still adhered to. Nay, there is a mild threat that if behaviour according to patterns prescribed is not forthcoming, it may perhaps lead us further from that increased association of the people with the Government. The issue of Responsible Government is not even mentioned. Leave alone met. What are we to do under the circumstances?

Constitutional methods of agitation have not had the desired effect. It is puerile to exhort us to be temperate in our language, to be law abiding, to show a spirit of tolerance, to cultivate a spirit of catholicity and to be told that the atmosphere created thereby may lead us to further our political progress. We have displayed all the above qualities but it has been understood that we must change our technique. We must assert ourselves. We must prepare ourselves to go through "blood, toil, sweat and tears" to reach our goal, adhering to non-violence.

Let me assure that we do not want conflict for conflict's sake. We are not itching for it. We would fain avoid it. We are keen on constructive activities which will build the shattered economy of the country and bring light, happiness and prosperity to a populace who are mallowing in poverty, misery and darkness. We want to build a new Mysore to enable her to play a notable part in a free India. For that, we want power to be transferred to the peoples' representatives. We would welcome such transference in a spirit of goodwill and harmony. It will be good for all. But as we see no indication of such action we have to launch a struggle. It has become inevitable.

It will be the special task of this Session to arrive at a decision on this behalf. It requires courage and wisdom to decide aright. I would like to say a word here about what is known as the Parliamentary programme. I am aware that it is discredited by some as being ineffective. They feel that it is even harmful. Let it be noted that Responsible Government can function only through the legislature. Meanwhile, positions of vantage in the legislature should be held and the fight

carried on from within the legislature. Only it is harmful to withdraw from them. Only we must take care not to succumb to the pitfalls it may land us in. I am not, however, enamoured of contesting all municipal elections. Our record in this regard has been very unsatisfactory. Participation in every such election should be decided on its merits.

STRENGTHEN THE ORGANISATION

I would now like to stress the need for strengthening our organisation. The Mysore Congress has a record of work suffering and sacrifice of which it may well be proud. Differences and dissensions tend to beget that may have crept in must be eliminated. The organisation has to be strengthened in every sector. Once again we must stand united and work out programmes which will galvanise the people and lead us on to our goal as quickly as possible.

A word about our relationship with the Indian National Congress. The National Congress has ever been sympathetic to us and it has given us sympathy and support whenever we showed self-reliance and strength. Its leaders have given us guidance whenever we have sought it. Mahatma has also if ever helped, rather than hindered the cause of the states. I have no doubt that this relationship will continue. But has not the time come however, for enabling the state organisations to function as integral parts of the Indian National Congress? The Hindustani Resolution gave the states' organisations independent status. The policy has been beneficial so far as it engendered a sense of responsibility and self-reliance. I wish to reiterate that either the state organisations separately or the A.I.S.P.C. as a unit should be lined up with the Indian National Congress. How this should be done is a matter for careful consideration. I can only stress that the people. Before I conclude I want to make a fervent appeal to all to brace themselves up for action. I make a special appeal to the youth, the labourers and the poor. The future is made by them. Let us over again. They have not been, found wanting before and I am sure they will surpass their previous records. It will be the glory of the rich to see the poor prosper. It has hindered the march to freedom. Freedom is for all. And freedom's battle, though not baffled is over.

"Fed Up With Existing System"

MR. BASHYAM'S WELCOME ADDRESS

"It is only by immediate establishment of Responsible Government that we can not only 'take our place in an All-India polity but also reshape the economic structure of our society so as to advance the cause of social justice," observed Mr. K. T. Bashyam, Chairman, Reception Committee in his welcome address.

Mr. Bashyam added: "Frankly, we are fed up with the existing system. It is neither moral nor efficient. We have often given expression to our views on this subject, and there is no need for me to stress it over again. It has gone beyond the state of friendly demand. A large volume of bitterness is discernible all over the country and unless promptly assuaged it is bound to lead to inter-conflict and struggle between the people and the administration. I have always maintained that we in Mysore are lovers of peace and orderly development and we should be most reluctant to launch on any struggle. But there is a limit even to our patience."

"The history of the Mysore Congress and the enunciation of its policies must convince everyone that it is not merely a party but a national institution, that it is not merely a party but a national institution, that it is composed of courageous and self-sacrificing patriots who know what they want and who are determined on getting it for the country. During the last eight years and more, the Mysore Congress has fought valiantly, and not without some measure of success for the recognition of people's rights. If driven to it, the Mysore Congress will not flinch from launching on a struggle and I am sure that nobody will deceive himself that this is only a threat. As a matter of fact, it is no threat at all. It is a bare statement of fact regarding the existing political state of affairs—a statement made in time so that wisdom may prevail and the people may be saved from the ordeal of a struggle."

"It is only by the immediate establishment of Responsible Government that we can not only take our place in an All-India polity but also reshape the economic structure of our society so as to advance the cause of social justice. Under a system of Responsible Government, not only shall we be able to better our financial condition but we shall, if we are wise, increase our agricultural and industrial output to such an extent that we can afford to give to every citizen a guarantee of the essential needs of a decent and comfortable life, sufficient food, clothing, shelter, education, medical aid and leisure."

"Our attitude towards Labour, Students, Harijans, Minorities and the like is too well known to need reiteration. We are out to fight every form of injustice, social and economic, and to introduce justice and equity in every walk of life."

LAUNCHING OF SATYAGRAHA

Resolution for Open Session

BANGALORE, Nov. 1.

A resolution authorising the Working Committee of the Mysore Congress to take all necessary steps including Satyagraha for realisation of responsible Government in the State has been drafted by the Working Committee to be placed before the sixth annual session of the Mysore Congress.

It will be discussed by the Subjects Committee tomorrow morning before it goes before the open session. The resolution demands that the present Mysore constitution be scrapped and points out that the declaration made by the Dewan that conditions in Mysore are different from those in the provinces and that people should wait and see the results of deliberations of the Constituent Assembly before anything can be done in Mysore, showed lack of earnestness on the part of the Government. The "Mysore Congress therefore feels," says the resolution, "that constitutional methods having had no effect on the Government so far, it has become necessary and inevitable to intensify the struggle in every way conforming, however, to the tenets of non-violence."

Act Before It Is Too Late ✓

MORARJI DESAI'S ADVICE TO STATES RULERS

DHANGADRA, Nov. 3.
Mr. Morarji Desai, Home Minister, Bombay, inaugurating the second session of the Kathiawar Political Conference, which commenced here last evening, expressed the hope that the ruling chiefs of Kathiawar would regard themselves as first servants of their peoples.

Mr. Desai exhorted the audience to preserve mental balance despite the recent unsavoury incidents which would best be consigned as inescapable birth pangs of new India. He appealed to the Kathiawar chiefs to lose no time in granting full responsible governments to the people before the pressure of public opinion wrested it from them.

Messages from Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Mr. B. G. Kher and Dr. P. T. Srinivasan were read at the Conference.

The Mahatma in his message conveyed his wholehearted support to the Conference and hoped that co-operative grouping of Kathiawar States would come into existence on broad-based principles of democracy.

Dattar Gopaldas Desai, who presided, said instead of the scheme of the attachment of smaller states to the formation of a Union of Kathiawar States would be the New measure of ensuring a strong democratic government pledged to the policy of furthering the vital needs and basic interests of the people.—A.P.

"Leader" date 1 4/xi/46

Nehru Deputes Kachru to Study Hyderabad Situation

New Delhi, Nov. 2.—Swami Ramnand Tirth, president, Hyderabad State Congress, has issued the following statement:

'On being called by Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to hold discussions with them at Delhi concerning the Satyagraha movement to be launched in Hyderabad State, I reached Delhi on Oct. 31. Mahatma Gandhi had already left for Noakhali. I met Pandit Nehru on Nov. 1. We discussed the Hyderabad situation in all its bearings. In view of the seriousness of the situation prevailing in Hyderabad Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has decided to depute Shri Dwarkanath Kachru, General Secretary of the All-India States Peoples Conference to Hyderabad to study the situation and try, if possible to arrive at an amicable settlement of the political issue. Till then, the action contemplated by the working committee of the Hyderabad State Congress is

deferred. The observance of the Anti-Reforms Day on Nov. 11, and the subsequent programme is therefore postponed for some time.

An emergency meeting of the working committee of the State Congress is convened on Nov. 12 at Hyderabad to which a number of State Congress workers have been invited. Pandit Dwarkanath Kachru is expected to attend the same.

—A. I. T.

ESTABLISH INTERIM GOVERNMENTS IN INDIAN STATES

Gwalior State Congress President's Appeal To Princes To Concede People's Legitimate Rights

In the course of his presidential address delivered at the 27th annual session of the Gwalior State Congress at Guna on Monday Shri Lladhar Joshi emphasised the need for the immediate establishment of Interim Governments in the States and said that for permanent and practical solution of the whole States' issue the princes should establish responsible Governments in the States in time and must give up their evasive, make shift and dilatory tactics. They must come to human levels from their dreamlands of confederation etc. and recognise the peoples' right to decide their own fate in whatever way they choose. At the same time he exhorted the people to be prepared for a tough and final fight in the event of their due and legitimate rights and demands being not recognised and conceded by peaceful means of persuasion and negotiations.

SUPPORT TO EXPLOITED NATIONS

In the international sphere, Mr. Joshi said, their sympathies go to the oppressed, exploited and downtrodden backward nations of the world and asked for the reassessment of moral values and improvement of outlook on problems affecting human society to bring about a lasting peace in the world.

Regarding the Indian States, Mr. Joshi said that now 93 million States people under the lead of the All-India States Peoples' Conference under the inspiring guidance of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru are well organised and are marching rapidly towards their goal of full responsible Government in the States and are striving hard for the recognition of their right to send elected representatives to the Constituent Assembly and simultaneously drawing the constitution for their States as well and for the establishment of Interim Governments commanding the confidence of the people for the interim period.

FULL OF SNAES

The constitutional reforms, though sweetly worded, in various States are mostly inspired not by a genuine desire of transferring power to the people but are full of snaes and mostly meant for window dressing and pro-

paganda outside and they are far from satisfactory.

Supporting the principles of merge and grouping of Indian States Pandit Lladhar advocated for the formation of two units of (1) Malwa States, and (2) Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand States in Central India.

With reference to Gwalior State Mr. Joshi said that the 1939 reforms with two Houses and limited scope cannot satisfy the growing aspirations of the people and in deference to the wishes of the people and as a protest against the Government attitude and tactics the Gwalior State Congress Party in the legislatures had to revolt the last session. Kisan and Mazdoor problems have been totally neglected. Civil liberties are curtailed at every available opportunity.

Concluding Mr. Joshi exhorted the people to prepare for the final struggle by rallying round the State Congress flag.

Blitz dated 2/11/46 REVOKE HARPURA RESOLUTION ON STATES

JAL HIND—Eight years ago, in February 1938, the Indian National Congress passed the historic resolution on Native States at Haripura. It has directed the people of the States to form independent organisations or to continue where they already existed and promised moral support and sympathy since "under the existing circumstances the Congress is not in a position to work effectively to this end within the States, and numerous limitations and restrictions imposed by the Rulers or by British authority working through them, hamper its activities."

In some States like Travancore and Kashmir the authorities spared no pains and resorted to the most vulgar tactics to dub the patriotic organisations of the people as rank communal assemblies attempting to overthrow the existing Government. Unholy alliances and un-

heard of allegations were attributed to the leaders. In Travancore, Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer trained under the "divide and rule" veteran Lord Willingdon, used all his vile machinations to create parallel organisations with the help of disgruntled and selfish elements as a counterpoise against the growing strength of the State Congress. But the progressive and educated people of Travancore saw clearly through the game and kept away from the snare and exerted their utmost to keep themselves clear of the turbid waters of rank communalism.

The latest Cabinet proposals too have provided enough loopholes for vested interests to take shelter behind the autocratic Princes who are 'protected' by 150-year old treaties, engagements and Sanads. The chota Hitlers are still hugging on to the airy illusion that they can main-

tain their status *quo* till eternity. The only sovereign and specific remedy suitable to the Rulers to wake up and get going is the united will of the 400 millions of Indians. Mass sanctions have to be forged behind the demand for full responsible Government. Plebiscites should be taken in all States to ascertain whether Princes should guide the destinies of the people. The 600 feudal heads, propped up and padded by the foreign diehards, should never be allowed to check or hamper the rapid progress towards India's inevitable destiny. To materialise these urgent tasks, it is high time the Resolution on States passed at Haripura is revoked and 100 millions of well trained Indians of the States allowed to merge into a common united freedom movement.

EMPEEDY

ERNAKULAM, Oct. 12.

Confederation Of States May Grant Charter To Subjects

BOMBAY DISCUSSION ON DRAFT CONSTITUTION

A JUDICIAL committee which will ensure the strict rule of law to the people, it is understood, is a feature of the constitution drawn up by the sub-committee of the 50 odd confederating States of Kathiawar, Gujerat, Rajputana and Central India.

The draft constitution of the confederation was presented by His Highness the Jam Saheb of Nawanganar to a conference of Rulers and Ministers of the confederating States at the Taj Mahal Hotel, Bombay, on Monday.

In addition to the condition that the confederating units would have to introduce legislative bodies within three years of their entry into the union, the member States may have to grant a charter of fundamental rights to their subjects.

The Jam Saheb, who was the moving spirit in the drafting of the constitution, is understood to have stressed the importance of the State confederating without loss of time in order to secure for the States a due position in the polity of India without affecting their individual existence. A quick decision on the question, His Highness pointed out, would be most beneficial in making their weight felt during constitution-making. As a single unit, the confederating States would compare in size with several British Indian Provinces and the largest Indian States.

FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS

His Highness suggested that it would be wise for each Ruler to make a public declaration guaranteeing certain fundamental rights to the subjects, including personal liberty, liberty of speech and press, liberty of conscience and creed and freedom from all forms of forced and unpaid labour.

The constitution as drafted by the sub-committee, the details of which will be considered by the conference

on Tuesday, it is understood, provides for a bi-cameral legislature. The schedule of subjects of the legislature of the confederation include subjects in relation to the all-India Union, press laws, hydro-electric development, and currency and coinage.

Those present included the Rulers of Porbunder, Lunavada, Bundi, Kotah, Dargarpur, Sachin, Janjira, Jhalawar, Idar, Jawahar, Jhabua, Palitana, Banswada, Wadhwan; the Maharaj Kumars of Sant and Rajpipla, Raj Kumar Fatesinhji of Limbdi, the Raj Kumar of Bansda, Sir Fazal Rahimtoola, representing Junagadh, Khan Bahadur Kothavala (Rajpipla) and the Ministers of Bundi, Rutlam and Wankaner.

RAJPUTANA STATES' - FUTURE

Committee Appointed

From A Correspondent

BIKANER, November 9.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner returned to Bikaner today after attending a meeting convened by His Highness the Maharana Sahib of Udaipur.

Besides other Rulers of Rajputana, Their Highnesses of Jaipur, Jodhpur, Kotah and Bundi attended the meeting.

The general situation in the country affecting the States as a whole and Rajputana States in particular was discussed at the meeting. A committee consisting of Prime Ministers or Representative Ministers of Rajputana States was appointed to consider the latest developments and examine the method of participation of the Rajputana States in the proposed Union of India.

H.T.
14/11/46

FREE ELECTIONS ASSURED IN KASHMIR

SRINAGAR, Nov. 12 - Rai Bahadur Ramchandra Kak, Prime Minister of Kashmir, at a Press conference here this morning declared that he would do everything humanly possible to assure free and fair elections to the State Assembly which will be held in the first week of January 1947.

He added that if any official was found interfering in the elections he would not hesitate to take drastic action. He promised to have a larger number of polling stations in order to avoid possibility of clashes between contesting parties and he assured that every precaution would be taken to prevent coercion and intimidation of voters.

Turning to the political situation in Kashmir State, the Prime Minister said that the time has not yet come for the general release of all detainees but against public meetings and processions will continue for the time being.

Asked whether, in view of the Muslim Conference Acting President's declaration that his party would now follow a constitutional path, Government would release the Muslim Conference leaders arrested recently he replied that they were arrested for specific offences and Government would not interfere with the normal course of law.

The Prime Minister denied Press reports that the Muslim Conference leaders were on hunger strike—
A.P.I.

Bombay Chronicle
14/11/46

CONFEDERATION BY POPULAR CONSENT

Dhrangadhra Ruler's Appeal
For Goodwill

RAJKOT, Nov. 13 (A.P.I.): The Maharaja of Dhrangadhra, who first expounded the scheme of a confederation of Kathiawar States, in a statement says:

"At a recent meeting of the Gujerati Shasthya Parishad held at Rajkot an opinion was expressed that the Princes are visualizing is the formation of a mere confederacy of rulers, or 'confederated autocracies'. To the best of my understanding of the trend, this does not represent nor does it matter to the Princes' line of thought or aims. The confederation was envisaged especially at the last Dhrangadhra meeting, is a genuine combining of our States and peoples for the common advantage of all. In deciding the final framework of such a confederation I am confident that public opinion will be consulted at the appropriate time.

"At a time when so much suspicion exists abroad in the country and local constitutional changes are imminent, it is wrong to sow mistrust and disaffection between the ruler and his people. To-day more than ever in our history the first need everywhere is for better understanding, goodwill and co-operation. Hand in hand with this must go the proper realisation of one's duties towards society."

Union of States

THOUGH final shape has not been given to the project of union sponsored by the Rulers of 50 States the fact that two months of continuous consultation led to this plan for confederation should be remembered. Obviously, the example of the Deccan States deserved imitation. The unification of Maharashtra can be complete only with that union of States. If the peoples concerned directly approve the federal system, there is nothing against it. This view of Pandit Nehru was made known after the Deccan States scheme was submitted by the Raja of Phalgaon. While it may be imagined that the union scheme is derived from Lord Linlithgow's recommen-

dation that improvement in administration should be sought by combination for police and judiciary, it may also be said that the differences between major and minor States explain the desire for confederation. Admittedly, there is grouping already for the purpose of the Crown Department, but the British Government's renunciation of paramountcy makes it possible for the States to discuss a political solution for the small size and scattered distribution of the States in Central and Western India and Rajputana. But any plan for a common council etc. must have popular sanction. It is fairly clear that reforms in the States are not up to expectations of the States people. The confederation scheme may delay internal reforms according to some and rivet the autocratic rule of the princes over the peoples. It is, therefore, necessary to know how the subjects view the proposals for a confederation. In theory, union will give the States concerned a better chance to go on to the Negotiating Committee or the Constituent Assembly but we must have a guarantee that the representatives of States will not be nominees of the Rulers. Further, the proposal to create a confederation centre with control of defence and communications suggests that the States seeking union may be inclined to vary the terms of accession to the Indian Union. This is perhaps a point on which the Crown Representative should give guidance since the old controversy over federation or confederation, should not be allowed to revive in another form.

H.T. 17/11/46

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES, SUNDAY, NOV. 17, 1946

RESIDENT'S MOVE TO DEPOSE DATIA RULER OPPOSED

Hunger-Strike By Maharani Reported

(From Our Correspondent)

JHANSI, Nov. 16.—As a protest against the reinstatement of Dewan Ainuddin by the Resident of the Central Indian States, the Maharani of Datia is reported to have gone on hunger-strike. Thirty-five people arrested in connection with the anti-Dewan agitation are also reported to have undertaken a fast unto death. The entire Government staff has struck work and business throughout the State has come to a standstill.

It is gathered from political circles that the Resident will either press for the deposition of the Ruler or curtailment of his powers.

It is pointed out that the Political Department is trying to make out a case that anti-Dewan demonstrations and mass resignations by State employees as well as the hartal, were inspired by the Maharaja.

Dewan's Past Record

It may be recalled that six years ago when Mr Ainuddin was Dewan of Charkhari State, the Ruler of that State was deposed. As in Datia, Hindu idols were broken in Charkhari, and when Hindus started an agitation against the Dewan he accused the Maharaja of intriguing with the people. As a result, the Ruler was deposed and he later died in a Delhi hotel.

The causes of the present unrest in Datia, are to a large extent political. Datia is the premier State in Bundelkhand and is most backward and reactionary. The demand for responsible Government was opposed by the Dewan, and with a view to countering it he helped the formation of the State Muslim League and Dr Ambedkar's Scheduled Castes Federation. It is alleged he imported Leaguers and Ambedkarites from outside, who at public meetings hurled abuses against national leaders and incited communal passions.

Maharaja Overruled

When the people, including a large number of Muslims, protested against the Dewan's divide and rule policy the Ruler, in order to save the State from communal disturbance intervened and agreed to terminate the services of the Dewan. But the Political Department is reported to have overruled the Maharaja by retaining the Dewan. There are acute differences between the Ruler on one hand and the Political Department on the other.

According to latest reports 200 more State employees are reported to have resigned and the anti-Dewan agitation has spread to the interior. All work has been paralyzed due to the resignation of State employees. The Maharani has resorted to hunger-strike along with the 35 political prisoners who were arrested recently.

After the arrest of prominent male members women are carrying on the agitation. Nearly 2,000 women in batches of 500 marched in a procession defying the order under Section 144. Later a meeting was held which was addressed by many women speakers.

H.T. 15/11/46

RESIDENT DECIDES TO RETAIN DEWAN OF DATIA

MAHARAJA SEEKS INTERVENTION BY VICEROY

(From Our Correspondent)

JHANSI, Nov. 14.—Serious differences are reported to have arisen between the Maharaja of Datia and Col. Campbell, Resident, Central Indian States, who arrived at Datia on Monday, over the removal of the Dewan, Mr. Ainuddin.

The Dewan is accused of inciting communal passions in the State which resulted in the desecration of temples a few days ago. As a protest against his communal policy 500 State employees recently resigned and demanded his immediate dismissal.

The Maharaja, after a fortnight's State-wide agitation, announced that the Dewan would soon be removed from his post. He also announced that there would be no victimization of State employees who had resigned or of those members of the public who had taken part in the agitation against the Dewan.

Following this announcement, all markets and State offices which had remained closed for many days resumed normal activity. But on the arrival of the Resident, Col. Campbell, the situation again took a serious turn. It is learnt that the Resident has decided to retain the services of the Dewan. This has enraged the public and the agitation against the Dewan has been renewed.

Thirty-two persons including many prominent members of the Datia People's Committee, which is carrying on the agitation, have been arrested and an order under Section 144 Cr. P.C. has been promulgated in the State.

12 Persons Injured

It is reported that the police twice lathi-charged a procession taken out in defiance of the order under Section 144. Twelve persons were seriously injured, one of whom is reported to have succumbed to his injuries.

It is reliably learnt that the Maharaja is in communication with the Viceroy in the latter's capacity as the Crown Representative and has strongly protested against the intervention of the Resident over his head.

The Datia People's Committee has sent telegrams to Pandit Nehru, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, President, All-India States People's Conference, urging their immediate intervention in the matter.

Datia is again observing complete hartal and all those State employees who had earlier resigned and joined work following the declaration by the Maharaja, again struck work on Tuesday resulting in the closing down of all Government and Municipal offices, including courts and schools.

The Statesman
19/11/46

STATES' PART IN CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

Representatives of the Indian States entered on Monday on the first stage of the discussion of their part in the work of the Constituent Assembly.

A preliminary review of the problems confronting the States in relation to the future Indian constitution to be determined by the Constituent Assembly was made at the first meeting of the Constitutional Advisory Committee. This review will be completed at two further sittings of the Committee on Tuesday, and the results will go before the meeting of the Committee of Ministers on Wednesday. The decisions as they take shape after the deliberations of these two Committees will be examined by the Standing Committee of the Princes Chamber on Thursday, and in their final form will constitute the Instrument of Instructions to the Negotiating Committee which will take part in the preliminary stages of the Constituent Assembly.

Negotiating Committee

In general terms it is understood that the functions of the Negotiating Committee will include discussion and decision on issues such as the method of selecting the States' representatives who will take part in the Constituent Assembly in its final stages; continuance of the monarchical form of government in the States; financial relations of the future India Union with the States; terms for adherence to the Union; the part that the Negotiating Committee will take in the election of the chairman of the Constituent Assembly and in framing its rules of procedure and other major issues affecting Indian States.

The personnel of the Negotiating Committee will be officially announced at the end of the meetings of the three Committees but it is believed that it will consist of nine members and the names generally mentioned are the Rulers of Bhopal, Patiala, Nawabnagar and Dungarpur, four Ministers, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, Sir Mirza Ismail, Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar and Sardar K. M. Panikkar and the Constitutional Adviser, Sir Sultan Ahmed.

At Monday's meeting of the Constitutional Advisory Committee the Chancellor, the Nawab of Bhopal, is understood to have opened the proceedings with a review of the situation in the country and the progress made in setting up the Negotiating Committee since the Committee's last meeting in June in Bombay.

Mr Aravamudan Iyengar, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, Sardar K. M. Panikkar, Sir Ganga Kaula and Mr D. K. Sen took part in the discussion. Others who attended the meeting were the Rulers of Patiala, Bikaner, Nawabnagar, Dungarpur and Baghat, Mr H. C. Dhandra, Sardar Ranbir Singh and Mr J. K. Dhurandhar.—A.P.

NEW HYDERABAD ASSEMBLY

150 Nominations For
76 Seats

HYDERABAD (D.N.). November 17. About 150 nomination papers have been filed for the 76 seats open for election to the Hyderabad Legislative Assembly, constituted under the recent reforms.

Of the two main political parties in the State the Hyderabad State Congress is not contesting the elections, having been opposed to the reforms. The Ittihadul Muslimin, the chief political party of the State Muslims, has set up candidates for almost all the 35 seats open to the Muslim community.

The Hyderabad State Praja Party is also contesting the elections while the landholders are expected to stand from certain specific constituencies.

The powers and functions of the Assembly have been enlarged. Of its 122 members, 76 will be elected, 43 nominated and 3 will be appointed members. Of the 119 elected and nominated members, it will be 111 Mus, 50 Christians, two Christians and one Parsi.

What is expected to be the last session of the Hyderabad Legislative Council as at present constituted will begin on November 23. Fifteen official and nonofficial bills are on the agenda.

The new Legislative Assembly is expected to begin functioning in January next.—A.P.

The Leader
19/11/46

Where Gandhi Cap is Banned

Karachi, Nov. 17. According to unofficial reports, the ban on the display of tri-colour flag and wearing of the Gandhi cap continues in the Khairpur State—the only Indian State in Sind. The population of the State is three lakhs, with an annual income of half a crore of rupees. Muslim population is 83 per cent. against 17 per cent. of Hindus.

It is reported that for greeting with 'Jai Hind' slogan, some students of the High School were rusticated recently. Except for religious gatherings, there is a general ban on public meetings and existence of political organizations.

While the ruler of the state is interned in Poona for alleged insanity, the administration is being carried on by a minister with the help of two officials, who are directly responsible to the Resident, Punjab States.—U.P.

The Times of India
20/11/46

Popular Government For Jawhar

BIRTHDAY DURBAR ANNOUNCEMENT

From Our Own Correspondent

NAGPUR, November 21: Flight-Lt. Shrimant Yashwantrao Maharaj of Jawhar State, announced today at a birthday Durbar constitutional reforms designed to bring about the association of his subjects with the Government of the State.

An Act called the Jawhar State Constitution Act has been promulgated in which the essential rights of the subjects, embodying civil liberties on the lines of the declaration made by the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, are guaranteed.

The Judiciary has been completely separated from the Executive and put under the direct control of the High Court, which is established under

der another Act.

There will be an Executive Council, consisting of the Dewan and two other officers, with the Raja as its President. There will be a Legislative Assembly of 46 members, with an overwhelming elected majority. The proposed franchise is very wide. The President of the Assembly will, in the first instance, be nominated. An adequate number of seats has been reserved for aboriginals, Harijans and minorities.

The Assembly will have general powers, with a few reservations, to make laws, discuss the budget and move resolutions.

SUBJECTS CONSULTED

During the drafting stage of the Act, the Raja consulted public opinion and hence the new reforms have the approval of all his subjects who, in appreciation of it, have offered to collect money for the building of an Assembly Hall, which is expected to cost Rs. 1,00,000.

By another announcement, the Raja has thrown open all State-owned temples to Harijans. He also opened a big clock-tower, erected in commemoration of his return from war service.

In a speech announcing the reforms, the Raja referred to the big programme of post-war development schemes which are being taken in hand, including an increase in the number of schools and dispensaries, a hospital and a maternity home and a high school for Jawhar, the construction of new roads and new wells and other water-works, and agricultural and industrial development of the State.

In conclusion the Raja appealed for co-operation from all classes of his subjects in the implementation of the constitutional reforms.

Surguja State Reforms

From Our Own Correspondent

NAGPUR, November 21: "I propose to set up a Legislative Assembly, the majority of which will be elected, and nominations will be made only to adjust inequalities of representation which may occur as a result of the elections", said the Maharaja of Surguja State in the C. at a Durbar held at Ambikapur. "The Legislative Assembly will be inaugurated on January 1, 1947."

The Maharaja said it would always be his endeavour to establish happy relations with the national Governments in the neighbouring British provinces.

Indian Express
21/11/46

REPRESENTATION OF STATES IN CONSAMBLY

BHOPAL TO DISCUSS WITH INDIAN LEADERS

NEW DELHI, Nov. 19. The Constitutional Advisory Committee of the Chamber of Princes today concluded its discussion of the detailed brief for the guidance of the Negotiating Committee. The recommendations emerging from the two-day meeting of the Advisory Committee will now go before the Standing Committee of the Princes for final approval.

It is recalled that the Cabinet Mission's intention, as explained in the statements and in the correspondence, is that members of the Negotiating Committee will not themselves directly take part in the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly in its preliminary stages but will enter into discussion with a corresponding Committee in the Constituent Assembly. States will participate directly only in the final stages of the Constituent Assembly through the Negotiating Committee's task will presumably be to come to an understanding with the Indian leaders on the manner and method of selecting these 92 representatives.

It is gathered that the Chancellor H. E. leaders of British Indian political parties on this and other matters such as representation of States on the various committees which it is expected the Constituent Assembly will set up to deal with technical and other aspects of its work. Members of the Negotiating Committee were decided upon during the Cabinet Mission's negotiations earlier this year and were confidentially communicated to the Crown Representative A.P.I.

The Times of India
20/11/46

REPRESENTATION FOR STATES

Chancellor To Meet Political Parties

NEW DELHI, Nov. 19.

The Constitutional Advisory Committee of the Chamber of Princes today concluded its discussion of the detailed brief for the guidance of the Negotiating Committee.

The recommendations emerging from the two-day meeting will now go before the Standing Committee of the Princes for final approval.

It is gathered that the Chancellor, the Nawab of Bhopal, will shortly approach leaders of British Indian political parties to discuss, among other things, States' representation on the various committees which it is expected the Constituent Assembly will set up to deal with the technical and other aspects of its work.

Members of the Negotiating Committee were decided upon during the Cabinet Mission's negotiations earlier this year and were communicated to the Crown Representative.

The Nawab of Bhopal dined with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru tonight—A.P.I.

800 GOVT. EMPLOYEES RESIGN

DATIA SITUATION DETERIORATES : HARTAL CONTINUES

(From Our Correspondent)

INDORE, Nov. 21.—The situation in Datia State is steadily deteriorating, says a message from Datia received here. Over 800 Government employees, including the Government Advocate, have resigned as a protest against the reinstatement of the Dewan.

Today is the 11th day of the general strike in the State. A report received by the Indore office of the Regional Council of the All-India States People's Conference says that all Government employees in Datia have struck work and all shops, schools, markets and courts are closed.

Bans under Section 144 Cr. P.C. have been imposed. Several Praja Mandal workers have been arrested. The total arrests number over 50. A representative of Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, President of the All-India States People's Conference, has already reached Datia to study the situation.

In an interview, Messrs. Sitaram Jaju and Krishnakant Vyas, General Secretaries of the Regional Council, condemned the interference of the Central India States' Resident in reinstating the Dewan of Datia as an arbitrary act and another instance of the Political Department's unwarranted intrusion in the affairs of Central India States.

Orchha Ruler's Mediation

Behind the scene moves and counter-moves are fast taking place at Datia. They suggest that if the Datia question is not resolved soon, it might well develop into a major crisis.

The presence at Datia of the Ruler of Orchha, a premier State in Bundelkhand, on the invitation of the Datia Ruler, lends ample support to this view. During the three days of his stay, the Ruler of Orchha held consultations with Datia Ruler and the Political Department.

The Chamber of Princes, it is learnt, has taken a grave view of the Political Department's intervention in reinstating the Dewan against the orders and wishes of the Ruler and considers it as a serious infringement of his powers and rights.

After studying the situation, the Ruler of Orchha made a direct appeal to the people to end the deadlock, addressing a public meeting at Datia, which, among others, was attended by women, children and State

Dismissed Officials To Be Reinstated

(From Our Correspondent)

PATNA, Nov. 21.—The Minister for Local Self-Government, Bihar, has issued an order for the reinstatement of all those Government servants of the Local Self-Government Department who were earlier discharged or dismissed in connection with the August, 1942 movement.

employees. The meeting was convened by the Political Department, waiving the provisions of Section 144 for a few hours. The Orchha Ruler declared that all powers of the Datia Ruler have been curtailed and if State employees abstained from duties and people continued hartal, it was possible that their Ruler's case might be harmed further.

People's Determination

He complimented the people on the unity and determination with which they carried their struggle. He added: "But you are against the Political Department which is like an iron rock and is, consequently, unshakable. Therefore, I advise you to end the impasse by resuming work and terminating the hartal. I sincerely hope that your demands which include the removal of Dewan Ainuddin and release of arrested persons will be met by the Political Department."

The entire gathering then declared with one voice: "We intend to continue the struggle until our demands are met."

Telegram To Viceroy

The secretary of the People's Committee Datia, has sent telegrams among others, to the Viceroy, Pandit Nehru, Sardar Patel, and Sardar Baldev Singh, urging them to intervene in the Datia situation. He discloses that a total of 43 persons have been arrested so far and that three of them have been sent to the Residency Jail.

The Hindu Sabha, Jaipur, has also sent a telegram to the Viceroy urging the immediate removal from office of the Dewan.

LEADERS' INTERVENTION URGED

The unnecessary and arbitrary interference of the Political Department in reinstating the Dewan of Datia is condemned by Seth Govind Das, M.L.A. (Central), and President, Mahakoshal Provincial Congress Committee in a statement.

Seth Govind Das, who recently toured Central India States, says that many of the Rulers are prepared to introduce responsible government, but their good intentions seem to be balked by the machinations of the Political Department.

He adds: "The situation in Datia calls for the attention of all those who are interested in the affairs of Indian States. The highly undesirable role of the Dewan is known to all. However, the situation there has been grossly mishandled by the representative of the Political Department. It is time that this Department's high-handed interference in the internal administration of States is checked by the intervention of responsible leaders in the country."

Nation Herald

21/11/46

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NO SATYAGRAHA IN HYDERABAD BOYCOTT OF REFORMS TO CONTINUE

NEW DELHI, Nov. 18.—Mr. Dwarakanath Kachru, general secretary of the All-India States People's Conference, writes:

The All-India States People's Conference has had to often consider the position in Hyderabad in regard to constitutional reforms and civil liberties. Representatives of the Hyderabad State Congress, which is affiliated to the All-India States People's Conference, have conferred with the standing committee of the conference and with Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. When the new reforms were announced, they were found to be not only totally insufficient but wrongly conceived, and both the State Congress and the conference rejected them. It will be remembered that the Working Committee of the Congress also rejected them and advised non-participation.

Efforts were made on behalf of the State Congress to find a way out of the impasse and conversations took place between representatives of the Hyderabad Government and the State Congress. These conversations yielded no result and, ultimately, the State Congress decided to launch a satyagraha movement. At this stage I was instructed to meet the Prime Minister of Hyderabad in order to explore a basis for a settlement.

I met the Prime Minister and had a talk with him. He appreciated what I said about civil liberties and promised to look into the matter. The basic issue, constitutional reforms, however, remained unsolved.

I consulted my colleagues and they were all of the opinion that it was not possible in any event to accept or work the proposed reforms, and the decision not to participate in them must stand. There can be no change in our attitude in regard to this matter so long as there is no basic change in the reforms, or they are suspended for the present. While our boycott of the reforms in Hyderabad would, therefore, continue, it is emphasised that in the existing circumstances there will be no satyagraha or direct action. The situation in Hyderabad or in any other state cannot be isolated from that prevailing in the rest of India. Resort to satyagraha appears inadvisable now, considering the situation all over the country.

I have advised the Hyderabad State Congress accordingly. I trust that while not participating in the reforms in any way, they will refrain from launching satyagraha and will concentrate on strengthening their organisation. I trust also that the Hyderabad authorities will remove the barriers to civil liberties, and that there will be no difficulty in the way of the normal functioning of the State Congress.

5,000 WOMEN THREATEN TO MIGRATE FROM DATIA ANTI-DEWAN AGITATION SPREADS TO VILLAGES

(From Our Correspondent)

JHANSI, Nov. 19.—About 5,000 women of Datia at a public meeting threatened to leave the State 'en masse' and migrate to British Indian territory if Dewan Ainuddin was not immediately dismissed, says a message received here.

The message adds that though the meeting was held in contravention of an order under Section 144, the police did not take any action. The meeting passed a resolution, which, among other things, stated that if the Dewan was retained there was every likelihood that he might incite communal strife and let loose goondas to plunder and molest womenfolk. Therefore, with a view to saving their honour, women should leave Datia and migrate to the adjoining British Indian territory.

Latest reports received from Datia indicate that after a week of hartal and mass resignations by State employees paralyzing the entire administration, the morale of people is high and the resistance of people is receiving fresh momentum. It is understood that the anti-Dewan agitation has spread to the remotest corners of the State where even *chickidars* struck work.

Another report from Datia says that rumours are current there regarding the impending deposition of the Ruler who inspected the State troops on Sunday and was cheered by people. It is learnt that another contingent of Crown police from Nae-much has been rushed to Datia to maintain law and order. Mahant Dashrath Dass and Ghansham Dass, president and secretary, respectively, of the Datia People's Committee, who along with others have undertaken a fast unto death in jail, have been removed to an unknown place.

Nation Herald
19/11/46

Princes Must Justify Their Existence

SIR C. P.'S WARNING

TRIVANDRUM, Nov. 14.

THERE are great possibilities in continuity of historical tradition and in continuity of policy which Monarchs in India have pursued, but Monarchy will not justify itself unless Rulers prove themselves worthy of their past and well equipped for the future. We are all proud and confident in the contemplation of the example set by the Ruler of Travancore," observed Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar speaking at a function last evening.

"Very few of the Princes and Maharajahs of India seem to realise," continued the Dewan, "that within the next few months, the question that would be put to them and will have to be answered by them at the bar of history is whether they have justified their existence and continuance. In order that they may give a convincing answer, they have to make great leeway."

Turning to the recent disturbances in the State, Sir Ramaswamy Aiyar said that the turmoil which was imported from outside was nothing compared to what was taking place elsewhere. The situation was brought under control in ten days and all was now well in the State. The Dewan ridiculed the suggestion made by a Bombay journal that those killed in the riots numbered 7,000 and injured many times that number and affirmed that loss of life due to Police and Military action came only to about 200.

Referring to the industrialisation of Travancore, the Dewan stated that the State was absolutely in the Vanguard of Industrial progress in India and during the past 15 years Travancore emerged as one of the two or three really notable States in India.—A.P.I.

H.T. 21/11/46

23/11/46 Bombay Chronicle

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PLEA FOR UNION OF KATHIAWAR STATES

(From Our Correspondent)

RAJKOT, Nov. 18.—The recent session of the Kathiawar Political Conference held at Dhrangadhra advocated a policy of the unification of Kathiawar with important subjects such as law and order, provincial finance, planning, trade and communications, waterways, irrigation, and central marketing as Union subjects.

The presidential address of Darbar Saheb Gopaldas dealt at length with this question and other issues affecting the people of the province. The president ably brought out the fact that resources on which separate existence mainly depended were lacking in all the States of Kathiawar.

"The All-India States People's Conference has laid down the figures of three crores of revenue and 50 lakhs of population as the minimum for the separate existence of any State. No State of Kathiawar reaches this level. The necessity of a Kathiawar Union becomes all the more imperative if the changing conditions in British India are taken into consideration. The measures which are adopted there will increase this contrast till it develops into a crisis and involves the very institution of monarchy," the president said.

Fragmentation Harmful

The present fragmentation of the province into 202 States, said Darbar Saheb Gopaldas, made it impossible to utilize fully the agrarian resources or to take up schemes of irrigation by the construction of dams, canals and reservoirs. Thus at every stage these political barriers came in the way. The political fragmentation also hindered the development of trade and commerce and the natural wealth of the province. Further, it burdened the people with the multiple cost of administrative services.

Inefficient Administration

"Where we can do with one High Court we have 14 inefficient ones. Kathiawar is paying for a whole army of superior servants four times more than what the Nizam spends and six times more than the Gaekwar and yet it is the most inefficiently governed province in India."

Geographically Kathiawar was in an ideal position to be one single unit, the president said. It had a common culture. Considering the strategic position of the province in the defence of India, its open seaboard controlled by men divided in their counsel would be a vulnerable spot and this alone made the proposed Union an absolute necessity.

People Must Be Consulted

"As to the form of the Union, it should be decided upon by the people themselves or with their consent. I should warn all those who are engaged in framing a constitution by themselves, ignoring the people, that we shall oppose such a constitution with all our might," declared the president.

As to representation of Kathiawar in the constitution-making body, Darbar Saheb Gopaldas suggested that province-wide elections should be held for electing popular representatives.

Attachment Scheme Opposed

He reiterated the popular resentment against the attachment scheme and said: "If an inquiry was held in the working of the scheme it would be found that the scheme had done the utmost harm to the people."

A resolution demanding the formation of a Kathiawar Union having a popular Government was unanimously passed.

Repression In Kashmir Rampant

Over 500 National Conference Workers Arrested

LAHORE, Nov. 21 (API).—Over 500 workers of the Kashmir National Conference have been arrested since November 10 when the Conference decided to fight the general elections to the Kashmir Assembly. Acting President of the Kashmir National Conference, addressing a Press Conference in Lahore this evening.

He said: "Mr. Ramchand Kak, the Prime Minister of Kashmir, in a recent statement announced that there will be free and fair elections in the State. But the position is quite different. There is no freedom of the Press which has been completely gagged. The members of the election board set up by the National Conference and workers of the Conference have been arrested. The number of arrests till yesterday exceeded five hundred."

Mr. Bakshi alleged that the Prime Minister had himself toured various constituencies, collected Government elements and directed them to work wholeheartedly for the defeat of the Kashmir National Conference.

"In spite of all these hurdles Mr. Bakshi declared the National Conference is determined to fight the elections and to win all the 35 elected seats in a House of 75."

Mr. Bakshi said that elections in Kashmir State in the past have been held either in October–November or March–April but this time they were being deliberately held in January when several areas would be isolated due to snow-fall, thereby preventing

voters from exercising their right of franchise.

In reply to a question Mr. Bakshi said that if the repressive policy of the Kashmir Government continued unabated the Kashmir National Conference might boycott the elections. He added that he intended to place the whole situation before the All India States Peoples Conference.

Nation Herald
20/11/46

DATIA AGITATION INTENSIFIED

Leaders Taken To Unknown Place

JHANSI, Nov. 23.—Latest reports received from Datia indicate that after a week of hartal and mass resignations of the state employees, paralyzing the entire administration, the anti-dewan agitation has gained fresh momentum. It is understood that the agitation has spread to remotest corners of the state and even village chowkidars are reported to have struck work.

The report further adds that a number of tchais are effected due to mass resignations of state employees.

Another report from Datia says that rumours are current regarding the impending deposition of the Datia ruler, who inspected the state troops recently and was cheered by the people. It is learnt that another contingent of crown police from Neemuch rushed to Datia to maintain law and order there.

SECTION 144 EXTENDED

Armed patrols have been posted at office buildings and strategic places and the order under section 144 Cr. P. C. has been extended for a month. Additional crown police and military was rushed to Datia to relieve the state police, whose loyalty is being doubted by the Political Department.

Various communities in Datia, says another message, decided to launch a social boycott against members of their respective communities, who would co-operate with the Political Department or Dewan. The message adds that non-co-operation of people with administration is so complete that the latter had to import food necessities from outside the state for the crown police and military, and other staff.

Merchants, who were dealing in rationed and controlled articles and who are now on hartal, have asked administration to take charge to these articles and return their deposit money.

The earlier report that the Political Department was attempting to curtail the powers of the Datia ruler or his deposition appear to have come out true. It is now confirmed that he has been deprived of all his powers.

Mr. Hashim Ali, representative of Dr. Pattabhi Seetharamayya, President of the All-India States' People Conference, met members of the Datia People Committee and finished his preliminary inquiries about the Datia trouble. He is understood to have telegraphically urged Pandit Nehru and Dr. Seetharamayya to intervene into the affair.

It is suggested that after the visit of Pandit Nehru, either the impasse would end or if the struggle continues, its character will be radically altered.

It is pointed out that potentialities for such a movement are immense because Datia is perhaps the only place in India where Gandhi's technique of non-violent, non-co-operation has been translated into action very faithfully. Almost all the state employees have resigned, no fresh recruits are coming up to take their place. The entire population has suspended business and is observing hartal. Non-co-operation with administrative officers has reached to such an extent that except their leaders none even talk to administrative employees. People have broken even social relations with persons, though they are in micro-people minority, who are co-operating with the administration.

Despite grave provocations by authorities, it is reported that people observed complete non-violence, which earned them praise from the Orcha ruler, who met them the other day at Datia. Even children are as determined to resist and fight the administration as men.

These and many other factors will create an ideal ground for such a movement which, if people are forced to launch, will make even Bardoli Movement look small.

MEETING OF MUSLIMS

A public meeting of Muslims was held on November 21 in which they expressed solidarity with the anti-Dewan agitation and condemned in equivocal terms the propaganda carried on by the Political Department through their agent, Dewan Alimuddin, to create wedge between the Hindus and Muslims of the state. A resolution, which was passed at the meeting, states that Muslims are whole hog with the popular movement launched against the misrule of repression, favouritism, nepotism and jobbery.

Another message says that on the ninth day the fast unto death resorted to by political prisoners is continuing. People continue to stage anti-Dewan demonstrations daily, but, for the last three days no arrests have been made, which only suggests that a storm is brewing and that the Political Department is taking stock of the situation and might let loose worst repression any moment.

The Political Department, one report adds, thought of a unique method of persuading people to open their shops. It announced that the state would guarantee a full protection against retaliation by people to those merchants who would open their shops, but this device failed and on the fifteenth day the markets remained closed. Datia remains as desolated and grim as on the first day. The report adds that a few announcers, who were engaged by the Political Agent, also struck work after they went about in the city for a few minutes.

HOLDING OF PUBLIC MEETING IN HYDERABAD New Set Of Rules Issued

HYDERABAD (Dn), Nov. 22 (AP)—The existing rules covering the holding of public meetings have been replaced by the following new set of rules which come into force from November 25 in pursuance of the Government's policy to "afford all possible facilities to the people of the state for free expression of opinion." It is officially announced.

Public meetings of any nature can be held merely by giving previous intimation within the prescribed period to the Police Commissioner, City of Hyderabad and Collector in the districts. Previous permission may be required only for the holding of political meetings convened or addressed or presided over by persons who are not subjects of H. E. H. the Nizam.

Previous permission would not be required in the case of meetings held in connection with the elections or by-elections to the state legislature or local bodies. The Police Commissioner, City of Hyderabad and Collectors of the districts will have power, after recording reasons, to prohibit meetings which are likely to cause breach of peace bring hatred, contempt or excite disaffection towards His Majesty or Crown representative, H. E. H. the Nizam and his Government, ruler of any Indian State or the "Government established by law" in British India.

The rules will be inapplicable to the public meeting held under the statutory or other express legal authority or public meetings convened under the authority of the officer of the Government or gatherings pertaining to weddings and funerals are exempted from the rules by the order of the Government.

The communique says that the condition relating to previous intimation of meetings has to be retained in the interests of law and order. In announcing the new rules, Government desire to impress upon the conveners of public meetings "their primary responsibility for holding them in peaceful atmosphere, and in manner unlikely to endanger public peace or promote enmity between different sections of the people."

H.T. 20/11/46

THE DATIA MUDDLE

Conditions in the Datia State appear to have drifted to a state of complete chaos. The autocratic conduct of the local Political Agent in over-ruling the Maharaja, practically depriving him of all powers and defying the declared wishes of the people of the State, has resulted in a crisis which has very nearly paralyzed the administration and brought about a grave popular upheaval. It is surprising that the Viceroy who still holds the ultimate responsibility in his hands as the Crown Representative, is allowing matters to drift in this dangerous manner. The cause of the trouble was the administration of the Dewan who for the last three years has been in the service of the State. There have been serious complaints against him—serious enough to demand full investigation. Latterly he has been charged with adopting a communal policy which has led to a good deal of popular tension. Public dissatisfaction with his policy grew to such an extent that mass demonstrations, public strikes and wholesale resignations of State employees followed. Even the women of the State gathered in thousands to protest against the Dewan's policy and demand his removal. There was nothing communal in this agitation, for there has been ample evidence to show that the Muslims of the State were also strongly opposed to the Dewan's administration. A Minister who forfeits public confidence in this way and brings the whole administration to collapse, is clearly unfit to hold his post. The Maharaja was quite justified in deciding to terminate the services of Mr. Alimuddin. The Dewan himself realized that his position had become untenable, for he announced in a public statement his own decision to give up State service and said: "In the situation that has been created it is impossible for any conscientious person with any sense of self-respect to continue here—even as the head of the administration." As a result of the Maharaja's assurances normal conditions had almost returned, but at this stage the Political Agent took the precipitate step of taking the administration into his own hands, ignoring the Ruler's wishes and insisting on the retention of the Dewan who had already expressed his desire to leave the State. This action of the Political Department, which is clearly unconstitutional and is an affront to the people of the State, has provoked a fresh crisis and has already created an intolerable situation. We hope that the Viceroy will intervene and set matters right.

It is necessary that at least the proper functions of the Political Department in relation to the Interim Government should be deferred. If taking advantage of the dual position of the Viceroy—as Governor-General and Crown Representative—the Political Department provokes situations of this kind, it will land the country in serious difficulties. So far as the States and their Rulers are concerned the only solution for such difficulties is the introduction of responsible Government. It is necessary, however, that at least at this stage there should be clear understanding between the Interim Government and the Viceroy in regard to States problems. The Committee suggested in order to promote close co-operation between the Political Agent

dewan agitation has gained fresh momentum. It is understood that the agitation has spread to remotest corners of the state and even village chowkidars are reported to have struck work.

The report further adds that a number of tehsils are effected due to mass resignations of state employees.

Another report from Datia says that rumours are current regarding the impending deposition of the Datia ruler, who inspected the state troops recently and was cheered by the people. It is learnt that another contingent of crown police from Neemuch rushed to Datia to maintain law and order there.

SECTION 144 EXTENDED

Armed patrols have been posted at office buildings and strategic places and the order under section 144 Cr. P. C. has been extended for a month. Additional crown police and military was rushed to Datia to relieve the state police, whose loyalty is being doubted by the Political Department.

Various communities in Datia, says another message, decided to launch a social boycott against members of their respective communities, who would co-operate with the Political Department or Dewan. The message adds that non-co-operation of people with administration is so complete that the latter had to import food necessities from outside the state for the crown police and military, and other staff.

Merchants, who were dealing in rationed and controlled articles, and who are now on hartal, have asked administration to take charge to those articles and return their deposit money.

The earlier report that the Political Department was attempting to curtail the powers of the Datia ruler or his deposition appear to have come out true. It is now confirmed that he has been deprived of all his powers.

Mr. Hashim Ali, representative of Dr. Pattabhi Seetharamayya, President of the All-India States' People Conference, met members of the Datia People Committee and finished his preliminary inquiries about the Datia trouble. He is understood to have telegraphically urged Pandit Nehru and Dr. Seetharamayya to intervene into the affair.

It is suggested that after the visit of Pandit Nehru, either the impasse would end or if the struggle continues, its character will be radically altered.

It is pointed out that potentialities for such a movement are immense because Datia is perhaps the only place in India where Gandhiji's technique of non-violent, non-co-operation has been translated into action very faithfully. Almost all the state employees have resigned, no fresh recruits are coming up to take their place. The entire population has suspended business and is observing hartal. Non-co-operation with administrative officers has reached to such an extent that except their leaders none even talks to administrative employees. People have broken even social relations with persons, though they are in microscopic minority, who are co-operating with the administration.

Despite grave provocations by authorities, it is reported that people observed complete non-violence, which earned them praise from the Orcha ruler, who met them the other day at Datia. Even children are as determined to resist and fight the administration as men.

These and many other factors will create an ideal ground for such a movement which, if people are forced to launch, will make even Bardoli Movement look small.

MEETING OF MUSLIMS

A public meeting of Muslims was held on November 21 in which they expressed solidarity with the anti-Dewan agitation and condemned in unequivocal terms the propaganda carried on by the Political Department through their agent, Dewan Ahmuddin, to create wedge between the Hindus and Muslims of the state. A resolution, which was passed at the meeting, states that Muslims are whole hearted with the popular movement launched against the misrule of repression, favouritism, nepotism and jobbery.

Another message says that on the ninth day the fast unto death resorted to by political prisoners is continuing. People continue to stage anti-Dewan demonstrations daily, but, for the last three days no arrests have been made, which only suggests that a storm is brewing and that the Political Department is taking stock of the situation and might let loose worst repression any moment.

The Political Department, one report adds, thought of a unique method of persuading people to open their shops. It announced that the staff would guarantee all protection against retaliation by people to those merchants who would open their shops. But this device failed and on the fifteenth day the markets remained closed. Datia remains as desolated and grim as on the first day. The report adds that a few announcers, who were engaged by the Political Agent, also struck work after they went about in the city for a few minutes.

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The rules will be inapplicable to the public meeting held under the statutory or other express legal authority or public meetings convened under the authority of the officer of the Government or gatherings pertaining to weddings and funerals are exempted from the rules by the order of the Government.

The communique says that the condition relating to previous intimation of meetings has to be retained in the interests of law and order. In announcing the new rules, Government desire to impress upon the conveners of public meetings "their primary responsibility for holding them in peaceful atmosphere and in manner unlikely to endanger public peace or promote enmity between different sections of the people."

H.T. 25/11/46

THE DATIA MUDDLE

Conditions in the Datia State appear to have drifted to a state of complete chaos. The autocratic conduct of the local Political Agent in over-ruling the Maharaja, practically depriving him of all powers and defying the declared wishes of the people of the State, has resulted in a crisis which has very nearly paralyzed the administration and brought about a grave popular upheaval. It is surprising that the Viceroy who still holds the ultimate responsibility in his hands as the Crown Representative, is allowing matters to drift in this dangerous manner. The cause of the trouble was the administration of the Dewan who for the last three years has been in the service of the State. There have been serious complaints against him—serious enough to demand full investigation. Latterly he has been charged with adopting a communal policy which has led to a good deal of popular tension. Public dissatisfaction with his policy grew to such an extent that mass demonstrations, public strikes and wholesale resignations of State employees followed. Even the women of the State gathered in thousands to protest against the Dewan's policy and demand his removal. There was nothing communal in this agitation for there has been ample evidence to show that the Muslims of the State were also strongly opposed to the Dewan's administration. A Minister who forfeits public confidence in this way and brings the whole administration to collapse, is clearly unfit to hold his post. The Maharaja was quite justified in deciding to terminate the services of Mr. Ahmuddin. The Dewan himself realized that his position had become untenable, for he announced in a public statement his own decision to give up State service and said: "In the situation that has been created it is impossible for any conscientious person with any sense of self-respect to continue here even as the head of the administration." As a result of the Maharaja's assurances normal conditions had almost returned, but at this stage the Political Agent took the precipitate step of taking the administration into his own hands, ignoring the Ruler's wishes and insisting on the retention of the Dewan who had already expressed his desire to leave the State. This action of the Political Department, which is clearly unconstitutional and is an affront to the people of the State, has provoked a fresh crisis and has already created an intolerable situation. We hope that the Viceroy will intervene and set matters right.

It is necessary that at least the proper functions of the Political Department in relation to the Interim Government should be deferred. If taking advantage of the dual position of the Viceroy—as Governor-General and Crown Representative—the Political Department provokes situations of this kind, it will land the country in serious difficulties. So far as the States and their Rulers are concerned the only solution for such difficulties is the introduction of responsible Government. It is necessary, however, that at least at this stage there should be clear understanding between the Interim Government and the Viceroy in regard to States problems. The Committee suggested that in order to promote close co-operation between the Political Department and the Government of India, the present official Political Adviser should and in its place there should be a Minister for India States in the Government itself. In the absence of such a Minister there should at least be a convention which the Political Department of the Interim Government should ensure that the Governor in his capacity of Crown Representative always a supporter of the Interim Government.

Dawn 27/11/46

GANDHI-NEHRU INTRIGUES IN HYDERABAD STATE: MIRZA TRIES TO PROPITIATE IRATE MAHATMA

HYDERABAD (DN.), Monday.

DOCUMENTARY evidence of direct interference by Hindu leaders like Mr. Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in the affairs of Muslim State of Hyderabad are available. Mr. Gandhi, shortly after assumption of office by Sir Mirza M. Ismail as Prime Minister of Hyderabad, wrote a personal letter, after which followed a brief correspondence between Mr. Gandhi and Sir Mirza Ismail, who promised Mr. Gandhi he would do his utmost to 'appease' him.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, then also President of the Congress, wrote a long letter to Swami Ramanand Tirath, President of the State Congress, issuing certain instructions for his followers to create trouble in Muslim State of Hyderabad.

their attitude and the Scheme is put into operation you should do everything to demonstrate your opposition to it barring resort to Satyagraha and picketing.

3. You must not refuse opportunities to discuss matters with the Government if you and other responsible office-bearers are invited and in such discussion your effort should be directed to the utter scrapping of the present Reforms Scheme because radical changes in it will not be possible speedily as it will involve delay.

4. In any discussion that takes place with the Government you must however emphasize that an interim arrangement should be made by reconstituting the present Executive Council and you should be willing to share responsibility on parity basis. In the meantime new Reforms can be drafted without any hurry.

You should also bear in mind that, though much cannot be expected from Sir Mirza, but you should give him a chance and not cause unnecessary embarrassment.

It has been brought to my knowledge that the Nizam is in a favourable mood at present. You should therefore not do for the present anything to alienate his sympathies.

You must continue your utmost effort to strengthen the State Congress and perfect its organisation.

In conclusion I will like to point out that the above advice has been offered with a view to give the State Congress a sort of general guidance, but you are best judge of the local situation and can adjust things.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal.

Mr. Gandhi wrote a letter to Sir Mirza M. Ismail on August 11, 1946, when he was in Delhi, saying: "The reforms seem to be only so-called. To me they appear to be a step backward rather than forward. I wonder why you cannot scrap them altogether. The least that any state can do at this time is to recognise the status and influence of the States' Peoples Conference, of which Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is the President."

In the concluding paragraph of the letter Mr. Gandhi refers to the so-called atrocities in some Hyderabad villages and asks the Prime Minister of Hyderabad to give an explanation to him.

MIRZA'S FLUNKYISM

Promptly replied the Hyderabad Prime Minister to Mr. Gandhi putting forward his explanation and addressing him as "Mahatmajl." Strangely enough, the Hyderabad Prime Minister condemned his own reforms to placate Mr. Gandhi. Sir Mirza writes: "These (reforms) I realise are unsatisfactory in several respects, but I feel that it is quite possible to remove these defects —". In the same letter Sir Mirza condemns his own State when he says: "You (Mr. Gandhi) may be sure that I shall try always to practise democracy in this singularly undemocratic age —".

It appears Mr. Gandhi was not satisfied with the explanation put forward by Sir Mirza. He wrote another letter next week to the Hyderabad Premier and threatened him:

"As I have already told you the contemplated reforms are no reforms. I am a born satyagrahi and hope to die as such, and that is my limitation as it is my strength. If you cannot scrap the reforms you should postpone them. If you cannot do this, I must not guide the friends, who have come here."

This means that if Sir Mirza does not accede to his demand Mr. Gandhi will ask the Hindus of Hyderabad to create trouble in the State.

While on the one hand Mr. Gandhi carried on negotiations with the Prime Minister with a pistol of threat in his hand, Pandit Nehru wrote a letter on September 24, 1946, to the State Congress leader of Hyderabad, containing specific suggestions for creating trouble. And at that time Pandit Nehru was also a Member of the Interim Government.

The following is the text of the correspondence:

GANDHI'S LETTER TO ISMAIL
Sevagram,
Wardha, C.P.
11-8-1946.

"Representatives from Hyderabad have seen me.

They are Shri Kashinath Vaidya and Swami Ramanand Tirath. They have discussed with me the so-called Reforms contemplated in the State. I have studied them somewhat as they appeared in the Press. The reforms seem to be only so-called. To me they appear to be a step backward rather than forward. I do not know that you can do much to alter them but I wonder why you cannot scrap them altogether. The least that any State can do at this time is to recognise the status and influence of the States Peoples' Conference, of which Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is the President and secure its endorsement before proceeding with any popular measure. This ensures smooth passage for any such thing.

Rajkumari has already drawn your attention to Shrimati Padmaja Naidu's pamphlet on police atrocities in some of the Hyderabad villages. I would like you to enlighten me on these two points. I am sorry to have to worry you when you have just begun your new career."

MIRZA ISMAIL'S REPLY
Hyderabad-Deccan,
21st August, 1946.

My dear Mahatmajl,
I write to thank you very much for your letter.

As you know, I have just taken charge, and am busy studying the many problems with which the State is confronted, one of which being the reforms. These, I realise, are unsatisfactory in several respects, but I feel that it is quite possible to remove these defects and bring the reforms into line in all essential respects with those in Mysore, Baroda, Jaipur or elsewhere. Hyderabad has got its peculiar problems, and these have to be solved in its own way. If there is one thing more than another which has pleased me it is the liberal

attitude of His Exalted Highness towards constitutional changes. I was particularly pleased to notice how fair he wants to be in dealing with the communal question. Such being his attitude, I have every reason to hope that the progress of Hyderabad in the constitutional as in other fields — education, industries, public health, etc. — will be as gratifying as it will be rapid in the near future. I hope, therefore, the world will give us a little to make a start and then see how far we have been successful.

My intention is to send for the various groups and discuss the reforms with them. Then, if they agree, summon a joint meeting and decide on the changes to be made. I personally would prefer this course, rather than scrap the reforms and start afresh. The latter course would involve considerable delay. It would take a Committee at least two years, if not more, to collect evidence and submit its report, as I know from my experience both in Mysore and Jaipur. I cannot afford to wait so long, nor is it desirable from the public point of view, and so I am anxious to get a move on with as little delay as possible. No constitution and no arrangement is either perfect or permanent. Changes can always be made as we go along. To make a beginning is really the important thing.

You may be sure that I shall try always to practise democracy in this singularly undemocratic age and will do all I can to further the interests of the people and establish constitutional government in the State. I can only hope that you will be satisfied with this assurance from me and rely upon me to do all that is possible or advisable in the present circumstances to achieve our common aim.

With warmest regards,
Ever yours,
(Sd.) M. M. Ismail
Mahatma Gandhi
Sevagram,
Wardha (C.P.)

GANDHI'S SECOND LETTER
Bhangi Colony,
New Delhi,
20-9-1946.

Much as I should like to, I may not write to you in Urdu.

I have now talked to Swami Ramanand Tirath and Shri Kashinath Vaidya. As I have already told you the contemplated reforms are no reforms. The more I think of them the more I feel that they are not worthy of you. You may not seek to impose them on the inhabitants of Hyderabad. If you are sure that the States Peoples' Conference does not represent them, then of course I am out of court.

Maulana Sahib wants to help you; Sarojini Devi likewise. I count myself among them. But you know my limitations. I am a born satyagrahi and hope to die as such, and that is my limitation as it is my strength. Strength has got to be proved. The limitation stares all my friends in the face.

If you cannot scrap the reforms and if you will not impose them, you should postpone them and see whether they admit of amendment so as to make them acceptable. If you cannot do this I must not guide the friends who have come here. Of course, their real guide is the States Peoples' Conference. But they have not yet learnt to forget me as I would like them to do. And since you and I know and like each other I must write this for what it is worth.

NEHRU'S LETTER TO AGITATOR
Government Road,
New Delhi,
24th September.

My dear Swamyji,

I received your letter and also met all those who came here on behalf of the State Congress. I discussed with them the situation as it obtains at present in Hyderabad. I perfectly agree with your view in regard to the Reforms Scheme and am of the opinion that it is thoroughly unworkable and basically wrong but the exigencies of the situation prevailing in the country require that you must judge and weigh the issues involved in the question from the all-India point of view because its repercussions will not remain isolated and confined but will have a wider range. My advice to you is therefore as follows:—

1. You are quite justified in rejecting the Reforms Scheme and you should strive that it is fully scrapped by the Government.
2. If Government do not change

Nehru Promises Maximum Help To Datia People

(From Our Correspondent)

JHANSI, Nov. 28—An assurance to the people of Datia that he was doing his maximum to help them and to ensure the success of their movement is given by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in a message conveyed through Mr. Rameshwar Prasad, a member of the A.-I.C.C., who visited Datia yesterday.

Pandit Nehru, in his message, after expressing regret over his inability to visit Datia, advises the people to continue their struggle and wishes them success in their popular movement.

It is learnt that Mr. Hashim Ali, who visited Datia on behalf of the All-India States People's Conference last week, has prepared a report on the unrest in the states in which he is reported to have urged upon the Congress leaders to avail all possible help to the people's struggle.

Meanwhile, the struggle between the people and the Political Department continues, and the movement is gathering momentum every day. The number of state employees who have resigned from service has risen from 700 to 1,200, the latest to join the list being teachers and members of the customs and revenue staff.

A large number of villagers who stormed Datia after the arrests of their leaders were, after a 6-hour tug-of-war, taken away by the police in trucks to an adjoining jungle and were left there. It is further reported, most of them returned to Datia yesterday and staged anti-Political Department demonstrations. Fifty demonstrators were taken into police custody.

A number of Congressmen, including Mr. Avdesh Pratap Singh, a member of the A.-I.C.C., paid a visit to Datia on November 26 while on their way back from Meerut. They held consultations with the members of the Datia State People's Committee.

Seth Govind Das, M.L.A. (Central), a Congress leader of the Central Provinces, in a letter to the secretary of the Datia State People's Committee says that the cause of the oppressed people in the state is the cause of the whole of India. He refers to the speeches made by Congress leaders on the resolution regarding Indian states at the Meerut Congress session and assures the people of Datia that the Congress will render them all help.

INSIDE HYDERABAD : I

THE REFORMS

By "A Hyderabad"

Hyderabad public had been expecting reforms for the last 25 years. At last the Ayyangar Committee came into existence and produced a report which was practically dictated by the then Prime Minister, Sir Akbar Hydari. In fact, Dewan Bahadur Aravamudu Ayyangar has been bestowed the title of Raja Bahadur and has also been made a member of the executive council of the Nizam's Government for having helped the Government in producing such a report. The proposals of this committee were accepted and the coming reforms are an outcome of these proposals.

The legislative assembly will consist of 132 members who are sent to the assembly in the following manner:

76 are elected out of which 38 are Hindus and 38 are Muslims.

43 are nominated
10 members of the executive council.

3 are from Sarf-e-Khas that is — the Nizam's own zamindari
132 which gets him about a crore — of rupees for his pocket money apart from the budget funds.

Out of the 119 elected and nominated members of 58 are Hindus and 58 are Muslims, two Christians and one Parsi member. Out of the remaining 13 members, 10 are the ministers of the Nizam out of whom only one is a Hindu. The three members to be nominated from the Sarf-e-Khas are going to be Muslims since the All-India Muslim League has been given a written assurance to that effect. Hence in the assembly the members will be as follows:

	Percentage.	
Hindus	59	45
Muslims	70	53
Christians	2	
Parsi	1	
	3	2
	132	

DEMOCRACY PERVERTED

Thus we see that Hindus who form more than 83 per cent of the total population will get only 45 per cent of the seats and the Muslims who form only about 15 per cent of the total population of the state will get 53 per cent of the seats in the assembly. Can there be a greater perversion of democracy in the world?

Now let us look into the powers of this assembly. I do not want to go into minor details. Anyhow, it will suffice to say that this assembly has no right to vote on the budget. The members are not even authorised to put questions to the ministers with regard to budget subjects. The members have no voice on matters concerning police, that is, law and order. So what the members are going to do there in that assembly, one can easily understand. The Government has taken sufficient care to put as many subjects out of the purview of the assembly as possible, though it is going to be an assembly where 100 members will be mere 'yes' men.

In Hyderabad State, on one side

elections to the assembly are going on, and on the other hand repression is going on in full swing. Most of the trusted workers like Mr. Joshi are under arrest and most of the patriots like Mr. R. Narayana Reddy have been forced to go underground owing to the innumerable arrest warrants that have been issued against them. The Government has sent secret circulars to all courts to expedite the trials of the political offenders as far as possible. When Sir Mirza came to Hyderabad he was hailed by all the Hindus as though he was a great redeemer. But alas! All their expectations have been soon falsified! Even Sir Mirza has adjusted himself to Hyderabad atmosphere soon, for there was not so much of repression even in the days of Sir Akbar Hydari!

WHAT TO DO

If Sir Mirza is really sincere about getting the best men elected to the assembly he must forthwith fulfil the following conditions:

(1) He must have the assembly elections conducted on territorial basis and not on professional basis; if not, all vested interests and communal interests will easily get into the assembly.

(2) He must forthwith declare an unconditional amnesty to all political prisoners and at the same time cancel all the existing arrest warrants against political workers.

(3) He must grant freedom of press, freedom of speech, and freedom of association. Of course, by this I do not mean that the Government should not exercise control over communal propaganda.

(4) He must enhance the powers of the assembly, especially with regard to budget and law and order matters.

THE STATE CONGRESS

Before finishing this short article I must say something about the State Congress. The leadership of this organisation is mostly dependent on the Congress High Command for instructions. The Congress High Command is more interested in their all-India politics than in state matters. In fact they have no time to look into these matters. Thus the State Congress has miserably failed to give a correct lead to the public at a time when they are experiencing the worst type of repression in history. Their programme of boycott of elections is no programme at all. Already 150 persons are contesting for the 76 seats that are open for elections. When they have thought themselves to be quite weak for any direct action, they should have at once jumped into elections and captured all the available seats, not to work the reforms; but to wreck them and show to the world as to how hollow they were. "The hungry flock look up and are not fed up," has become the fate of Hyderabad public. Even now it is not too late for the State Congress to retrieve its steps regarding the 'boycott programme'.

Hindustan Times 30-11-46

AMICABLE SETTLEMENT LIKELY IN DATIA

RESIDENT IN CENTRAL INDIA STATES TRANSFERRED

(From Our Correspondent)

JHANSI, Nov. 29.—Among the many swiftly changing developments in Datia, two outstanding events full of good air as well as evil potentialities have just taken place. Sir Walter Campbell, Resident in the Central Indian States, who was reported to be mainly instrumental in cancelling the Datia Ruler's order dismissing Diwan Ainuddin and bringing all misery, discontentment, hardships, dislocation of administration and business repression in its wake, has been transferred to Mysore as Resident and will be succeeded by Col. Poulton, now Resident in Jaipur.

But since the new Resident will require some time to take over, Col. Bradshaw has been appointed as officiating Resident. Col. Bradshaw has already taken charge of his duties and his very first act has been to pay a hurried visit to Datia to study the situation. He is still reported to be in Datia engaged in discussions with the authorities and the Political Department.

Sir Walter Campbell, it will be recalled, had earned considerable notoriety by his openly shielding and protecting Diwan Ainuddin and threatening the Ruler with deposition and ultimately depriving him of his powers.

He spent the greater part of his service in Central India as Political Agent for Bundelkhand Agency and later as Resident. He was considered an unimaginative and unsympathetic administrator and so it was with certain amount of relief that the people heard the news of his transfer.

Political Agent's Departure

Another equally important development is the departure of the Political Agent, Maj. Egerton, who is succeeded by Col. Wood Ballard. The sudden departure of Maj. Egerton, who only a few days ago assumed charge of the entire administration and was associated with the recent repression, during which the leaders of the Datia People's Committee were rounded up, has surprised everyone. Maj. Egerton was considered to be a strong man.

Col. Wood Ballard took over charge from Maj. Egerton who is reported to have gone on long leave though nothing is known about the circumstances under which he left. It is suggested that Datia has been one of the main causes of his exit.

Possible Repercussions

It is still immature to suggest the possible repercussion of this development which might result in peace or strife in Datia. The immediate reaction of the change-over has been that yesterday and today no arrests were made in spite of the fact that batches of men and women staged demonstrations in contravention of Section 144 and all those villagers who were arrested for staging anti-Diwan demonstrations on Tuesday have been let off. It has led the people to hope that perhaps the new administration is taking stock of the situation and may ultimately attempt at conciliation and work for an honourable settlement.

It is also suggested that the new Resident and the new Political Agent are not seriously committed to the policy of their predecessors and are free to explore possibilities other than repression to end the impasse. They can open a new chapter if they have imagination, courage, and determination. It is learnt that the differences between the Political Department and the people centre round one cardinal point. While the people want the dismissal of Diwan Ainuddin and the release of political prisoners prior to their resuming the normal course of activities the Political Department insists on resumption of the work before it would meet the demands of the people. It is suggested in political circles that the administration will show imagination and will consider issues sympathetically.

Dawn 3-12-46

MIRZA ISMAIL TRYING TO PLACATE CONGRESS

By 'Dawn' Correspondent.

HYDERABAD, (Dn.), Monday.

AFTER having failed to sabotage the new reforms scheme in Hyderabad State, the Hindu Congress has adopted another method to discredit the Muslim Ruler by fomenting communal trouble in the State. The latest instance of such efforts came to light early last week, when a Sikh was assaulted by a man dressing like an Arab.

It is reported that on Tuesday night when a Sikh was passing through a lane, some persons dressed like Arabs, who are to be found in large numbers in Hyderabad city, assaulted him. The Sikh shouted for help which attracted the attention of some passers-by. A little later a party of policemen came on the spot. All but one assailant ran away, who was arrested by the Police. It was later revealed by the police that the arrested man was a Lodha Hindu Congress worker of the State.

While the Congress is doing things subversive of law and order Sir Mirza Ismail, the Prime Minister of the State is doing everything to appease Hindu leadership. It might be recalled that Congress earlier boycotted the general elections under the new scheme, but now when dates for nominations have expired and a number of members have been elected to the Assembly, Sir Mirza, at the request of the Hindu Congress, increased number of members of the Assembly by 8, four Muslims and four Hindus. This is regarded in Muslim circles as an unconstitutional act on the part of Sir Mirza. The real purpose of Sir Mirza is believed to be to include some Hindus in the Nizam's Executive Council as elected representatives to the Assembly.

DEMAND FOR AMNESTY TURNED DOWN

REASONS FOR DEADLOCK IN DATIA STATE

(From Our Correspondent)

ALLAHABAD, Nov. 30.—The people's agitation in Datia is unprecedented. Continuance of hartal for such a long time, wholesale resignations by State employees and the tendering of resignation by the Dewan soon after the beginning of the agitation show how grave the situation is.

Mr Egerton, who was political agent of the group of States including Datia until early this week, told your correspondent: "I am surprised at the persistence of the hartal. It is unprecedented."

The main reason for the stalemate in Datia is that the authorities have been bent on keeping their prestige. The Dewan's exit would have brought the conditions to normal two weeks ago. But now the situation has reached a stage when even the Dewan's exit will have no effect on the people. The only way to settle the affair is to declare general amnesty, release all those arrested in connection with the agitation and give an assurance that there will be no victimization.

The position taken by the Political Agent is that the Diwan having been appointed by the Political Department at a time when the Maharaja's powers were under suspension, the Dewan cannot leave without the concurrence of the Political Department; and the question of general amnesty to prisoners cannot be considered until the general hartal is ended and normal working of administration is restored.

During my stay at Datia I met the Maharaja, the Political Agent, representatives of the People's committees, the Dewan and some influential non-officials.

Explaining the circumstances which resulted in the agitation, an influential non-official, who is in touch with the Datia administration, said:

Dewan's Appointment Resented

"When Khan Bahadur Ainuddin, a retired official of the U.P., was being appointed Diwan of Datia, the Maharaja protested against the appointment as he wanted that he should be consulted in the Diwan's appointment. In spite of the protest the Khan Bahadur was appointed as Dewan of Datia some time towards the end of 1943.

"On the night of November 23 there was a report of the desecration of a temple. Such reports continued for three days. The Datia people asked the Dewan to remove some officials who had either been brought to the State by the Dewan or were otherwise his favourites, as they suspected that some of them were responsible for the sacrilege. The Dewan adopted a very stiff attitude and instead of listening to the people's demand gave out his suspicion that the incidents appeared to have been concocted to prepare grounds for agitation against him. The Dewan called a public meeting at the Town Hall on November 8 but in view of the attitude of the Dewan many people instead of attending the meeting flock-

ed to the Palace of the Maharaja demanding the removal of the Dewan as they felt that the incidents were encouraged by the Dewan.

"The Maharaja asked the people to give their demands in writing and said he wanted time until November 3 as the Dewan, who had gone to Indore, would be back by that time. The hartal was called off on November 3. The Political Agent arrived in Datia on November 5 and when people went to see him they understood from him that he suspected that the Maharaja was at the back of the agitation. They felt that the Political Department instead of listening to the people's demands wanted to harass the Ruler and the hartal was resumed and some State employees also resigned. The Crown Police was sent for and the Resident wrote to the Maharaja to give complete authority to the Dewan to deal with the people.

"The Maharaja gave complete authority to the Dewan on November 5 to deal with the situation and at the same time made strenuous efforts to find a solution of the dispute.

"On the morning of November 7 the legal adviser of the Maharaja, Mr B. B. Tawakley, a leading advocate of Delhi, was successful in bringing about a compromise between all parties concerned as a result of which the Dewan willingly resigned and the Maharaja accepted the resignation.

Ruler Threatened

"On November 11, however, the Resident, Sir Walter Campbell, arrived in Datia. He called some representatives of the people and reproved them for having participated in the agitation. In the evening the Resident met the Maharaja and told him that he had destroyed all the correspondence about the resignation of Khan Bahadur Syed Ainuddin, that the Dewan could not go in that manner; that the Maharaja was responsible for the agitation against the Dewan. He threatened that the powers of the Maharaja would be withdrawn, adding that if the strike was not called off he would come again to Datia in order to take him away. He ordered the posting of Crown Police pickets in Datia town. Following this more than 500 officials of the State resigned.

"On November 11 the Political Agent asked the Maharaja for his approval to the withdrawal of the Govind Infantry and the posting of Crown Police and on November 13 he wrote to the Maharaja: 'Your Highness must be aware that it is now my duty and responsibility to restore order in the State and set the administrative machinery working again.'

Offer Turned Down

On November 23 the Legal Adviser to the Maharaja made a proposal to the Political Agent that if simultaneously the arrested people were released and the strike called off, the whole affair could be settled, but the Political Agent replied that the hartal should be called off first and then negotiations could be started for the release of prisoners. Thus the deadlock still continues.

National heard 8-12-46

DATIA RULER'S REAL TEST

NEW DELHI, Dec. 7.—Dr. Pattabhi Seetharamayya, acting president of the All-India States' People's Conference, in a statement on Datia says: "News from Datia is gladdening, but it should not make any one elated. The issue, now reported settled, happens to have been circumscribed, though it involved the mighty potentate of the Political Department. Wider issues await solution, which will be the real test of the Maharaja's progressiveness and the Political Department's sincerity. Datia, like other states, demands responsible government and if the Maharaja is not responsive, the triangular fight, just now concluded, between the Political Department, on the one side, and the Maharaja and his people, on the other, may present a reorientation with the Maharaja and the Political Department, on the one side, and the people on the other. All honour to the merchants and the officers who co-operated with the people at great sacrifice in eradicating the evil. Their continued co-operation may shortly be solicited in combating the greater evil of personal rule and replacing it by responsible government."—API.

States man 8-12-46

DISCUSSION ON GROUPING OF STATES

A meeting of the Grouping Committee of the Chamber of Princes was held on Saturday in the Council House, New Delhi. Sardar D. K. Sen, Chairman of the Committee of Ministers, presided.

The committee discussed various schemes for the regional confederation or grouping of States. These schemes dealt with the composition and functions of regional confederation, including the power of group-legislature, executive and judiciary, and the method of accession to the regional group.

It is proposed to have two houses of the legislature—an Upper House and a Lower House. For purposes of representation in the Lower House the entire area of confederating States will be divided into territorial constituencies to provide representation of one to at least 50,000 people. According to one of the schemes the Government of each of the full powered States in the group will be entitled to appoint an equal number of representatives to the Upper House. There was considerable divergence of opinion on the subject whether Rulers should be members of the Upper House or there should be a separate Board of Rulers.

According to one scheme the group executive will consist of seven persons with a chief called secretary-general appointed by the Upper House from a panel proposed by the Lower House. It will hold office during the term of the legislature.

Most members held the view that the regional constitution should be elastic and that it should contain adequate constitutional safeguards to prevent the exploitation or subordination of interests of any one section of the population by another.

After a thorough discussion of the various aspects of the proposals, the committee came to certain conclusions which will be placed before a general conference of Rulers and representatives of States to be held early next year.

Among those who participated in the discussion were Sir Ganga Kaula (Jind), Sir Fazal Ibrahim Rahimatlulah (Junagadh), Mr A. P. Pattani (Bhavnagar), Maharaj Kumar of Sitamau, Maj Hafizullah (Bahawalpore), Khan Bahadur Syed Bunyad Hussain (Jaora), Sardar Ranbir Singh (Dholpur) and Mir Magbool Mahmood (Director, State Constitutional Affairs Secretariat).—API.

National Herald. 7-12-46

DEWAN AINUDDIN GOES

DATIA DISPUTE SETTLED BY CORFIELD

Strike Ends: Political Prisoners Released

(From Our Correspondent)

JHANSI, December 6.—The ruler of Datia in an announcement says that Mr. Ainuddin, Dewan of the state, has been dismissed and is to leave the state on December 6, according to a message received by the local Datia Relief Committee. This ends the month-old double-sided dispute — the people versus the state on the one hand and the ruler versus the Political Department on the other—which led to mass arrests, resignations and strikes.

The Dewan, who was charged with fostering communal trouble in the state, was reinstated by the Resident of Central India States, Sir Robert Campbell, after he had been dismissed by the ruler. As a protest against the Dewan's reinstatement, the state people launched a mass non-violent campaign and the Political Department, it is alleged, threatened the ruler with deposition if he was unable to stop the movement.

Settlement has been reached following intervention by the Political Adviser to the Crown Representative, Sir Conrad Corfield, who arrived in Datia on Monday. With the Maharaja's announcement all political prisoners in Datia jail were released and warmly welcomed by the people at the jail gate. State employees who had resigned during the anti-Dewan agitation are beginning to return to work.

Orders have been telegraphically sent for the release of political prisoners in the Presidency jail, who include Mahant Doshrao and Mr. P. K. Chitkey, first and second president, respectively, of Datia People's Committee.

Powers of the ruler which were curtailed during the movement have been restored, a message from Datia says.

The success of the people is being hailed here as a triumph of the technique of non-violence.

The Associated Press of India adds: The personal adviser to the Maharaja of Datia, in a message, reports the settlement of the recent dispute in the state and says: "The Maharaja has agreed to introduce a form of council government forthwith and to appoint a representative committee to frame, within three months, a constitution for the future government of the state. His Highness has also agreed to promulgate the new constitution in the form recommended by this committee."

STATES GROUPING SCHEME

PRINCES' COMMITTEE'S TALKS IN DELHI

NEW DELHI, December 7: A meeting of the Grouping Committee of the Chamber of Princes was held today in the Council House. Sardar D. K. Sen, Chairman of the Committee of Ministers, presided.

The Committee discussed the various schemes for a regional confederation or the grouping of States. These schemes dealt with the composition and functions of the regional confederation, including the power of the group legislature, executive and judiciary and the method of accession to the regional group. It is proposed to have two Houses of the legislature, namely, the Upper House and the Lower House.

For purposes of representation in the Lower House, the entire area of confederating States will be divided into territorial constituencies to provide representation of one to at least 50,000 people. According to one of the schemes, the Government of each of the full-powered State in the group will be entitled to appoint an equal number of representatives to the Upper House.

There was considerable divergence of opinion on the subject whether rulers should be members of the Upper House or there should be a separate board of rulers.

GROUP EXECUTIVE

According to one scheme, the group Executive will consist of seven persons, with a chief called Secretary-General appointed by the Upper House from a panel proposed by the Lower House. It will hold office during the term of the legislature.

The consensus of opinion was that the regional constitution should be elastic and that it should contain adequate constitutional safeguards to prevent the exploitation or subordination of interests of any one section of the population by another.

After a thorough discussion of the

various aspects of the proposals on the subject, the Committee came to certain conclusions, which will be placed before a general conference of rulers and representatives of States to be held early next year.

Among those who participated in today's discussion were—Sir Ganga Kaulac (Jind State), Sir Fazal Ibrahim Ramatullah (Junagadh), Mr. A. P. Pattani (Bhavnagar), Maharaj Kumar of Sitapur, Major Hafizullah (Bahawalpore), Khan Bahadur Syed Eusaf Hussain (Jaora), Sardar Ranbir Singh (Dholpur) and Mir Maqbool Mahmood. (Director, States Constitutional Affairs Secretariat.—A.P.I.)

PRINCES' PLANNING COMMITTEE MEETS Industrial Issues Raised

NEW DELHI, December 6: A meeting of the Industries and Planning Committee of the Chamber of Princes was held today in the Chancellor's Secretariat. Sardar D. K. Sen, Chairman of the Committee of Ministers, presided.

At the request of the chairman, Mir Maqbool Mahmood gave a resume of the talks so far held between the States' representatives and those of the Government of India on the proposed convention on industrial taxation, import and export control, foreign currencies, capital issue control and the Capital Goods and Trading Taxation Act of 1926. This was followed by a general discussion on the subject.

The recommendations of the Committee on the various issues discussed will now be placed before the general conference of Rulers and representatives of States to be held early next year.—A.P.I.

States Peoples' Talks

NEW DELHI, December 6: A meeting of the Standing Committee of the All-India States Peoples' Conference has been fixed for December 22 and following days. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, officiating president, will preside.

The meeting is expected to consider a proposal to raise Rs. 5,00,000 for an office and residential building in the capital for the conference. Other questions to be considered at the meeting include a request made by a number of States organisations for advice on what action they should take against "repressive policies" of State Governments.—A.P.I.

Hindu. 16-12-46

THE HYDERABAD DISTURBANCES

GOVT.'S CHARGES AGAINST COMMUNISTS

SECUNDERABAD, Dec. 14.

The Hyderabad Government have issued the following Press Note, dealing with Communist activities in the State: "For some time past, the Government have been watching anxiously the subversive activities of the Communist Party in certain parts of the Dominions, particularly in Nalgonda District. Government have in their possession evidence that the Communist Party has been carrying on active agitation among villagers of the Bhongir, Jangon and Suryapet taluqs with a view to undermining established authority.

"Numerous instances have come to notice, in which agitators have resorted to violence to force villagers to toe the line with them. At public meetings organised under the auspices of the Party, not only have Government officials been vilified and subjected to reckless allegations but also class hatred has been freely preached. At some places, the Party has set up what are known as communes where the Red Flag has been staged to attract villagers and to incite them to acts of violence. Communists have been directing their activities mainly against village officers and landowners who have been subjected to an organised campaign of slander. These activities have invariably resulted in the creation of a spirit of lawlessness and defiance of the forces of order. As a result of their activity, 'Deshmukhs' have been boycotted. In some places cultivation has been stopped and in others cultivation was forcibly carried out. They have even gone to the extent of imposing fines on persons who refused to act in accordance with their wishes.

"Many cases have come to light in which villagers, at the instance of Communist agitators have assembled in large numbers to stage demonstrations against landowners, police and other Government officials. When these demonstrations began, provocative and highly objectionable slogans were shouted with the object of bringing Government into hatred and contempt. Subsequently the demonstrators armed themselves with lathis and slings and on several occasions attempted to attack parties of police on duty. These demonstrators have of late rapidly grown to be of a violent nature and it has been necessary to send a special force of military and police to visit villages in affected areas to restore order. In spite of this action, conditions are still not normal. On one occasion two police officers and eight villagers were murdered by villagers. Such activities cannot be allowed to continue unchecked."

PROMULGATION OF RECORD OF RIGHTS

"While genuine grievances put forward in a regular manner to the authorities will be enquired into, as also all complaints of official excesses, Government will adopt the sternest measures against all persons at their command against such persons as attempt to take the law into their own hands. Government, however, fully realise that the lot of many of the inhabitants of rural areas is a hard one and are fully alive to the fact that genuine grievances do exist.

"Government have always been anxious to remedy all genuine grievances and in order to improve the lot of the peasants, orders have been issued for the promulgation of a Record of Rights for the whole of Nalgonda and Warangal districts. Extra staff have been appointed and orders issued that work should be completed within the shortest possible time. This work will do much to set right any injustice which may exist at present."—F.O.C.

Hindu. 16-12-46

HYDERABAD CONGRESS RESOLUTION

HYDERABAD, Dec. 14.

While welcoming the historic inauguration of the Indian Constituent Assembly, the Working Committee of the Hyderabad State Congress emphasises, in a resolution passed yesterday, that no Constitution of Free India can be complete without inclusion of the Indian States. Representatives of the States' peoples ought to have been associated in its deliberations from the very beginning. The Working Committee further states categorically that the Negotiating Committee constituted by the Princes has no right to speak on behalf of the people of the States. The Committee supports the decision of the All-India States Peoples' Conference to the effect that unless the Negotiating Committee is reconstituted with the accredited representatives of the people, the committee to be appointed by the Constituent Assembly for dealing with the question of Indian States should not recognise it. Further, in view of the fact that the Hyderabad reforms have been boycotted by the State Congress and other democratic forces, none sent from its Legislature should be recognised as the representatives of the people. Representatives of the people alone had a right to be on the Constituent Assembly claiming to frame a Constitution for the Indian Republic.—F.O.C.

Times of India. 16-12-46

"BASIC ISSUES RAISED"

States Object To Resolution

NEW DELHI, December 15.

"Sir Sultan Ahmed, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Mr. D. K. Sen and Sardar K. M. Panikkar, members of the States Negotiating Committee present in Delhi, regret to note that a resolution has been moved at the preliminary session of the Constituent Assembly which raises many fundamental issues which, in our opinion, cannot and should not be considered or decided by the Constituent Assembly in the absence of the Indian States' representatives and" negotiations contemplated under the Cabinet Mission's plan have taken place between the States' Negotiating Committee and the corresponding committee which has yet to be appointed by the British Indian portion of the Constituent Assembly," says Mir Maqbool Mahmood, Secretary of the Negotiating Committee, in a statement.

"The resolution *inter alia* proposes the setting up of an independent sovereign republic, comprising not only British India, but also the territories that now form the Indian States. It further declares that the power and authority of the sovereign independent India, its constituent parts and organs of Government, are derived from the people. These and other basic issues raised in the resolution are obviously matters for discussion and consultation with the States' representatives in the forthcoming negotiations in connection with the framing of an agreed constitution for India.

"Sir Mirza Ismail and Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, who have left Delhi, have also intimated their concurrence with the statement."—A.P.I.

National Herald: 19-12-46

ELECTIONS MUST BE BOYCOTTED

Mrs. Asaf Ali's Advice To Kashmir People

LAHORE, Dec. 18.— Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali, the Socialist leader, yesterday focussed attention on the situation in Kashmir by declaring at a press conference here after a brief visit there that "it is my considered opinion that the Kashmir National Conference should boycott the January elections to the State Assembly, in view of 'The complete suppression of civil liberties.'"

"Deliberate mid-winter timing of the present elections and the active canvassing by the highest officials on behalf of their candidates have reduced them to a farce," she said, adding, "hardships enforced by winter conditions on the one hand, and threats of confiscation of property, licences etc., on the other, will prevent the people from voting freely." She said she had in her "private capacity" advised the Conference workers to boycott the elections, and she would report to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Dr. Pottabhi Seshbaramaya, Working President of the All-India States Peoples' Conference and advise them "to this effect."

"It would be a sheer miracle," said Mrs. Asaf Ali, "if under the present conditions even a single candidate of any popular party is elected." She added "hearsay accounts, published hitherto of the terror under which the people of Kashmir live, have understated the case. Civil liberties are, in fact, denied though granted in law. All members of the National Conference Election Board are in prison. Detention without trial has become a common feature. Over 200 leaders and workers of the conference are in jail."

WHEELINGS PARTY

"Boycott of the elections under these conditions will intensify the Kashmir People's struggle and their organisation," emphasized Mrs. Asaf Ali. She mentioned the

disturbances at the meeting she addressed in Jammu. She said: "The 15th (Prime Minister) regime has organized a royalist party of hirelings in Jammu. Its misguided, but well-paid and well-protected members were instructed to break up the meeting she was to address with abusive slogans, stings, stones and knife attacks. They sought to intimidate us. The magistrates on duty, policemen in uniform and police officers in plain clothes were directing them in a brazen manner. But when the officials realised that neither threat of bodily injury nor personal insult would deter us from holding our meetings; they thought that discretion was the better part of valour and they therefore retired."

"The real villain of the piece," concluded Mrs. Asaf Ali, "is not even Kak." "It is the Political Department, which is ruling Kashmir through him. He is in their hands. And as for the poor Maharaja, he is nowhere in the picture."

The acting president of the Kashmir National Conference, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, against whom there is a warrant of arrest by the Government, who was present at the press conference at the invitation of Mrs. Asaf Ali said: "The whole Kashmir is now a vast concentration camp. To hold elections in January when three-fourths of Kashmir is heavily snow-bound is a monstrosity. Right from the Prime Minister to the village chowkidar, every official is working openly against the conference candidates." Although he declined to say now whether or not the conference would boycott the state Assembly elections, he said the Kashmir National Conference would meet in Lahore shortly to decide the matter. Answering questions the Bakshi flatly denied allegations of "Communist control or influence" on the Conference.—APA

ELECTIONS TO KASHMIR STATE ASSEMBLY "A FARCE"

(From Our Correspondent)

LAHORE, Dec. 18.—"The Kashmir National Conference should boycott elections to the State Praja Sabha (the Kashmir Assembly)," said Mrs Aruna Asaf Ali, speaking yesterday at a Press conference at Bradaugh Hall in Lahore on her return from her two-day Kashmir tour.

Mrs Asaf Ali added: "Accounts published of the terror under which the people of Kashmir live have understated the case. Civil liberties are in fact denied though granted in law. All members of the National Conference Election Board are in prison. Detention without trial has become a common feature. Over 2000 leaders and workers of the National Conference are in jail."

Mrs Aruna Asaf Ali said that she would report her experiences and impressions of the Kak regime in Kashmir to Pandit Nehru, Dr Pattabhi Sitaramayya and the Congress Working Committee. She did not know what advice the Congress High Command would give in the matter, but personally she thought the Kashmir National Conference and the people's movement in the State would be strengthened.

Limited Franchise

Franchise was restricted due to absence of adult suffrage. The Kashmir National Conference would not be benefited even by participating in the elections. It was the Political Department which was ruling Kashmir through Pandit Kak.

Mrs Asaf Ali added: "The Kak regime has organized a Ruler's party in Jammu. Its misguided but well-paid and well-protected members were instructed to break up meetings. I was to address with abusive slogans, fling stones and knife attacks. They sought to intimidate us. Magistrates on duty policemen in uniform and police informers in plain clothes were directing their activities."

"But when officials realized that neither the threat of bodily injury nor personal insult would deter us from holding our meetings they thought that discretion was the better part of valour and retired."

"Despite the ban under Section 144 which was imposed overnight in important centres and official warning to the people not to participate in meetings nine meetings were addressed by me and my colleagues."

"The people of Jammu are being made to believe that the Kashmir National Conference is Communist-controlled and is out to establish Muslim rule in Kashmir. It pains me to confess that the Jammu National Congress has allied itself with this reactionary administration."

Free Elections Not Possible

"The elections to be held on January 4 can by no means be called fair and free. The supporters of the Ruler have all the advantages. Hardships enforced by winter conditions and threats of confiscation of property licences etc. will prevent the people from voting freely. Active canvassing is being carried

on by the highest officials on behalf of candidates. The elections would be reduced to a farce. Under these circumstances, it is my considered opinion that the Kashmir National Conference should boycott the elections. The Assembly that will emerge cannot claim to represent the people."

Mrs Asaf Ali added that the people should not be cowed by Government opposition and repression. They should continue their agitation for the establishment of a sovereign and representative Government.

Appeal To People

She also appealed to the people to co-operate with British India, especially the Punjab as the neighbouring province. She urged the Punjab Congress Socialist Party to undertake the task of co-ordination of people's movement in the Northern States on a regional basis.

A meeting of the National Conference workers has been called at Lahore on December 20, when they will discuss the question of boycott of Praja Sabha elections.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE WORKERS ATTACKED

(From Our Correspondent)

JAMMU TAWI, Dec. 16.—A number of rowdies armed with lathis attacked the National Conference workers, who had gathered at the Ranbirsinghpura railway station, 14 miles from Jammu to receive Mrs Aruna Asaf Ali. One of the workers was injured on the head.

When she was being taken in procession one of the rowdies attempted to snatch away the Tricolour from a worker. Mrs Aruna Asaf Ali stepped forward, took the Tricolour in her hands and challenged the miscreants to come forward and take away the flag.

The police made no attempt to apprehend the rowdies.

When calm was restored, Mrs Asaf Ali, addressing the gathering said: "We have no personal grudge against the Rulers of Indian States. But as these Rulers are helping British imperialism we have to give them a fight on principle. We want to see democratic government established in every State."

She said that she would soon be going to Hyderabad State to help the people there in their struggle for responsible government.

From Ranbirsinghpura Mrs Asaf Ali drove to Bashuh village and addressed a large number of people gathered there from neighbouring villages. She advised them to give full support to the National Conference.

—C.F. ALTER
TRIVANDRUM Sunday

Sir Gopalaswami Aiyangar states that there can be no paltering with certain principles which he outlines and asserts that a ruler is not to be regarded as conferring any rights on his people but that reserve powers may be conferred on a ruler. He reiterates that all powers including residuary rights that may be vested on rulers should emanate from people and that all power and authority exercised by a ruler should be conferred on him by the constitution.

My main argument was that such a discussion was unjustifiable on the unavoidable absence of Indian States for which they were not responsible. It is true that debate on Pandit Nehru's resolution had been postponed, but it is also clear that if it is resumed on January 20, the States will still be absent from the Constituent Assembly when it will presumably take decision on the resolution sponsored by the Vice-President of the Interim Government.—API.

28 1946.

SOVEREIGNTY IN
STATES

NO PALTERING WITH
PEOPLE'S RIGHTS

SIR N. GOPALASWAMI'S REPLY TO CRITICS

NEW DELHI, Dec. 27

NEW DELHI, Dec. 22.—“There can be no paltering with the fundamental principle that ultimate political sovereignty vests in the people, that all power and authority should be derived from them, and that any reserve powers which are exercised by the Ruler should be conferred on him by the Constitution of the State over which he presides”, says Sir N. Gopalaswami Iyengar, in a detailed reply to criticisms of his speech in the Constituent Assembly on Indian States. The following is the text of the statement:

I had intended to deal, at a suitable future opportunity, with Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar's criticism dated 19th December of my speech in the Constituent Assembly on Indian States. I notice, however, that he has renewed the attack since in a communication to THE HINDE published on 22nd December, 1946. As I feel in all conscience that he is not serving the cause of the Rulers of States vis-à-vis the political developments that are taking place in the country, I have considered it necessary to break my temporary silence. I have always had great regard for Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar's statesmanship and patriotism. I feel, however, that he should harness these more effectively and positively for consummating the high endeavour on which the Constituent Assembly has launched itself and should not raise scars, which, on calmer reflection, he will be obliged to consider to be unjustified and unwarranted.

SPECIAL COMMITTEES' FINDINGS

SPECIAL COMMITTEES PENDING.

Before dealing with his criticisms, I should like briefly to refer to two statements issued from Bangalore, one of which have I already mentioned, having made similar statements and propounded misleading theories as regards the locus of sovereignty in Indian States. I should have thought that my friend, Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, knew me too well to imagine that I should, in a body like the Legislative Assembly, make such irresponsible and incorrect statements of fact. I certainly was not prepared for the somewhat hysterical language in which an ex-Judge of the Mysore High Court has permitted himself to indulge and some of which has crept into the statement issued by Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar. Mr. Madhav Rao, I am sure, has his own views, the substance of what he has said, I am sure, is correct. I am sure the Committee said on this question, nearly 25 years ago. But, in my speech, I quoted the actual words used by the Committee. I then quoted also from the report of the Aravamudan Iyengar Committee of Hyderabad, which, after its submission to the Government, had, which agreed in substance to the findings of the Seal Committee. I said, "The A. I. C. reports and the speech left out these quotations and also did not give, in full, my comment following these quotations. If the report of this portion of my speech had been reworded it is possible that these might not have used the language that I have done. But, even the rewording I have made hardly justifies the inference which the Government has inaccurately drawn as regards what I said."

RULERS HAVE IGNORED PEOPLE'S POWERS

After giving these two quotations I said as follows:

"These two views of where the sovereign rests in Indian States tally. The hereditary ruler is supposed to embody in his person the sovereignty of the people, but, in actual fact, he has exercised the sovereign power in disregard of the people's interests in several cases."

...in a later portion of my speech. I said also that the Rulers of States have how ever, up-to-date, both claimed and exercised full internal sovereignty in their States subject only to the politically inescapable limits set by the Paramountcy of the United States. In the assertion of this claim, I have, throughout, ignored the fact that the sovereign powers being vested in the Rulers of the States, They have claimed for both the ordinary legislative and the constituent power, the powers which they claim for the constituent power in the United States. I have said that the Rulers of States have

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swami Aiyangar should not have been so moved in the absence of parties concerned and in view of the issues sought to be raised.

Sir Gopalaswami Aiyangar states that there can be no paltering with certain principles which he outlines and asserts that a ruler is not to be regarded as conferring any rights on his people but that reserve powers may be conferred on a ruler. He reiterates that all powers including residuary rights that may be vested on rulers should emanate from people and that all power and authority exercised by a ruler should be conferred on him by the constitution.

He adds that these issues are not theoretical. These propositions are, therefore, according to Sir Gopalaswami Aiyangar himself, of crucial importance and profoundly affect the present setup and future constitution and the powers of rulers of States. The principle of Audi Alteram Partem is well recognised in jurisprudence and it is surprising that such decisions should be arrived at without hearing persons sought to be affected.

My main argument was that such a discussion was unjustifiable on the unavoidable absence of Indian States for which they were not responsible. It is true that debate on Pandit Nehru's resolution had been postponed, but it is also clear that if it is resumed on January 20, the States will still be absent from the Constituent Assembly when it will presumably take decision on the resolution sponsored by the Vice-President of the Interim Government.—A.P.I.

tical sovereignty vests in the people and all power and authority should be derived from them, and that any powers which are exercised by the Ruler should be conferred on him by the Constitution of the State over which he presides," says Sir N. Gopalaswami Iyer, in a detailed reply to criticisms of his speech in the Constituent Assembly on Indian States. The following is the text of the statement:

I had intended to deal, at a suitable future opportunity and time, with Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar's criticism dated 19th December of my speech in the Constituent Assembly on Indian States. I revise, however, that he has renewed the attack since in a communication to THE HINDU published in its issue dated 20th December. As I feel in all conscience that it is not necessary because of the Rulers of States vis-a-vis the political developments that are taking place in the country, I have considered it necessary to break my temporary silence. I have always had great regard for Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar's statesmanship and patriotism. I feel, however, that he should harness these more effectively and positively for communiting the high endeavour on which the Constituent Assembly has launched itself and should not raise scares, which, on calmer reflection, I am sure, he will himself consider to be unjustified and unnecessary.

SPECIAL COMMITTEES' FINDINGS

Before dealing with his criticisms, I should like briefly to refer to two statements issued from Bangalore, both of which have charged me with having made incorrect statements and propounded misleading theories as regards the locus of sovereignty in Indian States. I should have thought that my friend, Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, knew me too well to imagine that I should, in a body like the Constituent Assembly, make myself responsible for incorrect statements of fact. I certainly was not prepared for the somewhat hysterical language in which an ex-Judge of the Mysore High Court has permitted himself indulge and some of which has crept into the statement issued by Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar. Mr. Mahadevayya has given in his own words, the substance of what the Seal Committee said on this question, nearly 25 years ago. But, in my speech, I quoted the actual words used by the Committee. I then quoted also from the report of the Aravamudan Deyar Committee of Hyderabad, which agreed in substance with what the Seal Committee had said. The A.P.I. report of my speech left out these quotations and also did not give in full my comment following these quotations. If the report of this portion of my speech had been verbatim it is possible that these critics might not have used the language that they have done. But, even the report as it was could hardly justify the inference which they have inaccurately drawn as regards what I said.

RULERS HAVE IGNORED PEOPLE'S POWERS

After giving these two quotations I said as follows:

"These two views of where the sovereignty rests in Indian States tally. The hereditary Ruler is supposed to embody in his person the sovereignty of the people, but in actual fact, he has exercised the sovereign powers in disregard of the people's interests in several cases."

In a later portion of my speech, I said also that "the Rulers of States have, however, up-to-date, both claimed and exercised full internal sovereignty in their States subject only to the politically inapplicable limits set by the Paramountcy of the British." In the assertion of this claim, the Rulers have, throughout, ignored the fact that the sovereign powers being vested in them are those of the States. They have claimed the constituent power within the States, which they claim sovereignty as institutional powers, which the people of certain States exercise through their representatives have been a matter of gift from the Rulers to them."

These sentences were also quoted in the news agency's report of my speech. I consider it unnecessary to say more on this point, and trust that these two Bangalore critics of mine will, after reading the full report of what I said in the Constituent Assembly, realise that, if the word 'representatives' had any implication in this context, it could not apply to what I really said. It would more appropriately apply to their inadequate understanding of what I had said. This disposes of also Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar's remark that I asserted that political sovereignty now resides in the people of the States.

INCLUSION OF STATES IN NEHRU'S RESOLUTION

The criticism by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar of my justification of the inclusion of Indian States in Clause 4 of Pandit Nehru's resolution is of greater importance. That clause makes the pronouncement that, in the Constitution that is to be fashioned for all-India by the Constituent Assembly, all power and authority of sovereign independent India, its constituent parts and organs of Government are derived from the people. In his statement dated 19th December on Pandit Nehru's speech moving the resolution, he only said that "such a doctrine may or may not be incontestable, but there is no point in taking it for granted in Indian India especially when we remember that in legal theory this doctrine is only imperfectly applicable even in England."

POSITION IN ENGLAND

In my speech in the Constituent Assembly I referred to this observation of his and maintained that in England the doctrine was definitely incontestable, that in spite of a hereditary monarch, as the head of the State, from whom in the form of law all authority is supposed to flow, the substance of real power and authority is derived from the people. I do not believe even Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar will be prepared to challenge my statement of the real constitutional position in England. As regards Indian States his first position was that there was no point in taking the doctrine for granted. I am not clear whether he seriously maintains that, in framing the future Constitution of a Free Independent India it is possible for any statesman whether of British India or of Indian States to contest the position that, whatever the institutional set-up, whether of Republics or Provinces or monarchies, the real power and authority should be derived from the people. In this post-second-Great-War-world, is this not an axiomatic proposition? In choosing the form of Government to be embodied in new constitutions, are we not really compelled to choose between a truly democratic Republic and a Constitutional Monarchy? And is it not the case that one of the fundamentals of both these forms of Government is the recognition of the principle that power and authority are derived from the people, whatever the nature of the leadership of the executive, whether an elected president or a hereditary monarch and whatever variations there may be in the other organs of Government through which that power and authority may, in fact, be exercised? If this position is conceded, does it not equally axiomatically follow that we cannot subscribe to the proposition that in an Indian State "political sovereignty cannot reside anywhere else than in the Ruler"? The architects of a Free Sovereign Independent India will be substituting themselves if they accepted anything in variation of the doctrine that ultimate political sovereignty can reside only in the people, whether of India as a whole or of its constituent parts. Both the Congress and the States People's Conference have so far had the wisdom and the discretion to own publicly that, in Indian States they stand, for the present, not for the elimination of monarchy, but for constitutionalising the monarchy and, therefore, nationalising the Ruler. This necessarily involved a reconciliation between the monarchical principle and the sovereignty of the people—a reconciliation which has to be achieved by the factual elimination of the Ruler from political decision, coupled it may be, with the retention of certain monarchical forms of the past.

ALL POWERS EMANATE FROM THE PEOPLE

The doctrine that all powers emanate from the people is the reality which in a constitutional monarchy, i.e., behind the forms, pageants, dignity and ornament that surround the Princes. The reality is not substantially encroached upon by the retention, in the hands of the Ruler of residual powers, such as the appointment of the members of the high level Executive

the exercise of a veto power. In England, even these powers have to be exercised on the advice of Ministers. In a less perfect form of constitutional monarchy such as has obtained in several countries on the Continent of Europe the monarchy may, by the use of powers of this kind exercise a definite influence on the working of Governments. Whether constitutional monarchy in Indian States should be modelled on the one type or the other is a matter which will be fully discussed in the Constituent Assembly after all the representatives of the Indian States have come into it. There has been no prejudging of this matter, but, whether it is the one type or the other, there can be no paltering with the fundamental principle that ultimate political sovereignty vests in the people, that all power and authority should be derived from them, and that any reserve powers which are exercised by the Ruler, such as those referred to above, should be conferred on him by the constitution of the State over which he presides.

THEORY ABOUT TRAVANCORE

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar has mentioned that, in Travancore, the State was dedicated to the Tutelary Deity of the monarch, as whose representative the Maharaja reigns. It would be interesting to know who were responsible for the act of dedication. It is suggested that the consequence of this act of dedication was that ultimate political sovereignty in the State vests in the Tutelary Deity? To concede this position would do violence to normal standards of political science in this country. It will be difficult for those to agree that political sovereignty can be lodged in any person who is not possessed of any earthly capacity for implementing it. But if it is desired that nominal vesting of such sovereignty in the Tutelary Deity of the Maharaja of Travancore should be recorded in a written Constitution for the State, I can see no objection to it. It will, no doubt, have the same force and effect as Section 1 of the Union of South Africa Act which is in the following terms: "The Union hereby acknowledges the sovereignty and guidance of Almighty God."

The declaration that all power and authority vests with the people is a very familiar one in many later day constitutions in the world. Article 1 of the Weimar Constitution, in Germany, said, for instance, that "all power and authority emanate from the people."

NEW JAPANESE CONSTITUTION

The new Japanese Constitution, which has retained the Emperor and was approved the other day by the Japanese Diet, says in its preamble: "We, the Japanese people, acting through our duly elected representatives in the National Diet, do proclaim the sovereignty of the people's will." Article 1 of the Constitution enacts further that "The Emperor shall be the symbol of the State and of the unity of the people." And Article 4 adds, "The Emperor shall perform only such State functions as are provided for in this Constitution." Could any responsible person seriously suggest that the Free Independent Sovereign India should in this 20th century and after the two world wars, omit to make a fundamental provision of this sort in the new Indian Constitution? To advise or to suggest that any Ruler of Indian States should directly or indirectly resist a principle of this nature is, I am afraid, doing them a disservice.

NOT A MERE THEORETICAL ISSUE

The argument that the inclusion of a declaration of this nature raises merely a theoretical issue is cheap. If it is only theoretical, it can be brushed aside as of no consequence. The fact that an uproar has been raised against it is incontrovertible evidence that it raises an issue to which Indian Princes should, in the opinion of some of those who advise, and have spoken for them, take strong exception.

The sneer that "speeches made in the Assembly are inevitably influenced by the surrounding atmosphere and the natural reluctance of even highly intellectual individuals to differ from old or new colleagues" is hardly worthy of its author.

I do not wish to deal at length with the many other points in Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar's communications to the Press on this matter. They have been dealt with adequately in the Press already and I may have an opportunity of dealing with them elsewhere. I would only appeal to him and to those who occupy similar positions in other Indian States that, in their public positions, they owe a duty to India and that real loyalty to Rulers whom they serve for the time being demands that their advice to those Rulers at this critical juncture in the affairs of the country should be in consonance with the best interests of this ancient land as a whole and should be such as to save them from uselessness, realising what is actually right, wise and inevitable.

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FREE INDIA'S OBJECTIVES

NEED FOR CONSULTING PRINCES

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan of Travancore, in a communication to us, writes:

I have hardly ever commented on the contents of your Editorials, especially as I have a feeling that whether one agrees with them or not, they usually take a refreshingly detached and objective view of events and policies. I am afraid, however, that I have mildly to protest against your Editorial headed "Free India's Objectives" dated the 21st December.

You are, of course, at perfect liberty to agree with exponents like Sir N. Gopalaswami Iyengar and Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar of the doctrines that they have put forward. I wonder, however, how many persons who are opposing the maintenance of the theory of sovereignty will reconcile themselves to the theory which is now fairly widespread, namely, that accumulations of capital and landed estates represent an unearned increment in the hands of successors or children and should not descend to the next generation but should revert to the State. One law cannot be applied to the Rulers of Indian States and another to the holders of shares, securities and money.

Fully realising that speeches made in the Constituent Assembly are inevitably influenced by the surrounding atmosphere and the natural reluctance of even highly intellectual individuals to differ from old or new colleagues, may I be allowed to put a direct question? You refer to the topic of Free India's Objectives as all-important. You assert that Indians of every school of thought wish to realise Pandit Nehru's objectives. You want the Indian Princes to reflect on the logical result of non-co-operation with the work of the Assembly. You cannot forget that no duly accredited representative of the States was present when the objectives were deliberated upon, discussed or outlined. May I, in these circumstances, ask if it is consonant with the policy for which your valuable paper has stood for many years, to take advantage of the absence of a particular group, to pass resolutions adversely affecting that group and then to threaten that group with calamitous results if they do not agree to the resolutions passed in absence?

POSITION IN TRAVANCORE

Turning to the Indian States, I shall only speak (as I have normally spoken) for Travancore, knowing, however, that many other States are in the same position and will take the same attitude. Travancore was never conquered or annexed but the Ruler has never exercised arbitrary powers and Travancore was the first among the States to introduce a Legislative Council. The people are intensely loyal to their Maharaja who has set an example of simplicity of life and constitutional propriety to the whole of India and the vast majority of Travancoreans have not evinced any desire to deprive His Highness of his real though residual sovereignty. Travancore has not objected to the proclamation of an Indian Republic if circumstances necessitate such a proclamation. The following sentence occurs in your leading article, "Whether it is historically true or not that sovereignty resided in the people of the Indian States is at best an academic question". If this be so, it is very strange that such an academic question should be raised and discussed at such length in the Constituent Assembly when important and non-academic questions are clamouring for solution.

You have agreed, with Sir Gopalaswami Iyengar that the withdrawal of Britain would lead to a certain result, namely "that the war has come age". This, surely, is a question as to which the positive assertion of one side cannot be the final word, though many including myself, will agree with you that the future belongs to the common man.

May I submit that it is not wise nor even expedient to antagonise the Rulers of Indian States at this stage? They have practically unanimously agreed to form part of an Independent India. They have agreed, and many have implemented their agreement, that the Rulers will hand over most of the responsibilities of administration to their people, claiming only a residual right of supervision and veto which, for instance, is actively exercised even in completely democratised countries like the United States of America. There is a definite current of opinion in the world that the British system of what is called a monarchical figure-head is the resultant of special features connected with England. In any event, these are questions which, if they have to be discussed at all, should be discussed in the presence of the groups and persons sought to be affected.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has objected to the presentation of decisions on a silver platter. What Sir Gopalaswami Iyengar and Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar wish to do is to arrive at decisions in the absence of the parties concerned and to present them to those parties with the threat that if those decisions are not accepted, dire consequences will follow.

DIFFERENCES ACCENTUATED

Pandit Nehru's resolution regarding objectives may or may not be a rallying cry; but what it has done is to encourage differences of opinion and to revive those separatist tendencies which are gradually and with much effort being eliminated.

The assertion of the sovereignty of the people in Indian States need not be a necessary part of the work of the Constituent Assembly unless indeed the idea is to eliminate the States as such. If, as is generally understood, this is not the intention of political leaders, the only consequence of raising this issue would be to multiply the fissiparous tendencies which are already too evident in the country. Does the Constituent Assembly wish to add the States to the ranks of those who are unlikely to co-operate with it?

Having done my utmost to bring some at least of the Indian States into line with the Congress and feeling as strongly as I do against the ideology of Pakistan and in favour of the unity of India under a strong Central Government, I deplore all steps that needlessly accentuate differences and render the task of Indian consolidation more difficult.

"APPREHENSION" OF PRINCES

TRIVANDRUM, Dec. 22

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar has issued the following statement:

"If he has been correctly reported in a section of the Press, the Hon'ble Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, after announcing that the loyalty of the people of the States towards the Princes has cracked like old walls and generously offering to appoint a few intelligent Princes as Governors of Provinces, has made an important statement which is bound to startle everyone concerned. He has definitely declared that the resolution sponsored by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in the Constituent Assembly regarding objectives applied to the States as well as to British India. In other words, he confirms the apprehension felt on behalf of Indian States that crucial issues will be decided in their absence. The matter is so fundamentally important and the statement, if correct, is so patently against

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natural justice, that I refuse to believe that Mr. Rajagopalachari's words have been correctly transcribed. If they have been the work of the Negotiating Committee will be seriously jeopardised."

"SOVEREIGNTY RESTS WITH STATES PEOPLE"

QUILON, Dec. 21

The Working Committee of the Travancore State Congress which met here on Friday last has issued the following statement to the Press:

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar has issued a statement from New Delhi threatening non-participation of Indian States in the Constituent Assembly if it resolved that the sovereignty of the States rested with the people and not with the Princes. In the light of the above statement and in view of the proposed constitutional reforms envisaged in the Press Communique of February, 1946, the Working Committee feels called upon to clarify their position vis-à-vis the question of sovereignty which gave rise to Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar's statement. His objections to the position that sovereignty rests with the people seem to be based on the antiquated and exploded theory of the divine right of kings. He wants the people of the States to aspire to nothing more than being associated with the Government of their States to the extent allowed and under the limitations prescribed by the Princes.

One fails to see how the conquest and consolidations of the State by some of the former Rulers and the dedication of the State to the titular Deity of the monarch and the circumstance that there was no conquest of the country by the East India Company can in any manner decide the question whether sovereignty can rest with the people or not. Sovereignty in fact has always rested with the people and any peoples' attempt everywhere in India has been to see that all encroachments on such sovereignty are removed. The establishment of Responsible Government under the aegis of H.H. the Maharaja as demanded by the State Congress wherein the Ruler assumes the position of a Constitutional Monarch, constitutes nothing more than a recognition of the fact that sovereignty rests with the people and any constitutional reform which fails to recognise such sovereignty cannot satisfy the people of Travancore.

It is to say the least meaningless to pause and debate upon the origin of sovereignty when ten crores of people in the States are passing through the throes of a struggle for freedom to shape their own destiny along with their brethren in British India. It is not for the Princes and much less their advisers to decide whether the States concerned should join the Constituent Assembly or the Indian Union. Any opinion expressed or steps taken in that behalf without the consent and concurrence of the people cannot be binding on the States and the people thereof.

NEGOTIATING COMMITTEE

REPRESENTATION FOR STATE'S PEOPLE URGED

SHIMOGA, Dec. 21

Mr. K. Chingalaraya Reddy, President, Mysore Congress at a Press Conference yesterday, expressed dissatisfaction with the scope of the Negotiating Committee of Princes as it did not represent the interest of State's people and urged that the corresponding committee formed by the Congress should see that there would be no undue compromise with the Rulers over the fundamental rights of the people.

In respect of Mysore, Mr. Reddy said, "No compromise possible in this State as it is fit for Responsible Government and all the seven seats the quota of Mysore to the Constituent Assembly must be chosen by the elected members of legislative bodies."

Disclaiming the theory of sovereignty of Princes propounded by Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, Dewan of Mysore, the Congress President said: "There is no doubt" that sovereignty rests with the people stating that in 1881, the British Government vested sovereignty with the Prince by a treaty and with the disappearance of paramountcy the sovereignty should revert to the people but that a theoretical question is left where it has at present." Mr. Reddy pointed out that Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar had confused the idea about loyalty and sovereignty and added: "People may claim sovereignty and at the same time be loyal to the Prince whom they have accepted as a constitutional head of administration."

When a question was put whether the country is ready for fight for responsible Government the Congress President replied immediately: "Yes. What doubt is there in it?" Mr. Reddy left for Kadir this morning to commence his district tour.—F.O.C.

BASIS OF RESPONSIBLE GOVT. IN INDIAN STATES

Experts' Committee Lays Down Ten Principles

NEW DELHI, Dec. 31.—The Experts' Committee of the All-India States' People's Conference in a report published to-day lays down ten principles, which in its view form the basis of responsible Government in the Indian States and suggests the grouping of Indian States into regional units.

The principles laid down are:—
Fundamental rights and their protection through an independent judiciary linked up with the federal court of India;

Responsibility of the executive (ministers) to the legislature which shall be wholly elected;

Adult franchise;

Joint electorates with reservation of seats for the Harijans, women, important minorities tribal and excluded areas and labour;

Independent audit and judiciary;

Fixed privy purse;

In the case of the rulers of integral or singular states or heads of groups of states the privy purse should not exceed the salary of a provincial Governor or president in a free India or five per cent of the net revenue of one's own state, whichever is less.

No crown lands should be recognised within the state.

Jagira, thikanas and zamindaries and other intermediate feudal interests should be abolished on the basis of equitable compensation being awarded to them.

Separation of judiciary from the executive.—(A.P.)

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WE publish elsewhere a communication from Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar in which he takes courteous exception to one or two observations made in a recent leading article on the resolution regarding objectives moved in the Constituent Assembly. We must say at the outset that we are rather surprised at one particular statement of his: "One law cannot be applied to the Rulers of the Indian States and another to the holders of shares, securities and moneys". Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar is less than just to himself in asking us to believe that he is serious in regarding the Ruler's right over his State as nothing more exalted than a proprietary right. As for his suggestion that those speakers at the Constituent Assembly who sponsored the doctrine of people's sovereignty were influenced by the surrounding atmosphere and their reluctance to disagree with old colleagues, we shall leave it to those concerned to answer for themselves. But as Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar seems anxious to include us in the comprehensive indictment, we must point out that in the leading article in question we pleaded for an adjournment of the discussion in the Assembly with a view to giving all parties time to take in the implications of the resolution and to securing as large a measure of agreement as possible. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar points out that no duly accredited representative of the States was present when the resolution was being discussed; and, referring to our remark that a little delay "should enable the Indian Princes to reflect on what might be the logical result of non-co-operating in the work of the Assembly", he asks if it is consonant with the policy for which THE HINDU has stood for many years "to take advantage of the absence of a particular group, to pass resolutions avowedly affecting that group and then to threaten that group with calamitous results if they do not agree to the resolutions passed in absentia". With all due deference to a distinguished lawyer we must object to this misjoinder of issues. It was neither our business nor our intention to threaten the Indian Princes with any 'calamitous results'. Nor, so far as we can see, was that the intention of anybody who took part in the debate. If the Indian States are not represented at the preliminary session of the Assembly it is not the fault of that body or of the Congress; it is the British Government that is responsible for it. And, if a resolution defining the broad objectives which the new Constitution should have in view was an essential and legitimate preliminary to detailed Constitution-making—as we hoped we had shown it was, in our article—then, the fact that no accredited representative of the States whether of the Princes or of the people, has taken part in the discussion cannot be held to invalidate the proceedings or vitiate the conclusions. The States representatives, when they come in, may either choose to accept these conclusions or, if they so desire, endeavour to get them modified by consent. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar puts words into our mouth which we did not use when he attributes to us an intention to threaten the Princes with dire consequences "if they do not agree to the resolutions passed in absentia". What we did say was that if the Princes non-co-operated with the Constituent Assembly—as Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar himself had said they might, if the resolution on objectives was adopted—certain consequences to themselves and their States must inevitably follow from the inexorable logic of circumstances. To give an illustration of what might happen, let us assume that Britain quits India as she has said

Union—there will be only one Union, as the Cabinet Mission has emphatically stated—will be so many enclaves in an independent India and they will be so completely dependent on the latter in regard to many things that vitally matter that they would inevitably be reduced to the status of client States. Would it not be infinitely preferable for these States to come into the Union on a footing of equal status with the self-governing Provinces, as then they would have as full a voice in Union affairs as the latter?

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar seems to be very much exercised over the future of the Princes as distinct from that of the States. His objection to the assertion of people's sovereignty stems from this. He points out that many of the Indian Rulers have agreed to hand over "most of the responsibilities of administration to their people, claiming only a residual right of supervision and veto which, for instance, is actively exercised even in completely democratised countries like the United States of America." If the Rulers are really reconciled to parting on behalf of their people with so many of the rights connoted by sovereignty and are content to function like the President of the United States exercising only the residual right of supervision and veto, need they so violently object to the theoretical assumption that all sovereignty is ultimately derived from the people? The Seal Committee on Mysore reforms which reported twenty-five years ago drew the same analogy as Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar draws between the Indian Ruler and the President of the United States; at the same time it emphasised that they derived their authority from an identical source, the people. "In such a polity," said the Seal Committee, "the head of the State, whether a hereditary ruler or an elected President, exercises, as representing the people's sovereignty, a double prerogative, namely, one in the sphere of legislation, the prerogative of ratification including the veto, and secondly, in the sphere of executive government, the prerogative of creating and untreating the organ of Government, namely the Ministry." We pointed out the other day that it was unnecessary to go into the question whether as a matter of history sovereignty resided in the people. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar asks why, then, should this question be raised and discussed now at such length in the Constituent Assembly. The reply is simple. The Assembly is laying down the basic constitution for all India. It is therefore naturally concerned to see that those who take part in the deliberations on behalf of the States have as representative an authority as those speaking for the Provinces. It is an open secret that many Princes claim that only they or their nominees can represent the States where it is a question of exercising one of the most important of sovereign rights. The States' peoples' organisations contend on the other hand that that right inheres in them. The most satisfactory solution would undoubtedly be for the Rulers and their subjects to come to an understanding between themselves, which the Constituent Assembly could accept and act upon. But, unfortunately, many Rulers seem unwilling to do this, with the result that the parties now taking part in the Constituent Assembly by virtue of the confidence vested in them by the common people, have had to indicate that only those who enjoy the confidence of the States' people can be accepted as their representatives. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar writes: "May I submit that it is not wise or even expedient to antagonise the Rulers of Indian States at this stage?" We would go further and say that it is unwise to provoke unnecessary antagonism in any quarter. And that is counsel which the Indian Princes would doubtless take to heart. They have declared themselves in favour of a united and independent India. They should see they will not be helping to achieve this by indulging in hair-splitting over such issues as where sovereignty resides. The resolution moved by Mr. Nehru does not touch the Ruler's personal rights or rights of succession; in the free India of the future these will be the domestic concern of the Ruler and his people. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar and others like him who have, as he says, worked to bring the Indian States into line with popular opinion and to achieve a united India, should deem it their privilege to persuade the Princes not to be obsessed by imaginary fears and not to adopt a Canute-like attitude towards changes which are inevitable and which, if wisely regulated, may redound as much to

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WEDNESDAY, DEC. 25, 1946.

THE INDIAN STATES

We publish elsewhere a communication from Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar in which he takes courteous exception to one or two observations made in a recent leading article on the resolution regarding objectives moved in the Constituent Assembly. We must say at the outset that we are rather surprised at one particular statement of his: "One law cannot be applied to the Rulers of the Indian States and another to the holders of shares, securities and moneys". Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar is less than just to himself in asking us to believe that he is serious in regarding the Ruler's right over his State as nothing more exalted than a proprietary right. As for his suggestion that those speakers at the Constituent Assembly who sponsored the doctrine of people's sovereignty were influenced by the surrounding atmosphere and their reluctance to disagree with old colleagues, we shall leave it to those concerned to answer for themselves. But as Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar seems anxious to include us in the comprehensive indictment, we must point out that in the leading article in question we pleaded for an adjournment of the discussion in the Assembly with a view to giving all parties time to take in the implications of the resolution and to securing as large a measure of agreement as possible. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar points out that no duly accredited representative of the States was present when the resolution was being discussed; and, referring to our remark that a little delay "should enable the Indian Princes to reflect on what might be the logical result of non-co-operating in the work of the Assembly", he asks if it is consonant with the policy for which THE HINDU has stood for many years "to take advantage of the absence of a particular group, to pass resolutions avowedly affecting that group and then to threaten that group with calamitous results if they do not agree to the resolutions passed in *absentia*". With all due deference to a distinguished lawyer we must object to this misjoinder of issues. It was neither our business nor our intention to threaten the Indian Princes with any 'calamitous results'. Nor, so far as we can see, was that the intention of anybody who took part in the debate. If the Indian States are not represented at the preliminary session of the Assembly it is not the fault of that body or of the Congress; it is the British Government that is responsible for it. And, if a resolution defining the broad objectives which the new Constitution should have in view was an essential and legitimate preliminary to detailed Constitution-making—as we hoped we had shown it was, in our article—then, the fact that no accredited representative of the States whether of the Princes or of the people, has taken part in the discussion cannot be held to invalidate the proceedings or vitiate the conclusions. The States representatives, when they come in, may either choose to accept these conclusions or, if they so desire, endeavour to get them modified by consent. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar puts words into our mouth which we did not use when he attributes to us an intention to threaten the Princes with dire consequences "if they do not agree to the resolutions passed in *absentia*". What we did say was that if the Princes non-co-operated with the Constituent Assembly—as Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar himself had said they might, if the resolution on objectives was adopted—certain consequences to themselves and their States must inevitably follow from the inexorable logic of circumstances. To give an illustration of what might happen, let us assume that Britain quits India as she has said she would. Those Indian States which stand out of the Indian

inevitably be reduced to status of client States. Would it not be infinitely preferable for these States to come into the Union on a footing of equal status with the self-governing Provinces, as then they would have as full a voice in Union affairs as the latter?

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar seems to be very much exercised over the future of the Princes as distinct from that of the States. His objection to the assertion of people's sovereignty stems from this. He points out that many of the Indian Rulers have agreed to hand over "most of the responsibilities of administration to their people, claiming only a residual right of supervision and veto which, for instance, is actively exercised even in completely democratised countries like the United States of America." If the Rulers are really reconciled to parting on behalf of their people with so many of the rights connoted by sovereignty and are content to function like the President of the United States exercising only the residual right of supervision and veto, need they so violently object to the theoretical assumption that all sovereignty is ultimately derived from the people? The Seal Committee on Mysore reforms which reported twenty-five years ago drew the same analogy as Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar draws between the Indian Ruler and the President of the United States; at the same time it emphasised that they derived their authority from an identical source, the people. "In such a polity," said the Seal Committee, "the head of the State, whether a hereditary ruler or an elected President, exercises, as representing the people's sovereignty, a double prerogative, namely, one in the sphere of legislation, the prerogative of ratification including the veto, and secondly, in the sphere of executive government, the prerogative of creating and uncreating the organ of Government, namely the Ministry." We pointed out the other day that it was unnecessary to go into the question whether as a matter of history sovereignty resided, in the people. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar asks why, then, should this question be raised and discussed now at such length in the Constituent Assembly. The reply is simple. The Assembly is laying down the basic constitution for all India. It is therefore naturally concerned to see that those who take part in the deliberations on behalf of the States have as representative an authority as those speaking for the Provinces. It is an open secret that many Princes claim that only they or their nominees can represent the States where it is a question of exercising one of the most important of sovereign rights. The States' peoples' organisations contend on the other hand that that right inheres in them. The most satisfactory solution would undoubtedly be for the Rulers and their subjects to come to an understanding between themselves which the Constituent Assembly could accept, and act upon. But, unfortunately, many Rulers seem unwilling to do this, with the result that the parties now taking part in the Constituent Assembly by virtue of the confidence vested in them by the common people, have had to indicate that only those who enjoy the confidence of the States' people can be accepted as their representatives. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar writes: "May I submit that it is not wise or even expedient to antagonise the Rulers of Indian States at this stage?" We would go further and say that it is unwise to provoke unnecessary antagonism in any quarter. And that is counsel which the Indian Princes would doubtless take to heart. They have declared themselves in favour of a united and independent India. They should see they will not be helping to achieve this by indulging in hair-splitting over such issues as where sovereignty resides. The resolution moved by Mr. Nehru does not touch the Ruler's personal rights or rights of succession; in the free India of the future these will be the domestic concern of the Ruler and his people. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar and others like him who have, as he says, worked to bring the Indian States into line with popular opinion and to achieve a united India, should deem it their privilege to persuade the Princes not to be obsessed by imaginary fears and not to adopt a Canute-like attitude towards changes which are inevitable and which, if wisely regulated, may redound as much to the advantage of the Princes as of their peoples.

Times of India 3-1-47

SEPARATE TALKS WITH BRITISH INDIA

Baroda Decision

From Our Own Correspondent

BARODA, January 1.

Baroda's decision to start separate negotiations with British Indian leaders was announced by Sir B. L. Mitter, Dewan of Baroda, at a press conference last evening.

Sir Brojendra Lal mentioned this while referring to the non-inclusion of Baroda and certain other major States in the States' Negotiating Committee.

The Dewan envisaged the possibility of Baroda going into the Constituent Assembly as also into the proposed Indian Union. The Dewan

quoted extensively from the statements and speeches made by Lord Pethick-Lawrence and Sir Stafford Cripps in support of his contention that the arrangements proposed were primarily meant for British India only and it was not obligatory for States to join the Constituent Assembly. The Cabinet Mission had only expressed the

hope that States would like to take part in framing constitution for the whole of India. The Dewan also expressed the opinion that as far as Baroda was concerned, its joining the Indian Union would entirely depend on what took place in the Constituent Assembly. Two of the three representatives to be sent by Baroda, he said, would be elected and one nominated in view of the lack of representation in the State's Legislative Assembly of people in whom attached to the State.

WHEN PARAMOUNTCY LAPSES

As soon as the new constitution was adopted, he added, Paramountcy would lapse and States would be wholly independent and their entry into the proposed Union would be a matter for negotiation with British India.

The Dewan regretted that Baroda, as also some other major States, had not been given representation on the Negotiating Committee appointed by the Chamber of Princes. Baroda had certain special features, especially with regard to the areas attached to it, and it was very essential that they should be in the Negotiating Committee. He was, however, happy that the resolution appointing the British Indian Negotiating Committee authorised it to negotiate with representatives of other States also and it was open to them now to start separate negotiations to determine the method of selection of members and the distribution of seats allotted among the various States.

GROUPING OF STATES

Proceeding, the Dewan expressed his satisfaction that the British Cabinet Mission did not recognise any grouping of smaller States, as had been proposed for the Gujarat, Kathiawar and Southern Rajputana States, for the purpose of entry into the Indian Union, and felt confident that the British Indian Negotiating Committee would also not recognise such grouping as it was unnatural from several points of view.

What struck him most, the Dewan said, was that there was great political excitement at Delhi but the leaders were outwardly calm and serene and were determined to go ahead and were anxious that both the Muslim League and the States should join the Constituent Assembly. They were also anxious that the new constitution was an agreed one.

Answering a question regarding the granting of responsible Government in the States immediately, the Dewan said that so long as Paramountcy continued, full responsible Government was constitutionally impossible. This fact was always ignored by the press. Full responsible Government was certainly ideal, but it was constitutionally impossible as treaty obligations could not be transferred. Partial responsibility could be granted and allowed to develop steadily. Personally, he would like to extend the franchise first so that a larger number of people might take interest in the administration. His ideal was universal adult franchise and he would work for it first.



Sir B. L. Mitter.

MYSORE DEWAN TO SUBMIT REFORM PROPOSALS

BANGALORE, Jan 9.—The Maharaja of Mysore has directed the Dewan, Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, to submit proposals for constitutional progress in the State, bearing in mind the discussions and the events in the rest of India.

The following message of His Highness to the people of the State was read out at a Press conference by the Dewan today:—

"Now the stress and strain of the great war in which we were all engulfed are over and we are faced with new problems. The attention of all people is turned towards constitutional progress and economic development. I have not been unaware of the feeling of my people in these directions and I have been considering for some time how best I can meet their legitimate desires.

"In inaugurating the reformed constitution I stated in my speech to the joint session of the Legislature that the torch of constitutional progress has been handed down to me as a family heritage and that it was my ambition to ensure that its light did not grow dim, but would burn ever brighter with the passage of time. In fact it has been the policy of the House of Mysore to follow the principles of associating representatives of the people more and more with the administration of the Government.

New Legislature

"The new Legislature which I inaugurated in 1941 has now had five years of existence. The constitutional position in British India is at present under examination. The place which Mysore will occupy and the part which it will play in any new structure devised for British India are engaging the attention of my Government. I have directed the Dewan to review the whole position and submit to me proposals regarding constitutional progress in my State.

"My Dewan has had considerable knowledge of constitutions and experience in their working. He will bear in mind the course of discussions and events in the rest of India. He will also take into consultation all sections and classes of my people and with the benefit of their help, advice and co-operation, formulate his proposals for my consideration. Whatever form his proposals may take I trust it will fulfil the one great objective, namely, it will ensure equal opportunity for all and will promote the security, contentment and happiness of my dear people. I ask all my people to co-operate in this great endeavour."—API.

Gaekwar Of Baroda Announces Popular Interim Reforms

NON-OFFICIAL MAJORITY IN NEW EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

From Our Own Correspondent

BARODA, January 11.

SUBSTANTIAL changes, proposed to be made in the Government of Baroda Act of 1946—with the ultimate goal of responsible government in the State—were announced by H.H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, in a message to his people broadcast at the inauguration of the Diamond Jubilee Broadcasting Station yesterday afternoon.

"It is my desire", His Highness said, "that on India's independence my people should have a larger association with the governance of my State than at present.

A substantial enlargement of the franchise so as to include all interests; expansion of the Executive Council by adding one non-official member; enlarging the powers of the State Legislative Assembly and providing for a Ways and Means Committee thereof; the Legislative Assembly to have an elected President and providing for the protection of all minorities and backward classes, as lines for amending the Government of Baroda Act, with the ultimate objective of responsible Government, were the reforms announced by His Highness.

The final constitution of the State, His Highness said, must await the framing of a constitution for the Indian Union.

The interim period might, however, be well utilised "for preparing my people to exercise larger powers and undertaking larger responsibilities. With this end in view, I have directed my Government to submit proposals for amending the Baroda Government Act."

At the out-Gaekwar of Baroda, set, His Highness greeted the Princes and people of Gujerat and Kathiawar with expressions of friendship and fraternity and hoped that through the medium of the broadcasting station they would all come nearer to Baroda, and the social and cultural ties existing between them would become closer. He added that the station, which was meant primarily for the villagers, would try to provide instruction and information to near

and distant villages in the State and lighten their days' toil by providing entertainment for them in the evenings.

The Maharaja's announcement was followed by an address by Sir Brojendra Lal Mitter, the Dewan, explaining the far-reaching implications of His Highness's message.

The Dewan characterised the announcement as a milestone in Baroda's constitutional progress to responsible Government as the ultimate objective and asked the people to be patient. He referred to numerous obstacles which stood in the way of granting it immediately and said that the first and foremost was the question of Paramountcy. So long as it lasted, His Highness's responsibilities to the Crown could not be transferred to a second authority. There were other obligations also to Government of India under the treaties, such as the army, which was linked to defence organisation. His Highness could not, therefore, divest himself of his duties and transfer them to popular control. Proceeding, he pointed out that the announcement regarding expansion of the Executive Council would mean that it would consist of three non-officials as against two officials.

While the provision for the Ways and Means Committee would give opportunities to members of the legislature to acquaint themselves in detail with the State's resources and to influence the manner of appropriating them to public services it would also enable popular opinion to be more convincingly reflected in the budget. Similarly, an elected President of the Assembly was a big step forward.

Speaking about protection to minorities, the Dewan said: "Our constitution provided for it and His Highness's pointed reference showed his solicitude for these classes. It will be the earnest endeavour of the State Government to stop all loopholes which they may be able to detect.

In conclusion, the Dewan appealed for co-operation of the people, so that the working of the new constitution might bring greater prosperity to the people. He reminded them that His Highness's announcement would be operative for the interim period only, and the final constitution would necessarily be determined by the State's relation with British India under the new constitution.



Times of India 15-1-47

PLAN FOR CONSTITUTION OF A CONFEDERATION OF OVER 50 INDIAN STATES



Rulers and Ministers of Indian States from Kathiawar, the Deccan, Rajputana and Central India met in conference in Bombay on Thursday. Left to right: The Maharaja of Bundi, Rt. Hon. Mr. R. Jayakar, the Jam Sahib of Nawanganar, the Maharaja of Kotah and the Maharaja of Porbandar.

Princes' Conference In Bombay

POPULAR REFORMS IN THREE YEARS INCUMBENT ON UNITS

THE draft constitution framed for the proposed Confederation of over 50 States of Western India, Gujarat, and princely units in Central India and Rajputana, as it has emerged from constitutional lawyers appointed for giving it legal shape, was subjected to close scrutiny at a five-hour meeting in the Taj

Mahal Hotel, Bombay, on Thursday of Rulers and Ministers of the confederating States.

H. H. the Jam Sahib of Nawanganar presided over the meeting, which was attended by the Rt. Hon. Mr. R. Jayakar.

The Jam Sahib, welcoming those present, traced the course of developments since the meeting in Bombay in November of Rulers and Ministers of the groups, who had tentatively agreed to form a confederation and demarcated the powers and extent of the proposed union.

The constitution as it emerged at Thursday's meeting is the result of unbroken daily legal sessions which had been uniformly of nearly 12 hours' duration.

FINAL DRAFT

The final draft was circulated to the Rulers on January 9, after which the Bombay meeting was hurriedly closed.

The preamble reads: "These confederating States of the Indian States in Rajputana, Western India Gujarat and certain States in Central India resolve to consolidate their alliance and maintain and increase the unity, strength and honour of their States and of their people by adopting the confederating constitution."

The objects of the confederation are enumerated as:

- (a) to maintain, increase and promote the unity, strength, security, prosperity and honour of the confederating States and of their people;
- (b) to ensure the dynastic and territorial integrity of the confederating States;
- (c) to maintain peace and order in the territories of the confederating States;

RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES

- (d) to protect the rights and liberties of the people of the confederating States;
- (e) to promote the ordered progress and prosperity of the peoples of the States;
- (f) to facilitate the entry collectively of the confederating States in the All-India Union;
- (g) to ensure the administrative efficiency and cultural and economic development of the confederation;
- (h) to fill up by suitable means

any lacunae consequent on the eventual lapse of paramountcy; and (i) to adopt all means which, in the opinion of the confederation, is essential to the promotion of these objects.

The constitution is made up of 50 clauses. It specifically stipulates that each of the confederating units shall introduce popular reforms, granting a uniformity wide measure of representation to the people within three years. Failure to implement this provision makes any State liable to exclusion from the group. These were explained to the meeting by Dr. Jayakar, who also answered a number of questions.

The meeting of the Princes is expected to last for two more days, during which time the panel of constitutional lawyers appointed by the Princes will furnish them with the strict legal interpretation of any sections or clauses of which they may ask elucidation.

FURTHER CLARIFICATION

The Rulers will then return to their respective States for consideration of the constitution by their Ministers and Advisers. Any further clarification required of them will take the form of written questions. Finally, when these are answered, a further meeting will be held, after which the Rulers of confederating States to whom the scheme of confederation is acceptable will enter into agreement as embodied in an Act of Confederation.

The States represented at the meeting were: Nawanganar, Bundi, Dungarpur, Palanpur, Idar, Jalavar, Bilayanganar, Bhilpur, Jajigar, Sachin, Saur, Zambada, Jawhar, Rajpore, Bandra, Cambay, Porbandar, Gondal, Durgamchitra, Paltana, Vankar, Limbdi, Jhabua, Baria, Bandia, Lharampur, Nawanganar and Parbhani.

Hindustan Times
24-1-47

Dr Pattabhi Demands Responsible Govt. In Mysore

"The time has come for responsible Government to be implemented in Mysore more than in any other state since Mysore is closely copying the administrative systems of Madras on one side and Bombay on the other, between which it stands jammed as it were," says Dr Pattabhi Sitaramayya, officiating president of the All-India States People's Conference, in a statement.

Dr Pattabhi adds: "Among the recent notable events that have taken place in the domain of political development in the Indian States must be mentioned the proclamation made by certain Princes chiefly the Maharaja of Mysore, the Maharaja of Baroda and the Maharaja of Gwalior. While Gwalior has made a distinct reference to responsible Government as the goal and proposes to take certain steps immediately which the Maharaja had already chalked out, Mysore and Baroda do not speak of responsible Government at all. Mysore's announcement however, is welcome in that its Dewan had recently made a reactionary statement to the effect that if the people asked for more, they would lose what they had. Following this announcement the Mysore State Congress was determined to resort to direct action. They thought it wise, however to address the Maharaja a final letter before they drew up a programme of civil disobedience.

"The Maharaja has nobly responded to the call of the State Congress but his response is not adequate.

"Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar who has had a wide experience in administrative matters both in India and in England, may yet retrieve his reputation by yoking himself along with the people of the State to the plough of Mysore administration in order to fertilize the rich soil of Mysore politics and reap the fruit of responsible Government for the Mysore people."—A.P.I.

Times of India.
20-1-47

STATES NEGOTIATING COMMITTEE

Sir C. P. R. Aiyar's Denial

MADRAS, January 19: Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, in an interview, has denied the press statement that members of the Negotiating Committee set up by the States' Rulers were invited to attend the first session of the Constituent Assembly.

Sir Ramaswami Aiyar says: "As a member of the Negotiating Committee myself, I can say definitely that news was conveyed to me that the members of the Negotiating Committee were not expected to attend the preliminary meetings of the Constituent Assembly excepting as visitors. It is not a fact that the Negotiating Committee has declined participating until the Muslim League came in."—A.P.I.

Times of India
28-1-1947

IMPLICATIONS OF CONSTITUTION

Travancore Dewan On New Plan

MADRAS, January 27: Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan of Travancore, outlining the proposals for and implications of the new draft constitution for Travancore at a press conference here said that the Maharaja had, in view of the high standard of education and literacy attained in the State, decided to vest the Travancore Legislature with complete control over all but a few of the items of administrative and executive policy.

Dealing with the functions of the Executive Committees, Sir Ramaswami Aiyar said: "The inauguration of these committees is really the central point of the schemes, and all the powers and functions of Government, with very small exceptions, will be vested in these committees, which will be elected from the legislature and will represent the legislature. It is intended that the decisions of the legislature and the committees acting as the mouthpiece of the legislature will be carried out by the executive branch of Government. All the officers of Government will be under an obligation to carry out the policy laid down by these committees which are under the control of the legislature.

"The committees will be removable on a vote of no-confidence carried by two-thirds of the members of the Chamber that elected the committee."

"NO RESPONSIBLE MINISTRY"

Explaining why the new constitution does not envisage the formation of a responsible ministry in the State, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar said: "Attention will no doubt be focussed on two points in the scheme, namely, the absence of a responsible ministry and the powers vested in the Dewan. The Travancore Government have deliberately come to the conclusion to which expression has been given more than once that they feel that, while the popular will should prevail and the wishes of the people should be carried out in the executive and administrative field a removable executive is not the best agency for the purpose, especially at the present juncture, when large measures of reconstruction in agricultural and industrial fields are under way. The Travancore Government are of the opinion that a removable executive gives room for constant 'sloppy' and manoeuvring for position and deflection of persons from one party to another and bargains which occupy the time of ministries, whose existence is dependent upon a chance vote of the legislature. Such ministries, in their opinion, are unable to devote attention to large schemes. For this reason, a ministry in the ordinary term, has not been introduced. But the committees, through their chairman, fulfil in effect and essence, all the requisites of a responsible ministry. The policy will be carried out by an executive, whose policy will be guided in turn by the committees, and whose routine administration will be settled by rules to be framed for the purpose."

VETO POWER

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar referred to the status of the Dewan in the new constitutional set-up and said: "Where and where only the Maharaja is advised by the Dewan, who is retained as his agent or representative under the new scheme, that the legislature is either in an official or administrative matter has gone wrong, a power of veto is reserved in the Dewan. Deliberately the Maharaja is not brought into the picture. If the Dewan is not able to go on with the legislature, he is liable to be removed. To vest the power in the hands of the Maharaja will be to bring His Highness into the arena of controversy. The Dewan is appointed by and is removable by the Maharaja and naturally it would be the wish of the administration to bring about and maintain harmony. If any Dewan is unable to maintain harmony he will not be worthy of his place."

Answering a question, Sir Ramaswami Aiyar said if the new constitution worked well, there was nothing to prevent the Maharaja nominating his Dewan from the legislature. "The next step may be to make his nomination depend on the goodwill of the legislature and that is a matter which will have to be decided on the success of the present scheme," he declared.

Concluding the Dewan referred to the residual power vested in the ruler and said that after such a legislature came into existence, in the nature of things, such residual powers would hardly be ever exercised. "It may be remarked in passing that in Travancore during the last 10 years, there has been no instance of the certification of the budget or in any major item in the budget no resolution of the House has been vetoed," he added.—A.P.I.

PRINCES SCARED BY NEHRU RESOLUTION

"Issues Must Be Settled By Negotiation"

From Our Special Representative

NEW DELHI, January 28.

GRAVE fears about the future of the Indian States—engendered by Pandit Nehru resolution on the objectives of the Constituent Assembly, the terms of the motion constituting the Committee to confer with the States and the speeches and legal opinions of British Indian spokesmen—coloured the deliberations of leading Princes and Ministers in the capital this week.

The plea that all aspects of the positions of the States in the future Union, and not merely the method of representation of the States in the Constituent Assembly, should be the subject of negotiation is the main point of a draft resolution, which has been drafted by the States Constitutional Advisory Committee and adopted by the Committee of Ministers.

Certain vital questions have been raised in this resolution which will form the basis of the brief for the Princes' Negotiating Committee. These questions will be considered by the Standing Committee of the Princes' Chamber tomorrow and final decisions reached the day after at a general conference of Rulers.

The draft resolution defines the powers and scope, as interpreted by the States, of the proposed Indian Union and also lays down the basis on which the States Negotiating Committee should conduct its negotiations with the corresponding body set up by the Constituent Assembly.

BASIS FOR NEGOTIATIONS

Among the points embodied in the draft are:

First, the Negotiating Committee set up by the Princes' Chamber is the only body authorised under the Cabinet Mission's plan to negotiate on behalf of the States and settle questions relating to the entry of the Indian States into the new Indian structure. This is evidently a reply to the reported intention of the British Indian leadership. The resolution said, "...to confer with ... other representatives of Indian States". It may also be recalled that a spokesman of the States Peoples' Conference yesterday claimed that the States Negotiating Committee represented only the Princes and neither the States nor the States' people. This insistence by the Princes has nothing to do with the provision in the Constituent Assembly's resolution authorising the Committee of the body to confer with certain other States; for the States not originally represented in the Princes' Negotiating Committee have since been given representation such as Baroda and Kashmir.

COMMITTEE'S COMPOSITION

Incidentally, the latest composition of the States Negotiations Committee is as follows: Their Highnesses of Bhopal, Patiala, Nawanagar, Dungarpur, Bilaspur, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer, Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, Sir Mirza Ismail, Sir V. T. Krishnamachariar, Sir B. L. Mitter, Rai Bahadur Ramachandra Kak, Sardar K. M. Pannikar, Sardar D. K. Sen and Sir Sultan Ahmed.

Secondly, the distribution "of

(Continued on page 5 Col. 5.)

Wide Authority For States Committee

"NO EXTENSION OF UNION SUBJECTS"

(Continued from page 1)

seats in the Constituent Assembly among the States "inter se" is a matter for the States alone to decide among themselves and it is not a matter for discussion between the States Negotiating Committee and the corresponding British Indian body. The Princes' contention is that whereas the method of representation may be open to discussion, the actual distribution is not. In other words, the Princes are opposed to British India having a say in how the States distribute their seats among themselves. It is understood that it has been decided that States with a population of more than 750,000 should have one seat, while groups of smaller States should have a seat per million of population roughly.

STATES' POSITION IN UNION

Thirdly, it is open to the Princes' Negotiating Committee to discuss all outstanding matters such as the States' ultimate position in the Indian Union, and not only the method and manner of representation or selection of States' representatives in the Constituent Assembly. It is contended for instance that the subject matter of the Republic Resolution and the proposal to define the Union subjects should also be subject to discussion between the two negotiating committees; they cannot be a matter for unilateral decision.

Fourthly, the entry of the States, in the proposed Union will be on no other basis than that of negotiation. The Princes insist that the Constituent Assembly cannot act as it pleases and ask the Indian States to enter. They object to "imposition."

QUESTION OF PARAMOUNTCY

A spokesman of the Princes told me that they were frightened by the claim made on behalf of British India that the paramountcy of the British Crown when it lapsed would automatically devolve on the Government of British India. They claim that they are free to enter the Union or to stay out and enter into a treaty with the Union. They are opposed to any extension of the subjects assigned to the Union and do not recognise any "inherent or implied" subjects. They do not recognise the right of British India to dictate to them the manner or pace of internal reforms in the States nor the right of the Union to tax the States.

They have grave doubts about the validity of the business transacted by the Constituent Assembly at its preliminary session since much of it, they contend, pertains to a later stage. In particular, they object to the declaration in the resolution on objectives that "all power and authority of the sovereign independent India, its constituent parts and organs of Government, are derived from the people." Exception is taken to the words "its constituent parts and organs of Government" on the ground that that would affect the internal structure of the States.

CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY

What about States whose territories have been acquired by ancestors of the present Rulers by conquest and not by virtue of a gift from the British, e.g. Hyderabad and Travancore? The concession that constitutional monarchy might be permissible, made by Pandit Nehru, does not satisfy the Princes who fear that if the power to permit monarchy vests in the people then it is open to the people to remove it. Such power in the hands of the people would imperil the future of the Rulers of, say, Hyderabad and Kashmir, the majority of whose people belong to a community different from the ruling dynasty, or Baroda and Gwalior, where the ruling dynasty belongs to a race different from the bulk of the population.

The princely spokesman added, however, that they had no desire to be obstructive or aggressive; they wished merely to stick to the terms of the Cabinet Mission's Plan and to be fitted into the All-India Union picture within the framework of that Plan. Subject to this condition, they were behind none in the political progress of the country.

"PRINCES SHOULD HAVE DEFINITE POLICY"

Spirited Speeches At Conference

(Continued from page 1)

made at the meeting the Maharaja of Maihar asked the Chancellor whether due note had been taken of the claims made by a certain party in British India that the sovereignty was vested in the people and not in the Princes, and he wanted to know what steps were proposed to assert the point of view of the Princes on the subject.

The Chancellor replied that this point had been fully borne in mind in drafting the resolution and that at the appropriate occasion the Princes' point of view would be fully explained.

SPIRITED SPEECHES

Some spirited speeches were made at the meeting on the position of the Princes in general. The Maharaja of Dungarpur said that like other parties in the country, the Princes should have a definite policy of their own, which they should keep constantly in view in the coming critical months. His Highness declared that the time had arrived for the Princes to know their minds and not hesitate to let others know what they thought and how they felt about the many grave issues now confronting the country. It was no use the Princes mincing matters when other parties were frank and emphatic in expressing their views.

The Maharaja of Alwar asserted that the time had come for the Princes to present a united front in the face of common danger and that their motto should be firmness, unity and breadth of vision.

The Princes, he said, owed their existence not to anybody's charity or indulgence but because of the many virtues that Indian Princes had survived in vicissitudes of fortune, dangers and upheavals in the past, and with God's grace would do so in the future.

The Maharaja of Scindia of Gwalior and the Maharaja of Bikaner emphasised that the entire body of Princes was of one mind at the moment and they would face the future with courage and determination.

The Chancellor in his opening remarks reviewed the political situation since the last meeting of the Committee and explained that the draft resolution embodied the broad outlines of policy within the framework of which the Negotiating Committee set up by the Chamber of Princes was to conduct its discussions with the corresponding body appointed by the Constituent Assembly. His Highness commended the resolution to the committee.

The general conference of Rulers which followed the meeting of the Standing Committee was attended by some 60 leading Princes. The Chancellor, who presided, made a fresh review of the situation and placed the resolution for the approval of the Rulers present. The resolution was adopted by the Maharaja of Patiala, pro-Chancellor, the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior and the Maharaja of Bikaner and was supported by the Maharaja of Dungarpur and the Maharaja of Mandi. The last speaker, after congratulating the Chancellor on the work he had done for the States, said that India's independence must mean the independence of Indian States as well and not merely of this or that party in British India. The Princes, he added, were anxious to play the role of free and equal partners in the future politics of India.

The Maharaja of Gwalior said that all States, whether big or small, should now speak with one voice and have one common policy.

It is understood that the question of States which are outside the Chamber was raised, and the Chancellor indicated in reply that a majority of these States numbering about 400 out of the total of 560 would accept the principles laid down in the resolution.

The meeting passed the resolution with acclamation.

THE RESOLUTION

The following is the text of the resolution:

"This meeting reiterates the willingness of the States to render the fullest possible co-operation in framing an agreed constitution for, and in the setting up of, the proposed Union of India in accordance with the accepted plan; and declared:—

(A) that the following fundamental propositions *inter alia* form the basis for the States' acceptance of the Cabinet Mission's plan:—

(1) the entry of the States into the Union of India in accordance with the accepted plan shall be on no other basis than that of negotiation, and the final decision shall rest with each State. The proposed Union, shall com-

prise, so far as the States are concerned, the territories of only such States or groups of States as may decide to join the Union, it being understood that their participation in the constitutional discussions, in the meantime, will imply no commitments in regard to their ultimate decision which can only be taken after consideration of the complete picture of the constitution.

PARAMOUNTCY

(II) the States will retain all subjects and powers other than those ceded by them to the Union. Paramountcy will terminate at the close of the interim period and will not be transferred to or inherited by the new Government of India. All the rights surrendered by the States to the Paramount Power will return to the States. The proposed Union of India will, therefore, exercise only such functions in relation to the States in regard to Union Subjects as are assigned or delegated by them to the Union. Every State shall continue to retain its sovereignty and all rights and powers as have been expressly delegated to it. There can be no question of any powers being vested or inherent or implied in the Union in respect of the States unless specifically agreed to by them.

(iii) The constitution of each State, its territorial integrity, and the succession of its reigning dynasty in accordance with the custom, law and usage of the State, shall not be interfered with by the Union or any unit thereof, nor shall the existing boundaries of a State be altered except by its free consent and approval.

(iv) So far as the States are concerned, the Constituent Assembly is authorised only to settle the Union Constitution in accordance with the Cabinet Mission's plan, and is not authorised to deal with questions bearing on the internal administrations or constitutions of individual States or groups of States.

(v) His Majesty's Government have made it clear in Parliament that it is for the States to decide freely to come in or not as they choose. Moreover, according to the Cabinet Mission's memorandum of May 12, 1946, on States Treaties and Paramountcy, "political arrangements between the States on the one side and the British Crown and British India on the other will be brought to an end after the interim period. The void will have to be filled either by the States entering into a federal relationship with the successor Government... in British India, or failing this, entering into particular political arrangements with it."

"ONLY BODY"

(b) that, the States Negotiating Committee, elected by the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes and set up at the request of His Excellency the Viceroy in accordance with Paragraph 21 of the Cabinet Mission's statement of May 16, 1946, is the only authoritative body competent under the Cabinet Mission's plan to conduct preliminary negotiations on behalf of the States, on such questions relating to their position in the new Indian constitutional structure as the States might entrust to it.

(c) that while the distribution *inter se* of the States quota of seats on the Constituent Assembly is a matter for the States to consider and decide among themselves, the method of selection of the States' representatives is a matter for consultation between the States Negotiating Committee and the corresponding committee of the British India portion of the Constituent Assembly before final decision is taken by the States concerned.

This meeting (a) endorses the press statement issued on June 10, 1946, by the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes in consultation with the Committee of Ministers and the Constitutional Advisory Committee; in regard to the attitude of the States towards the Cabinet Mission's plan; and

(b) supports the official statement of the views communicated by the States Delegation to the Cabinet Mission on April 2, 1946, which *inter alia* associated the States with the general desire in the country for India's complete self-government or independence in accordance with the accepted plan.

This meeting resolves that in accordance with this resolution and the instructions and resolutions of the States' Constitutional Advisory Committee, as endorsed by the Standing Committee of Ministers and the Committee of Ministers, the States Negotiating Committee be authorised to confer with the corresponding committee of the British India portion of the Constituent Assembly, as contemplated and declared by His Majesty's Government in Parliament, in order to negotiate

(a) the terms of the States' participation in the Constituent Assembly when it reassembles under Paragraph 19 (6) of the Cabinet Mission's statement and

(b) in regard to their ultimate position in the All-India Union, provided that the results of these negotiations will be subject to the approval of the aforesaid States, Committee and ratification by the States.

Times of India 30-1-47

PRINCES' TERMS FOR JOINING UNION

Basis Outlined For Negotiations

'PARAMOUNTCY TO VEST IN STATES'

From Our Special Representative

NEW DELHI, January 29.

THE draft resolution discussed in my despatch yesterday was adopted today by the Standing Committee of the Princes Chamber and later endorsed by a conference of about 60 Rulers. Perfect unanimity prevailed among the Rulers as to the stand which it is laid down should be taken up by the States Negotiating Committee.

Besides authorising the Negotiating Committee to settle the terms of the States' participation in the Constituent Assembly and to determine their ultimate position in the All-India Union, subject to ratification by the States, the resolution offers co-operation in framing an agreed constitution according to the Cabinet Mission's plan.

It also lays down certain fundamental propositions which will serve as the basis for the States' acceptance of the Mission's scheme. The majority party in the Constituent Assembly does not see eye to eye with the Princes in many of the conditions stipulated in the resolution (see col. 2 on this page). But then the Princes, it is stated, have been "provoked" by some of the sentiments expressed in the Constituent Assembly.

The spokesman of a prominent Indian State, who seemed quite sincere in attaining an independent Indian Union, told me this evening. "They took up an extreme attitude and we followed suit", evidently meaning to suggest that the whole thing is a matter for adjustment and mutual accommodation.

He argued that the States and the Princely Order as at present existing, whether good, bad or indifferent, constituted an entity to be reckoned with and not to be brushed aside. Much could be done by negotiation and mutual understanding; no useful purpose could be achieved by seeking to dismiss the Princes as of no consequence.

The conditions laid down by the Princes may be briefly stated. Participation by the States in the constitutional discussions shall be solely on the basis of negotiation without committing them to any decision. The States will retain all subjects and powers other than those ceded by them to the Union. There can be no question of any powers being inherent in the Union except those agreed to by the Princes. When the Paramountcy of the Crown terminates, the rights surrendered by the States to the Crown will return to them, and Paramountcy will not be transferred to or be inherited by the new Government of India. The Union shall not interfere with the constitution of the States, their territorial integrity and their ruling dynasties.

INTERNAL RULE

The Constituent Assembly shall have no right to deal with questions relating to the internal administration of the States. The States shall be free to decide whether or not to join the proposed Union. The States Negotiating Committee is the only authoritative body competent to conduct preliminary negotiations on behalf of the States on questions relating to their position in the new structure. The distribution "inter se" of the States' quota of seats is a matter for the States to decide among themselves.

The discussions in the Standing Committee of the Chamber and in the Rulers Conference afforded proof of the solidarity of the Princes and their apprehensions regarding the future.

The Standing Committee which adjourned today after endorsing the resolution will meet again in Delhi on February 7 and will remain here for the period of the discussions between the two negotiating bodies so as to deal on the spot with any new aspects which may present themselves during these discussions and which are not specifically covered by the "Instrument of Instructions" issued today to the States Negotiating Committee.

One such point would probably relate to sovereignty, which was raised at today's meeting of the Standing Committee. According to an official summary of the speeches

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NEED FOR CHECK ON MAJORITY PARTY

Sir A. R. Mudaliar
On Paramountcy

(Continued from page 1)

subjects. For instance, he asked, are the States armies to be retained or not?

Equally important was, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar said, the subject of communication. He expressed apprehension that the spokesman of a certain party in British India might claim the right of direct taxation by the Union Centre. He quoted Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as saying that tariff and customs fell within the purview of foreign affairs. Sir Ramaswami stated that in the decision of such important matters the States must be consulted beforehand and not faced with a "fait accompli".

PRIMARY PURPOSE

Dealing with the States Negotiating Committee, Sir Ramaswami said that its primary purpose was to determine the place of the States in the future Union of India. He, however, regretted that this basis of the Negotiating Committee had been given the go by, because according to the terms of appointment of the Constituent Assembly's Negotiating Committee, it had been given only a limited scope. It seemed to him the Constituent Assembly assumed the power to determine the boundary of Indian States and to settle the form of Government in Indian States. In other words, the right of the States to exist was under examination or rather under investigation.

Those who had the welfare of Indian States at heart, he said, could not watch these developments with equanimity. He concluded with a strong plea for unity and solidarity among the Princely Order at a time when the very future of Indian States was at stake.

Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar said that he wanted to make it clear that the States were not in a militant mood and did not want to adopt a policy of

obstruction in approaching the constitutional problems of the country. "The States," he said, "are animated by a genuine desire to bring about the freedom of the country and in other respects to see India achieve her rightful place in the comity of nations. If Indian States have been compelled to bestir themselves, it is because a new situation has been created for them by resolutions, speeches, statements and activities of certain people who are not directly concerned with the administration of the States."

Replying to those who criticised the Princes for adhering too rigidly to the Cabinet Mission's plan, Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar said that the States had adopted this course because they wanted the future constitution of India to be framed as rapidly as possible. If deviations were made in the plan it was bound to lead to controversy and confusion and thereby hamper the swift and smooth progress of India in the constitutional field. He was of the opinion that the resolution passed by the Constituent Assembly was full of dangerous potentialities and was sure to delay the framing of the Indian constitution. It was to obviate such risks that the Chamber of Princes had thought it necessary to define clearly the States' point of view.

Dealing with that clause of the resolution on "objectives", which dealt with the point as to where sovereignty lay, Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar declared that there could be no compromise over the question of the monarchical form of Government in Indian States.

He said that some checks and breaks had to be provided for against the contingency of a majority party running amuck in the future governance of India. In his opinion the retention of monarchy in the States would exercise a restraining influence on those quarters which believed in deciding everything by brute majority.

Another serious implication of the resolution, he said, was interference with the territorial integrity of Indian States. He also complained that the powers and scope of the Union Centre were going to be defined without waiting for the results of the States Negotiating Committee's discussions. Finally, the theory of the inherent or implied powers of the Union, he declared, could not be blindly accepted but required very serious consideration and through discussion with all the major political elements in the country.

—A.P.I.

"CAMPAIGN AGAINST PRINCELY ORDER" REGRETTED

Bhopal Ruler On Nehru Resolution

"UNION CENTRE'S CLAIM FOR EXTRA POWERS"

NEW DELHI, January 30.

"WE are asked to quit or exist on sufferance only; it would be unworthy on our part to succumb to these threats," said the Nawab of Bhopal today, presiding over a conference of 60 Princes and 100 Ministers from various States.

Reiterating the determination of the Princes not in any way to hamper the political advancement of the country, the ruler of Bhopal added: "We have been the spearhead of progress in many a field. Are we to disappear simply because we fail to subscribe to certain dogmas?"

The Nawab of Bhopal quoted from speeches and statements made by certain Indian political leaders and said that they claimed far greater powers for the Union Centre than had been assigned to it under the State Paper.

He said that he had been assured by the highest authority that it was not intended to give ancillary powers to the Union.

Regretting the "organised campaign of misrepresentation and vilification against the Princely Order", His Highness stressed the determination of the Princes to co-operate in the achievement of the country's independence. He deplored that the approach of the Princes had failed to evoke response in certain quarters in British India.

"We have recently declared on a number of occasions," he said, "that we do not in any way want to hamper the political advancement of our common motherland".

His Highness enumerated certain fundamental principles on which the States could not compromise. He said that some of the clauses in Pandit Nehru's resolution passed by the Constituent Assembly were in conflict with the Cabinet Mission's plan, which had been accepted by the Princes.

"This makes it necessary," he said, "on our part to make up our minds once for all and define our future line of action".



Nawab of Bhopal.

He pleaded for the immediate implementation of his declaration on fundamental rights and privileges for States people made in January, 1946 at the annual session of the Chamber of Princes. If this was done the States would be able to cope successfully with the malicious campaign now going on against them.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan of Travancore, and Sir A. Ramaswamy Mudaliar, Dewan of Mysore, also addressed the conference, which was held chiefly to explain the reasons for yesterday's resolution defining the terms of reference to the States Negotiating Committee.

LIMITED CENTRE

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, who was requested by His Highness to address the conference, declared that whatever he had to say was based on his personal knowledge of events which preceded the announcement of the Cabinet Mission's Plan and also his contacts with the members of the Cabinet Mission and leaders of political parties in British India. He emphasised that the powers of the Union Centre as defined in the Cabinet Mission's Plan were strictly limited and confined to three subjects only namely Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications, with powers to raise the necessary finances for the working of these three departments. The States were intimately concerned with what was meant by "powers to raise the finances" and also the scope of the three

(Continued on Page 7)

Times of India
4-2-47

THE STATES AND THE UNION

More obstructive to constitutional progress than varying political ideologies is the danger of becoming bogged in the dialectic of constitutional lawyers arguing to their respective briefs. The minimum of mutual consent necessary to a comprehensive Indian Union can only be achieved by accommodation on a basis of common sense. Immediate steps must, therefore, be taken to rescue negotiation between Indian States, as represented by the Chamber of Princes, and British India, as represented by Congress leadership in the Constituent Assembly, from meaningless disputation. Both parties must have regard to hard facts and avoid profitless diversion into academic argument. For practical purposes Mr. Munshi's defence of the declaration of objectives is as unnecessary a complication as is the Princes' elaborate resolution prefacing their terms of reference to the States Negotiating Committee.

The Cabinet Mission's memorandum to the Princes, and paragraph 14 of the State Paper itself, declared that the establishment of an independent Union of British India, whether inside or outside the British Commonwealth, would mean an end to paramountcy by the British Crown and "that all the 'rights' surrendered by the 'States' to the Paramount Power will return to the 'States'." The minimum spheres of Union authority proposed by the Cabinet Mission, and implicitly accepted both by the British Indian parties and by the States as a basis of procedure, are Foreign Affairs, Defence, Communications and "the powers necessary to raise the finance required for the above subjects." This means that there must pertain to the Union the capacity and right to enforce its authority under these heads as constitutionally defined. By their patriotic acceptance in principle of the constitutional objectives for India as recorded in the State Paper, the States agreed in principle to a defined degree of over-all authority being exercised by an administration responsible to a legislature of which their representatives would form a part. Apparently the Princes and their advisers have interpreted the State Paper's remark that "it by no means follows that (the precise form of a State's 'co-operation with the Union') will be identical for all the 'States' as implying that the powers 'vested or inherent or implied in the Union' will only be operative to the extent specifically agreed by individual States. That is a replica of the varied propositions advanced by States, according to their individual predilections, during the discussions on accession to federation under the Government of India Act of 1935.

This attitude is manifestly unacceptable in the new and much more limited contest of the Union now proposed. Whatever the character of a unit, be it Province, Group or State, adhering to the Union, each and all must accept the minimum common denominator of Union Paramountcy as constituted by

tion without alienating the sympathy of both the British Government and British India. Admittedly, the States have the technical right, individually or collectively, to reject participation in the Union if an acceptable understanding with British India is not achieved. That is a sanction in their hands to induce fair play; but its strength in practice is directly relative to the inherent enlightenment and justice of their own approach to negotiation. Dispersed as the States are throughout the sub-continent, they cannot ignore the interplay of power—physical, political and economic—which must accrue to any Union in India and its impact on their individual positions. The Cabinet Mission confirmed the right of a State, if so minded, to come to an arrangement with such a Union other than participation, but any such understanding requiring mutual agreement would inevitably be governed in its character by the individual capacity of a particular unit to maintain an independent existence. It may be argued that united the States could stand alone; but how far the mutual cohesion of individual Rulers could withstand the varied stresses and strains to which their States might separately be subjected is, to say the least, a moot point—as the dissidence of a major State already shows.

It is certainly idle in this day and age for any princely dynasty to imagine that it can maintain a claim to exist on some dispensation other than the support of its subjects. This is not to suggest that British India has an immediate right to demand of Ruling Princes their credentials in the form of an expressed popular vote; but it does mean that association in the Union must imply evolution of representative institutions as the sanction on which the constituted government of those units will come directly to depend. Immediate dispute turns on the field of work for the respective Negotiating Committees. The majority in the preliminary session of the Constituent Assembly has interpreted the State Paper in this respect as referring solely to the distribution of the 93 seats suggested as the State element in the Union Assembly, and to the method by which these representatives should be selected. On their side the Princes, in a lengthy resolution covering a great deal of old ground, deny the authority of the Constituent Assembly to raise questions affecting the internal administrations or constitutions of States and claim that distribution of seats is a matter for the States to decide. Yet the method of selection of this limited number of seats representing a large number of States is obviously incapable of an agreed basis without reference to ideas on "distribution; nor is agreement conceivable without some general understanding on the internal constitutional future of States. In fact there seems to be on the British Indian side insufficient appreciation of the practical steps necessary to implement the State Paper's pointer to "the precise form which their (the States') co-operation will 'take' being a matter for negotiation 'during the building up' of the new constitutional structure."

Hindustan Times 7-2-47

STATES PEOPLE DEMAND REPRESENTATION

A.-I.S.P.C. Committee Disputes Princes' Right To Negotiate

The right of the Princes to select States' people's representatives in the Constituent Assembly is denied in a statement prepared by the States People's Negotiating Committee for presentation to the British Indian Negotiating Committee of the Constituent Assembly.

The People's Committee met yesterday and today in New Delhi under the presidentship of Dr Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Acting President of the States People's Conference, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was present.

The statement claims that only the people of the States have the power to represent the States. The Committee feels that there is no vagueness in the Cabinet Mission's statement on this point. The statement, among other things, also objects to the States people's representatives entering the Constituent Assembly at a later stage and not at the outset and denies the claim of the Princes that the terms on which the States can enter the Constituent Assembly and the Indian Union should be discussed beforehand.

The Committee feels that the terms for the entry of the States into the Union is for the Constituent Assembly to decide as between its two wings, namely, the States and the provinces.

Dr Pattabhi Sitaramayya told Pressmen on Thursday that the question how the 93 representatives of the States in the Constituent Assembly should be chosen was engaging the Committee's attention. "We feel," said Dr Pattabhi, "that all the 93 delegates should be elected by the States' people. In the Constituent Assembly the Princes, who will ultimately correspond to the Governors of provinces, can have no representation."

No Approach To Princes

Asked whether the Committee intended to approach the Chamber of Princes, Dr Pattabhi said: "We are not concerned with the Chamber of Princes. It is for them to say if they want to consult and contact us. We consider that the Princes have no place in the Constituent Assembly."

How the States people were to elect their representatives in the absence of properly constituted legislatures or electoral rolls was a matter for discussion.

Question Of Sovereignty

On the question of sovereignty, Dr Pattabhi said: "This is the smallest issue before the country. If there is apprehension that the Princes are going to be unseated, that apprehension may at once be allayed by the statement made by the States People's Conference that it stands for responsible Government in the States under the aegis of the Princes with the States as integral parts of a free and federated India."

"For the rest it is for the Princes to perpetuate themselves or not. Their destiny is in their own hands. If they want to have personal and absolute rule, they will not have a future. If they are constitutional rulers, they have a long and noteworthy future. After all, the nation has a weakness for the concept of kingship. But that kingship should no longer be of a personal benevolent type. It should be the constitutional headship of a democratic structure suited to modern conditions of civilization and progress. If the Princes fall in with this idea, they need not be nervous."

He urged the States which wanted to group themselves into a union to copy the Deccan Union, individual Princes to copy the Maharaja of Cochin and the smaller States to copy Aundh. "The rest," he said, "will be absorbed into British India."—A.P.I.

Statesman 9-2-47

BARODA NOT JOINING PRINCES COMMITTEE

Sir B. L. Mitter, Dewan of Baroda, who is now in Delhi, is carrying on separate discussions with the Negotiating Committee of the Constituent Assembly. Baroda has declined to join the Princes Negotiating Committee.

"It is true that I am not in the States Negotiating Committee," he said, "and that I am negotiating separately with the British Indian Negotiating Committee. My discussions with this Committee are going on and are expected to be concluded in a few days. The conclusion of my negotiations depends upon the convenience of the Constituent Assembly Negotiating Committee."

Asked why he chose not to join the Negotiating Committee of the Princes, he said that he had been invited, but the Maharaja had not consented to his serving on that Committee.

"I am afraid I cannot subscribe to the claim of the Chamber of Princes Negotiating Committee as the sole representative of the States," he said, adding: "The very fact that I am negotiating separately is an answer to that claim."

Baroda's attitude towards the present negotiations, he said, was to ensure full co-operation with the Constituent Assembly and just now the only question to be settled was the method of selecting Baroda's representatives to the Constituent Assembly. "I am not interested in any other question at the present moment," he said.

Baroda's Aim

Sir Bhojendra flatly denied Press reports that Baroda was trying to get certain States in Kathiawar under her suzerainty. "That is no true," he said. Baroda, he said, had no such designs; the sole intention was to join the Indian Union, and if any smaller States joined Baroda, the only effect would be that the Baroda unit would be a little larger. Baroda, by itself could constitute a unit, he said. He had no definite information of the number of States in Kathiawar that had agreed to join the Jamsaheb's confederation, except that two or three important Kathiawar States were not in it.

The Princes and the British Indian Negotiating Committees met on Saturday in the Council House. All the delegates of both sides were present.

It is understood that no definite conclusion was reached and the Committees adjourned till Sunday.

It is learned that both sides explained their respective viewpoints arising out of the resolutions already passed by the Constituent Assembly and Princes Chamber relating to the future constitution of India.—API

STATES' ENTRY INTO CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

ALLOCATION OF SEATS

Baroda Nominees To Be Elected
By Dhara Sabha

NEGOTIATING COMMITTEES TO MEET AGAIN

(By Our Special Representative)

NEW DELHI, Sunday.—An understanding was reached today between the States Committee of the Constituent Assembly and the Negotiating Committee appointed by the Princes. The two Committees will re-assemble on March 1.

Meanwhile their respective secretariats will draw up detailed proposals for allocation of the 93 seats allotted to the States and the method of selection of States' representatives.

A striking development was the announcement made after a meeting between the States Committee of the Constituent Assembly and Sir B. L. Mitter, Dewan of Baroda, this afternoon that Baroda will have three seats in the Constituent Assembly and that all of them would be elected by the State legislature on the principle of proportional representation, only the elected and nominated non-official members voting. This announcement is expected to force the pace of the discussion with the Negotiating Committee of the Princes and provide pattern for the method of selection of States' representatives.

"The States' Negotiating Committee set up by the Chamber of Princes and the corresponding Committee of the Constituent Assembly held joint meetings on Saturday and Sunday. In the course of the discussions, reference was made to the Cabinet Delegation's statement of May 16, the resolutions of the Constituent Assembly and the resolution passed by the conference of Rulers. The discussions were friendly and satisfactory. On the basis of a general understanding arrived at, it was decided to take up the question of the representation of the States in the Constituent Assembly.

"The secretariats of the Assembly and the Chamber of Princes were accordingly asked together to draw up detailed proposals for the allocation of the 93 seats allotted to the States and to place them for consideration before the next joint meeting of the two Committees which will consider the proposed allocation as well as the method of selection of the States' representatives.

"The next joint meeting will be held on March 1."

Three Seats For Baroda

The following communiqué was issued by the Secretary of the Constituent Assembly:

"The States' Committee of the Constituent Assembly met Sir B. L. Mitter, Dewan of Baroda, and it was agreed that on the population basis Baroda should have three representatives in the Constituent Assembly. It was further agreed that these representatives should be elected on the principle of proportional representation by means of the single transferable vote by the Dhara Sabha (State Legislature), only the elected and the nominated non-official members voting. The official nominated members will not vote."

It is gathered that when the two negotiating committees met in the Council House this morning the Nawab of Bhopal read out a speech. The States Committee of the Constituent Assembly would have immediately withdrawn after that speech had it not been for the Maharaja of Patiala's intervention. He put a question replying to which Pandit Nehru made it clear that he had no objection in answering any question seeking clarification, but neither the question nor the answer could form part of the proceedings since their

discussion must be confined to the two questions mentioned in the State Paper of May 16, namely, the method of selecting States' representatives and the distribution of the 93 seats among them.

This reply satisfied the majority of the representatives of the States who had decided the previous evening not to allow the Committee to be sabotaged. It is said that the Nawab of Bhopal, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer and Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar looked crestfallen. The Nawab of Bhopal attempted to take up a clause by clause the resolution passed by the Princes on January 29. Pandit Nehru gently pointed out that the resolution was not under consideration and that they must proceed with the real business. This was agreed to. The Princes thereupon suggested that the next meeting should be adjourned until March 1, in order that their respective secretariats could work out details of allocation of seats.

Allocation Of Seats

The Secretariat of the Constituent Assembly and of the Princes' Chamber have already worked out proposals for distribution of seats among the States and the groups of States. These proposals were examined at a meeting of the officials of the two secretariats this afternoon. The proposals of both the secretariats have largely tallied and they would be adjusted with some minor modifications.

Had the Princes not adjourned until March 1, it would have been possible to discuss straightaway the method of selection and the entire work of the two negotiating committees would have been over in two days. Unfortunately, the Negotiating Committee of the Princes was advised to get back to the parent body and take instructions regarding the method of selection of representatives. It appears that those who were guiding the Princes did not anticipate an agreement and, therefore, had not discussed with the larger body of Princes the question of the method of selection.

Considerable resentment was caused in Constituent Assembly quarters by inspired reports mentioning that Pandit Nehru had given assurances on the points raised in the Princes' resolution of January 29. This apparently is a face-saving device for those who have failed in their attempt to prevent a settlement between the two negotiating committees. What turned the tide against these elements was the opinion expressed at yesterday evening's meeting of the Princes' Constitution Advisory Committee at which several Princes including those of Bikaner and Patiala threatened to go the way of Baroda if the other Princes did not adopt a more conciliatory attitude. It was this rift that forced the Nawab of Bhopal and his supporters to reason.

The Secretaries of the Princes' Negotiating Committee and the corresponding committee of the Constituent Assembly and representatives of the All-India States People's Conference met informally this evening to discuss the allocation of the 93 seats allotted to the States in the Constituent Assembly.

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STATES' PART IN NEGOTIATIONS

Standing Committee's Approval

NEW DELHI, February 10: In order to consider the proceedings of the States Negotiating Committee, which met the British Indian Negotiating Committee yesterday and the day before, H. H. the Chancellor convened a joint meeting of the States Negotiating Committee and the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes.

In addition to the three members of the States Negotiating Committee, the Rulers of Bhopal, Patiala, the Jamsaheb and the Maharaja of Gwalior, Bikanir, Bundi and several other ruling Princes were present. Sir B. L. Mitter was also present and associated himself with the resolution on fundamentals passed by the Rulers and their representatives on January 29.

The following resolutions were discussed this morning after narration of the proceedings of the two Negotiating Committees on February 8 and 9 and passed unanimously:—

(1) "This joint meeting of the Standing Committee of Princes and the Constitutional Advisory Committee ratify the action taken by the States Negotiating Committee at the meeting held yesterday with the corresponding British Indian Committee on the basis of the general understanding arrived at as a result of the statements made and the replies given by the British Indian Committee in regard to the points raised by the States in their resolution of January 29, 1947.

(2) "This meeting declares that the statement made by the Chancellor at the meeting of the Negotiating Committees had the unanimous support of the Standing Committee of Princes and the Constitutional Advisory Committee and was the result of the unanimous opinion expressed at the meeting of these Committees where there were no differences of opinion or threats of defection.

(3) "This meeting records its appreciation of the tact and statesmanship displayed by the Chancellor and his colleagues in conducting these negotiations in accordance with the mandate and of the friendly and reasonable attitude shown by the Hon. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and his colleagues at the meeting of the two Negotiating Committees held on February 9."—A.P.I.

HAPPENINGS IN STATES

A-I. C. C. Circular

ALLAHABAD, February 9: Mr. Sadik Ali, Permanent Secretary of the A-I. C. C., has issued the following circular letter to all Praja Mandals in Indian States: "You are aware of the constant interest of the Congress in Indian States and their problems. For reasons known to you, the Congress decided through its Haripur resolution, in 1937, to leave to Praja Mandals all political activities and restrict Congress committees where they existed, to purely constructive work.

"While it is for the All-India States People's Conference to give you authoritative advice and guidance in all your political activities, it is our desire to keep ourselves fully informed about happenings in the States. We should, in particular, like to know about (1) your activities; (2) civil liberties in your State, (3) social movements; (4) the State administration; (5) schemes of political reform initiated by the State Government and popular reactions to them; (6) special problems affecting the peasantry and other classes of people, and (7) the minority problem, if any, in the State."—A. P. I.

BARODA'S ROLE IN DELHI TALKS

Dewan On How Boycott Move Was Scotched

GROUP THAT FOLLOWED SIR B. L. MITTER'S LEAD

BARODA, February 13.

THE fact that Baroda was the driving force in organising opposition to a group of States who talked of "compelling the Congress to accept the fundamental propositions of the Princes Chamber on pain of the States boycotting the Constituent Assembly, was revealed by Sir B. L. Mitter, Dewan of Baroda, at a press conference today.

"On my arrival in Delhi", he said, "I found there was talk of the States boycotting the Constituent Assembly. There was also a small but determined group which was ready to follow Baroda's lead in the event of the States Negotiating Committee taking up an obstructive attitude.

"I heartened this group and appealed to their patriotism at this fateful hour of India's destiny. I pointed out that the issue was freedom or continued slavery of India and not the rights and privileges of the rulers of States. They played their part nobly and you know the result."

The Dewan added that his difficulty was to break the spell which had held the Rulers under moral subjection. When they saw that Baroda had broken it they gained courage and frustrated the designs of the reactionaries.

Sir Brojendra also announced that he was standing as a candidate for the Constituent Assembly.

Another outstanding fact that emerged from the press conference was that Baroda was ready and willing to co-operate fully with the Constituent Assembly in framing a constitution for India.

Sir Brojendra said: "On January 29 the Chamber of Princes passed an important resolution decid-

ing that certain fundamental propositions set out in the resolution should form the basis for the States' acceptance of the Cabinet Mission's plan and the States' Negotiating Committee was to enter upon negotiations with the Constituent Assembly only on condition



Sir B. L. Mitter

that the fundamental propositions set out were accepted by the British Indian Negotiating Committee. On the publication of this resolution a controversy started in the press and platform as to the validity of the claim made by the States. I was not concerned with this controversy as I had no such instructions from our Maharaja.

METHOD OF ELECTION

Turning to the negotiations conducted by him on behalf of Baroda with the British Indian Negotiating Committee, Sir Brojendra said that after discussion Baroda agreed to all the three representatives of the States being selected by the method of election on the principle of proportional representation.

"Our discussions mainly turned on the representation of the minorities and the backward classes. Pandit Jawaharlal and Sardar Patel suggested that as our nominations to the Dhara Sabha were designed to secure the interests of these classes, election by elected and nominated non-officials of the Dhara Sabha on the principle of proportional representation would serve the same purpose and pressed me to accept election as the sole method of selection to the Constituent Assembly. Our common object was to secure repre-

(Continued on page 7).

THREE BARODA SEATS

Dewan A Candidate

(Continued from page 1)

sentation for all our people as far as possible.

"My negotiations with the British Indian Negotiating Committee were held in a friendly and trustful atmosphere. I freely gave my views on the fundamental propositions and I have reason to believe that our discussions were helpful to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in his encounter with the States Negotiating Committee the next day."

Sir Brojendra referred at this point to a letter he had received this morning from the leader of the Praja Mandal Party in the Dhara Sabha, Mr. Kanyalal Majumdar, who objected to nominated non-officials voting for the election of the three members. In Sir Brojendra's view this was a sort of "intolerance which divides people and causes unnecessary discord."

With regard to the smaller States attached to Baroda, Sir Brojendra said there had been intensive propaganda in Kathiawar and Gujarat to the effect that Baroda was "attempting to establish her suzerainty and would swallow up all the smaller States."

He brought up the matter of the attached States joining Baroda for entry into the Constituent Assembly before the Negotiating Committee, but was advised by Sardar Patel to leave them alone. He did not pursue it further.

Concluding, the Dewan said he proposed to have the election of the three representatives at an early date from the present Dhara Sabha. He announced that he himself was standing for the election and explained in this sequence that the Constituent Assembly had appointed two important committees, the Fundamental Rights Committee and the Powers Committee. Pandit Nehru was anxious that the States' seats which had been left vacant should be filled as soon as possible.

A.P.I.

MORE ABOUT EFFORTS OF PRINCELY SABOTEURS

BARODA, Feb. 14.—A review of his activities during his recent visit to Delhi culminating in three seats being given to Baroda in the Constituent Assembly and an outline of the method that was proposed to be adopted in selecting these three representatives from the Baroda Dhara Sabha were given by Sir Brojendralal Mitter, Dewan of Baroda, at a Press conference yesterday.

The outstanding facts that emerged from the Press conference were, firstly, Baroda was ready and willing to co-operate fully with the Constituent Assembly in framing a constitution for India and, secondly, Baroda was the driving force in organizing opposition to a group of States who talked of "compelling the Congress to accept the fundamental propositions on pain of the States boycotting the Constituent Assembly."

Referring to the resolution on fundamental propositions adopted by the Princes' Chamber and the lead given by him to a small but determined group of States arrayed in opposition to making it the basis for States participation in the Constituent Assembly, Sir B. L. Mitter said:

"On January 29, the Chamber of Princes had passed an important resolution declaring that certain fundamental propositions set out in the resolution should form the basis for the States' acceptance of the Cabinet Mission's plan and the States Negotiating Committee was to enter upon negotiations for entry into the Constituent Assembly only on condition that the fundamental propositions so set out were accepted by the British Indian Negotiating Committee. On the publication of this resolution a controversy started in the Press and platform as to the validity of the claim made by the States.

Congress View

"The Congress point of view was that the only function of the two Negotiating Committees was the method of representation of the States and the distribution of 93 seats; I was not concerned with this controversy, as I had no such instructions from our Maharaja.

"On my arrival in Delhi I found that in the Princely circles, there was much talk about compelling the Congress to accept the fundamental propositions on pain of the States boycotting the Constituent Assembly. There was also a small but determined group which was ready to follow Baroda's lead in the event of the States Negotiating Committee taking up an obstructive attitude.

"I heartened this group and appealed to their patriotism at this fateful hour of India's destiny. I pointed out to them that the issue was freedom or continued slavery of India, and not the rights and privileges of the Rulers of States. They played their part nobly and you know the result. My difficulty was to break the spell which held the Rulers under moral subjection. When they saw that Baroda had broken it, they gained courage and frustrated the designs of the reactionaries."

Turning to negotiations conducted by him on behalf of Baroda with the British Indian Negotiating Committee, Sir Brojendra said that after discussion Baroda agreed to all the three representatives of the States being selected by the method of election on the principle of proportional representation.

Minorities' Representation

"Our discussions mainly turned on representation of minorities and the backward classes. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Patel suggested that as our nominations to the Dhara Sabha were designed to secure the interests of these classes, election by elected and nominated non-officials of the Dhara Sabha on the principle of proportional representation would serve the same purpose and pressed me to accept election as the sole method of selection to the Constituent Assembly. Our common object was to secure representation for all our people as far as possible.

"My negotiations with the British Indian Negotiating Committee were held in a friendly and trustful atmosphere. I freely gave my views on the fundamental propositions and I have reason to believe that our discussions were helpful.

Sir Brojendra referred at this point to a letter he had received this morning from the Leader of the Praja Mandal party in the Dhara Sabha, Mr. Kanhyalal Majumdar, who has objected to nominated non-officials voting for the election of the three members. In Sir Brojendra's view this was a sort of "intolerance which divides people and causes unnecessary discord." He explained that if the nominated members were excluded, none belonging to the backward class would have a voice in the selection of representatives to the Constituent Assembly.

Enumerating his credentials for negotiating independently with the British India Negotiating Committee, Sir Brojendra said that when Pandit Nehru asked him whom he represented he answered: "I represent the Gaekwar, the Government of Baroda and the people of Baroda."

Maharaja's Instructions

The Maharaja, he said, had instructed him to co-operate fully with the Constituent Assembly framing a constitution for a free India. Besides, before he left Baroda for Delhi, a communication from the Secretary of the Baroda Praja Mandal and another from the Secretary of the Lok Sabha had expressed confidence in him.

With regard to the smaller States attached to Baroda, Sir Brojendra said there had been considerable propaganda in Kathiawar and Gujarat to the effect that Baroda was "attempting to establish her suzerainty and would swallow up all the smaller States." He brought up the matter of the attached States joining Baroda for entry into the Constituent Assembly before the Negotiating Committee but was advised by Sardar Patel to leave them alone. He did not pursue it further.

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State 15/2/47

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BARODA, Feb. 13.—The method proposed for the selection of Baroda's three representatives to the Constituent Assembly from the Dhara Sabha was outlined by Sir Brojendralal Mitter, the Dewan, at a Press conference here today.

Baroda, he said, was ready to co-operate fully in framing a constitution for India and was the driving force in organizing opposition to States which talked of "compelling the Congress to accept their fundamental proposition of the States boycotting the Constituent Assembly."

Referring to "a small but determined group of States," which was ready to follow Baroda's lead if the negotiating committee took up an obstructive attitude, he said: "I appealed to their patriotism at this fateful hour of India's destiny. I pointed out to them that the issue was freedom or continued slavery of India, and not the rights and privileges of the Rulers of States. They played their part nobly. When they saw that Baroda had broken away they gained courage and frustrated the designs of the reactionaries."

Election Method

Turning to the negotiations conducted by him on behalf of Baroda, he said that Baroda had agreed to the three representatives of the States being selected by the method of election on the principle of proportional representation.

"Our discussions were mainly on the representation of minorities and backward classes. Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel suggested that as our nominations to the Dhara Sabha were designed to secure the interests of these classes, election by elected and nominated non-officials of the Dhara Sabha on the principle of proportional representation would serve the same purpose and asked me to accept election as the sole method of selection to the Constituent Assembly. Our common object was to secure representation for all our people as far as possible."

He referred to a letter he had received from the leader of the Praja Mandal, who objected to nominated non-officials voting for the election of the three members. In his view this was a sort of "intolerance which divides people and causes unnecessary discord." He explained that if the nominated members were excluded the backward class would have no voice in the selection of representatives to the Constituent Assembly.

Concluding the Dewan said that he proposed to have the election of the three representatives at an early date from the present Dhara Sabha. He announced that he himself was standing for the election and explained in this sequence that the Constituent Assembly had appointed two important committees, the Fundamental Rights Committee and the Powers Committee. Pandit Nehru was anxious that the States' seats which had been left vacant should be filled as soon as possible.—APL

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Statesman 15/2/47

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Bansbury chronicle 17-2-47

Bhopal Clarifies States' Position

"No Suggestion From Any Quarter Of Any Threat Of Defection"

BHOPAL, Feb. 15 (A.P.I.): On his attention being drawn by the Associated Press of India to the conflicting reports which have been appearing in a section of the Press regarding the attitude of the States 'vis-a-vis' negotiations which recently took place in New Delhi, His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal, Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes has authorised the Associated Press of India to issue the following statement:

"Certain statements which have appeared in the Press make it necessary for me to clarify the position regarding the satisfactory conclusion of the first stage of negotiations between the Negotiating Committees of the States and Constituent Assembly. I have no desire to enter into any controversy or to criticise any body. I wish to confirm myself severely to the facts as I know them. The committees over which I have the honour to preside have, from time to time, during the course of the recent discussions unanimously passed resolutions dealing with the matters under examination. I have released all these for publication and feel I can safely leave it to the world to draw from these, its conclusions as to what the real truth is.

The credit, if there is any question of credit, must, on the side of the States, go to the entire personnel of the States' Negotiating Committee, to the Standing Committee of Princes, to the Constitutional Advisory Committee of the States and to all the Princes and Ministers who took part in our recent discussions.

"NO THREAT OF DEFECTION"

All the decisions taken by the States have been unanimous throughout and there has been no suggestion from any quarter of any threat of defection from the ranks of the States or of disagreement on any of the basic principles involved. It was the reasonable attitude of the States and the unanimous character of these decisions that enabled the States to put forward a case which they felt was essential in their interests. But the States cannot claim all or even the major part of the credit.

I owe it to the Negotiating Committee appointed by the Constituent Assembly to record my deep appreciation of the reasonableness of its chief spokesmen without whose satisfactory attitude towards the substance of the States' contentions, an understanding would certainly not have been possible, and the negotiations would have broken down."

SIR C.P.'S REPLY TO SIR B. L. MITTER

MADRAS, Feb. 16 (A.P.I.): Sir C.P. Ramaswami Iyer, Dewan of Travancore, has issued the following:

"Having been asked to express my views on some recent statements regarding the work of the Indian States Negotiating Committee and those attributed to Sir B. L. Mitter during a press conference in Baroda, I find that my task has been lightened by the official statement issued by the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes this morning.

The only useful additions that I

can make to that statement are:—

(A) Having attended all the meetings of the States Negotiating Committee and the Constitutional Advisory Committee of both of which I am a member, I can assert that the decisions taken in those committees were passed without any dissent, whatever may have taken place behind the scenes or during informal discussions outside these bodies of which I am not personally aware.

(B) There was vague speculation in Delhi to an alliance between States led by the Chancellor and the Muslim League to oppose the Congress. I knew of no such alliance.

STORY OF SPELL

I cannot comment upon the alleged lead taken by Baroda and its reported success in breaking a spell which is stated to have held some of all the rulers in moral subjection, as I had not experienced any such spell and was unaware of the methods by which it had been broken. All that I know is that Sir B. L. Mitter was present during the last joint meeting of the Rulers and Ministers numbering more than 30 persons on February 10 at which he stated that he had informed Congress leaders that most of the Fundamental Propositions advertised to in the Princes' resolution were clear and really outside the scope of any discussion and, therefore, it was really needless to emphasise them. His attitude was welcomed by the Chancellor and the Jam Sahab of Nawanagar and he cordially responded and replied that if his ruler permitted, he would take part on March 1 in the meeting of the States Negotiating Committee with the Committee appointed by the Constituent Assembly.

Not knowing all that is asserted to have transpired behind the scene, I was naturally surprised to be told that Baroda had to confront many difficulties and had to fight against the rights and privileges claimed by the Rulers. I was not cognisant of any such fight. The claims made by the States were only those that have been conceded by the Cabinet Mission in their statement and taken for granted, after full discussion, during the talks with the representatives of the Constituent Assembly.

A verbatim report of the proceedings of the two Negotiating Committees was made available to the Chancellor by the courtesy of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and it was communicated to the meeting at which Sir B. L. Mitter was present; and if it can be published it would disclose, as the Ruler of Bhopal has stated, that the reasonable attitude of the Congress leaders in dealing with the propositions advanced seriatim on behalf of the states led to the satisfactory conclusion of the talks."

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NIZAM'S SOVEREIGN POWERS NOT AFFECTED

Charges Against Regime Refuted

From Our Own Correspondent

HYDERABAD (Dn.). February 19: Various criticisms levelled by the Ittihad-ul-Muslimeen and other parties in the State against the present administration are answered by Government in a statement.

The statement points out that the suggestion that the Nizam's Government have decided to join the proposed Indian Unions is incorrect and explains that negotiations conducted by the Negotiating Committee of which the Prime Minister Sir Mirza Ismail was a member were on the basis of the recent resolution passed by various important bodies representing Indian States and that the resolution made it clear that participation in the negotiations or even in the Constituent Assembly would not be deemed to commit the States or any individual State to adherence to the Union as that was a matter to be decided only after the full picture of the proposed Union had emerged.

The charge that the scheme of constitutional reforms in the State has been altered in such a manner as to affect the Nizam's sovereign powers is equally baseless. Similarly, it is pointed out, nothing has been done to affect adversely the interests of any particular community in the matter of services. It is absurd to imagine that Government servants loyal to the State and its ruler are being removed one by one and Government warn the public to beware of accepting versions such as these influenced by interested persons whose insubordination and indiscipline have led Government to take strict action against them.

JAGIR COMMISSION

As regards criticism of the Jagir Commission, the statement points out that the idea of such a commission was mooted before the advent of the present regime and it was throughout held that it would be in the interests both of Jagirdars and the State as a whole that the chairman should be a person of wide administrative experience and free from bias against or in favour of any class in the State. The statement adds that with the need of progressive administration in the State as a whole the question of Jagirdars' powers should be tackled as soon as possible, particularly as the people in Jagirs are as much the subjects of the Nizam as or the people in other areas of the State.

No change has been made in Government's policy towards Urdu. The relaxation in regard to the use of vernaculars other than Urdu as media of instruction in private schools up to the Secondary stage was decided upon by the previous regime and the present Government agreed with the recommendations of their predecessor.

As to the furore made over the suspension of the grant to the Anjuman Tattaq-ul-Urdu, Government say that communal capital is being made of this issue which is simple enough to understand. No Government, it is explained, can willingly continue a large recurring grant without satisfying themselves periodically as to the proper functioning of the organisation concerned.

Resolutions demanding the scrapping of the Hyderabad Reforms, reconsideration of the constitutional question afresh and authorising Dr. Ambedkar and Mr. J. H. Subbiah to approach the Government in a final attempt to obtain justice for the Scheduled Castes were passed at a meeting in Secunderabad held under the auspices of the Scheduled Castes Federation in observance of "Anti-Reforms Day".

Mr. Subbiah, presiding over the meeting, said that the constitution "as not based on democratic principles. The Scheduled Castes were anxious to settle the issue amicably, but if a conflict was forced on them they would be prepared for any sacrifice."

MUSLIMS CRITICISE REFORMS

More Safeguards Plea

Although the inaugural session yesterday, of the first Hyderabad Legislative Assembly lasted only about two and a half hours, a large number of members made their maiden speeches. The proceedings were conducted throughout in Urdu, except in the case of two members, who were permitted to speak in English owing to their inability to speak Urdu.

Syed Kasim Razvi, President of Majlis-I-Ittehad-ul-Muslimin, which represents the largest party in the Assembly, of which he is the Leader, in his speech, strongly criticised the speech made earlier by Sir Mirza Ismail, the Prime Minister. Explaining the policy of his party, he said that they would offer their hand of co-operation to the Government in implementing the new reforms only if adequate safeguards were accorded to the Muslims under them.

He alleged that the Government had gone back on their assurances to give adequate safeguards to Muslims in their anxiety to please the majority community.

Mr. B. Venkatrao, Leader of the Depressed Classes, warned the Government against overlooking the rights of his party and characterised all talks of democracy as "political humbug".

Mr. Lakshman Reddy, Leader of the Praja Party, wanted that his party should have a greater voice in the administration than was possible at present, and the Executive should be made responsible to the Assembly.

Two women members spoke, urging the necessity for greater representation for women in all spheres and activities and hoped that their rights and interests would receive greater attention by the Government.

Mr. Joshi, who was the last speaker, spoke in English and made an impassioned appeal to Muslims to recognise Hindus as their brothers who had no intention of depriving them of their rights.

Before the House rose, a resolution was adopted expressing gratitude to

the Nizam for his message on the occasion of the inauguration of the Assembly.—A.P.I.

"Get Together To Prevent Fragmentation Of India"

SIR C. P. R. AIYAR ON DUTY LAID UPON STATES

TRIVANDRUM, February 23.

A DETAILED survey of the general political situation in the country, following the latest announcement of the British Premier, the position of States in relation to the new set-up in India and the constitutional reforms proposed for Travancore was made by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan of Travancore, at a press conference here today.

The Dewan deprecated the suggestion that he was attempting to buttress his personal power or influence. On the contrary he had been asked by His Highness to stay on till the present situation had eased itself and when that mandate had been discharged he would renew his request to permit him to retire.

The Dewan characterised the British Premier's latest statement as a tremendous announcement, the result of which was that India had been thrown back upon her haunches and she would have to revise all her theories and find out how best she could tackle the problems of defence and avoidance of civil strife.

The announcement, however, left matters exactly as they were but it had definitely stated that the present Constituent Assembly was not an Assembly which the Cabinet Mission had contemplated and not one that could function as the Mission intended. If a constitution approved by all parties in India was not worked out, India might be confronted with the possibility of Section A, B and C and Sind, Bengal and other Central Governments, each with its own foreign policy, communications and defence.

This showed how important it was for all Indian parties to come together at least now and avoid what he described as fragmentation of India.

PARAMOUNTCY

As regards paramountcy, in June 1948 there would unfortunately be about 600 odd independent entities in India, which was an impossible position. The duty had been laid on Indian States to bestir themselves and reorganise their internal and external relations in such a way that there might be 10 or 12 entities to negotiate with British India, the predominant partner.

The existence of Indian States in

future would depend on how they put their houses in order, grouped themselves in such a way that each group was more or less self-sufficient from the economic and political standpoints and entered into mutual relationship with the Central Government, if there was to be one Central Government or many such Governments, if there were to be more than one Central Government.

The Dewan stressed that no Indian State could afford to take sides in the Hindu-Muslim controversies of British India.

The Congress, the Dewan felt, had made a serious mistake in not insisting on an extensive and powerful Central Government.

He, for one, would not be sorry if the present scheme was replaced by a new Central Government of India with powers of supervision, control and co-ordination over the great All-India nation-building activities of the future.

Discussing the present reform proposals for Travancore, the Dewan sought to answer various criticisms levelled against it in the press and platform. He said that the more he surveyed the happenings of the day the more was

he convinced

that in the conditions of India at present a removable Executive was impossible and an injurious proposition, when what was wanted for building up the economic future of the country and building up of a new social fabric was a

continuous one Sir C. P. R. Aiyar of pointed activity and study.

He referred in this connection to the happenings in the neighbouring province to indicate that the Executive must not be at the mercy of the whims and temporary impulses of the legislature. He was at the same time equally in favour of the Executive carrying out the policies formulated by the legislature, properly constituted and if the Executive suffered from legislature the former must follow the legislature and the popular will must prevail. The Travancore reforms, he stressed, had been framed on that basis.



Times of India

24/2/47

Need For States To Stand Together

BHOPAL'S CALL TO RULERS

BHOPAL, February 21: "The statement of policy in regard to India issued last night by His Majesty's Government will serve a useful purpose. No longer now can it be said that the British desire to maintain their hold on India through adherence to the principle of 'Divide and Rule'", says H. H. the Nawab of Bhopal, Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, in a statement to the press.

His Highness adds, "I hope that it may also help to bring home to the people in India the stark realities of the situation which faces them, and the fact that no time can now be lost in coming together and working out an acceptable solution, if serious trouble, which threatens to paralyse the urgently needed development and reconstruction of the country, is to be avoided."

BUILDING NEW INDIA

"The States now have their chance of playing a vital part in helping to construct a new India, strong, happy and contented, holding out for her people the pattern of a fuller and more prosperous life and helping to maintain and inspire the peace and progress of the world. They have so often in the past led the march of Indian progress in the spheres of education, industry and social service. They can once more play a leading part today in helping to maintain peace, harmony and tranquillity in the country, and through their traditional stabilising influence, furthering its true progress without the painful travail of violent strife or destructive revolution."

"It appears to me that the policy of the States, unanimously endorsed by the Princes, of strict adherence to the Cabinet Mission's plan, as offering the only possibility of securing the largest measure of agreement between the various parties and interests in the country, must now continue to be pursued by us steadfastly and tenaciously."

"At this time, more than at any time previously, is there need for the States to stand together solid and united to make our full contribution towards the realisation of our desire for building up peacefully a generally acceptable polity for the advancement of the country which would enable her to play her rightful part in advancing the progress and civilisation of the world. If the States stand together, and while moving with the times in regard to internal reforms in their administration, they contribute that element of stability combined with progressive outlook in the constructive work that lies ahead, they will have deserved well of the country. Once more I am glad to say that a pronouncement has been formally made that Paramountcy will disappear when Great Britain withdraws itself from the Indian administrative scene, and that the States will resume their independence."—A.P.I.

ELECT SHEIKH ABDULLAH AS THE PRESIDENT

Nehru's Advice To States' People : Kashmir Repression Condemned

NEW DELHI, March 10.

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU in a statement to the Press withdraws his name for the presidentship of the All India States' Peoples' Conference, as it is not possible for him to shoulder this heavy burden in the near future.

He recommends that the right choice for the presidentship is Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah. He also suggests the election of Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya as working president, since it is not certain whether Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah will be free to take part in the activities of the forthcoming All-India States' Peoples' Conference. He hopes that Dr. Pattabhi who is a busy man and has many other activities to attend to, will agree to shoulder anew this responsibility.

"The question has now arisen", Pandit Nehru says, "as to who should be elected President of the Conference for the coming year. Several names have been proposed, men of ability, experience and long service in the cause of freedom and the states. Among them, my name also appears. I must withdraw my

near future, but that does not mean any slackening in interest on my part in the cause of the States' people. If my colleagues so desire, I shall continue to serve on the Standing Committee.

"I understand that nearly all others, whose names have been proposed for the presidentship, have also withdrawn their names. It may be that only one name is left at the time of election.

SHEIKH ABDULLAH, THE RIGHT CHOICE

"In any event, I should like to say that at this juncture, more so than even before, the right choice for us for the presidentship of the States' Peoples' Conference is Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah. That would have been natural in many event, as he became Vice-President last year. But since then many things have happened in the Indian States. The most notable of these has been the movement in Kashmir and the fierce repression which it has encountered from the State authorities.

AMAZING LACK OF WISDOM

"For ten months now this conflict has continued and Sheikh Abdullah has become the symbol of freedom not only for the people of Kashmir, but also for the people of other States. It does little credit to the Kashmir State authorities that they should have behaved in this manner during these last ten months. I show an amazing lack of wisdom and a want of appreciation of what is happening all over India. Even as I write a large number of the leaders of Kashmir national movement who are in prison, are on hunger strike for lack of proper facilities. This hunger strike has lasted many days now and the condition of some of these prisoners is bad.

"I have no doubt in my mind that it is proper and fitting for the conference and its regional councils to elect Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah as the President for the next session and the coming year. Whether he will be available for the session or not, I cannot say. In any event, this honour and responsibility should be cast upon him.

"As Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah is not free to take part in our activities, it is essential that someone should be definitely chosen to function as Working President. The obvious choice for this is Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya who has been carrying on this work with energy and enthusiasm during these many months. He is representing the States people on the Negotiating Committee appointed by the Constituent Assembly. He is also on the Sub-Committee, which is carrying on the Negotiating Committee's work. This work should be especially assigned to him on behalf of the States' Peoples' Conference. Also the building fund is his special preserve, though it is upto all of us to help him in this task. Apart from these two specific activities, he should be requested to function as the Working President of the entire organisation, help it with his constant advice and guidance and in other ways. He is a busy man and has many other activities to attend to. But I hope that he will agree to our request to shoulder anew this responsibility.

"I would suggest that when the regional councils make their final election of President, they should also elect Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya as the Working President. This should not be left over till the time of the conference itself.

EVE OF GREAT CHANGES

"We are on the eve of great changes in India and no one can doubt that the Indian States are also on the verge of great happenings. At no time previously was the functioning of the All-India States' Peoples' Conference so important as it is going to be in the near future. All of us, therefore, who are connected with this great organisation which is working for the freedom and betterment of 90 million people in India, must pull together and work hard to achieve the objectives we have in view. I trust that the Gwalior Conference will give a brave lead which we can all carry to the far corners of India. The grave issues before us require all our joint courage, endurance and wisdom."—AP.

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NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

18-3-47

"Participation of States Muslims In Constituent Assembly Rests On All-India League Decision"

By A Correspondent

NAGPUR, Sunday.

MR. M.H. SIDDIQUI, Secretary, All-India States Muslim League, has issued the following statement to the Press, elucidating his views on the question of participation of the Muslim representatives from the Indian States in the Constituent Assembly.

"The question of participation of Muslim representatives from Indian States in the Constituent Assembly has again been brought to limelight and has created quite a sensation in Muslim political circles in Indian States, after the declaration of certain individual States agreeing to send their representatives in the Constituent Assembly.

COUNCIL'S DECISION

"The Council of the All-India States Muslim League in its recent session held in Delhi on the 15th and 16th February 47, has already laid out the policy of the All-India States Muslim League towards that issue and has declared that the entry of the All-India Muslim League in the Constituent Assembly and a satisfactory settlement between the two major political parties in India—would always remain the necessary condition of the States' Muslim League to join the Constituent Assembly.

"The Council has further demanded that the Muslim representation in the Constituent Assembly seats allotted to the Indian States should be determined in consultation with the All-

India States Muslim League and that—such representation should be proportionate to the total strength of the Muslim population in the States. These demands having been persistently ignored have created a wide sense of dissatisfaction and apprehension in the Muslims of Indian States.

"The Muslims of the Indian States are now fully prepared and sufficiently organised for any struggle that they are forced to start for the protection of their legitimate rights and interests and they are anxiously waiting for the final outcome of the negotiations going on between the Negotiating Committees appointed by the Chamber of Princes and the Constituent Assembly.

"It is the proper time to warn the Muslims of the Indian States to keep alert watch on the present political development and fully prepare and organise themselves for the grim struggle that is ahead of them. I further appeal to them to stand solidly behind their sole representative organisation—the All-India States Muslim League and give an impressive demonstration of their complete political unity and solidarity."

Bombay Chronicle
18-3-47

Sir C. P. On Travancore's
Independence After
June, 1948

TRIVANDRUM, March 16 (A.P.I.):
Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer, Dewan
of Travancore, said today that Tra-
vancore State was an independent
kingdom in 1793 and at the end of
June, 1948, Travancore will revert to
her status of 1793.

He said that the policy of the Tra-
vancore Government will be to pre-
pare itself to take up the status and
position of an independent kingdom
from July 1, 1948.

Travancore was never conquered or
overrun by the British. Although the
rulers of Travancore conceded cer-
tain powers of advice in the final
Treaty of Friendship in 1805, there
was no question of conquest or as-
sumption of suzerainty.

The Congress Working Committee
resolution made it clear that the con-
stitution framed by the Constituent
Assembly would apply only to areas
which accept it.

If that is the state of a Province
and the Congress Working Commit-
tee are dealing with Provinces, then
the case with regard to States is
'a fortiori' and is unassailable, espe-
cially with reference to a State which
had never been conquered, the Dewan
added.

The Dewan said that in the whole
of the further constitutional discus-
sions, it should be remembered that
they are dealing as an Independent
State which can remain independent
if the people and the sovereign work-
ed together and gave no room for out-
side interference. If by going into the
Constituent Assembly they could ne-
gotiate best, they would choose that
line. If it is better to stand outside,
and negotiate with the future Govern-
ment as an independent entity they
would do it that way.

UNDIVIDED INDIA WITH A STRONG CENTRE

Baroda Dewan On Work In Constituent Assembly

BARODA, March 26.

Sir Brojendralal Mitter, Dewan of Baroda, whose nomination was supported by all sections of the Dhara Sabha, was today unanimously elected to the Constituent Assembly along with the two other candidates, Darbar Gopal Das and Mr. Kanaiyalal Maumdar. Of the six candidates who filed their nominations, three had withdrawn in favour of the Dewan.

Sir Brojendra addressing the Baroda Legislative Assembly immediately after the elections said he would "pull for an undivided India with a strong Centre."

The Dewan added, "I believe that this only can India play her full part in the community of nations. A progressive and prosperous India will mean a progressive and prosperous Baroda."

NOT INDEPENDENT STATE

"We have to consider what contribution we can make to the framing of a constitution for the Indian Union. The Constituent Assembly is not concerned with our State constitution. I shall, therefore, say nothing about our own constitutional changes. Baroda has decided to join the Union. It is not going to set up an independent State."

Discussing Baroda's status vis-à-vis the Indian Union, he said that with the exception of foreign affairs, defence and communications, Baroda would be sovereign over all the other subjects. The units might agree to surrender to the Union Centre any out of the residuary subjects and he could well imagine the willing surrender of several subjects such as currency and coinage and weights and measures.

Sir Brojendralal said that in regard to the three specified subjects, foreign affairs, communications and defence, innumerable intricate questions would arise and Baroda's representatives would have to make up their minds on them.

IMPLIED POWERS

"Consider what the connotation of the three specified subjects is," Sir Brojendra said. "Here we have to invoke the doctrine of the implied or incidental powers. Does the phrase 'foreign affairs' mean mere diplomatic service and relations with foreign Governments? Commercial treaties with foreign countries may come under that category. But what about private contracts with foreign nations—will the Union Centre deal with them or the unit of the contracting party?"

SIR. C. P.'S CRUSADE FOR A STRONG CENTRE

SEVERANCE FROM PRINCES CHAMBER & COMMITTEES

Travancore To Seek Separate Agreement With Union

(FREE PRESS OF INDIA)

NEW DELHI, March 26.

SIR C. P. RAMASWAMY AIYAR, Dewan of Travancore, declared in an interview here today (Wednesday) that he had decided to dissociate himself from the activities of the Chamber of Princes headed by the Nawab of Bhopal, and that as the first step in that direction he would abstain from the deliberations of the Ministers and the special committees of the Chamber which are to commence on March 29 in Bombay.

The Travancore Dewan will see the Viceroy today and place before him Travancore's case for independence after transfer of power to Indian hands in June 1948.

He will leave for Bombay on Thursday en route for Trivandrum.

Explaining his reasons for deciding to dissociate completely from the Princes' Chamber, Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar said that this decision was in keeping with his political convictions regarding the need for establishing a strong Central Government in India after the British

quit the country.

"India should be one united country," he emphasised, "and I strongly disapprove of the limited Centre which the Congress and the Muslim League have accepted. I have kept that view for over fifteen years, and from the time of the first Round Table Conference in 1930 I have said so openly. What has happened during the war has reinforced my opinion."

With a weak Central Government, Sir Ramaswamy added, India will not be able to attain the status of a strong international unit.

GRAVE HARM

The Travancore Dewan then explained how a weak Centre would result in grave harm to the country. Food production, control and distribution would be a purely provincial subject under the Cabinet Mission's Plan, he said, and the Centre would have nothing to do with it. Anyone with sufficient experience of the war would know that without a very strong Central power and jurisdiction the problem of food can never be solved satisfactorily.

Again, under the Cabinet Mission's Plan, he continued, public health would be taken away from the central subjects, although, as the Union Committee had pointed out, unless there was consideration of this question on an all-India basis, national health was bound to deteriorate. Similarly, road programmes, leaving aside their defence and strategic value, and even from the purely business point of view, as well as the inland waterways problem, were essentially matters for Central control, he affirmed.

"I should like to go further and say that higher education, organisation of research and development of mineral and industrial resources, as well as the location of industries, should all be matters coming under strong Central direction," he added.

In his opinion, serious provincial divergences and jealousies would soon develop as direct consequences and a natural corollary of such a system.

In these circumstances, he said, he had come to feel that since an understanding between the Congress and the League implied only a weak Centre as the utmost limit in the framing of the future Indian Constitution, he found no other alternative than to demand that Travancore, which was "a fairly self-sufficient State," should be allowed to evolve a policy of her own in order to ensure "strong Central direction at least within the State to take care of the broad schemes of national importance."

CONFEDERATION IN SOUTH

Sir Ramaswamy however, made it clear that he would gladly surrender his claim for Travancore's independence as soon as a strong Central Government was set up in India. "I shall be prepared even to join a confederation of Madras, Presidency Mysore and Cochin if a move is set afoot for taking such a step in case India has to carry on with a very weak Centre for appeasing the Muslim League."

"At such time as a strong Centre is established, my case is that Travancore should not be dragged into any scheme of things to which she is not a willing party," the Travancore Dewan asserted.

Regarding the question of future defence of India in general, and of his State in particular, Sir Ramaswamy said that Travancore would be willing to contribute to the overall defence expenses of India the State's due share on the basis of its population in relation to the rest of India.

Travancore, he also stated with emphasis, would be ready to come to common agreement with her neighbours in India and would not hesitate to reach agreements even with foreign countries if necessary in the interests of the State's security.

Asked whether he would consider union with Cochin as a first step in strengthening Travancore's defence position, he said, "On our part we shall be only too willing to co-operate with Cochin if an approach is made from that side, for, as the dictum goes, the more the allies and the closer they are to you, the greater the security you can enjoy."

PRINCES RESOLVE CONSTITUENT BODY

Choice Left To States On Stage Of Entry

CO-OPERATION OFFER REAFFIRMED

THE threatened split in the ranks of India's Princely Order over what constitutes the appropriate moment for the States' representatives to enter the Constituent Assembly was averted by a last-minute compromise reached after midnight parleys to resolve group differences on the eve of a general conference of rulers in Bombay on Wednesday.

The compromise formula, prepared by His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior, permits freedom to the member States of the Chamber to enter the Assembly at any stage they may deem fit after the Assembly ratifies the agreement between the Negotiating Committees of the Chamber and of the Assembly.

A resolution embodying the formula was unanimously adopted first at the general conference of rulers and subsequently at a joint conference of rulers and States' Ministers.

His Highness the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, the Nawab of Bhopal, told "The Times of India" after the meeting that "the Conference has ended happily and there is now no rift." He added that conferences were solely intended to reconcile divergent viewpoints; that had been accomplished at the meeting.

The general conference of rulers and their representatives in Bombay and the meetings of committees of the Chamber of Princes which preceded it were convened to enable the Chancellor to obtain a fresh mandate to deal with the new situation created by H.M.G.'s statement of February 20, and to consider the understanding reached between the States' Negotiating Committee and the Negotiating Committee of the Constituent Assembly in regard to the States' participation in the work of constitution-making and their position in the proposed Indian Union.

NEW SITUATION

The Conference was confronted with a new situation in that the States of Udaipur, Gwalior, Patiala, Bikaner, Jodhpur and Jaipur had plumped for immediate participation in the Constituent Assembly, whereas other member States of the Chamber were for following the Cabinet Mission plan and joining the Assembly at the time of framing a Union constitution.

A crisis arose when His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner left the meeting of the Standing Committee of the Chamber on Tuesday as a protest against the attitude of the majority of the States on the issue. His walk-out indicating that Bikaner and the other five States were likely to chalk out an independent line of action, was the culmination of differences over a strict adherence to the Cabinet Mission's plan, first evidenced at a meeting of the drafting committee during the week-end.

To preserve the solidarity of the Princely front, talks were initiated late on Tuesday night to narrow the conflicting points of view. His Highness the Chancellor, the rulers of Gwalior, Nawanagar, Dungarpur, Dholpur and Mr. M. A. Sreenivasan, Vice-Presidents of the Gwalior Executive Council, conferred late into the night to arrive at the basis of a settlement agreeable to both parties. A draft resolution prepared for submission to the general conference on Wednesday was analysed, sentence by sentence.

TWO VIEWPOINTS

The viewpoint of the majority of rulers advanced at the talks was that the Princes as a body should adhere faithfully to the Cabinet Mission plan and only enter the Constituent Assembly in the final stage of constitution-making. Secondly, that the Constituent Assembly as at present constituted was not fully representative.

Arguments advanced to meet these views were that the Princes should realise the "compulsion of events," and that the Chamber having already negotiated with the Constituent Assembly's Negotiating Committee had to that extent recognised the legality of the Constituent Assembly. It was further argued that if the Chamber thought that the Constituent Assembly was illegal it should not have committed itself to negotiating with a

committee of the Assembly. To rest at the present moment from the position they had already taken up would lay the Princes open to the charge that they wished to back out at the first opportunity from their earlier progressive and forward stand.

In the light of these discussions the draft resolution underwent changes and a formula was evolved which was circulated for approval among the leading members of the Chamber. The formula, it is understood, was approved by all of them and also by Sardar K. M. Panikkar, Prime Minister of Bikaner. A fresh resolution was drafted and submitted to the conference of rulers who unanimously adopted it.

FULL CO-OPERATION REAFFIRMED

Further Negotiations

The following is the text of the resolution:

"This Conference reiterates the support of the States to the freedom of the country and their willingness to render the fullest possible co-operation in framing an agreed constitution and towards facilitating the transfer of power on an agreed basis.

"It reaffirms the resolution adopted by the General Conference of rulers and representatives of States on the 29th January, 1947.

"It ratifies the general understanding reached between the States' Negotiating Committee and the corresponding Committee set up by the Constituent Assembly, in regard to the allocation of the States' quota of seats in and the method of selection of the States' representatives to the Constituent Assembly and on the fundamental points discussed at their meetings held on the 8th and 9th February and 1st and 2nd March, 1947, subject to the acceptance of the aforesaid understanding by the Constituent Assembly provided that this acceptance must precede the participation of the representatives of such States as may decide to do so in the work of the Constituent Assembly at the appropriate stage.

"This Conference is glad to note that Mr. Attlee's statement of 20th February, 1947, further confirms the declaration made by the Cabinet Mission that Parliament will cease at the close of the interim period. This means that all the rights surrendered by the States to the Paramount Power will revert to them and they will be in a position as independent units to negotiate freely in regard to their future relationship with others concerned.

"This Conference reaffirms its previous recommendations in regard to internal reforms and emphasises the urgency and importance of suitable action being taken without delay, where needed, with due regard to local conditions.

EARLY SETTLEMENT

"In view of the element of urgency introduced by Mr. Attlee's statement of 20th February, 1947, this Conference authorises the Chancellor and the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes to conduct further negotiations, through the States' Negotiating Committee or such other sub-committees as the Standing Committee may appoint, in regard to questions affecting the States in general:—

"(a) with the Crown Representative in regard to matters relating to the lapse of Paramountcy and those arising out of the proposed transfer of power so far as they affect the States;

"(b) with the Interim Government and the competent British Indian authorities in regard to matters referred to in paragraph 4 of the Cabinet Mission's Memorandum of 12th May, 1946, on the States' Treaties and Paramountcy;

"provided that (i) these negotiations will be conducted in accordance with the resolution adopted by the General Conference of Rulers on the 29th January, 1947, and the instructions and resolutions of the States Constituent Advisory Committee as endorsed by the Standing Committee of Princes and the Committee of Ministers; (ii) the results of these negotiations will be subject to the approval of the aforesaid States' Committees and ratifications by the States.

"This Conference requests His Highness the Chancellor to address His Excellency the Crown Representative with a view to ensuring early and satisfactory settlement by His Majesty's Government of questions relating to individual States prior to the transfer of power.

NO DISCRIMINATION

The resolution was moved by His Highness the Chancellor and over 60 Princes attended.

The Nawab of Bhopal emphasised the adherence of the Princes to their resolution of January 29 last. He made it clear that the position of the States would be reviewed in the event of a new situation emerging as the result of the series of discussions which had now been initiated by the Viceroy. He added that it was his accepted policy as well as that of the Standing Committee of the Princes Chamber to make no distinction and to observe no discrimination between one State and another. Whether a State was big or small their interests were identical in all broad aspects.

Seconding the resolution, His Highness the Jam Sahab of Nawanagar refuted the charge that was often levelled against the Princely Order that they were an obstacle to India's independence. His Highness exhorted his brother Princes to regard

(Continued on page 7).

REORIENTATION OF OUTLOOK

Appeal To Princes

(Continued from page 1)

themselves first and foremost as rulers and not as Hindus or Muslims.

His Highness the Maharaja of Indore supporting the resolution pleaded for unity and solidarity among the Princes. That did not mean that the Princes were going to unite against any one. What he really wanted was that the Princes should unite to work for the good of their subjects and for the good of the country as a whole.

His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior said that the resolution had been drafted without a dissenting note by the special committee entrusted with that task and, therefore, they should give it their unanimous approval.

His Highness the Maharaja of Dholpur declared that the rulers of Indian States had now reached a stage when a re-orientation of ideals and outlook was required.

His Highness the Maharaja of Dungarpur said it was for the British Indian parties to settle their differences first. It would then be the time for the Princes to frame their policy.

All the speakers expressed confidence in the leadership of the Nawab of Bhopal.

Those present included the rulers of Bundi, Kotah, Idar, Alwar, Cooh Behar, Dewas (Jr.), Nabha, Palanpur, Cambay, Janjira, Sirmur, Tehri Garhwal, Khichivur, Dhar, Khairgarh, Seraikeela, Suket, Jawhar, Bhur, Kurwai and Datia.

The resolution also had the unanimous approval of a subsequent joint meeting of rulers and their ministers.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar, Sardar K. M. Panikkar, Mr. M. A. Sreenivasan, Nawab Mushtaq Ahmed Gurmani, Prime Minister of Bawalpur, and Mr. S. V. Mukerjee, Dewan of Dewas (Jr.) spoke on the resolution.

Sardar Ranbir Singh, Prime Minister of Dholpur, thanked the Chancellor on behalf of the smaller States for the assurance that the interests of both the bigger and smaller States would be equally safeguarded by the Chamber.

His Highness the Jam Sahab proposed, and the meeting unanimously endorsed, a vote of thanks to and confidence in the Chancellor and assured him of the united support of his States.

COOPERATION WITH STABLE ELEMENTS

Bikaner Ruler's Plea

In a memorandum circulated among his brother Princes before the general conference, His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner said it was the desire and hope of all that the parties including the Princes should jointly frame a common constitution. The Muslim League was standing out. The States doing likewise would not improve the position nor bring nearer the consummation of a fully representative Constituent Assembly. The only safe policy for the States was to work fully with the stabilising elements in British India to create a centre at least for as large a section in India as possible to start with, leaving it open for any other part to come in at a later stage. If the States did not help in the formation of such a stable and strong central authority the inevitable result would be the weakening of the stable elements in India working towards a settlement and the consequent increase in the power and prestige of the left-wing.

It must be the policy of the States to press for the necessary safeguards which they consider essential in the interests of the Rulers and their people and States, but this can best be done by participating in the work of the Constituent Assembly and especially by sending States' representatives to the various important sub-committees appointed by it, thus ensuring that their interests are duly safeguarded in the Constitution that is being framed, in which they will have a voice from the very start. By declining to participate in the work of the Constituent Assembly the States may not succeed in securing their essential safeguards, but that, if anything, they may find that in their absence, as has happened, various decisions will have already been reached which it will be difficult to get altered later on.

The united front that is required to be put up by the States is therefore not by adopting a policy of "wait and see" but by fully co-operating with the Constituent Assembly, with all the benefits that will accrue from such a step.

Sir B. L. Mitter's View

BARODA, April 2: Sir Brojendra Lal Mitter, Dewan of Baroda, in a statement on the resolution of the Chamber of Princes released today says: "The decision of the Chamber will entail further delay when time is the essence of the liberation of India."

"The decision of the Chamber of Princes" he adds, "to abstain from the Constituent Assembly till the final stage is inconsistent with the oft-repeated desire to render the fullest co-operation in framing an agreed constitution."

"The States Negotiating Committee was reported to have been satisfied with the general understanding reached when it met the British Indian Negotiating Committee last February. Now is the time to co-operate when fundamental rights, minorities and excluded areas and such other essential matters are being discussed. Have the States nothing to contribute to these discussions?"

It is well recognised that no State will be bound to accept any constitution till the full picture is ready. Where is the risk, therefore, in going into the Constituent Assembly now? Attendance at the final stage means that matters which had been thrashed out may have to be reopened. This will entail delay when time is of the essence of the liberation of India."—A.P.I.

States' Interests Lie In Union With Rest Of India

—VENKATARAMA SASTRI.

MAURAS, April 6.—"The States seem to me much too near-sighted. They do not see far ahead. Their lasting interests lie in a state of union with the rest of India," says Mr T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, President of the National Liberal Federation, in a statement to the Press.

Mr Sastri says: "The pursuit, by Indian States, of glamorous sovereignty will not be good for them. The Indian Union may or may not suffer by a wrong choice of theirs at the present juncture, but they are bound to suffer by it in the not very long run.

"Even now, the States, separate for certain purposes, are very closely connected with the rest of India in many ways. There is something like citizenship of India already. That many citizens of States should take up office in the Government of India and that British Indians should be Dewans of Indian States is due to that fact. All sorts of business are started and conducted by the residents of States all over India. One was only to imagine what would become of all this if the States were independent sovereignties.

Security In Indian Union

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"Sovereignty is too high a horse to ride without able guidance. Stability and security, hitherto derived from the paramount power, must now be sought in equal membership of the Indian Union. While the internal affairs of States are not now in question, it may still be pointed out that times are fast changing and no stable equilibrium can be attained until the States' people are persuaded that the Rulers are not impeding but only regulating constitutional progress in temporarily retaining any constitutional powers in their hands.

"Those who advise unhesitating co-operation with the Constituent Assembly see farther than those who desire to wait and see from without. Assuming for a moment that there is reason to apprehend some diminution of the stature of Rulers in a constitution framed by the Constituent Assembly, will the risk be obviated or accentuated if they took no part now and finally kept out or went in later? Hesitation now and co-operation later take all the grace and moral effect out of it.

"Most of the States, I am persuaded, are not playing the game of the Muslim League. Their hesitation now comes from a dalliance with the mirage of independent sovereignty from which not good but much evil will result. From the time of the Round Table Conference when they surprised everybody including the Political Department by their offer of co-operation in the achievement of Indian freedom they have alternately advanced and resiled. A wise decision is now called for. A wrong step now may have undesirable consequences."—A.P.I.

Scheme For Confederation Of Central India States PLAN DISCUSSED IN BOMBAY

A DRAFT confederal scheme framed to embrace 28 salute and 30 non-salute States in Central India was considered at a conference of rulers and representatives of the Central India States, held in Orchha House, Bombay, on Friday.

His Highness the Maharaja of Dewas (Jr.) presided over the meeting, which was attended by the Rulers of Dhar, Barwani, Maihar, Sohawal, Jigni, Makrai, Baraundha, Kantarajula, the heirs-apparent of Agaigarh and Sitamau and the Ministers of about 20 other States.

A States Grouping Committee was appointed to frame a confederal constitution for the Central India States at a general conference of rulers and Ministers held in Indore recently. The constitution, as it has emerged from the Committee, proposes to balance the interests between the rulers and the subjects, with guarantees regarding the fundamental rights, territorial integrity and dynastic privileges.

The constitution allows for a legislature of two houses: an upper house composed of members of the States and a lower house to be elected on the basis of one representative for every 100,000 of population. The head of the confederation is to be a ruler elected by both houses in common session. He is to be assisted in administrative duties by a council of ten ministers to be chosen by him from a panel selected by both houses of the legislature sitting jointly. The draft constitution allows for the continuation of existing judicial authorities but a confederation judicial committee is to be set up with over-all jurisdiction for supervision and the exercise of revisionary powers.

UNION ARMY

The list of confederation subjects is to be of two kinds: (a) those in regard to which administration will be left to the member States and of which only legislation and policy will be the concern of the confederation; and (b) inter-State matters like industrial planning, electric and food supplies, irrigation, education, research and such other beneficent objects as may be agreed upon. Union finances are also divided into two classes: contribution on a fixed scale to the joint fisc for the first group of subjects and separate allocations for the second group of subjects.

The Union is to have a special armed force as the sanction behind its decisions, which will also be made available to member States when required.

The Maharaja of Dewas (Jr.) in his presidential address regretted the absence from the meeting of many rulers from Central India. He referred to the scheme prepared by the Grouping Committee and hoped that the rulers and ministers, even those who were absent, would study it carefully and submit their suggestions to a conference to be held in Indore on April 20 to go more closely into the scheme.

DISTINCTION OPPOSED

Mr. S. V. Mukerjee, Dewan of Dewas (Jr.) on behalf of the Grouping Committee explained the substance of the proposed scheme and the objects and reasons for the different clauses in the confederation constitution. He appealed

to those present to realise the urgency of the time factor and to prepare for the day when Paramountcy would end.

In a general discussion representatives of constituent States, whose rulers are not members of the Chamber of Prince in their own right, pointed out the distinction that was made between Chamber States and other States. They suggested that some test of population or revenue or both should operate.

The President pointed out the difficulties which at present militated against the abolition of this distinction suggesting the appointment of a committee of rulers to prepare an acceptable formula as an alternative.

States' Interests

MADRAS, April 6: "Indian States seem to me much too near-sighted; they do not see far ahead; their lasting interests lie in a state of union with the rest of India", says Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, President, National Liberal Federation. "Even now, the States, separate for certain purposes, are very closely connected with the rest of India in many ways. There is something like citizenship of India already."—A.P.I.

Confederation

NEED STRESSED

Marwari Federation Resolution

The All-India Marwari Federation at its three-day session in Bombs passed a resolution declaring the necessity for the formation of a co-federation of Rajputana and Central India States and parts of Punjab including Delhi—the ancient capital of the Chauhans—a pledging all possible support to Mr. Brijlal Biyani, President of the Vidarbha Provincial Congress Committee, presiding, the conference came to a close on Sunday. Sir T. Krishnamachari, Prime Minister of Jaipur, attended the closing session.

The conference urged the Marwa community to give up the evil practice of demanding dowry in marriages. A resolution proposing the "progressive measure" to be introduced in the social life of the community, was moved by Miss Sarawati Dudani, a double graduate of the Bombay University. All the leaders of the community were among those who voted for the resolution, number about 250, while only two voted against it.

Representatives of more than 10 Indian States placed before the Conference developments in the field of education, commerce and industry, in the respective States and conveyed the good wishes of their respective rulers to the conference and the move for the confederation of Rajasthan.

COMMUNAL TENSION

Deploping the prevailing communal tension in the country, another resolution passed by the conference called upon every individual to do his best to mitigate the horrors of rioting. It also declared its faith in the policy and programme of the Congress, which alone was the truly representative political organisation in the country.

Another resolution, moved by J. Vasantlal, Morarka and supported by Mr. A. P. Sharma and Mr. Jagmohan Sharma, declared the necessity for the establishment of responsible government in the States of Rajputana.

A call to three crores of people inhabiting Rajasthan—the area comprising Rajputana and adjacent tracts—to form a confederation before complete power is transferred by the British Government to Indians hands, was given by Mr. K. M. Munshi addressing the conference on Saturday.

The Prime Minister of Bombay, Mr.

Statesman 9-4-47

"WAIT AND SEE" POLICY WILL NOT HELP PRINCES

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

PATIALA, Apr 17.—Replying to an address of welcome by the Patiala Chamber of Commerce, the Maharaja of Patiala expressed the view that a policy of "wait and see" with regard to the participation of Indian Princes in the Constituent Assembly would only deprive them of the benefits that might accrue from early participation in that body.

More than 600 people, including Sir Teja Singh Malik, Sir Jai Lal, Ministers and officials of the State were present. A purse of more than Rs 4 lakhs was presented to His Highness by the Chamber to be spent on any humanitarian work.

"I am one of those," said His Highness, "who firmly believe that the Princes have a decisive role to play in India's advancement towards independence, and that it should be our proud privilege to be co-architects in the structure of India's independence."

"I further believe that in the interest of the Indian States as in the broader interests of the country, instead of sitting on the fence, we should make a real and active contribution to a peaceful transfer of power to Indian hands by taking part in the constitution-making body and by offering helpful co-operation in evolving a suitable constitution for India."

"The Indian Princes can survive and also play an honourable role in shaping the future of India if they adapt themselves to the broader interests of the country and act as cementing and constructive force."

His Highness added that their participation in the constitution-making process would not only serve as an earnest of their good faith to help India's constitutional advancement, but also help to secure for them their due place in India's future constitutional structure.

Reforms in State

Regarding the formation of a Legislative Assembly in Patiala State, His Highness pointed out that while appreciating the urgency of the matter, he was striving to frame a constitution which should reflect all that was best in Patiala and the foundations of whose constitutional structure should be well and securely laid.

Referring to the havoc that communal fanaticism has caused in the country, His Highness said that it was difficult for him to speak with restraint in condemnation of all those gruesome crimes. Anyone in Patiala State, who accentuated communal bickerings would do so at his own peril, he said.

After referring to the post-war programme of reconstruction for the opening of new schools, more hospitals, improvement of communications and facilities for industrial development, His Highness made pointed reference to the 13,000 refugees now lodged in Patiala. He said: "We owe it to our fellow human beings in distress to relieve their immediate misery and afford them asylum." He expressed the hope that the people would give generously to help these unfortunate sufferers.

Statesman 9-4-47

SIKH LEADER'S VISIT TO JAMMU

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

JAMMU, Apr 3.—"There is no bar to anybody's coming to the State unless he is definitely barred from entering. If I have granted a lengthy interview to Master Tara Singh, I have even granted lengthier interviews to the gentleman who has tabled this adjournment motion. I am open to grant interviews to everybody who seeks an interview."

These observations were made by Rai Bahadur Pandit Kak, Prime Minister, in the Kashmir Assembly today when he rose to give a brief explanatory statement with regard to an adjournment motion tabled by Chowdhri Hamidullah Khan, leader of the Muslim Conference Group. The motion sought "to discuss the grave situation arising out of the widespread unrest and uneasiness caused amongst Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir State by the recent visits of Master Tara Singh, the Akali leader, to Jammu, which is further aggravated by his lengthy interviews with the Prime Minister and secret conference with leading Sikh leaders in the city." Chowdhri Hamidullah Khan further said that he had great respect for Master Tara Singh but due to disturbed conditions in the Punjab, his recent visits gave rise to some anxiety.

Times of India
12-4-47
"We Can Look To
Dawn Of Joy"

SIR. M. ISMAIL ON BASIC UNITY

HYDERABAD, (Dn.), April 10: Addressing the Berar Muslim Educational Conference at Amraoti today, Sir Mirza Ismail, Prime Minister of Hyderabad, said: "Muslims and non-Muslims, majorities and minorities, to whatever religion they may belong, are children of the same soil, breathing the same air and drawing sustenance from the same mother earth".

Sir Mirza added that the joys and sorrows of Hindus and Muslims and all other Indians "are so thickly interwoven in one texture of national life that, in spite of the fact that we are living in the night of suspicion and sorrow, we can confidently look forward to the dawn of joy and warmth, which have, like an inviolable chain, bound us all together for so many centuries".

"There have Sir Mirza Ismail been majorities and minorities at all times and in every part of the country. They had lived their lives peacefully for centuries without feeling any compulsion to fear each other or to fly at each others throats, until the modern politician appeared on the scene glorifying the political animal, the economic man and, lately the proletariat".

Laying the foundation stone of the Shivaji College at Amraoti, Sir Mirza Ismail said: "By natural affinity the people of Berar and Hyderabad are drawing closer together, and their destiny is one. Every sign of this is to be examined, for example, in education and particularly higher education."

"Just as the political individuality of Berar can naturally and fruitfully be realised in association with Hyderabad, so here educational development might best proceed in association with the Osmania University with its already rich experience".

Referring to the proposal for a new university for Berar, Sir Mirza said that if the necessary resources could be found, Berar might be justified in establishing a university. Such a university would gain much by interrelation with the Deccan University.

PROBLEM OF INDIA RURAL

Addressing the Amraoti District Council, Sir Mirza Ismail said: "Mr. Gandhi reminded us at the plenary session of the Asian Relations Conference that India lived in her seven lakhs of villages and that the problem of India was the problem of the uplift of rural India. You are in charge of about five thousand square miles of territory comprising more than two thousand villages. You, therefore, hold the key to the physical, moral, material and intellectual advancement of the rural population".

Sir Mirza added that the House of Asaf Jah (from which the Nizam descended) had taken great interest in Amraoti. "The wall which still surrounds the city was built a century and a quarter ago by the Nizam to protect the people against Pindaris. It is a reminder of the solitude with which the Ruler of Hyderabad regarded the welfare of its citizens. The interest of H.E.H. the Nizam in your city and district and the whole of Berar continues unabated today. Berar has been an integral part of his dominions and, true to the traditions of his house and his duty as sovereign, he feels towards the Berar people the same responsibility as for those in other parts of the realm".

Travancore Constitution Act Promulgated

ELECTED LEADERS TO BE FULLY ASSOCIATED WITH EXECUTIVE

TRIVANDRUM, April 7.

THE Travancore Constitution Act, embodying the reformed constitution for the State, has been promulgated by a proclamation of His Highness the Maharaja.

The Act contains 69 sections and is divided into four parts dealing respectively with the legislature, executive, judiciary and supplemental provisions.

THE HIGH COURT'S POWERS
The part dealing with the judiciary lays down that the High Court shall be competent to interpret the provisions of the Act either in a case filed before it or when otherwise coming within its cognisance.

The last part, which contains supplemental provisions, provides that the Government shall have power in cases of emergency, and for reasons to be stated in writing, to take such action as may, in his opinion, be necessary in the interests of Government or for the safety or tranquility of Travancore.

The Travancore Act, Section 121, is repealed. The Act of 1935 (M.L.S.) is repealed. Nothing contained in the Act shall in any way affect the prerogative rights or inherent sovereign powers of His Highness the Maharaja.

The preamble states that it is the intention of His Highness fully to associate duly elected representatives of the people with legislation and administration and to vest in them the requisite rights, privileges and obligations.

The Act, which is called the Travancore Constitution Act, 1122 (Malayalam era) will come into force on such date as Government might notify.

Details of the new reforms have already appeared in these columns.

TWO-CHAMBER LEGISLATURE

The establishment of a two-chamber legislature—the State Assembly and the State Council—is a feature of a new Constitution Act.

The Assembly will be elected on adult suffrage, with reservation for some important minorities, and the Council will be constituted on a functional and facultative basis for provision of representation for various interests.

There is no Upper Chamber in the ordinary sense; it is pointed out here. The constitution of the State Council is as democratic as that of the Assembly. The only difference being that representation in the Council is based on professional, trades and occupations, and not on adult suffrage, as in the Assembly.

In neither Chamber will there be any official or nominated bloc. The entire field of legislation, subject to certain exceptions in relation to the Royal household and Hindu religious endowments are practically left in the hands of the legislature.

POWERS OF LEGISLATURE

A provision for the exclusion of discussion on State foreign and relations with the British Government and foreign States is stated to be purely transitory.

There will have to be revised and finalised in a new set-up that will emerge as a result of the relinquishment of Paramountcy by the British Crown in July, 1948.

Power is further given to the legis-

lature, subject to certain limitations, to discuss and enact measures with regard to public revenue, religious rights and usages, and also with regard to the provisions of the Act itself.

The entire Budget of the State is to be submitted to the legislature. Powers are given to committees of the legislature both to pilot Government Bills and Budgets, but certain minimum powers of vote and certification are provided for. These will not be exercised normally, but only in cases of grave emergency, and even in such cases reasons will be publicly stated.

The executive administration of the State is placed in the hands of the legislature. Policies formulated by the legislature will be carried out and implemented by the administrative authorities and departments of Government. This is the general feature of the scheme. Control of the legislature over the departments will be exercised through an administrative committee elected by the Chambers (Section 43).

There is provision for the constitution of a Public Service Commission, who will deal with almost the entire recruitment to the public service. The administrative committees of each department are given complete power over all matters of administrative policy and measures pertaining to subjects allotted them.—A.P.I.

Times of India
15-4-47

NIZAM'S CLAIM TO BERAR

Mr. Shankerrao Deo's
Criticism

JALGAON, April 13: Mr. Shankerrao Deo, General Secretary of the Indian National Congress, gave a reply today to Sir Mirza Ismail's recent statement claiming the four districts of Berar for the Nizam's Dominions after the lapse of the British Paramountcy, in the course of his presidential address to the Maharashtra Unification Conference, which began its two-day session at Jalgaon (East Khandesh) on Sunday.

"This claim," said Mr. Deo, "is a challenge to the people of Berar and to all those who are working for a united Maharashtra province. What is our reply to it? We say, Berar is ours; it forms an integral part of the sovereign Indian Union which will emerge after the transfer of power to Indian hands. The very fact that Berar is represented in the Constituent Assembly by British Indian representatives is a clear recognition of the position of Berar as independent of the Nizam."

Stressing the need for a united province of Maharashtra, Mr. Deo said that there will be three stages of unification. (1) The eight districts of the C.P. and Berar and the 10 districts of Bombay Province (including the City of Bombay); (2) Marathi-speaking States in the Deccan Like Kolhapur and the Marathi-speaking districts of Hyderabad; and (3) Portuguese Goa.

"The fact that they are at present concentrating on British Indian provinces, does not mean that they ignore the Marathi-speaking people in the States and Goa. Their case will be taken up at the proper stage," he said.

The conference, among others, was attended by Mr. R. M. Deshmukh, High Commissioner to South Africa, and Mr. D. R. Gadgil from Poona. Ellichpur and Berar, Berar and Ellichpur have been continuously under the rule of the Asaf Jahs (H.E.H. the Nizam's dynasty) since the battle of Shakarkheda or Fatehkheda in 1724, which brought the Deccan under the virtual sovereignty of the Nizam of Hyderabad, said Sir Mirza Ismail, Prime Minister of Hyderabad and Berar, addressing a public meeting at Ellichpur, where he was presented with an address today.—A.P.I.

Times of India
14-4-47

TROUBLE BREWING IN KASHMIR

Editor Shot At

SRINAGAR, April 12: The Kashmir police have carried out extensive searches in Srinagar today and several people have been taken into custody following last night's attempt on the life of Pandit, editor of the *Standard*, a daily newspaper, who was shot and seriously injured.

A high police officer said that, yesterday morning, the National Conference had issued a poster calling on their followers to be prepared for "finishing away" the Kak Government and its supporters. This was followed by last night's shooting incident which shows that the underground leaders have planned a campaign of violence. Therefore, he taken by the police. Extensive searches and a general round-up is anticipated.

Military and police are patrolling the city.—A.P.I.

Our own correspondent reports: Resentment against the entry of Hindu and Sikh refugees from Hazara into Kashmir was expressed in the State Assembly last Wednesday by Mr. Gulam Nabi Gilkar (Muslim Conference) who pointed out that differential treatment was meted out on two different occasions to the refugees belonging to two different communities.

The Prime Minister, replying to a question about the Kazaks, stated: "Presumably the reference is to the Kazak marauders who were harrying western Tibet, and entered the State territory in 1941 with a large quantity of looted property. Their number was 2,884. The number of Hazara refugees was 2,382. Property listed in the case of Kazaks was: livestock 24,350 tents 704 and firearms 272. The Kazaks were compelled to surrender the firearms after a fight with the State troops at the border."

"There is no question of discrimination between these two classes of people. Whether they were looters or not, that is a matter of opinion. So far as refugees from Hazara are concerned they came here and we helped them. We never ask them to enter the State territory, and naturally, we did not go out of our own territory to get them in or to take action against the Kazaks, their residence."

Times of India.
17-4-47

Mysore's Entry In Constituent Body

DEWAN EXPLAINS

From Our Own Correspondent

BANGALORE, April 16: In the course of an interview to the press this morning, Sir A. Ramaswamy Mudaliar, Dewan of Mysore, clarified the present position with regard to the recent State Congress decision to start "Satyagraha" from May 1. Exploring the decision, he said the Maharaja had entrusted him with the framing of proposals for constitutional reforms, but before he could move in the matter he had to leave for America, and on his return he was applying himself to the task without any delay. He wanted a calm atmosphere to enable him to apply himself to the onerous task and, if "satyagraha" was launched, he feared his attention will be deflected to the maintenance of law and order in the State.

Asked about Mysore's participation in the Constituent Assembly, Sir A. R. Mudaliar said he was studying developments since he left for New York on the eve of Mr. Attlee's declaration. The position when he left was that certain fundamentals decided at the last meeting of the Princes' Negotiating Committee being agreed to by the leaders of the country, Mysore should go into the Constituent Assembly directly. The position today remained unchanged in his opinion. The Dewan was proceeding to Delhi towards the end of April.

Referring next to the retrocession of the Bangalore Civil and Military Station to Mysore Durbar, he said that it would be an accomplished fact before the end of June 1947. Since the declaration of the British of their intention to transfer power to Indian hands certain aspects of the retrocession were being examined "de novo". The original plan of ceding only the civil areas of the Cantonment had undergone a change and whether the entire area should not be retroceded was being discussed. A definite date for final transfer was also being considered.

Hindustan Times 23/4/47

BERAR WILL NOT ACCEPT SOVEREIGNTY OF THE NIZAM

RETROCESSION EFFORTS TO BE RESISTED

NANIMOUS DECISION BY ALL-PARTY CONFERENCE

AKOLA, April 21.—An all-party conference held yesterday under the presidentship of Mr Brijlal Biyani, Speaker of the C.P. Assembly, unanimously declared its firm and solemn resolve not to accept the de jure sovereignty of the Nizam over Berar.

The Conference expressed the opinion that H.M.G. and the Nizam should not enter into any treaty or agreement hereafter concerning Berar and the same shall not be binding on the people of Berar.

By another resolution a committee consisting of 51 persons was formed to devise ways and means for securing achievement of the objective of the conference as declared in the first resolution.

The fourth resolution, which was passed after a heated discussion, said that no person invited either individually or in representative capacity by the Nizam's Government to discuss the Berar question should accept the invitation and hold talks, discussion or negotiation regarding Berar without the authority of the Berar Committee formed by the third resolution.

No Moral Sanction

Mr Biyani in his presidential speech reviewed the history of Berar from 1804 to 1935 and said that "Berarees will have to approach the question of retrocession of Berar from a fresh point of view disregarding the interpretations of the treaties."

He asserted that the people of Berar were never a party to these treaties and so these agreements or treaties were not binding upon the people of Berar. Such treaties which kept people in bondage have no moral sanction. He appealed to the Nizam's Government to avoid the unpleasantness of a conflict between the Nizam's Government and the people of Berar by putting any claim of sovereignty over Berar. Mr Biyani made it clear in his speech that this question was neither communal nor religious but purely political.

Mr M. S. Aney, Government of India's representative in Ceylon, has sent a telegram to Mr Brijlal Biyani, President of the Berar Provincial Congress Committee, wishing success to the all-party conference convened by him to discuss the demand by the Nizam for session of Berar.

About 80 prominent persons from all over Berar belonging to important organizations and political parties were present.

C.P. Govt.'s Support

"If the Government of the Nizam wishes to have friendly discussions on Berar, the proper venue is the Constituent Assembly on which Berar is represented and which Hyderabad has been invited to join," says Pandit Ravi Shankar Shukla, Premier of C.P. and Berar, in a message.

"We of the Central Provinces have no desire to hold Berar as part of C.P. against her free will. If the Beraris wish to part company with C.P., the people of C.P., we have no doubt, will wish them godspeed and good luck. But the people of Berar may rest assured that any attempt, no matter by whom made, to force them against their will into a constitutional arrangement they do not like, will be resisted by the Government and people of C.P. with all the resources at their command. Let there be no mistake, we, both the Government and people of C.P., are pledged to support our Berari brethren to the last."—A.P.I.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Free Press Journal
23-4-47

Take Berar Issue To Constituent Assembly

C. P. PREMIER'S TIP
TO NIZAM

NAGPUR, April 22.

"If the Government of H.E.H. the Nizam wishes to have friendly discussions on Berar, the proper venue is the Constituent Assembly on which Berar is represented and which Hyderabad has been invited to join," says Pandit Itavi Shankar Shukla, Premier of C. P. and Berar, in a message sent on his and his colleague's behalf to Mr. Brijlal Blyani, President of the Berar Provincial Congress Committee and Convenor of an All-Party Conference at Akola to consider the future of Berar with special reference to the recent claims of the Nizam.

Pandit Shukla says: "We are unanimously of the opinion that Berar should be fully free to determine her own future uninfluenced by extraneous factors. We are confident that when the rest of India is looking forward to complete self-rule within the next few months, the freedom-loving Berari, who played no mean part in the struggle for independence, will not be content with a mere change of masters."

As for the rest, there are several alternatives before Berar. She may, if she so desires, continue to form part of the Central Provinces as she has done during the last half century, or she may join the United Maharashtra Province when one is formed, or with C. P. Marathi form a province of her own—Maharashtra—or, lastly, she may decide to be an independent unit by herself of the Indian Union.

NO COMPELSION

"We of the Central Provinces have no desire to hold Berar as part of C.P. against her free will. If the Beraris wish to part company with C.P., the people of C.P. we have no doubt, will wish them godspeed and good luck. But the people of Berar may rest assured that any attempt, no matter by whom made, to force them against their will into a constitutional arrangement they do not like, will be resisted by the Government and people of C.P. with all the resources at their command."

"Finally, we deprecate the efforts of a neighbouring State to sow the seeds of disunion among Beraris and to find a quixotic, there by time-worn methods, but we are sure they will not succeed."

"We have no doubt a fitting reply will be given to the invitation for informal discussion on the future of Berar to the effect that no Berari will be a party to the bartering away of Berar's hard won freedom.—A.P."

Hindustan Times
23/4/47

States Cannot Be Coerced

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN'S
REPLY TO NEHRU

"I am surprised to find that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, speaking at the All-India States People's Conference at Gwalior on Friday, held forth an open threat to the Indian States that any State which did not come into the Constituent Assembly now would be treated as a hostile State by the country. As Pandit Nehru happens to be a member of the Interim Government his statement, which, to put it mildly, was most thoughtless, is liable to be mistaken as an indication of the present Government's attitude towards the States, which is by no means the case." Thus says Mr Liaquat Ali Khan, Finance Minister in the Interim Government, in a statement issued on Monday.

He adds: "Pandit Nehru knows perfectly well that the Constituent Assembly is dead beyond resurrection although Congress may pretend to ignore the fact. According to the Cabinet Mission's plan and the clarification issued by H.M.G. from time to time, the States are perfectly within their rights in refusing to have anything to do with the Constituent Assembly as at present functioning. Pandit Nehru may be anxious to clothe with a semblance of seriousness the farcical proceedings of the Constituent Assembly by securing the participation of the States, but he has no right to attempt to coerce them into submitting to the dictation of the Congress."

"Except a handful of Indian States which have succumbed to Congress pressure, the great majority of them have wisely decided to await the outcome of the present political talks between the Viceroy and the Indian leaders before deciding their own course of action. When the decision regarding the future of British India has been announced, the Indian States will be free to negotiate agreements with Pakistan or Hindustan as considerations of contiguity or their own self-interest may dictate, or they may choose to assume complete and separate sovereign status for themselves."—A.P.I.

Hindu 23/4/47

UDAIPUR AND THE INDIAN UNION

RULER REJECTS PRIME MINISTER'S ADVICE

SIR T. V. ACHARYA RESIGNS OFFICE

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT.)

NEW DELHI, April 23.

Sir T. Vijayaraghavacharya has resigned his office as Prime Minister of Udaipur State.

It appears that differences arose between the Maharana of Udaipur and the Prime Minister on the question of the State's entry into the Constituent Assembly.

Udaipur, an important State in Central India, is in a position to influence the attitude of a number of other States. It seemed fairly certain that Udaipur would be sending two representatives to join the Constituent Assembly at the forthcoming session on April 29. Information to this effect had reached New Delhi also.

In the course of the last two days, it seems, the Maharana changed his mind and declined to accept the advice of his Prime Minister. It is further stated that the Maharana yielded to the influence of a brother-Prince holding a high office in the Chamber of Princes who had sent his emissary to Udaipur. Sir T. Vijayaraghavacharya, therefore, sent in his resignation, which has now been accepted by the Maharana.

Prominent political leaders and administrators in charge of Indian States in New Delhi have greatly admired the sound advice given by Sir T. Vijayaraghavacharya to the Maharana and also the honourable course he has adopted when that advice came to be rejected.

NO COERCION ON STATES JOINING CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

BIKANER MAHARAJA'S REPLY TO LIAQUAT ALI KHAN CALL TO WAVERING PRINCES CO-OPERATE WITH BRITISH INDIA TO ACHIEVE FREEDOM



Maharaja Of Bikaner

MOUNT ABU, April 24.—“The Indian States which have decided to participate in the work of the Constituent Assembly are doing so not due to any pressure from anyone, much less the Congress, but because they consider it to be in their best interest as well as in the greater interest of India,” says the Maharaja of Bikaner in reply to Mr Liaquat Ali Khan’s statement.

“Apart from this we were prompted entirely by motives of patriotism towards our mother country to do all we could to assist her at this critical moment when far-reaching decisions have to be taken affecting both British India and the States,” adds the Maharaja.

“Moreover, the machinery provided under the Cabinet Mission plan had been accepted by the States from the very beginning and they had offered their co-operation and support in the work of the Constituent Assembly,” he adds.

The Maharaja continues: “Moreover, the machinery provided under the Cabinet Mission plan had been accepted by the States from the very beginning and they had offered their co-operation and support in the work of the Constituent Assembly.”

The Maharaja continues: “I may also mention that it is not correct to say that only a ‘handful’ of the Indian States have decided to join the Constituent Assembly. The States which have decided to do so represent some of the most important States in India and have a population of not less than 30,000,000 out of 92,000,000.”

“Speaking from first-hand knowledge, I can say that—whether in contacts with Rulers or with States’ representatives in the sub-committees appointed by the Constituent Assembly—we have not been faced with any hostility or coercion but have found a spirit of complete friendliness, understanding, sympathy and fairplay as befitting true Indians working together as brothers for a common goal.”

Warning To Princes

The Maharaja concludes: “I am, therefore, sorry that Mr Liaquat Ali Khan should have chosen to champion our cause without knowing our true feelings. I hope that the remaining States will not be misled by the advice given to await the outcome of the present talks between the Indian political parties but will decide to join the Constituent Assembly straightway and thus help our mother country to attain her freedom. As the States have publicly declared it to be their intention to join the Constituent Assembly, they should do so now and avoid being called hostile to India’s real interest or otherwise be misunderstood as being unpatriotic.”—A.P.I.

LIFE IN DELHI

Thirteen persons were stabbed in Delhi on Thursday, and five of them died. Most of the incidents occurred within an hour of the lifting of curfew.

Twenty-four-hour curfew has been imposed in Bazar Sita Ram and the Sadar Bazar Police Station area.

Details on page 3

"BERAR SHOULD BE FREE TO DECIDE FUTURE"

—PT. R. S. SHUKLA

(From Our Correspondent)

NAGPUR, April 24.—"We are unanimously of the opinion that Berar should be fully free to determine her own future uninfluenced by extraneous factors. The people of Berar may rest assured that any attempt to matter by whom made, to force them against their will to the constitutional arrangement they do not like will be resisted by the Government and people of the Central Provinces and Berar with all the resources at their command."

These are the highlights of the message which the Hon'ble Pandit Ravi Shanker Shukla, Prime Minister, Central Provinces and Berar has sent to the Hon'ble Mr. Brijlal Blyani, President, Berar Provincial Congress Committee, in reply to his invitation to the Prime Minister and his colleagues to attend the All-Parties Conference convened by him to consider the future of Berar with special reference to the recent claims of His Exalted Highness the Nizam. Neither the Prime Minister nor any of the Ministers could attend the conference owing to pressure of work.

Proceeding Pandit Shukla stated:

"We of the C. P. have no desire to hold Berar as part of the C. P. against her free will. If the Beraris wish to part company with the C. P. the people of the C. P. we have no doubt, will wish them Godspeed and good luck. We, both Government and people of the C. P. and Berar, are pledged to the support of our Berari brethren to the last."

"Finally, we deprecate the efforts of a neighbouring State to sow the seeds of disunion among Beraris and by time-honoured methods to try to find a quelling here and a quelling there, but we are sure they will not succeed. We have no doubt that fitting reply will be given to the invitation for an informal discussion of the future of Berar to the effect that no Berari will be a party to the bartering away of Berar's hard-won freedom."

"If the Government of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad wishes to have friendly discussions regarding Berar, the proper venue is the Constituent Assembly on which Berar is represented and which Hyderabad has been invited to join."

"It is being rumoured that Berar will be given complete autonomy in her internal affairs. The world will believe this statement if the remainder of the State is given at least the right of freedom. Charity begins at home. Let Berar not be deluded by gilded promises", concludes the message.

"TROUBLE-MAKERS' DETENTION"

Sir C. P. R. Aiyar's Reply

OOTACAMUND, April 24: "The All-India States People's Conference has ventured to describe the unavoidable detention of less than 100 Communists and their allies as a serious curtailment of civil liberties in Travancore in the face of literally thousands of internments, detentions and prosecutions as well as curfew and prohibitory orders now in operation all over British India, including the most Congress-minded of the provinces," says Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan of Travancore.

"It has been forgotten that trade unions that have had to be dealt with, took an active part in fomenting the recent disturbances which fortunately owing to the essentially law-abiding character of the people of Travancore came to a complete cessation within a matter of days."

PANDIT NEHRU CRITICISED

"A campaign of hostility has been promised by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as a likely repital for non-compliance with the demand that the States should immediately join the Constituent Assembly although each day that passes confirms the need for a smaller and less undecid agency for bringing about that unity and harmony which will not be helped but may be hindered by the pursuit of a programme manifestly based more on considerations of the prestige rather than on a balanced appraisal of the situation. It is a thousand pities that at this juncture presumably responsible leaders should adopt such an attitude. Notwithstanding the disparity in resources and strength between an Indian State and those of an all-India party in power, the administration of Travancore cannot surrender its considered judgment in a matter that deeply involves the future of the State."—A.P.I.

Time of India 26/4/47

Pandit Nehru's Assurance To Indian States

TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND NO COMPULSION TO JOIN UNION

NEW DELHI, April 25.

PANDIT Nehru will move in the Constituent Assembly on Monday a resolution "recording" the report of the committee appointed to negotiate with the States Negotiating Committee and welcoming the representatives of the States who have already been chosen and further expressing the hope that other States which had not chosen their representatives so far would take immediate steps towards this end, in accordance with the agreed procedure.

It is understood that while the Negotiating Committee of the Constituent Assembly at its meetings with the Princes Committee was not prepared to discuss matters going beyond its

mandate, namely the manner and method of distribution of the seats, the committee had no difficulty in discussing, in a friendly and informal manner as individuals, certain difficulties and to removing certain misapprehensions which seemed to be causing concern to the Princes.

Pandit Nehru who, with Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, took a leading part in the talks with the Princes Negotiating Committee, is understood to have made it plain that the first thing to be made clear is for the States to accept fully the Cabinet Mission's statement. It was emphasised that the scheme was essentially a voluntary one, where no compulsion was indicated. The committee of the Constituent Assembly was not going to force any unit to join the Union. If it did not want to and that it was a matter of negotiation throughout.

TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY

On the question of territorial integrity of the States, it is understood that Pandit Nehru pointed out that no change in the boundaries could be effected without the consent of both the parties. The committee of the Constituent Assembly conceded territorial boundaries being changed for economic reasons, for facilitating governmental purposes, etc., but any territorial readjustments, it was made clear, should be made with the consent of the parties concerned and not be forced down.

The scheme was a voluntary one and, whether in regard to the entry into the Constituent Assembly or subsequently when the Constituent Assembly came to conclusions, there would be no compulsion and that States would have the right to have their say at any stage, just as any-

body else. There was thus no question of any coercion.

HYDERABAD AND KASHMIR

It is understood that the committee had pointed out in regard to two States, namely, Hyderabad and Kashmir, elections to their legislature had been boycotted by important organisations representing the people of the States concerned, and the legislatures therefore could not be considered to represent the people of the States, as they were intended to do.

In the case of those two States, it was suggested that a suitable method for electing representatives for the Constituent Assembly should be devised. The Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes is understood to have given the assurance that he would communicate the suggestion to the States concerned.

It is further learnt that the two negotiating committees at their meeting on March 1 carried on further discussions in the light of H.M.G.'s declaration of February 20 and it was urged on behalf of the Constituent Assembly that this declaration had introduced an additional element of urgency in their task and that it would be greatly to the advantage of the States no less than to the British Indian representatives in the Assembly, if States' representatives could join the Assembly during the current session.

It was pointed out that there was nothing in the State Paper of May 16 which operated as a bar against the States so doing. It was also suggested that it would be to their mutual advantage if States' representatives could function forthwith on some of the committees set up by the Constituent Assembly. The States Negotiating Committee, however, expressed its inability to take these steps in the absence of a mandate from the general Conference of rulers.—A.P.I.

(See page 9)

"Congress Has Not Coerced States"

BIKANER RULER'S ASSERTION

ABU, April 24: Bikaner and the other States which have decided to participate in the work of the Constituent Assembly have decided to do so certainly not due to any pressure from anyone, much less from the Congress, says the Maharaja of Bikaner replying to the recent statement of Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan, who had criticised Pandit Nehru's "threat" to the States in his speech at the State People's Conference in Gwalior.

The Maharaja says these States decided to join the Constituent Assembly because they considered it to be in their own best interests as well as in the greater interests of India.

He adds, "Speaking from first-hand knowledge I can say that—whether in contacts with rulers or with States' representatives in the sub-committees appointed by the Constituent Assembly—we have not been faced with any hostility or coercion, but have found a spirit of complete friendliness, understanding, sympathy and fair play as befitting true Indians working together as brothers for a common goal."

HELPING MOTHER COUNTRY

He adds: "Apart from this, we were prompted entirely by motives of patriotism towards our mother country to do all we could to assist her at this critical moment when far-reaching decisions have to be promptly taken affecting both British India and the States."

"I am, therefore, sorry that Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan should have chosen to champion our cause without knowing our true feelings and I hope that the remaining States not be misled by the advice given to await the outcome of the present talks between the Indian political parties but will decide to join the Constituent Assembly straightaway and thus help our mother country to attain her freedom as the States have publicly declared it to be their intention to do and avoid being called hostile to India's real interest or otherwise be misunderstood as being unpatriotic."

—A.P.L.

GOODWILL TOWARDS PRINCES URGED

Dr. Latif's Opinion

From Our Own Correspondent

HYDERABAD (Dn.), April 24: "Much can be done by a man of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's talents if a policy of goodwill and friendship is pursued towards the Indian Princes. Mere bullying or 'dragooning' will not bring about the desired result," says Dr. Syed Abdul Latif, commenting on Pandit Nehru's address to the All-India States People's Conference recently held at Gwalior.

"As a member of the Government of India," adds Dr. Latif, "he had no right to charge the Princes of 'shop-keeper's mentality' and to say that 'all those who do not join the Constituent Assembly now will be regarded as hostile States and they will have to bear the consequences of being so regarded'."

After alluding to the Cabinet Mission's plan, Dr. Latif adds: "In the event of any State not joining or forming the constituent unit of the Union, it will be free to fall back upon the alternative provided in the Cabinet Mission's plan itself, enabling the State to 'enter into some particular political arrangement with the Union'."

INDIAN STATES' GROUPING

Resolution Passed At People's Conference

NEW DELHI, April 25: Explaining a discrepancy in the States People's Conference resolution on the question of grouping as published in the press, Dr. Pattabhi Seetharamayya, President of the All-India States People's Conference, says: "I find now that the resolution as published in the press omits all references to the rulers and is thus not complete. I understand that the resolution circulated to the press was not the resolution as passed by the Subjects Committee but the resolution as it would have been if an amendment had been accepted."

The following is the text of the resolution which was actually adopted by the Subjects Committee and later passed by the conference:—

"This conference is of the opinion that for component units of the Federal Union to be able to maintain modern and progressive standards of administration only those States that have a population of fifty lakhs and a revenue of Rs. three crores should be considered as fit units for purposes of the Federal Union of India; provided that wherever necessary for adequate reasons suitable exceptions may be made. But in any event such States should have sufficient resources and be capable of modern and progressive standards of administration."

"The rest of the States not capable of such standards can only exist as suitable groups formed on the basis of geographical contiguity, historical tradition, cultural homogeneity and linguistic unity. Such groups shall, as far as possible, come to the standards of individual States and be administered as composite units of the Union with one of the rulers elected as the constitutional head."

The rest of the States should be absorbed into adjacent provincial areas and cease to exist as Indian States."—A.F.L.

statesman 27/4/47

Princes Not Sitting on The Fence

—BHOPAL RULER

FROM OUR SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE
NEW DELHI, Saturday.—The allegation by certain interested quarters in British India that the Princes have adopted the policy of sitting on the fence is obviously untenable and based on a mistaken view of our policy, says a secret circular by His Nawab of Bhopal to members of the Chamber of Princes. The circular adds: "Eloquent refutation of this view is to be found in the declarations and the attitude of the Princes regarding our determination to work for the freedom and independence of our country. We have always been, and will always be, ready and willing to extend our fullest support to achieve this end. It will be recalled that we were the first to offer our co-operation on June 10, 1946, on the basis of the Cabinet Mission's plan of May 12 and 16. We are the only party that has not departed from that attitude."

"The Indian States feel, and feel very strongly, that they have a right to survive, and to retain their autonomy and independence. They are, therefore, anxious to safeguard their integrity and autonomy and their cherished and inalienable rights. They also feel that compromise and conciliation alone can pave the way for lasting peace and harmony. The Princes have no doubt received invitations to discuss the future constitutional structure. But statements have been issued and declarations made by eminent leaders in British India, in almost the same breath, that the Princes have no right to survive, that they are anachronisms, and that the

(Continued on page 2, column 2)

SECRET CIRCULAR TO PRINCES

(Continued from page 1 column 2.)

system of Indian rulership is an anachronism, and that the conciliatory attitude adopted by certain political parties towards the States was merely to meet the exigencies of time and had no binding or lasting value. Such statements unfortunately manifest the absence of that spirit and attitude which is essential to the promotion of co-operation, understanding and goodwill.

Seek No Favour

"It will no doubt be appreciated that the independence of this country does not require that the States should lose their identity and autonomy and that their integrity should be affected. They have preserved and maintained these cherished attributes, even in adversity and during foreign control and domination. There is no reason why they should part with them now when the country is on the threshold of independence. That the States stand for the country's independence admits of no doubt. They cannot, however, be blamed for defending their rights and for preserving their heritage. In doing so they seek no favour or patronage of any foreign power. From their own countrymen they merely expect justice and fair play."

The document deals at length with the argument that has been advanced from certain quarters that it is unnecessary and uncalled for to ask for the acceptance by the Constituent Assembly of the general understanding reached between the States Negotiating Committee and the corresponding committee of the Constituent Assembly in regard to the fundamental points arising out of the Princes' resolution of January 29.

It is pointed out that the General Secretary of the All-India Congress Committee and a member of the British Indian Negotiating Committee recently stated on behalf of the Congress that the so-called compromises and the conciliation policy which the Congress is said to be following today vis-a-vis the Princes was necessitated merely by the exigencies of the moment, while another prominent member of the British Indian section of the Negotiating Committee publicly declared that the Princes did not even raise at the meetings of the two Negotiating Committees the question of sovereignty and other points contained in the January 29 resolution.

Resolution Amended

The original resolution moved in the Constituent Assembly appointing the British Indian Committee was amended by the Constituent Assembly to ensure that their Committee will not decide matters but will report the result of the negotiations to the Constituent Assembly. Now it is said that a formal acceptance by the Constituent Assembly of the general understanding reached by the two Negotiating Committees is unnecessary and that the British Indian Committee is only required to report the result of the negotiations to the Constituent Assembly, which is being done.

"In these circumstances," says the secret circular, "Your Highness will doubtless agree with the unanimous recommendations of the Standing Committee of Princes, the Committee of Ministers and the Constitutional Advisory Committee and the general conferences held at Bombay that acceptance of the Constituent Assembly should be sought to the general understanding reached between the two Negotiating Committees."

Hindu 27/4/47

"MUST MOVE WITH THE TIMES"

MR. KRIPALANI'S CALL TO PRINCES

JAIPUR, April 25.

"I warn the Princes that they are sitting under a cracked roof. It would be in their interest to demolish that structure before it comes down over them," said Acharya Kripalani, Congress President, addressing a largely attended public meeting here. Mr. Tikaram Paliwal, President, Jaipur Rajya Praja Mandal, presided.

Mr. Kripalani said that the Congress was not opposed to individual Princes

as it was not opposed to the British people, but it was opposed to the system that was prevalent in the States and that made the poor poorer. "We do not want to harm the British people nor do we want to harm the Rulers of the States. We are opposed to imperialism and to the autocratic system of government in the States. All those who are against that system are our friends! The Princes who willingly give Panchayat Raj in their States are entitled to our affection and regard and it is our sacred duty to stand against those Princes who act otherwise. But then too we shall not harm the Princes individually, but we shall not co-operate with them and they will not continue for a day. The people still have some consideration for the Princes, but it is necessary for them to win the full confidence and affection of their people. They can do so if they are wise enough to hold themselves as the King of England does. The institution of kingship has become too old to survive in its present form and our Princes should realise this. They must understand the trend of modern times. The empire on which the Sun never sets is vanishing before their own eyes. Some of the Princes have understood this.

"I thank you and Jaipur for joining the Constituent Assembly where your representatives will sit along with ours. I hope when the Indian constitution is framed Jaipur will also have a constitution prepared according to the wishes of its people. If the Princes would not understand the call of the times, Nature would take its own course and nature shows no mercy to any individual or institution. They may have to go the way of the rulers of Russia. I warn them that the structure under which they are sitting is cracked and it is in their interest to pull it down, otherwise it will crush them under its weight in no distant future."

The Congress President referred to the beauty of the City of Jaipur which, he said, was a tribute to the ancient glory and genius of India and was a reply to the assertion that all progress in India was due to the British and the Europeans.

The Congress President uttered a warning against the growing influence of capitalism and said that if capitalist had their way, they would have their Raj instead of independence in the real sense. He strongly pleaded for the revival of cottage industries.—A.P.I.

Times of India
1-5-47

Ruler's Sovereignty In Mysore

SIR A. R. MUDALIAR'S STATEMENT

From Our Own Correspondent

BANGALORE, April 30: "I am of the opinion that Ministers in future should be chosen from legislatures," said Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, Dewan of Mysore, in a statement last night on the eve of his departure for Delhi.

"I believe," he continued, "that as a result of the consultations (which the Dewan is having with various political parties and individuals) a type of responsible Government suited and agreeable to the people of Mysore State will be evolved, and this will be, as has been made clear from all platforms, consistent with the sovereignty of Rulers."

The statement adds: "I conceive it my duty, in formulating proposals for submission to His Highness, to bear in mind clearly some objectives, namely, conferring of equal opportunities to all, and promotion of peace, contentment, and security within the State. I have been asked what type of Government is contemplated to achieve this object. The type of responsibility of Minister to Legislature, and its extent varies in different



Sir A. R. Mudaliar ent constitutions. Checks and balances that must be provided in a constitution and controls that must be exercised also differed. These are major details on which I hope to form opinions in consultation with different parties. It is my hope that the largest amount of agreement may be obtained as the result of these consultations."

The Government of Mysore, in a communique says: "The Dewan met the President and the General Secretary of the Mysore State Congress this evening. The Congress representatives raised the question of responsible Government, the procedure which will be adopted by the Dewan for consultation before formulating his proposals, and possibility of forming an Interim Government. They also raised the question of representation of Mysore State on the Constituent Assembly. There will be a further meeting with leaders of the Congress Party and other parties after the Dewan's return from Delhi."

"The Dewan of Mysore met Mr. Mahomed Sheriff, President of the Mysore State Muslim League, and the General Secretary of the League at Carlton House, this evening," says a communique issued by the Mysore Government yesterday.

Indian Express

22-4-1947.

GWALIOR'S LIBERAL ATTITUDE

Three of the 4 Consistently Members to be Elected

GWALIOR, Apr. 20.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who was here in connection with the States People's Conference called on Mr. M. A. Srinivasan, Vice-President of the Gwalior Executive Council and held discussions regarding participation of Indian States in the Constituent Assembly, especially Gwalior.

"Gwalior which has a quota of four seats in the Constituent Assembly has offered to go beyond the terms of the Negotiating Committee's agreement and have three out of four members elected by the legislature, reserving only one for nomination by the Ruler," said Mr. Srinivasan, interviewed by the A.P.I. today.

Under the agreement the State was bound to have only two popularly elected members. But the State had suggested that representatives of the minorities in the State legislature, who are all nominated non-officials, would also be allowed to participate in the election with a view to eliminating grounds for complaint in the future that the minorities had been left out. The matter was still under correspondence between the State and the Negotiating Committee. As soon as agreement was reached Gwalior would elect its representatives and send them to the Constituent Assembly.

"Gwalior has decided to go beyond the terms of the agreement because, unless bigger States took such a liberal attitude in this matter, it might be impossible to ensure the minimum 50 per cent popular representation provided for under the agreement. There are a number of smaller States who can send only one member each and probably they would mostly be Princes' nominees," explained Mr. Srinivasan.

Next Column 6

PRIL 29, 1947.

Choice Of Gwalior Representatives

THREE TO BE ELECTED

(By Our Special Correspondent)

The proposal of Mr M. A. Srinivasan, Vice-President of the Gwalior State Executive Council, to throw open three out of the four seats allotted to the Gwalior State in the Constituent Assembly for election by a joint session of both Houses of the Legislature, all non-official members voting, was finally accepted by a special joint meeting of the sub-committees of the two Negotiating Committees held in Delhi on Sunday.

Among those who were present at the meeting were Sir N. Gopalaswami Iyengar, Dr Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Sir B. N. Rau and Mr H. V. R. Iyengar. Mr M. A. Srinivasan attended by special invitation.

It is recalled that under the general '50-50' formula accepted by the Negotiating Committees, two of the four representatives of Gwalior State were to be nominated by the Maharaja, the remaining two to be elected by the elected members of the State Legislature.

Expressing satisfaction at the decision of the joint meeting, Mr. Srinivasan stated that he wished that his proposal, which had been put forward as far ago as March last, had been accepted earlier. The proposal had the effect not only of increasing the elected proportion from 50 to 75 per cent but also of giving important elements in the legislature, such as Muslims and Scheduled Castes, the privilege of participating in the selection of the State's representatives. This privilege would have been denied to them—as nominated members—under the general formula.

Now that the question had been satisfactorily settled, Mr Srinivasan said, the election of the representatives would soon take place. The Gwalior State Legislature would soon be meeting for the Budget session, when the election of the State's representatives to the Constituent Assembly could conveniently be held.

Mr Srinivasan had no doubt that the Gwalior representatives to the Constituent Assembly would take their seats when the Assembly meets again in or about June this year.

Dhebar Denounces Princes' Move

Confederation Of Rajputana, Gujerat, Western And Central India States

Mr. Dhebar, Secretary of the Kathiawar Political Conference, in the course of a statement writes:

Rulers of some of the States have been engaged in preparing a scheme of confederation for the last five or six months secretly.

It is proposed by the scheme to form a confederation of Indian States comprising the Residencies of Rajputana, Western India States, Gujerat, and Central India.

Such a confederation will have a presidium consisting of five rulers; a senate consisting of the nominees of the rulers of the confederating States (one for each of them); and a House of representatives consisting of members of confederating States (one for 100 thousand population) elected by indirect election where there are legislatures and nominated by the rulers where there are none.

The presidium composed entirely of the Princes shall be the sole repository of all executive authority and shall be responsible to none. It will delegate as it chooses confederal functions to any State.

One of its functions will be to raise and maintain a permanent Confederal Armed Force.

LEGISLATURE WITHOUT REAL POWER.

Coming to the so-called popular Legislature called the House of Assembly, its representative character will entirely depend upon the franchise to be determined by the presidium or on the alternative by the confederating States.

For the first three years (that means for the crucial period) most of the members will be nominees of these Rulers because there are hardly two or three States in Kathiawar which have any representative institutions and even these are make believe ones.

No bill or measure passed by this legislature can become law until it is also endorsed by the Senate, that is the Upper Chamber composed entirely of the nominees of the Rulers. There will thus be two controls over the so-called popular legislature, that of the five Princes composing the Presidium and that of the senate nominated entirely by the Princes. Thus it is completely a fixed-up constitution.

I am not surprised at such a constitutional set up. In my interview on another occasion with His Highness the Jam Sahab he stated to me four fundamentals of his policy in administering his State.

The very first of it was that he could not permit any activity in his State in which he was not in the Centre.

JAM SAHEB WOULD PREFER LEAGUE?

Secondly, that he would permit neither Congress nor League to function in his State and if any Congressman persisted then he would throw in his lot with the League.

PERMANENT CONFEDERAL FORCE

Clause 88 of the scheme states: "The presidium shall have power to create and maintain permanent Confederal Armed Forces to deal with emergencies".

The emergencies contemplated can cover action against provinces as well as suppression of the people in States.

LEAGUE TACTICS ADOPTED.

The Jam Sahab may not have cast in his lot with the Muslim League but the Scheme endorses the Muslim League attitude to the last detail. A claim for separate entity and territorial integrity (however small be the estate); a claim for exclusive authority to decide the type of constitution for each State; a claim for independent maritime policy, independent customs, an independent army, and confederal expenses only to be raised by contributions bear a distinct resemblance to the claims advanced by the Muslim League.

One cannot put forward these claims and yet profess love for United and Undivided India. To have more than a single Defence Force is to invite rebellion which no State can permit. So also regarding the Maritime Policy and Customs.

INSULT TO PEOPLE.

But the worst feature of the scheme is the inferior and insulting treatment meted out to the people. They have not been consulted in drafting the scheme, they were not consulted before the draft was approved, their consent will not be necessary for accession by any Ruler, they will not be considered fit for a place in the executive or the upper Chamber.

Times of India
5-5-47

Travancore's Policy Outlined

"UNITED INDIA PLAN IMPRACTICABLE"

NEW DELHI, May 3: Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, who came to Delhi from Ootacamund on May 1, met Lord Ismay prior to his departure to England and thereafter had interviews and discussions with His Excellency the Viceroy and Sir Eric Sieville. He is returning to Madras today on his way back to Ootacamund.

Interviewed regarding Travancore's attitude in respect of the constitutional discussions now proceeding, Sir Ramaswami Aiyar stated that it now appeared to be clear that the scheme of a united India, which was the ideal of the Indian National Congress and which many persons, including himself, whole-heartedly advocated, was in the present circumstances, impracticable of achievement. The Congress and the Muslim League had both made up their minds to effect the partition of parts of India and bring into existence more than one sovereign State this country. He was fortified in the decision that the obvious course to be pursued by a State, geographically, industrially and educationally situated like Travancore was to assert and vindicate its existence as an independent State pursuing, at the same time a policy of close co-operation in trade, commerce, research, education, communications and other matters of common concern with the rest of India. Everything that had happened in India and in Delhi had reinforced the attitude which Travancore had decided to adopt. — A.P.I.

Hindustan Times
6-5-47

Nizam Can Have No Claim To Berar

MIRZA ISMAIL'S MOVE CRITICIZED

(By Our Special Correspondent)

"The recent efforts of Sir Mirza Ismail, Prime Minister of Hyderabad, to secure the retrocession of Berar to the Nizam's dominion have 'neither legal nor moral justification' declared Mr Brij Lal Biyani, Speaker of the C.P. Legislative Assembly, at a Press conference in New Delhi on Monday evening.

Mr Biyani traced the history of Berar after it had been given away to the British on perpetual lease and said that the people of Berar had never been a party to the terms of the treaties entered into between the British Crown and the Nizam's Government. Millions of people, Mr Biyani maintained could not be bartered away on feudal or dynastic basis and thus deprived of their right of self-determination. As far back as 1902, the people of this area had made it clear in a sample vote taken by Lord Curzon that they did not favour the retrocession of Berar.

Continuing, Mr Biyani said: "Undoubtedly the riches of Berar present an alluring prospect. With an area of 17,767 square miles of black soil and a population of about 3.6 millions, Berar is one of the best cotton producing tracts in India. But this area ceased to have any link with the Nizam as far back as 1853 and since 1902, i.e., for about last 45 years, it has been enjoying rights and privileges of British Indian provinces. Berar with its highly developed political life, social and educational progress, has marched shoulder to shoulder with the rest of India on the road to freedom and its political ideologies and outlook have so developed that the Nizam does not appear anywhere in the picture of its political life at all."

Mr Biyani then explained how the All-Party Conference of the Berar people had planned to achieve the objective of free Berar without there being any question of suzerainty of the Nizam. "The Free Berar Committee of the All-Party Conference," said Mr Biyani "which came into being out of these deliberations, scored its first victory over Sir Mirza Ismail, when all the invitees from Berar declined his invitation to hold preliminary talks on the subject in Hyderabad. Besides proving amply the solidarity of the people of Berar, this should be an eye-opener to the Nizam and his Prime Minister and should convince them beyond any shadow of doubt that any attempt of retrocession of Berar is bound to fail and instead of doing any good to anybody, will embitter the feelings of the people of Berar against the Nizam."

"The Free Berar Committee," Mr Biyani explained, "does not demand that Berar should be made independent of British India. Its only aim is to protect the people of Berar from the domination of the Nizam in any shape or form. The movement has no communal bearing of any sort; its motive is purely political and it seeks to protect the interests of Hindus and Muslims in Berar alike."

"I declare on behalf of the people of Berar," Mr Biyani concluded, "that as we have not failed in the past in the struggle for freedom, we shall not fail in the struggle against retrocession if it is attempted. I am confident that the whole of India stands behind the people of Berar—nay, it is their responsibility to protect the rights of the people of Berar."

Hindu 7-5-47

HYDERABAD AND INDIAN UNION

SIR WALTER MONCKTON INTERVIEWS NIZAM

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT.)

HYDERABAD, May 6.

Sir Walter Monckton, Constitutional Adviser to H.E.H. the Nizam, had an interview with the Nizam and will again see him shortly. Ministers, Raja Bahadur Aravamuda Iyengar and Nawab Ali Yavar Jung Bahadur had also informal discussions with Sir Walter. High level constitutional discussions are going on relative to the participation of Hyderabad in the Indian Union and the Constituent Assembly and the retrocession of Berar.

An official spokesman told me that the question of Berar is coming to a head with the offer by the Nizam of complete self-government to Berar under his suzerainty and the assurances given to this effect by Sir Mirza Ismail, the Prime Minister, during his recent Berar tour. Official circles feel that there is no question of discussion over the retrocession. Historical fact and the treaty rights have already established the fact that Berar must be handed back to the Nizam, and discussions must now relate only to the details to fill in the picture.

Sir Walter Monckton in an interview he gave me this morning expressed his inability to answer various questions on these matters.

Regarding Hyderabad's participation in the Indian Union, I gather from political circles that no announcement is likely before Lord Ismay returns to India and even then it may be too early for Hyderabad to make up its mind on the question. I also gather that official circles view with incredulity the news item emanating from Delhi that Hyderabad may seek membership of the United Nations Organisation. Official circles express the view that it is inconsistent to talk of independence and membership of the United Nations Organisation in the same breath.

When Sir Walter Monckton's attention was drawn to the report appearing in the Press that he had discussions with Gandhiji before leaving for Hyderabad, he observed smiling that the news agency had forgotten to mention that he also met Pandit Nehru, Mr. Jinnah and the Viceroy the same day. Requested to express his views on Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar's statement that Travancore would be independent, Sir Walter replied that he could not answer this question as it came very near to revealing his advice relative to Hyderabad.

The Government have issued a communique repudiating certain press reports stating that Hyderabad has decided to participate in the next session of the Constituent Assembly and that Sir Mirza Ismail will be shortly visiting Simla to see Lord Mountbatten in this connection. The communique adds: "H. E. H. the Nizam's Government desire to make it clear that the report in question is entirely baseless."

ANDHRAS OF HYDERABAD WILL MERGE WITH THEIR COMPATRIOTS ELSEWHERE

—Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya

MADRAS, May 7.—"I have no doubt that the moment the Nizam of Hyderabad declares his independence, the 8,500,000 Andhras will declare their right to go to Andhra Desa and become absorbed in the province," Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Working President of the All-India States People's Conference, declared here today.

Dr. Pattabhi also said that the 4,500,000 Maharashtrians and 3,500,000 Kanarese would prefer to join the future Maharashtra and Karnataka Provinces respectively.

Dr. Pattabhi was interviewed by A.P.A. on a recent Press interview given by Sir Walter Monckton, Constitutional Adviser to the Nizam.

Asked to express his views on Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer's declaration that Travancore will become independent, Sir Monckton is reported to have replied that an answer to that question "came very near to revealing" his advice relating to Hyderabad.

Referring to this, Dr. Pattabhi said it did not follow from what Sir Walter said that his (Sir Walter's) advice would be in favour of independence for Hyderabad State.

"It is our fears and prejudices," he continued, "that interpret these statements of great lawyers and politicians. I heard a good deal of

(Contd. On Page 1 Col 7)



Dr. Pattabhi On Andhra Demand

(Continued from page 1 col. 4)
Sir Walter and a friend suggested to me that if opportunity arises I should not fail to meet him."

A PORT, A CORRIDOR

"The Nizam has several problems," Dr. Pattabhi said. "For one thing, he badly wants a port and he wants to build a corridor from Goa to Masulipatam, just a short distance of 560 miles, and ensconce himself within a well-delimited territory stretching from the east to the west coast. His anxiety, for a port also may be associated with his desire for independence. His independence, following the ending of paramountcy also means the independence of his people."

Dr. Pattabhi also declared that the Andhras, Maharashtrians and the Kanarese would declare their right to their respective provinces if the Nizam declared himself independent. He added: "That, however, does not depend upon the advice of lawyers. It can only depend upon the will of the people freely expressed. I am still hoping that Sir Walter Monckton is against the independence of Hyderabad."

On the question of rendition of Berar, Dr. Pattabhi said that the Nizam had been consulting his lawyers since 1933 on the question of ports as well as Berar. "These again are dependent upon the will of the people and not dependent upon the will of the Princes."

"Let the Nizam not think," he warned, "that Berar is a football that can be kicked from goal to goal by a powerful player, nor does the treaty relating to Berar, preceding the Government of India Act, provides for any such mechanical transfer as of goods or chattel. I have more than once said that such transfer will be resisted to the last man and to the last drop of blood."—A.P.A.

Federal Union

HYDERABAD NOT TO JOIN INDIA ASSEMBLY?

HYDERABAD (Dn.), May 7.

—A communique issued by the Nizam's Government repudiates Press reports stating that Hyderabad has decided to participate in the next session of the Constituent Assembly and that Sir Mirza Ismail will be shortly visiting Simla to see Lord Mountbatten in this connection.

The communique adds: "H.E. H. the Nizam's Government desire to make it clear that the report in question is entirely baseless."

Jai Prakash Narain Exterred From Hyderabad

ARRESTED AT DAWN: FLOWN TO BOMBAY

NIZAM PROVOKED BY PLAIN-SPEAKING

TATE TROOPS CALLED OUT TO QUELL DEMONSTRATIONS

BOMBAY, May 8.—Mr Jai Prakash Narain, the Socialist leader, who was arrested by the Hyderabad police this morning under the Defence of Hyderabad Rules, was immediately externed from the State territory and arrived in Bombay by air this evening. Mr Jai Prakash Narain, who was accompanied by his wife, was taken by the Hyderabad police to the aerodrome where he was put in a plane leaving for Bombay.

Following the arrest and externment of Mr Narain, there were demonstrations in the city in which the crowd indulged in stone-throwing, resulting in a number of casualties. Towards the evening the situation deteriorated and troops were called out in Sultan Bazar area where Section 145 of the Asafia Penal Code (corresponding to Section 141, Cr.P.C., in British India) had been promulgated earlier.

The police tear-gassed the crowd on Kingsway Road in Secunderabad in the morning and in the Sultan Bazar area in the evening. By midnight the situation in Sultan Bazar area was reported to be under control.

Four policemen are reported to have been injured, one of them seriously, and admitted to hospital. A large part of the disturbed areas was thrown into darkness since most of the street lamps were damaged. One Government railway bus was reported to have been set on fire. The Sultan Bazar area has been cordoned off by the police. Section 145 has also been promulgated in Secunderabad city for three days.

In a statement explaining the circumstances of his arrest and externment, Mr Narain says that the reason given in the notice of externment was that his speeches were likely to lead to a communal trouble. "The plea of communal tension," he says, "was obviously a convenient pretext. The main theme of my speech was democracy and freedom and the unity of India. My tour was likely to strengthen the forces of freedom and patriotism and this, rather than the imagined fear of communal trouble, was found too dangerous to be permitted."

Mr Narain adds that he told the police officers who served the notice on him that he could not comply with their Government's orders because he considered Hyderabad to be as much a part of India as any other and because he considered it to be the most elementary right of every Indian to go wherever he wished in his country. He was, thereupon, put under arrest and detained in an Inspection Bungalow in a cage a few miles away from the aerodrome. Just before the departure of the plane he and Mrs Narain were brought to the aerodrome and put into the plane which brought them to Bombay at noon.

The Next Step

Mr Narain added he was not definite about the next step he would take in the matter. "I must await," he said, "the advice from the State Congress and the Socialist group in the State. I do wish, however, to visit the State again. And I would like to make it clear, so that no false pretexts are available to anybody, that I would not touch any communal issue whatever in my speeches."

Addressing a large public meeting in Secunderabad last night Mr Narain said that the British were quitting India because circumstances compelled them to do so, but they still hoped that if Pakistan was supported and established, they would get bases and airfields in it, and that they would be asked to establish factories there in return for wheat and jute.

He said that Britain was trying her best to break the solidarity of India through the Muslim League and the Princes.

"Another Mir Jaffar"

Referring to Mr Jinnah's statement that the 1942 Congress movement was aimed at establishing Hindu Raj after driving away the British, Mr Narain said that Mr Jinnah was another "Mir Jaffar" and was helping the British to retain their power in India.

He added that Mr Jinnah was placing obstacles in the attainment of Indian independence, and his British friends relied on him and on the Princes to retain whatever hold they could over India. In face of the new spirit born out of the 1942 movement which now permeated India, the British realized that if they attempted to retain their hold over India, what little goodwill there was for them would be lost for ever.

Awakening Among People

After detailing other causes which according to the speaker had compelled the British withdrawal, such as the new awakening in the Armed Forces and among the working classes, and "Britain's reduction to a third class Power" as a result of the last war, Mr Narain said that quitting of India by the British would mean cutting off Asia. And yet, the British would endeavour to hold as much of



Mr Jai Prakash Narain

India as they possibly could for military bases and for trade and commerce.

It was now certain, he said, that the British had absolutely no place in certain provinces of the country where the Congress was in power. The British were now trying their best to settle in places where the Congress had less influence. How far they would succeed in this, time alone would show.

Mr Narain added that there could be no justification for the British to support Pakistan except to gain their own ends.

Insisting that if Pakistan was inevitable, then the partitioning of the Punjab and Bengal was essential, Mr Narain declared that a truncated Pakistan could not survive without British aid, because it would be uneconomical and impracticable.

A major part of India, he said, would be free by June 1948, but it was not clear whether India as a whole would be free. It would be meaningless if some parts of India became free while others remained under subjugation.

The Socialist leader said that the British also hoped to keep their hold on the Indian States by encouraging the Rulers to become independent after June 1948.

The British knew that the consensus of opinion among the people of the States was to unite with the Indian Union. They also knew that a Ruler could not stand up against the will of the people. The British were, therefore, supporting the Princes through the Political Department. But the States people could not be kept under subjugation for long, and would sooner or later assert their will.

If there was a struggle between the people and the Rulers, Mr Narain said, it would be harmful to the interests of the Rulers. The best course for the Rulers, therefore, was to go along with the will of their subjects.

The Socialist leader urged the Rulers to join the Indian Union. The people of the States, he said, should be prepared to make sacrifices and bring about conditions which would induce the States to join the Union. Sovereignty ultimately vested in the people, and socialism was the only remedy for the ills of India—A.P.I.

Dawn 9-5-47

CONGRESS COERCION IN STATES CRITICISED: PARTICIPATION IN CONSEMBLY UNLAWFUL

By A Correspondent.
RAJKOT, Thursday

THE following resolutions were unanimously passed by the Working Committee of the Cutch-Kathiawar Muslim League in its meeting held at Rajkot on April 27 under the presidentship of Sheth Haji Dada Haji Valimhammad.

That this meeting of the Working Committee of the Cutch-Kathiawar Muslim League views with grave apprehensions the sinister machinations practised by the Congress with a view to bringing pressure upon and coercing the native states to enter into the Constituent Assembly.

This meeting further believes that the Congress has not really accepted the Cabinet Mission's Scheme and therefore the Muslim League has boycotted the Constituent Assembly and as such the Constituent Assembly as it is existent at present represents only one community and, therefore, it is not constituted according to the stipulations of the Cabinet Mission and hence the so-called Constituent Assembly has no right to claim the representation of the whole of India nor it is entitled to frame any future constitution of India or its part in purview of the Cabinet Mission's Scheme.

CONGRESS COERCION

Under the afore-said circumstances the meeting thinks that the participation of the states in the deliberations of such an unconstitutional, incomplete and incompetent Constituent Assembly would not only tantamount to appeasing the undue greed of one party but to becoming scapegoats of a dangerous and one-sided political conspiracy directed towards the complete political eradication of the hundred million Muslims of India.

The meeting, therefore, once upon the native states of India in general and those of Cutch and Kathiawar in particular, (1) to observe complete neutrality till the complete solution of the communal question of British India is achieved and, (2) to be helpful in bringing about the proper solution of the communal question by abstaining from taking part in the deliberations of the so-called Constituent Assembly formed by the Congress.

UNJUST POLICY

1. The meeting, therefore, once again urges upon the native states of Cutch and Kathiawar that since the object of introducing the constitutional reforms is to associate the people's voice in the administration of the states, Muslims also, as one of the sections of the subjects ought to get adequate representation which could only be feasible by conceding to them fully their rightful demands namely: (1) separate representation with proper weightage and separate electorates and, (2) effective safeguards for protecting their social, religious, cultural, educational and linguistic rights and interests.

This meeting of the Working Committee of the Cutch-Kathiawar Muslim League notes with profound regret that notwithstanding the repeated appeals of this League, certain Cutch-Kathiawar states have ignored the very existence of their Muslim subjects, while introducing the constitutional reforms in their states. This unjust policy of the states concerned is only conducive to eradicating the Muslims politically and, therefore, is viewed with grave concern and apprehension by this League. This meeting believes that this policy is not only unjust but is definitely usurping the vocations and powers of Muslims subjugating them permanently to the tender mercies of the other sections of the population of the states concerned, in the new shape of things to come and as such it should be stopped forthwith.

Hindu. 11-5-47

HYDERABAD AND INDIAN UNION

DR. PATTABHI'S VIEWS CRITICISED

HYDERABAD, May 9.

Commenting on Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya's statement in regard to the attitude of Hyderabad vis-a-vis the Indian Union, Dr. Syed Abdul Latif says:

"This statement will only add to the communal tension prevailing in the country. Dr. Pattabhi knows perfectly well that Hyderabad is a major issue with the Muslims of India and, as such, a responsible member of the Congress like him should have thought twice before he expressed any views on it. Dr. Pattabhi says that the moment the Nizam declines to join the Indian Union or declares his independence, the Andhras, the Mahrattas and the Canarese people of the State would declare their right to join the Andhradesa, Maharashtra and the Karnataka and thus liquidate the Nizam's Dominion for ever.

"Dr. Pattabhi is a student of constitutional law and procedure and should know that, in the first place, remaining outside the Union does not, under the Cabinet Mission's scheme argue isolation, and, in the second place, the Nizam does not need to go through the formality of a declaration of independence. The Cabinet Mission has made it absolutely clear and it is a common-sense proposition that the moment Paramountcy disappears, Hyderabad reverts to the status quo ante and automatically stands independent. But the full independence thus regained does not again argue isolation.

"If, for any reason, Hyderabad does not rush to join the Union, it is at liberty in terms of the Cabinet Mission's plan to enter in the character of an independent State into some particular political relationship with the Union and collaborate with it on terms of equality in matters of common interest to both. What that relationship should be like is a matter for negotiation. Party politicians in the position of Dr. Pattabhi should, in a spirit of goodwill, concentrate on this alternative so that agreement might be reached honourably alike to the Nizam and the rest of India. That way alone lies the creation and maintenance of mutual regard and the peace of the country. To choose any other path, is to disturb the age-long and harmonious relations which have subsisted between Hindus and Muslims of the Dominion.

"I sincerely hope that Congress leaders of Hyderabad will develop a sober attitude towards the problem of Hyderabad and thereby contribute to the peaceful solution of the larger problem of India's freedom. But if it is the ultimate aim of the Congress to remove Andhras, Mahrattas and Canarese from under the rule of the Nizam, the right method will be the peaceful exchange of populations, so that Muslims of India living to the south of the Vindhya mountains, now thinly distributed in the Central Provinces, Bombay, Madras and South Indian Hindu States, may move to Hyderabad and lead a secure life. In fact, that is the fatality towards which the Congress, in its mad desire for power, is forcing the country to move rapidly. Already, the Congress has achieved Pakistans, one to the north-west and the other to the north-east. Is it going to create a third in the Deccan?"—F.O.C.

Hindya - 5-47

UNITY OF INDIA

SUPPORT OF WESTERN INDIA STATES

AGREEMENT TO JOIN CONFEDERATION

BOMBAY CONFERENCE'S DECISION

BOMBAY, May 9.

The Rulers and representatives of the States of Western India, Gujarat, Rajputana, and Central India, who had met to adopt the final draft of a constitution for a Confederation, concluded their session to-day after setting up a Committee to effect such changes as will enable all constituents to agree to join the Confederation.

The Conference, which was not attended by Junagadh and Bhavnagar, unanimously adopted a resolution reiterating their faith in the unity of India and declaring their intention to set up a "Confederation with the object" *inter alia* of facilitating the entry, collectively of our States into the All-India Union."

The resolution says: "We, the Rulers of the States of Western India, Gujarat, Rajputana, and Central India, hereby reiterate our firm belief in the desirability of confederating the States in our areas; and we do hereby reiterate our faith in the aims and objects set out in Article 4 of the draft constitution under our consideration.

"We firmly believe in the unity of India and we do declare that we shall set up a Confederation with the object *inter alia* of facilitating the entry collectively of our States into the All-India Union."

The Conference considered at length the final draft of the proposed constitution of the Confederation. As some sections participating in the Conference wanted certain changes to be effected in the draft constitution, the Conference appointed a Committee of 16 persons, to be presided over by the Jam Saheb of Nawanagar, to examine the "constitution in full detail with a view to reporting whether any changes need to be made therein to make it ready for our final acceptance."

The Committee will commence its work immediately, and it is expected that the States concerned will meet in another Conference in about two months by which time the Committee is expected to complete its work.

NAWANAGAR TO JOIN INDIA ASSEMBLY

JAM SAHEB CONFERS WITH SARDAR PATEL

(By Our Special Correspondent)

It is now practically certain that Nabha, Dholpur, Nawanagar and certain other States from Western India, Rajputana and Central India would soon announce their decision to join the Constituent Assembly.

The rulers of Nabha, Dholpur and Nawanagar had prolonged discussions with Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel at his residence on Sunday.

The Jam Saheb of Nawanagar, accompanied by Col. Himmat Singhji, arrived in Delhi by air from Bombay on Sunday morning. They drove to Sardar Patel's residence from the aerodrome and had lunch with him. The discussions between Sardar Patel and the Jam Saheb lasted over three hours. The Jam Saheb is leaving for Kotah on Monday by air.

The recent discussions at Bombay between the rulers and the representatives of Western India States, it is understood, have convinced the Princes of the Nawanagar group that the best course for them would be to join the Constituent Assembly and participate in the framing of India's future constitution.

The Jam Saheb's recent visit to the United Kingdom presumably convinced him that the British 'Quit India' declaration was seriously meant. The Jam Saheb, it is understood, has assured Sardar Patel that Nawanagar and other Western India States were now prepared to come into the Constituent Assembly.

The rulers of Nabha and Dholpur met Sardar Patel together later in the evening. The two Princes, it is understood, will announce their decision to join the Constituent Assembly early enough to enable the representatives of these States to sit in the Assembly when it meets in July.

The A.P.I. adds:

The Jam Saheb said he was keen on entering the Constituent Assembly as early as possible but pointed out that he could not do so by himself as the population of his State was only half a million. The confederation scheme of Rajputana, Central India, Kathiawar and Gujarat States would enable the 38 States concerned to send in eight or nine representatives to the Assembly in a group. The principle of 50:50 representation as between the rulers' representatives and people's representatives agreed upon by the States Negotiating Committee would hold good in respect of the confederation's representatives.

Object Of London Visit

The Jam Saheb refuted rumours that his recent visit to London was for political purposes and recalled that since 1920 he had been of the opinion that the future of India must be settled in the country by the people among themselves. Emphatically repudiating reports that he had during his visit to Britain contacted Tory leaders in an effort to stem the progress of the country, the Jam Saheb said he had met only such of the Ministers of the British Government as were concerned directly in his efforts to purchase a motor car factory for his State. He had not met Mr Churchill or any other Tory leader. He had carried no message or letter, as reported, from the Nawab of Bhopal to any person in the U.K. In fact, he added, the Nawab of Bhopal did not even know he was going to London.

Sawantwadi Ruler Assumes "Gadi" PLEDGE TO PEOPLE

From Our Special Correspondent

SAWANTWADI, May 12: An appeal to the people of the State to help him in the difficult task ahead was made by His Highness the Raja of Sawantwadi, replying to the address delivered by the Resident of the Deccan States at the durbar today on the occasion of His Highness's installation on the "gadi".

He said it was well-known to what extent his father had worked for the happiness and prosperity of his subjects. He promised that he would always keep his motto before him. "The happiness of my people," he added, "is my happiness and their contentment is my contentment."

The Raja paid a great tribute to his mother for efficiently carrying on the administration of the

State during his minority, in which difficult task she had received co-operation from his subjects and officials. He also thanked the Resident and his predecessors for the help given to the State during the Regency administration.

His Highness also referred feelingly to the officials who were responsible for his education and to his brother officers of the Mahratta Light Infantry regimental centre in Belgaum for the help they had given him while he was under training.



INDIA'S DIFFICULTIES

"No thinking person can fail to see that India—and not the least Indian States—has many difficulties to contend with in the next few years," said the Resident, announcing that His Excellency the Crown Representative, on behalf of His Majesty the King, had approved of His Highness's investiture with ruling powers over Sawantwadi State.

The Resident said: "Your Highness is a man," who has taken great pains to fit yourself for the task of ruling, by broadening your knowledge of men and of the conduct of affairs, first by your attachment to the Mahratta Light Infantry in Belgaum, and then by the training which you have secured under the Commissioner, Southern Division.

CONTRIBUTION TO WAR

"The men of your State responded nobly to the call to the defence of freedom in the war which has just ended. Your Highness will, I am sure, make it your proud task to ensure for them the freedom for which they all fought and for which some gave their lives.

"So long as I, or my successors, occupy this Residency we shall be glad to give you all the support and advice that is in our power. When the Residency is no longer here, we shall wish you that confidence, happiness and pride that are enjoyed by a ruler whose position is based on sound administration and love and loyalty of his subjects."

Shrimant Shivram Savant Bhonsle was born on August 13, 1927 at Kirkee, Poona. After the accidental death of his father in July, 1937, he, then a minor, was recognised by the Crown Representative as successor to the "gadi" of the State.

The Raja received his private education in Sawantwadi and his secondary education at Doon School at Dehra Dun. He joined Wadia College, Poona, but left it after nine months to take up military training. In July 1944, he joined the Mahratta Light Infantry's regimental centre at Belgaum. He worked there as Signals Officer, Welfare Officer, Education Officer and Weapons Training Officer. He ended his training in the Army as an assistant to the Adjutant of the Regimental Centre.

The Raja, who is a member of the Bhonsle Dynasty, is the son of the late Raja and Shrimant Parvatidevi Rani Sahib, grand-daughter of His late Highness Sayajirao of Baroda and a sister of the present ruler of Baroda. On assuming full ruling powers after the death of her husband, Her Highness the Regent made a strong drive for adult education and rural uplift. She also paid great attention to public health and industrialisation of the State.

"DECLARE KASHMIR AN INDEPENDENT SOVEREIGN STATE"

NEW DELHI, Monday.

AT a meeting of the Working Committee of the Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference Co-ordination Organisation British India, held here yesterday, the following resolution was unanimously passed:

"The Working Committee of the Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference Co-ordination Organisation fully endorses and supports the announcement of Ch. Hamidullah Khan, President of the Kashmir State Muslim Conference, asking the Maharaja of Kashmir to declare Jammu and Kashmir an independent and Sovereign State and to convene as soon as possible a Constituent Assembly representing the people of Kashmir to frame a constitution for the free State of Kashmir.

"The Working Committee assures their brethren in Kashmir of their whole-hearted support in this behalf."

"The Committee further appeals to the Maharaja to release all the Muslim Conference detenus unconditionally in order that Muslims may be able to extend their co-operation to the Maharaja on the lines suggested by Chaudhri Hamidullah Khan and jointly and confidently face the future problems of the State, and build for Kashmir a position worthy of its history in the comity of nations."—OPI.

Satyagraha Was Forced On Nepal Congress

—DR LOHIA

BENARES, May 12.—"Some Hindus are worried about the satyagraha in Nepal. I have indeed ceased to be a Hindu in politics, but would I do anything to hurt the independent kingdom of the Hindustani people?" Thus observes Dr Ram Manohar Lohia, in a statement today.

He adds: "The satyagraha, however, was forced on the Nepal Congress when it was barely two months old. Its office-bearers were arrested while they were conducting a peaceful workers' strike in Biratnagar Mills. The mills have already conceded the terms of the strikers to such of the workers as have gone back to work. At the request of the Biratnagar Administration a list of over 600 workers was prepared who are still on strike and whose names I could gather. This was necessary in view of the Government's assertion that almost all the workers had gone to work. I am now informed that the Biratnagar Administration has broken off all negotiations and is determined to go to any length in order to teach a lesson to the workers."

Tests Of Satyagraha

"The satyagraha for civil liberties will go on. Nepalese alone will take part in it. For over eight months, Nepalese residing in Benares and in Calcutta had been pressing me for advice and support. As one Indian to another, I could not deny it to them. Nepal and Hindustan may choose to remain two different countries and States, but we are both one people. Although I could not accept the Nepal Prime Minister's invitation to visit him at Kathmandoo I wish that this message be communicated to him, that I had not the least desire to dictate or to interfere and that I was giving a friendly advice to the people of Nepal on the one hand and to His Highness on the other."

"Many Nepalese have wondered if it is at all possible to alter conditions in Nepal peacefully. The rot is too far gone and too firmly established. But there is no cause for despair. This satyagraha will be judged primarily by two tests. How far it will give people courage to think and act and what numbers it will bring to suffer imprisonment and the like."

Darjeeling Nepalese

Discussing the political future of Nepalese in Darjeeling and elsewhere, Dr Lohia says: "The Gurkha League of Darjeeling has been wanting Darjeeling and part of Jalpaiguri to be associated with the province of Assam. The Communist Party had declared for a Gorakhlstan comprising of Nepal and Darjeeling and a part of Jalpaiguri."

"I do not care what happens to Darjeeling once the Indian Union has been brought into being and is firmly on its feet. It can join up with Assam or stay within Union of Bengal or constitute itself into a new province. Today, however, Darjeeling must play its part in the creation of the Union State of Bengal and that is why I urge these Gurkhas to regard themselves Indians first and Bengalees next."

Greater Rights

"I hope that the Gurkha League will not continue to fall into the trap so well laid by Communists and all other orders of evil who would like to see Bengal get outside the Indian Union or our country cut to pieces. I also trust the Assam Congressmen who can fight out their battles without the support of Darjeeling will not encourage Gurkha League in their desire for the district. Those of Gurkha ancestry in the district of Darjeeling must soon enough play their part in the satyagraha of Nepal and equally in the effort to create the Union State in Bengal. I do not have to assure them that they will have greater rights and protection in this than in any other way."—A.P.I.

Hindustan Times 14-5-47

SATYAGRAHA THREAT IN INDORE STATE

ULTIMATUM TO RULER TO JOIN CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

(From Our Correspondent)

INDORE, May 12.—The Central Working Committee of the Indore Rajya Praja Mandal has decided to launch immediately a State-wide movement to force the hands of the Ruler of Indore State to join the Constituent Assembly.

This emergency session of the Committee, which is affiliated to the All-India States People's Conference, was presided over by Mr. R. D. Totia, President of the Praja Mandal, who returned here a few days ago from Delhi after meeting Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.

Expressing its deep sense of surprise and regret over the fact that the Indore State has not yet decided to join the Constituent Assembly, the Committee states in a resolution that this attitude of the State is leading the people to think that Indore has no intention of playing its due role in respect of the question of Indian Independence. This policy, says the resolution, is not only wholly inconsistent with the declared progressive views of the Indore Ruler, Maharaja Yeshwantrao Holkar, but is also against the dignity and honour of the 17 lakhs of people in the State.

Ruler's Promise Recalled

Recalling the appeal of the Indore Ruler addressed to brother princes of India in 1942, wherein the former had advised them to rise above petty questions and decide to join the Indian Union whenever it came into existence, the resolution says that the

Working Committee had reasons to hope that the Ruler of Indore would definitely join the Union and decide to send elected representatives of the people to the Constituent Assembly. This hope has not yet been realised even though a number of major Indian States are now participating in the Constituent Assembly.

Expressing its sincere hope that the Ruler would decide to join the India Assembly in the near future, an act which would be treated as a definite step towards the establishment of full responsible government in the State, the Committee has called upon the people of Indore State to force the hands of the Ruler to do so.

Doc 114-5-47

Wednesday, May 12, 1947.

MUSLIM LEAGUE CANNOT ALLOW ANY PARTY TO COERCE THE STATES INTO SUBMISSION

---KHALIQUEZZAMAN

BHOPAL, Tuesday.

CHOWDHURY KHALIQUEZZAMAN, member of the Muslim League Working Committee, who is here on a brief personal visit, in a statement today says that "while the Muslim League has so far religiously refrained from interfering with the internal problems of the States or meddling with their affairs, it cannot surely allow any party to coerce the States into submission.

He urges the States Muslim Leaguers to close their ranks and vigilantly watch the developments and be prepared to help the states to defend their rights against what he calls "the organised attempt of the Congress to dictate their policy".

The following is the full text of his statement:

"Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru set the ball rolling against the States which desire to stand out of the Constituent Assembly and the effect of his speech" at Gwalior is now visible all-round. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya has threatened Hyderabad that if it does not join the Indian Union, its dominions will be torn away from the State and annexed to the other provinces. Mr. Jaiprakash Narain has carried the challenge to the very door of Hyderabad, which has resulted in some loss of life and thereafter at Bombay he has threatened both Hyderabad and Bhopal with dire consequences.

While the Muslim League has so far religiously refrained from interfering with internal problems of States or meddling with their affairs, it cannot surely allow any party to coerce the States into submission.

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, General Secretary, All-India Muslim League has already made the policy of the Muslim League quite clear on the point and I hope the Congress

High Command will put a stop to this brow-beating and will not complicate the Indian problem any further.

In these circumstances, I would urge upon the States Muslim Leaguers to close their ranks and vigilantly watch the developments and be prepared to help the States to defend their rights against the organised attempt of the Congress to dictate their policy. The State Muslim League organisations in Hyderabad and Bhopal would do well to take note of Mr. Jaiprakash Narain's speech at Bombay, in which he has made particular reference to these two States and strengthen their organisations so as to be able to resist the imposition of a union centre against their will."

Chowdhury Khaliquzzaman is leaving today for Hyderabad (Dn.) to attend the Urdu Conference Leaders of Bhopal State Muslim League and Bhopal Women Muslim League had separate interviews with him.—API.

Statesman
19/5/47

STATUS OF FUTURE HYDERABAD

"PEOPLE SOURCE OF ALL SOVEREIGNTY"

MASULIPATAM, May 13.—The reversion of paramountcy would mean as much the independence of the Ruler of Hyderabad as of the people of the State, said Dr Pattabhi Saramayya, Working President of the All-India States People's Conference, in a reply to Dr Abdul Latif's recent statement regarding the future of Hyderabad.

"When Dr Latif takes it for granted that 'Hyderabad is a major issue with the Muslims of India,' he makes a proposition which cannot commend itself to others. Why is Hyderabad a major issue? Is it because the Muslim population is in a majority there? As a matter of fact, the Muslims are 11.5 per cent of the population.

The very fact that the representation of the States in the Constituent Assembly comprises popularly elected representatives of the people of the State through the legislature at least equal in numbers to those nominated by the Prince is proof positive that the Prince does not represent the sole authority in deciding the destiny of the State. The people have at least an equal voice with the Prince in deciding the future of Hyderabad vis-à-vis the Union.

Dr Latif depends upon the Cabinet Mission's statement of May 12, 1946, to the effect that on 'the provinces attaining independence paramountcy reverts to States.' But even granting that it prescribes by law and procedure that Hyderabad reverts to the status quo ante, to quote Dr Latif's words, Hyderabad's so-called independence will be as much the independence of the people of Hyderabad as of the Prince. It is this independence that I refer to when I claim freedom for the three linguistic units. These units have not sold themselves out to a Prince and were slaves only so long as the Prince was a slave to the British. Otherwise they are the centre, seat and source of all sovereignty and they will exercise it when the British paramountcy ceases."

Continuing, Dr Pattabhi said: "I fully endorse Dr Latif's unassailable suggestion that we must all co-operate in a spirit of goodwill so that agreement might be reached honourably alike to the Nizam and the rest of India. But Dr Latif's suggestion in favour of an exchange of populations as between the State and Bombay, the C.P., Madras, and the South Indian States is amusing. May I suggest an alternative? Instead of shifting populations, running up to millions, involving four States and three provinces, may we not think of requesting HH the Nizam of Hyderabad to exchange his kingdom with the Maharaja of Kashmir? Surely this idea is not more fantastic than Dr Latif's."—API.

Hindustan Times
18/5/47

PRASAD URGES TRAVANCORE TO JOIN UNION

TRIVANDRUM, May 17.—Addressing a public meeting last night at Trivandrum, Dr Rajendra Prasad, Minister for Food and Agriculture in the Interim Government and President of the Constituent Assembly, declared that a time would soon come, and that is not long in coming, when Travancore State would decide to join the Indian Union. He was of the view that the State could not cut itself adrift from the rest of India and have a separate existence of its own.

World Rice Conference opens.
see page 12

Jam Saheb's Plan Given The Lie

(From Our Correspondent)
RAJKOT, May 18 — Mr U. N. Dhebar, Secretary of the Kathiawar Political Conference has warned the States' people against falling for the confederation proposal of the Jam Saheb of Nawanagar.

According to an A.P.I. message Mr Dhebar's statement said:

"The people of Kathiawar have conspicuously taken it for granted that the Confederation Scheme has been dropped. That it was on the verge of dying is true but let me tell them it is not still dead. The Jam Saheb is still confident that the scheme will be successful and he thinks, possibly with justification, that all the States of Kathiawar except Bhavnagar and Junagadh have endorsed it. He is also trying to justify the Scheme on the ground that these small States can only join the Constituent Assembly as a confederation.

"The Jam Saheb is reported to have told the Press at Delhi that he was keen on entering the Constituent Assembly as early as possible but he could not do so by himself as the population of his State was only half a million."

Mr Dhebar added: "Let us not forget that every day that this scheme survives is one more day of humiliation for us and one additional day of shame and dishonour. Everybody that breathes in India will be free but those that will live under the Confederation in its present form will continue to be slaves and serfs of the Princes."

FAITH IN INDIA'S UNITY

RAJENDRA PRASAD'S CONFIDENCE

ADDRESS TO COCHIN PRAJA MANDAL

"CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY WILL GO AHEAD"

TRICHUR, May 18.
The categorical assertion that the Constituent Assembly would go ahead with the task of framing a constitution for India was made by Babu Rajendra Prasad, President of the Indian Constituent Assembly, inaugurating the annual conference of the Cochin State Praja Mandal at Chalakudi last evening. Mr. E. Ikkanda Warriar presided.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad was given an ovation and garlanded on his arrival at the Conference pandal.

"At the present moment", said Dr. Rajendra Prasad, "there are many things which distress us. We see a chance of the country being divided into two parts, Hindustan and Pakistan. We also hear that some of the Indian States may keep aloof from the Indian Union. All this does not frighten us. I know that all this may be a passing phase. We are going to carry on our work in the hope that all will be right in the end."

Continuing, Dr. Prasad said: "The work of the Constituent Assembly is to frame a constitution which will do justice to all and which will, therefore, be acceptable to all. That itself will create forces which will make it difficult for anyone to keep out."

"The Congress", Dr. Prasad added, "had declared that it will not compel any portion of the country to submit to the Congress view. Indeed, the Congress would not need to compel those who wanted to keep out to join the Indian Union."

Reiterating his faith in the unity of India, Dr. Rajendra Prasad declared: "The country which has been made one by God and nature cannot be divided by anyone. Let us, therefore, work in that faith and then we shall succeed."

Dr. Prasad recalled India's struggle for freedom for the last 30 years and paid a tribute to Mahatma Gandhi's leadership. He said: "When any big change takes place in any country, there are many things which happen, which ought not to happen. When Mahatma Gandhi started his non-violent struggle for the attainment of freedom for India, some 27 years ago, we did not know what we would have to pass through. To-day, when we find ourselves more or less on the threshold of freedom, we can look back and consider what we have paid for reaching this state."

TASK OF THE CONGRESS

"In making a correct calculation", he stated, "we have to take into consideration the facts that existed when the struggle started. We had to face, opposed to us, a mighty Government which was armed to the teeth. That Government had the support of our own countrymen, including a very large section of the most intelligent, most cultured and most progressive of our people. Against that, Gandhiji had to create forces, which had to do without resort to violence or arms. He had discovered the only panacea, the only force which could have been set up against British might in this country, to-day if the British had decided to quit, the credit for that must go not in a small measure to Gandhiji and his method of Ahimsa. It was partly as a result of our own determination, partly as a result of the sacrifices which our people have undergone and partly as a result of the world forces which could not be controlled by any one that Britain decided to hand over power to India."

Continuing, Dr. Rajendra Prasad said: "Therefore, it is that to-day when we look back, we can have some satisfaction that we have achieved this freedom after all at little cost. Other countries that had lost their freedom had to struggle long and hard and to make much bigger sacrifices than we claim to have made for achieving freedom. And if we actually succeeded in getting freedom that we have all longed and worked for, it will have been one of the miracles of history."

Appealing to the people not to get impatient, Dr. Prasad said: "Things have gone on quite satisfactorily from our point of view so far. It may be that everything that is happening is not to our satisfaction or to my satisfaction. But we know that the basis on which the rule had been so long founded is crumbling. Autocracy in every form is crumbling and its place has been taken up by the democratic will of the people at large."

Speaking of the Cochin State, Dr. Prasad said: "I understand that within this State, it is already decided that you will have a responsible form of Government. It is a happy sign of the times. I am also glad that the representative of your State has already joined the Constituent Assembly. I take it that it is proof that your State will join the Indian Union when it comes to be formed under the new Constitution that is to be framed by the Constituent Assembly."

MR. IKKANDA WARRIER'S ADDRESS

In the course of his presidential address, Mr. E. Ikkanda Warriar said: "Cochin is entering the most glorious chapter in her history. Her future is now for us alone to fashion. Her Maharaja has given the lead and is a shining example to all the other Princes. Let us rise to the occasion and be an example to the peoples of the States by proving ourselves worthy of the responsibilities entrusted to us."

After tracing the course of recent political events in Cochin, Mr. Ikkanda Warriar explained, in the course of his address in Malayalam, how the people of Cochin were able to win Responsible Government fighting under the banner of the Praja Mandal. He paid a tribute to the enlightened attitude of the Maharaja and reffered to the advancement made possible under the auspices of the Praja Mandal. "Whatever may be our shortcomings and limitations", he said "it cannot be gainsaid that we in Cochin have planted the seedling of full Responsible Government with the Maharaja as the constitutional head." Full Responsible Government on the basis of adult franchise had been promised and an Interim Government set up. The preparation of the scheme for future constitution by the constitutional Advisory Committee was nearing completion and the necessary machinery for the preparation of electoral vote had been set up and officers appointed. Cochin had decided to join the Indian Union and its member elected by the Legislative Council was sitting in the Constituent Assembly. The problem facing Cochin to-day was to prepare themselves to shoulder the responsibility which they sought for and practically won and to use it in the cause of the suffering millions.

Mr. Ikkanda Warriar then surveyed important problems of social reform

(Continued on page 7.)

FAITH IN INDIA'S UNITY

(Continued from page 5.)

awaiting solution, like the removal of untouchability and temple-entry. Touching upon the question of the unification of Kerala, he criticised the attitude of Travancore. He said that the people of Travancore, Cochin and British Malabar were enthusiastically in favour of such unification. The principle of linguistic provinces had been accepted as early as 1920 by the Indian National Congress. The Madras Government, of which British Malabar formed part, had very recently declared itself in favour of it by passing a resolution in the Madras Assembly. He added that the opposition of Travancore had to be got over. It would be a great mistake to think that Cochin and British Malabar were not concerned with it. "We must," he said, "give all support to the people of Travancore to capture power for themselves. It will be easier then than now to decide the terms under which we unite."

After discussing the role of students in politics and appealing to the jemies and the capitalistic classes to understand the real needs of the masses, Mr. Ikkanda Warriar said: "I may claim with all modesty that the Praja Mandal is an institution started with a view to serving the masses and with a programme on the lines of the great Indian National Congress. It is growing from strength to strength, its membership has steadily increased from year to year with primary Committees in all the nooks and corners of the State."

Hindustan Times 19-5-47

STATES' PEOPLE WARNED AGAINST ACCEPTING CONFEDERATION PLAN

(From Our Correspondent)

RAJKOT, May 17.—Mr Dhebar, Secretary of the Kathiawar Political Conference has warned against the States' people against falling for the confederation proposal of the Jam Sahab of Nawanganagar.

Referring to the Jam Sahab's statement that confederation of Rajputana, Central India, Kathiawar and Gujarat would enable 38 States to send eight or nine representatives to the Constituent Assembly, he said that the Jam Sahab would try to parade such representation as an act of resignation on the part of the Constituent Assembly and top-leaders in Delhi.

Mr Dhebar added: "So far as Congress leadership is concerned no scheme which has not been drafted by the people can have any chance of acceptance." He has asked the people to continue their opposition to the confederation proposal and not to be deluded into thinking that the scheme has become less objectionable because the Jam Sahab has met Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and agreed to join the Constituent Assembly.

TRAVANCORE'S FUTURE

INDEPENDENT STATUS FAVoured

DEWAN EXPLAINS POSITION

TRIVANDRUM, May 17

Addressing a Press Conference here to-day, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan of Travancore, said that Travancore would for the sake of unity readily undertake any sacrifice to come into a unified India. He added that as it was now clear that there was to be no such unified India, Travancore should not be forced to barter away her inherent independence.

Travancore Government had entered into an arrangement with the Indian Government for the purpose of conjoint research on mineral sands and mica research. They had also entered into certain arrangements with the British Government for a joint research and exploitation of the mineral sands of Travancore and production of atomic energy.

Announcing this at a Press Conference this morning at "Bhakti Vilas", Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan, clarified the attitude of the Travancore Government with regard to the internal problems and those affecting her relations with British India, England, America and other countries. On the topic of independence, the Dewan of Travancore stated categorically, "There is no getting away from the fact that to-day, it is not possible for any country to be independent in an old and narrow sense. It is not possible even for England, America or Russia, for instance, to be absolutely independent." In this connection, he expressed surprise at the statement by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru that the States which did not come into the Constituent Assembly now would be treated as hostile. Even the UNO has not treated as hostile the countries which till recently carried on fight against them and the Dewan was sure that Pandit Nehru did not desire to treat non-conforming States worse than countries which fought against the Allies.

The Dewan deplored the tendency at present to dub States which did not follow the Congress programme as dancing to the tune of the British Government. While admitting the intimate friendship between himself and the Nawab of Bhopal, the Dewan pointed out that this did not mean that either of them adopted the other's political ideology. His personal opinion was that for the sake of the unity of India as a whole, no sacrifice was too great and if there was to be one unified India, Travancore would readily undertake every sacrifice and come into it. As it was now clear, however, that there was to be no such unified India, a question arose, what was to be their programme. To suggest that he was asking Indian States to commit themselves to reactionary policy, was grossly unfair. "If there is to be an united India, whether it is achieved by negotiations on June 2 or failing negotiations in other ways, Travancore would be glad to function as a part of that united India subject only to safeguards of her rights and special needs by special treaty or other arrangements."

Emphasising the unique character of Travancore, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar said that there were only four or five States in India like Cutch, Baroda, Jamnagar, and Bhavnagar Group and Cochin which could claim to be maritime States depending upon trade and commerce for their revenue.

Travancore in particular had to look to customs, excise, income-tax, forests, transport dividends and interests, stamps and paper currency for her main sources of revenue. But from the sources of central revenue listed by the Union Powers Committee, it would appear that the Central Government would collect taxes from Customs, Excise, Income-tax, tax on capital value of assets, etc., and refund the share due to the States on population basis. Thus, Travancore might have to surrender about two to three crores every year and get back a fraction of that sum in return, thus crippling her resources.

"KERALA UNION IS IMPRACTICABLE"

Turning to the United Kerala Movement, Sir Ramaswami Aiyar said that Travancore had never raised any objection to a loose-knit federation whereby common policies could be evolved for these three units, but there could be no merger of all these units into one. Kerala Union was a most impracticable plan unless Travancore was prepared for a long time to postpone her schemes of expansion and amelioration. It might, therefore, definitely be taken for granted that Travancore will have nothing to do with the United Kerala outlined at Trichur.

After detailing the schemes of expansion that the Government had before them such as enhanced expenditure on education, Public Works, medical, army, schemes of old-age pensions and comprehensive insurance for the people of the State, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar pointed out that from financial and practical considerations, they must continue to possess resources which bounteous Nature and careful foresight and the vision of His Highness had placed in their hands.

Further, 20 per cent of the food imports came from Sind and the Punjab and their rubber went to Pakistan and Hindusthan areas. Travancore could, therefore, not afford to merge itself with one part of India exclusively, but must keep on friendly terms with both sides, but this did not mean that there would not be close co-operation with the future Central Government or Governments.

Dealing with mineral sands resources, the Dewan disclosed that the Government were taking steps to promote a company with foreign experts for processing monozite into thorium nitrate and have agreed to permit export of 3,000 tons of monozite per annum to England for three months. For production of titanium oxide, a company had been already formed.

Sir Ramaswami Aiyar emphasised that Travancore was better fitted than any other part of India to remain independent. She had practically the monopoly of several important products like coconut and copra and coconut products, tea, rubber, cardamom, ginger, pepper and kaolin. She had much to give to the rest of India and little to export except food.

She was also unique in being unconquered by any foreign Power and she should not be asked to barter away her innate and inherent independence if no united India was to emerge.

APPEAL TO STATE CONGRESS

Regretting the absence of the State Congress and the Nair Service Society from the deliberations of the Franchise and Delimitation Committees, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar made "a prayerful appeal" to them to come in and take part in moulding the future constitution of the State.

Concluding, he appealed to all sections of the population to co-operate with the Government and assured them that if the Ruler and his subjects worked together in harmony for the common purpose of the good of the State, Travancore would rise to her full stature in the forthcoming set-up of India and can easily be an effective and independent entity co-operating in every direction to bring about triumphal progress of the country as a whole.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar is flying from here to-morrow morning to Coimbatore en route to Ooty. He will visit Delhi at the end of the month and after attending the Leaders' Conference will return here about June 6.—A.P.L.

Hindu 21-5-47

MR. K. T. BASHYAM'S CALL TO DEWAN

BANGALORE, May 19.

The Dewan of Mysore would not be right in waiting for the expected declaration of the British Cabinet. Nothing in the State turned on that declaration, said Mr. K. T. Bashyam, ex-President of the Mysore State Congress and member of the Working Committee, delivering the inaugural address of Mithra Sangha.

"Whether India is divided or not, we are bound to have Responsible Government in the State", declared Mr. Bashyam and called upon the Dewan to act with speed, courage and determination in implementing the promises made by him.

Mr. Bashyam earlier said that it was idle and dangerous to think of Mysore as a separate Sovereign State. "It is impracticable and unsafe alike for Mysore and for India. Indian independence will be meaningless with a hundred million of its population scattered over a separate Sovereign State. Treaty alliances can never make for lasting unity. People of every State and from every part of India must voluntarily combine into a united people of India, with a strong Central Government able to maintain law and order at home and resist invasion from abroad. Otherwise, history will repeat itself and we shall once again be enslaved by a powerful military nation. The people of Mysore should not allow their local patriotism to be flattered into the dangerous desire for separation. We must throw our lot with the rest of India. We must feel that we are Indians first and all other things next. Mysore should, therefore, declare its readiness to join the Constituent Assembly and the Union Centre.

DEMAND FOR RESPONSIBLE GOVT.

Mr. Bashyam referred to the growing impatience of the people for such a declaration and for the introduction of Responsible Government in the State. "I do not wish to hustle the Dewan but if I am to reflect public opinion I cannot help cautioning him against any further delay. He has had all the time in the world not only for framing a constitution but also for introducing it. We demand that he must take steps at once for election of representatives. He must also finalise forthwith his proposals and introduce full Responsible Government in the State. Any further delay will only increase bitterness in the public life of the country."—A.P.I.

Hindustan Times 24-5-47

THREE POPULAR MINISTERS FOR UDAIPUR

(From Our Correspondent)

UDAIPUR, May 23.—A Legislative Assembly, the members of whose members will be elected on the basis of adult franchise and appointment of three popular ministers are the main features in the constitutional reforms announced by the Maharana of Udaipur today.

Strong Centre Needed

Speaking on the occasion of the Pratap Jyanti celebrations Maharana Sir Bhupal Singh of Udaipur said that the Rulers and people of Rajasthan had always been knit together by kinship, language and uniformity of institutions. When territorial disputes were taking place in India and a large Indian Union was being formed, States which were small in comparison to British Indian provinces would be doomed to extinction unless they pooled their resources. Such a union alone would preserve the territorial integrity of the States and the dignity of the Rulers and still be an effective constituent unit of India.

The Maharana added that it was the duty and privilege of every Indian to contribute his best in setting up a strong Central Government in Delhi, which would be able to maintain internal peace and which would handle external affairs to the best advantage.

(Continued on page 6, col. 1.)

CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS FOR UDAIPUR

(Continued from page 1, col. 5)

of the country. The Maharana urged the Rulers who had not yet decided to join the Union Constituent Assembly to do so at once and fully share the burden with those trying to create a strong and united India.

"If India lives as a world Power we all live; if India fails, we die," the Maharana added.

The Maharana said that the State Government would extend such hospitality as Mewar could afford to refugees coming from those parts of India which had been devastated by communal orgies.

The Reforms

The new constitution will provide Udaipur State with a firm, sound and enduring constitutional framework in which the people will be able to rise to the full stature of a free people under responsible Government.

The constitution is based on the rule of law administered by a Judiciary independent of the Executive. It has accepted the fundamental right that no person shall be deprived of his life, liberty or property without having recourse to the process of law.

Joint Electorates

Thirty-one members of the Legislative Assembly will be elected by adult franchise Joint electorates will be in operation in the rural areas. The Bhils and other backward communities have been given seats in the Legislature on the basis of their population. Three seats are reserved for Muslims and two for Labour. Ten members will be returned by the land-holders, five by the educated classes and five by commercial and industrial interests, one of whom will be a Muslim. Eight per cent of the Assembly seats is reserved for Muslims, who form only three and a half per cent of the State's population.

There will be only five nominated members in the Assembly, the President, three Ministers and the Prime Minister. At the end of five years all but the Prime Minister will be elected and the legislature will also have the right to dismiss the Prime Minister.

Privy Purse

A limitation is imposed on the Maharana's right to use the State revenue for his personal needs. Ten per cent of the revenues is fixed as Privy Purse. Other expenses necessary for maintaining the dignity of the monarchic institution will be determined by a quasi-judicial tribunal.

Meanwhile, two leaders of the Praja Mandal and one member of the Rajput Sabha have been appointed additional Ministers. They will take charge on May 27. The elections to the Legislature will be held as early as possible.

The Maharana Pratap Vishwavidyalaya (University) has been inaugurated, where Hindi will be the medium of instruction. The Maharana has placed at its disposal properties and funds valued at Rs. 27 lakhs and a recurring grant of Rs. two lakhs a year. The State has guaranteed a non-recurring grant of Rs. 20 lakhs for the buildings of the institution. A Vishwavidyalaya tax will also be imposed in Mewar.

Hindi written in Devanagiri script will be the official language in Mewar.

The State has decided to embark on a policy of a speedy and comprehensive economic development. The people of Mewar, who are living in extreme poverty must enjoy freedom from want, which is the fundamental right of men all the world over," said the Maharana.

Hindustan Times
24-5-47

RULE OF LAW NEEDED IN STATES

—MR K. M. MUNSHI.

UDAIPUR, May 21.—What Mewar needed most in the present times was the rule of law, said Mr K. M. Munshi, member of the Constituent Assembly, in a speech here today.

He said the Maharana of Mewar soon proposed to promulgate a constitution which would give Mewar responsible Government of a nature warranted by the almost medieval conditions in some parts of the State. Democracy was coming, but its success would depend upon the spirit of the men who worked it.

Relaxation of the British pressure had resulted in chaotic conditions in some parts of the

country, the speaker said. At such a moment the supreme need is for a Government which governs. Law and order are the first essentials of a Government. Popular parties which will soon take over the burden of running the Government must not forget the difference between the

Mr K. M. Munshi agitational attitude, to which they have been accustomed, and a strong constructive attitude which they must develop as administrators. They must aim at a strong and free Mewar in a free India.

"Mewar has been looking to the past all the time but if it wants to share the burden and privileges of a free India it must look to the future."

Referring to the Constituent Assembly, Mr Munshi said it was both the symbol and instrument of the sovereignty of the Indian people. For the first time in Indian history popular strength had produced a centre of national sovereignty, and nothing could prevent the Constituent Assembly from establishing its supremacy.

He was glad that Mewar was going to march with the times, Mr Munshi said. He was looking forward to a union of Rajasthan as a bulwark of free India. The new world looked to India to stabilize Asia, and through it the world, Mr Munshi concluded. —A.P.



H. T. 24/5/47

CONGRESS NOT AGAINST RULER

KRIPALANI'S ADDRESS TO KASHMIR CONFERENCE

SRINAGAR, May 22.—"We are against the prevailing system of Government. We are not against the Ruler of the State," said Acharya Kripalani, Congress President, addressing the workers of the Kashmir National Conference yesterday.

He said: "In the Government of his subjects lies the key of the Ruler. What we want is a democratic form of Government in this and in other States. Don't lose heart and pursue the ideal for which Sheikh Abdullah stands. Be on your guard against the anti-social elements and keep yourselves free from the communal frenzy that is raging elsewhere."

"India cannot be half-free and half-slave," said Acharya Kripalani. He thought the moment India was free the Indian States would also achieve their political freedom and it would be for the Princes and their people to co-operate with each other and choose the best form of Government suited to their needs.

He advised the National Conference workers not to indulge in personal squabbles and told them that even the Prime Minister, like an ordinary Government servant, was doing his duty in his own way. If they do not approve of the present line of Government they should endeavour to replace it by a better one by peaceful methods.

Mrs Kripalani also spoke. After the meeting one person was arrested for shouting slogans.—U.P.I. and A.P.

H. T. 24/5/47

"NO STATE CAN KEEP OUT OF INDIAN UNION"

(From Our Correspondent)

HYDERABAD, May 22.—"No Government can survive if it cannot maintain peace and order and check anti-social and goonda elements," said Dr Rajendra Prasad, Food Minister in the Interim Government, addressing an in-camera meeting of State Congress workers during his visit here.

"The India we are shaping is a democratic one and we hope to assimilate and accommodate all the progressive elements in the country," he added. "No State can possibly keep itself out of the Federal Indian Union."

He urged the State Congress workers to continue their fight with patience and forbearance.

India Express
28/5/47

CONGRESS EXECUTIVE TO DISCUSS KASHMIR

Settlement in Sight, Says Kripalani

LAHORE, May 26.—It is learnt from reliable sources that the Congress Working Committee at its forthcoming meeting will discuss the Kashmir situation, in the light of the study the Congress President had made during his recent visit there.

I hope political progress will be achieved soon and some sort of a settlement between the State authorities and the National Conference will be reached," said Acharya Kripalani. Congress President summing up the result of his recent visit to Kashmir to the C.P.I.

The Congress President said: "Public opinion in Kashmir is in favour of a settlement and there may not be any result of my going to Kashmir again." He paid warm compliments to the National Conference and said: "I am happy to find mutual good relation between the Hindus and Muslims in the State. It is a pleasant contrast to what is happening in British India. The credit for this should go to the National Conference and the people of Kashmir."

Immediately on his arrival here a large number of local Congress leaders including Mr. Bhimrao Sachdev, Mr. Rameshwar Sen, Mr. Virendra and others met the Congress President. The Kashmir National Conference leaders, Bhakshi Gulam Mohamud, Acting President, and Mr. Sadiq also met Acharya Kripalani.

Hindustan Times 27-5-47

DEO CALLS UPON RULERS TO JOIN INDIAN UNION POWER MUST BE TRANSFERRED TO THE PEOPLE

AHMEDABAD, May 26.—"The Congress, that is the people's voice, has declared that the ultimate power rests with the people and the Congress will be always behind the people, be they of so-called British India or State India," declared Mr Shankarrao Deo, General Secretary of the Indian National Congress, presiding over the Kathiawar State People's Conference last night.

He added: "The people's voice will prevail if not today, tomorrow. Other voices will soon die and will not be heard by the world. Princes should be ready to hand over power to the people and to serve them as constitutional monarchs. They should be in their own interests and in the interest of India as a whole, make a memorable contribution in creating a strong, free and united India that will take its proper place in the community of nations of the world."

Patna a halting place on the Delhi-Calcutta line. A runway at Bhagpur landing ground is being constructed and the work is nearing completion. Two landing strips have been constructed at Muzaffarpur and the work on the air strip at Purnea is likely to start very soon.

The Government are also engaged in examining the question of establishing regular air services between important District and Sub-divisional headquarters. The point whether the proposed services should be run by the Government or be entrusted to private enterprise has not yet been decided.

"Those Rulers and their Ministers, who are still wavering and thinking of remaining outside the Indian Union should throw in their lot with their fellow Indian brothers and be the makers of future glorious and independent India."

Proceeding Mr Shankarrao Deo said that the goal of the Congress was free and united India. But it was not able to curb the reactionary and communal elements in the country. There was slaughter and destruction everywhere. The country was on the brink of a civil war. The people should be prepared for self-defence and regional defence.

No Settlement Likely

The disturbances had started since the observance of the direct action day by the League. There was no possibility of the Congress-League settlement if the League insisted on the inclusion of the whole of the Punjab, Bengal, and Assam in Pakistan.

The conference passed a resolution opposing the scheme of confederation of States prepared by the Jam Sahab of Nawanganagar, as it was against the interest of the people.—A.P.I.

Statesman
29-2-47

Times of India 30-5-47

MYSORE SHOULD AWAIT JUNE 2 ANNOUNCEMENT

BANGALORE, May 28.—The view that Mysore should await the announcement of June 2 before making any statement on the question of entering the Constituent Assembly was expressed by the Dewan, Sir A. Ramaswamy Mudaliar, when he addressed the budget session of the Mysore Representative Assembly today.

It was generally agreed, said the Dewan, that, on the basis of the Cabinet Mission's plan, the area of authority at the Union Centre being defined thereby, Mysore State, along with others, would find it possible to take part in the deliberations of the Constituent Assembly.

"The course of events was suddenly

arrested by the declaration of His Majesty's Government on February 20, 1947, and by the uncertainties that followed that pronouncement", Sir Ramaswamy Mudaliar continued. "Within the next week, a momentous announcement is expected which may alter the fundamental basis of the Cabinet Mission's plan and may, though I fervently hope it will not, make a united Central Government with even a few powers impossible. I think ordinary prudence and courtesy alike require that we should await the announcement of June 2 before making any further statement.

"I feel we are drifting in a unrealistic state when all emphasis is laid on entry into the Constituent Assembly and little attention is devoted to what attitude the delegates should take in such a Constituent Assembly. The obligations that a State would undertake the rights and privileges, if any, which may be assured to the State—these are matters of even greater paramount interest than the question of mere entry of a State into the Constituent Assembly at the initial stage. For these are subjects on a satisfactory settlement or solution of which will depend the ultimate accession of a State into the Union".—API.



Sir A. Ramaswamy
Mudaliar

"India's Problems Cannot Be Solved By Violence"

SIR MIRZA ISMAIL'S CALL TO YOUTH FOR TOLERANCE

NEW DELHI, May 29.

SIR Mirza Ismail, Prime Minister of Hyderabad, who is now in Delhi for the forthcoming constitutional negotiations on behalf of the Nizam's Government, has issued an appeal to the youth of India to think for themselves and not allow themselves to be committed to "imprudent folly."

The world's problems and India's problems could not be solved by war, though so many in India talked of settling grave issues by violence. The problems facing the country were such that they faced all, irrespective of caste, creed, or condition. The task was stupendous but he said that he did not doubt that it could be achieved.

Sir Mirza continued: "The aged are too often deaf to the voice of experience; but it is at least fitting that the fruit of experience should be offered to youth, so that youth can select from it what it considers to be good and discard that which it believes to be bad.



Sir Mirza Ismail

"I do not suggest to you that anything good is ever achieved by the preaching of mere moral prejudice. Probably the contrary is true. Certainly, today throughout India a very great deal of moral prejudice is being both insidiously disseminated, and where the soil of discontent is ready to receive it, is cattered willy-nilly, and evil seed whose harvest can sustain no one.

After referring to the deplorable conditions of the countries in Europe—a result of the rule of dictators—Sir Mirza said:

Today, at least not yet, our country is not threatened from outside; but it is threatened from within. As to that, my advice to you is to do your own thinking.

The edifice of our nation is of many fabrics. Geographically we are an entity sufficiently isolated from bordering countries to have kept our historical processes detached for long periods. Our peoples have thus acquired a stamp of character which, though of various designs, is basically different from those of other lands. This we are proud to call Indian and though our ways of life may differ, and our religions and even language be diverse, we remain Indians and as such are brothers, whether we are Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Buddhists, or subscribe to any other religious belief.

"If these, as in many other matters India has long been a living example of tolerance, and an example which the world today might well follow. Nor has this solid core of age-old tolerance been seriously undermined even by the gravity of recent communal disturbances and killings.

Hindu.
2-6-47

JAIPUR DEWAN'S SUPPORT TO GANDHI'S STAND

NEW DELHI, May 31.

Sir V. T. Krishnamachari, Dewan of Jaipur, in a statement to-day welcomed Mahatma Gandhi's recent pronouncement in favour of United India.

The statement says:

Mahatma Gandhi's appeal for the maintenance of Indian unity on the basis of the Cabinet Mission's Plan is most timely. We are living in an age of inter-dependence; all over the world nations are forging fresh links with one another. At such a time it would be nothing less than tragic if we in India sever the bonds that have knit all parts of the country together in the last hundred years. Partition in any form will only create more difficulties than it will solve. India cannot tackle successfully its manifold problems of social and economic reconstruction and play its rightful part in world affairs unless it remains one and undivided. I earnestly hope that all parties and interests will come together on the basis of the Cabinet Mission's plan and evolve an agreed constitution for the country."

Hindu.
1-6-47

BARODA'S STAND

AHMEDABAD, May 31.

"Baroda State stands for united India, and if India is divided, we shall join Hindustan," declared Sir Brojendra Lal Mitter, Dewan of Baroda, in an interview to-day. Sir Brojendra arrived here from Abu en route to Delhi to attend the leaders' conference.

"It is a pity," the Dewan said, "that at such momentous times in the history of our country when we are about to be free, any leader should not think in terms of India as a whole but in the interests of a particular State or a community."

Sir Brojendra favoured partition of the Punjab and Bengal if India was to be divided. The demand for a corridor reminded him of the Polish corridor in the last war.

"We intend to amend the Baroda constitution," said the Dewan, referring to the constitutional reforms in the State. "We are waiting to see how things take shape. I had an amendment of the constitution ready, but in view of recent events, I withheld it."

Smaller States, Sir Brojendra said, must join a big State or form groups or be absorbed in British India. "Their Rulers will be ill advised if they are still thinking of their rights and privileges."

Dawn 2-6-47

Iyer's Reply To Gandhi

NEW DELHI, Sunday.—Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyer, Dewan of Travancore, who arrived here last evening in a statement to the Press says:

"On arrival in Delhi, I saw Mr. Gandhi's appeal to the Princes asking Hindu and Muslim rulers not to take sides and making a direct reference to specified States and also demanding that the British should see to it that there was no Prince left capable of doing mischief. Evidently, therefore, Mr. Gandhi wishes that the Paramount Power should interfere to prevent the mischief that he apparently feels they are contemplating.

"His counsel is not of much real assistance for the simple reason that many of his leading followers have been speaking of the inevitability of a partition of India and of two Indian armies which are expected to come into existence within a short period.

"He himself, on the other hand, within the last few days, has strongly re-emphasized his non-violent opposition to Pakistan or a division of India.

"Unless and until this question of the division of India is settled one way or the other, it is manifest that the Princes should, in their own interests as well as in larger interests, keep aloof from the controversies in British India.

"I would also beg leave to assure Mr. Gandhi that the Ruler and the State of Travancore referred to by him, have not taken sides and do not propose to take sides in British Indian disputes and are only concerned, in preserving the homogeneity of the State and in maintaining and enhancing the comparatively advanced standards of educational, economic and social progress already achieved in Travancore to which Mr. Gandhi has himself adverted in the past."—API.

Hindus - 6-6

POSITION OF STATES TRAVANCORE DEWAN'S VIEW

NEW DELHI, June 4.

"The expected has happened, and Mahatma Gandhi's appeal for a United India has failed," says Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan of Travancore, in a statement to the Press.

"The stand taken up by the old moderates of the Liberal Party in favour of Dominion Status at least as a transitional arrangement has been vindicated.

"Mr. Jinnah has achieved a resounding triumph and while he may have lost in some details, he has gained in principle. The ultimate effects of the creation of Pakistan, in however modified a form, will disclose themselves in the coming years and a comprehensive division carried out as now proposed, is bound to create new vested interests and new ambitions, whose outcome cannot now be predicted.

"A Delhi newspaper announces that all parties have accepted the new plan reluctantly. Such seeming reluctance is a familiar political phenomenon, and often accompanies a retreat from principle. Mahatma Gandhi has till now stood for Hindu-Muslim friendship, the unity of India and non-violence. He still endeavours to achieve the first object and has re-stated his insistence on a United India, but, generally speaking, his points of view do not seem to have been accepted by his followers. The Dominion Status now acceded to British India is likely to endure for a considerable time and will undoubtedly be of help in preserving internal peace and preventing outside aggression.

"The implementing of the new plan will terminate the unity of India. A so-called 'prominent Congress leader' is quoted in the issue of the Statesman of June 3 as saying: 'The declaration of independence by certain States will be a quixotic adventure and their collapse will be a matter of months without a single shot being fired, and popular pressure within their own States coupled with economic pressure would end their isolation.' I hope this does not mean that a departure is being contemplated not only from Mahatma Gandhi's principle of non-violence but from the underlying objects of the United Nations. To encourage trouble within a State and to threaten economic pressure from without is consistent neither with the principles of the United Nations nor with loyal discipleship of Mahatma Gandhi.

TRAVANCORE WILL REMAIN INDEPENDENT

"Despite such threats and bearing in mind that economic pressure may well be reciprocal, I wish to re-state the position of Travancore, one of the States which has decided to remain independent.

"As has been emphasised on more than one occasion, Travancore by virtue of its geographical position and present treaty rights, enjoys a large measure of independence in economic and trade policies. It is a large exporting country and has a practical monopoly position in respect of many agricultural, industrial and mineral products. By reason of this circumstance, Travancore can always get her food and clothing requirements by means of barter, if not purchase, from countries which will only be too willing to enter into trade relations with her. Travancore's relations with the British Commonwealth will be dependent on its friendliness to and co-operation with the State. Travancore's trade with England was on a reciprocal basis. I decline to believe that the British or any other Government will refuse to enter into commercial agreements with individual States as is alleged in an agency message, nor that H. M. G. will force Travancore into a position inconsistent with its interests. I am glad to be able to state on the highest authority that the Press agency's message which has been reproduced in several newspapers is unfounded.

"It cannot be forgotten that with the supersession of the Cabinet Mission's Plan and especially of a Union of India as contemplated by it, the Constituent Assembly formed under the Plan is continuing on a different basis to the originally contemplated. The Cabinet Mission's plan cannot co-exist with the creation of two entirely separate sovereign States, to avoid which its main features were devised. If a divided India comprising two Dominions can be accepted, there can be no objection to the independent existence of a State which will endeavour to function in close and equal co-operation with rest of India."—A.P.I.

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Hindustan Times
7-6-47

Sheikh Abdullah's Advice To Kashmir

"STATE MUST JOIN INDIA ASSEMBLY AT ONCE"

(From Our Correspondent)

JAMMU, June 6.—It is stated that Sheikh Abdullah has written a letter from Bhaderwah Jail to a friend commenting on the attitude adopted by the Muslim Conference leaders regarding Kashmir joining the Constituent Assembly. Sheikh Abdullah has characterized the statement of the Hanud-Din Khan advising the Maharaja to declare Kashmir as a sovereign State as "a clever trap". Sheikh Abdullah has expressed the view that Kashmir State should at once join the Constituent Assembly.

The Marwad organ of the Kashmiri Pandit community has demanded the release of

Sheikh Abdullah.

The paper says:

Sheikh Abdullah's release is

essential for the

maintenance of

communal harmony in the

State. Begum Abdullah has set up

a noble example

of helping Hindu

refugees from

Hazara and has

thus won the

confidence of the

Hindus." The

paper further

says: "Kashmiri



Sheikh Abdullah

Pandit leaders believe that the time has come when it is necessary to bridge the gulf between the biggest political party in the State (the National Conference) and the Government. It is not just to keep Abdullah behind the bars after his statement before the Sessions Judge during his trial that "Quit Kashmir" demand was not directed against the person of the Maharaja."

The Shikromani Khalsa Durbar has passed a resolution demanding the release of Sheikh Abdullah and the National Conference workers.

Government's Appeal

Commenting on Acharya Kripalani's advice to the National Conference workers to withdraw the "Quit Kashmir" slogan, the Jammu and Kashmir Information Bulletin of the Government, says: "Now that the Congress President has spoken in his forthright way without mincing matters, it should be hoped that those eminent leaders, who have yet to repudiate this slogan in the same unreserved manner, will do so soon. If such a lead comes from them, the whole world will see whether the National Conference men take the lesson to heart, and translate it into practice."

H. T.

7-6-47

Responsible Govt.

For Jaipur

Urged

(From Our Correspondent)

JAIPUR, June 6.—"No power on earth can now check Indian freedom. India will be free in the very near future and so will be the States. Jaipur has very wisely joined the Constituent Assembly and our progress will go hand in hand with British India," said Mr. Tikaram Paliwal, President, Jaipur Rajya Praja Mandal, while inaugurating the district political conference at Mahuwa on June 1.

He further said: "Out of a Cabinet of five we have got three non-official Ministers and two of them have been taken from the Legislature. But the progress is still very slow. Important portfolios like Revenue, Law and Order, Judiciary and Finance are in the hands of official members. For instance, the Revenue and the Court of Wards are under the Prime Minister, who has multifarious duties of the State in his hand. But it is not very far off when we will attain full responsible Government and when all our Ministers will be elected and responsible to the people and the Maharaja will be a constitutional head."

Pandit Tikaram Paliwal was presented with a purse of Rs. 101 by the public of Mahuwa.

Kathiawar People's Convention

SOVEREIGNTY RESTS WITH PEOPLE

PRINCES MUST SHARE POWER

DR PATTABHI'S PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BOMBAY, June 7.—The two-day session of the Kathiawar People's Convention commenced here this evening under the presidentship of Dr Pattabhi Sitaramayya. Over 500 delegates from all parts of Kathiawar and Gujarat and several thousand visitors were present.

Prominent among those who attended the session today were the Home Minister of Bombay, Mr Morarji Desai, and other Ministers, the President of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, Mr S. K. Patil, Darbar Gopaldas Desai, President of Kathiawar Rajkiya Parishad, and other prominent Congress workers.

Dr Pattabhi Sitaramayya in his address said: "We are in 1947 when democracy has become an established factor and the will of the people overrides the will of the Princes. Indeed, in several States, such as Hyderabad, Bhopal and Nawanagar, the question of responsible government has for the moment receded to the background as against the larger and more urgent question of the Princes joining the Union. We may not be surprised if this question takes precedence over all other questions and becomes the battle-cry of the people in the respective States."

Dr Pattabhi referred to the statement of the Viceroy on June 1 regarding Paramountcy and said: "Even groups of States cannot be bigger than provinces and if provinces like Madras and U.P. cannot have sovereignty, the Gujarat and Kathiawar States cannot have such sovereignty either. It is, therefore, fantastic that small States like Travancore with about 60 lakhs of population or Bhopal, which is immensely smaller than that of Travancore, should be thinking in terms of independence."

"They may rest assured that their people want to be of a piece with the people of the rest of India and they cannot allow the Princes to have their own way."

Princes Chamber

Dr Pattabhi Sitaramayya said that a new organization must spring up in place of the Chamber of Princes, covering a wide range of sympathy and embracing the people of the States along with the Princes.

Dr Pattabhi said: "The Chamber of Princes itself is not a natural organic growth. It is merely an artificial structure with no constitution and no sanctions. As such its decisions are held as not binding upon the fellow Princes or its Chancellor, and it is high time it went into voluntary liquidation before it is comparatively wound up."

Explaining the process of liquidating Paramountcy, Dr Pattabhi said: "The announcement of February 20 was responsible for the provisional time-limit of liquidating Paramountcy and therefore, the disappearance of the Residencies and the Political Department will be gradual so as to allow Indian States to adjust themselves to the new conditions that will come about between them and the Governments in British India."

Direct Dealings

"The first step in this direction is understood to be that, more and more States will have a deal directly with provincial Governments or the Central Government through the Political Department rather than through the Agency or the Resident for the area."

"From May 19, it is said, a good deal of the business transacted by the President, on behalf of the States, in his Residency, will be dealt with by the States concerned and the provincial or Central Government, depending on the nature of the business. It is felt that in this way Indian States will build up contacts which will be necessary to them after June 1948."

"No exact dates have been fixed for the winding up of individual residencies, but it is expected that the process will be easier in the case of the larger States as they have better machinery and more experience for maintaining relations with Governments at the Centre and the provinces."

People and Power

"It is not so much the termination of Paramountcy and the removal of the British army or the abolition of Residencies that must concern the princes as the parallel growth of an independent India based upon the political awakening of the people of the States in equal measure with those of the provinces."

"There are no toll gates across the routes of ideas. The commerce of ideologies is subject only to the laws of free trade and can admit of no tariffs or barriers impeding unfettered progress from frontier to frontier. The people are no longer servile and subject. They realize that in their hands lies the destiny of their princes, their rulers and their matters."

"Ultimately, therefore, the truth will be forced on the minds and convictions of the princes that they must join the goodwill of their own people as a condition precedent to the continuance of their monarchies and dynastic rights."

"Storms of violence and warfare may break out at any moment and emerge from any corner. No one can foresee them as no one can prevent them. But walking and talking as we do on the plane of non-violence and constitutional progress, we cannot resist the conclusion that the ultimate chances of princes lie in the hands of their people. The sooner they make up with them, the better for all the parties, and on the contrary the longer they delay the task, the worse will be for all concerned."

Advice To Province

"In this view the princes of Kathiawar and Gujarat should easily prefer the leadership of Sir B. L. Mitter of Baroda to form a union of homogeneous States, culturally united, linguistically one and ethnologically identical."



Dr Pattabhi Sitaramayya

of heterogeneous unit, with diversities of language, and culture."

Dr Pattabhi referred to what he described as "paramountcy" being grafted in some of the States, and said: "It must be remembered by all and all of the Princes that they are not the protectors of their States but they are 'princes' in a sense that they acknowledge their relationship to the States is constitutional, not proprietary. The question, therefore, of joining the Indian Union or not is not to be decided according to their own discretion but in consultation with and largely under the direction of their people. That would be a course all once honourable, correct and constitutional and likely to win approbation of all."

We are passing through new times altogether and new times bring new problems which demand new solutions and the failure of the princes to act in unison with the new conditions is apt to throw them back upon the wheel of time and convert them into obstructive and retrogressive factors instead of their being the nation as progressive forces."

Confederation Scheme And Govt.

Dr Pattabhi criticized the scheme of confederation of Kathiawar, Gujarat and Western India States, sponsored by the Jadh Sahib of Nawanagar and said that "the main purpose of the scheme was to consolidate the feudal rights of the princes and thus to preserve and perpetuate princely powers and privileges."

It was a "reactionary policy which suits an imperialistic Government, not a progressive measure which fits in with constructive nationalism."

Paramountcy

Dr Pattabhi said: "Recent discussions between Lord Mountbatten and the residents of Indian States have a special significance. The British Government have disclaimed an intention of handing to the successor administration the powers and obligations deriving from paramountcy. These are to revert to the States by whom they were originally surrendered under the terms of treaties and engagements."

"The return of Paramountcy to the States means its return to the two components of the States, namely the princes as well as the people. That was the meaning that attached to word 'States' in the White Paper of 1933. That is the meaning admittedly assigned to the word 'States' as it occurred in the documents of the Cabinet Mission. That is the meaning which must be given to the word in connection with the return of Paramountcy to the States."

Dr Pattabhi recommended the scheme of the Deccan States Union to the people of Kathiawar States and declared: "It is really for the people of Kathiawar to decide their destiny, their march, their vehicle of movement, their starting point and their march route. You are the people that are concerned, and it rests with you to make or mar your future."—A.P.

FRESH BONDS WITH BRITISH INDIA LEADERS NECESSARY

NEW DELHI, Sunday.

Sir V. T. Krishnamachari, Prime Minister of Jaipur, and Sirdar K. M. Panikkar, Prime Minister of Bikaner, in a joint statement issued today appeal to all States to join the Constituent Assembly at the earliest possible date "so that their co-operation and assistance may be available to those engaged in the task of giving shape and form to India's new constitution."

DEWANS URGE STATES TO JOIN ASSEMBLY

They say: "The Viceroy's announcement of June 3 has made the participation of the States in the Constituent Assembly a matter of extreme importance. The special relationship of the Crown with Indian States will cease on August 15. When the new dominion or dominions come into being the interests of the States can only be safeguarded by the establishment of a fresh relationship freely negotiated with the representatives of British India. There is also the question of evolving a suitable constitution for the Union of India in which an honourable position is secured for the States and their interests and rights adequately safeguarded.

"Our experience of the work of the Constituent Assembly has strengthened our conviction that the leaders of British India are not only desirous of dealing fairly with the States, but are anxious to find just and equitable solutions to the problems arising out of a constitutional association of the two parts of India which has now to replace the working union that has been created by the authority of the Crown. It is unnecessary for us to stress the fact that no decisions affecting Indian States can or will be taken without the consent of the representatives of the States. In the circumstances we appeal to all States to join the work of the Constituent Assembly at the earliest possible date, so that their co-operation and assistance may be available to those engaged in the task of giving shape and form to India's new constitution."—API.

DEMAND FOR UNITY OF KATHIAWAR STATES

RULERS URGED TO JOIN CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

BOMBAY, June 9.—Declaring that the political unity of Kathiawar was essential for it to occupy its proper place in an independent India, the Kathiawar People's Convention at its second and last day's session here yesterday, in a resolution, called upon the Kathiawar Political Conference to take immediate steps to frame a constitution for the "unity of Kathiawar" and to appoint a committee for the purpose.

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Working President of the All-India States People's Conference, presided.

The resolution expressed the opinion that the proposed constitution should be of such a nature as to be in consonance with the constitution that might be framed by the Indian Constituent Assembly.

Another resolution called upon the States of Kathiawar to join the Constituent Assembly immediately and expressed the opinion that in case the Rulers were unwilling to do so the Negotiating Committee of the Constituent Assembly should permit the people of these States to join the Assembly without reference to the Rulers.

Resolutions were also passed declaring that with the lapse of Paramountcy the sovereignty of the States reverted to their people and that the Convention had firm faith in an independent sovereign Republic of India.

The proposed confederation of the Western India, Gujarat and Rajputana States sponsored by the Jam Sahib of Nawanganagar was characterized by the Convention, in another resolution, as being opposed to the best interests of the people of the States concerned and meant only to perpetuate the "autocracy" of the Rulers of these States.

The Convention declared its firm resolve to oppose by all means the formation of such a confederation.

INDEPENDENCE OF TRAVANCORE

The following notes have been compiled from Vol. 10 of Aitchison's "A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads," relating to Indian States. Pages 197 to 207 contain a short summary of the relations between the British Government and Travancore, and pages 224 to 258 contain the actual texts of the treaties.

THE English first settled in Travancore in 1684 at Anjengo. At this time, the country was divided into a number of chiefships which were gradually brought under the authority of the Rajas of Travancore, their conquest being completed by Marthandavarma who ascended the Musnad in 1729. These Rajas called themselves also "Zamin-dars of Malabar in the Carnatic Payanghat."

In 1764, Ram Raja executed five Muchalkas to the Nawab of the Carnatic for which he obtained *dawalwana* from the latter "...I have graciously pardoned all your errors—as you agree to pay the annual *natarena* according to *manam*, I am pleased to make over to you the villages of Shencottah and the Pagoda of Cape Comorin agreeable to your long cherished desire and hope that you will duly appreciate the favour this done to you and evince your sense of it by an increased obedience and service on your part to my Sirra agreeably to your Muchalkas."

Extract from the letter of Raja of Travancore to the Governor of Madras dated June 19, 1788: "...In consequence of the orders you are pleased to give to me and trusting to the peaceable state of affairs between you and Tippee, I do nothing more than watchful eye over my district."

Extract from the letter of the Raja of Travancore to the Governor of Madras, dated August 28, 1788: "I call the Almighty to witness that I rest my whole dependence on them (Company's troops) for support and therefore most willingly acquiesce to the proposal in Your Excellency's letter of having some battalions of the Company's troops with me. Your Excellency will be pleased to show me your favour in any manner that can tend to the security and protection of my country."

Treaty of 1795: Article 6. "The reigning Raja of Travancore for the time being shall not keep in his service in any civil or military capacity, nor allow to remain within his dominions as merchants or under any other plea or pretext the subjects or citizens of any nation being at war with Great Britain or with the East India Company; nor under any circumstances of peace or war allow any European nation to obtain settlements within the same, nor enter into new engagements with any European or Indian States without the previous concurrence of the British Governments in India."

No Foreign Relations

Article 7 of the treaty of perpetual friendship and alliance between

not get rid of this cult even when they became masters of vast areas and could not, therefore, settle down to quiet, orderly administration. It is of the greatest importance for the future of India that all unruly elements who play with violence for political ends should be discouraged and prevented from becoming permanent sores on the body politic. The division of India can be justified only if it achieves this purpose and saves the country from the trials of our great neighbour, China, where armed insurrection in the name of Communism and violent suppression in the name of unity and nationalism are preventing the country from enjoying the fruits of its great victory over Japan.

East India Company and the Raja of Travancore: "His Highness Maharaja Ram Raja Bahadur engages that he will be guided by a sincere and cordial attention to the relations of peace and amity established between the English Company and their allies, and that he will carefully abstain from any interference in the affairs of any State in alliance with the said English Company Bahadur, or of any State whatever, and for securing the object of this stipulation, it is further stipulated and agreed that no communication or correspondence with any foreign State whatever shall be holden by His said Highness without the previous knowledge and sanction of the said English Company Bahadur."

After this date, the words "treaty" and "agreement" disappear from the relations between the British Government in India and Travancore.

In 1862 an adoption sand was granted to the Raja of Travancore by the British Crown.

In 1865 a notification was published detailing the "arrangements made between the British Government and the States of Travancore and Cochin for the removal of fiscal restrictions on trade" between British India and those States. These arrangements amounted in effect to the establishment of a customs union between British India and the two States and they contain no provision for the termination of this union by either party.

In 1886 a sand was issued to the Maharaja of Travancore as follows: "In recognition of your Highness's excellent administration of the Travancore State, I have directed that Your Highness shall be addressed by the title of Maharaja in all communications by the British Government" signed — John Lawrence, dated, Simla, August 6, 1886.

999 Years Lease

On October 29, 1886, an indenture was entered into between the Secretary of State for India and the Maharaja of Travancore regarding the lease of certain territory in the Travancore State in connection with the Periar Irrigation Project. Under the indenture, the lands and other facilities were leased for 999 years from January 1, 1886, for an annual rental of Rs. 40,000 to be deducted from the tribute from time to time payable by the lessor to the Government of India or Madras.

1899: The Maharaja of Travancore ceded to the British Government "full and exclusive power and jurisdiction of every kind over the lands in the said State which are or may hereafter be occupied by the Shoranur-Cochin Railway" and also over the lands occupied by the Tinnevely-Quilon Railway.

Lease in Perpetuity

In 1910 the Travancore Darbar "demised and leased in perpetuity" lands and buildings for the Travancore Residency at an yearly rent of Rs. 7,200. In 1930 other land in Korandakad on the high range was similarly leased in perpetuity for the yearly rent of Rs. 6-7.

In 1914 terms were agreed to between the Travancore Darbar and the Secretary of State for India regarding the construction and working of the Quilon-Trivandrum of the Tinnevely-Quilon Railway. Clause 15 reads: "The Darbar shall cede to the British Indian Government full jurisdiction over the lands to be occupied by the Quilon-Trivandrum Extension of the line. In accordance with this clause a deed was executed by Rama Varma, Maharaja of Travancore, ceding full and exclusive power and jurisdiction of every kind over the lands occupied by the Railway."

In 1925 an agreement was entered into between the Government of India, the Madras Government and the Darbars of Travancore and Cochin for the development of Cochin Harbour. The last clause of that agreement reads: "If at any time a difference of opinion arises as to the interpretation of any term or clause of this agreement, the question

in issue shall be referred for settlement to the Government of India whose decision shall be final."

In 1927 Sathu Lakshmi Bai, Maharani Regent of Travancore, executed a deed ceding to the British Government full and exclusive power of every kind over the lands of the said State which are or may hereafter be occupied by the Trivandrum Town Extension, Quilon-Trivandrum Railway (including all lands occupied for stations, for out-buildings or for other railway purposes) and over all persons and things whatsoever within the said lands."

Conclusion

From these extracts it is clear:

- (1) The Maharaja of Travancore never was or considered himself to be an Independent Ruler and was always a feudatory of the Nawab of Carnatic, the East India Company and the British Government, in succession;
- (2) In his treaties and agreements, the British Government, the Secretary of State for India and the Indian Government were treated as identical authorities;
- (3) He has ceded in perpetuity full and exclusive power and jurisdiction of every kind over the lands occupied by Shoranur-Trivandrum Railway and the residency sites, he has leased for 999 years the land occupied by the Periar Project and has entered into a permanent customs union with British India.

No Immediate Move Against Princes

DR. PATTABHI

NEW DELHI, Tuesday—Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, President of the All-India States—Peoples' Conference, has issued the following Press statement with reference to the report about the calling of a campaign of non-violent non-co-operation in the States:—

"When I returned from Bombay yesterday afternoon, I was asked by two Congress leaders whether I was advocating an immediate campaign of non-violent non-co-operation in the States. I was surprised at such a question; but I was referred to an interview circulated by UPI. I have since seen it. The UPI correspondent told me on Saturday in Bombay that on an interview and I asked him to put down his questions which he kindly did. I gave him written answers to four questions and instead of publishing them as they were, he edited them by cutting and clipping a sentence from one of the answers and giving it at the head of the interview.

"In speaking of the people of those States which would choose to remain independent I said that they would solve their own problem taking a lesson from the pages of the book of India's emancipation through a campaign of non-violent non-co-operation, in order to force the recalcitrant Princes to join the Indian Union. To detach the sentence from its context and say that I was envisaging a campaign as if immediately is apt to mislead, as the true relationship is an important factor.

"The problem is a difficult one. But worse things have happened. The 'Hindustan Times' has published only this sentence now and nothing else of the interview.

"Surely the people of the States will not sit with folded hands in expectation of a Hercules to lift their cart from the mire in which it has stuck. Gandhiji has shown the way to all helpless people and it is for the people themselves to choose the time and the method."

—UPI

FREE STATES WON'T ASK FOR DOMINION STATUS

Travancore Dewan's Reply To Dr. Pattabhi

TRIVANDRUM, June 10.—Commenting on the recent statements made by Sir V. T. Krishnamachari, Dewan of Jaipur, Sardar K. M. Panikkar, Dewan of Bikaner and Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer, Dewan of Travancore in an interview stated: "I note that notwithstanding the proceedings of the Union Powers Committee and the resolution of the Constituent Assembly in respect of them, Sir V. T. Krishnamachari and Sardar Panikkar have expressed their full confidence that rights of Indian States would be safeguarded in future.

"The two Prime Ministers also say that before the Indian States join the All-India Union there will be comparative agreements relating to matters of common concern. This observation will obviously apply not only to those States which have joined the Constituent Assembly but to those which will not be members to either Dominion. It is manifest that States like Travancore, which assert their independent status will nevertheless be prepared, and willing, to enter into mutually beneficial agreements on matters of common concern with any future Government or Governments of India as Travancore has already done with reference to mineral resources.

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya vaguely refers to storms of violence and warfare, but fortunately he also insists on walking and talking on the plane of non-violence and constitutional progress. I hope he does not assume that this plane cannot, or need not, be attained by the States people.

"If I had not known Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya very well, I should have regarded his speech as an instigation to violence.

"Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya in an interview in Bombay made a great point of Indian States not being given Dominion Status. The Congress has now asked for, and obtained, Dominion Status for an indeterminate period. This development was foreshadowed in Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's interview given on May 27 at Mussourie with the correspondent of the London 'News Chronicle' in which he had expressed the desire of many people in India to have very close relations with the British Commonwealth of Nations.

"Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya seems to be so satisfied with the achievement of Dominion Status that he cannot refrain from commenting on the impossibility of the enjoyment of this privilege by the Indian States which keep out of the Constituent Assembly. My answer is that the States, when they become independent, are not bound, or likely, to ask for Dominion Status and I

can assure Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya that his fears that the Indian States will have no diplomatic or other relationship either with England or other countries are not likely to be realised. —API

HYDERABAD CONGRESS
LEADER'S APPEAL

HYDERABAD, June 6.—"If Hyderabad decides to join the separated part of the country or in the alternative chooses to remain independent without joining the Indian Union, it will precipitate a first class political crisis," observed Swami Ramanand Thirth, President of Hyderabad State Congress, in an interview.

The Swamiji added that geographically, culturally, linguistically, and economically, in fact from every point of view, Hyderabad should join the present Constituent Assembly and be an integral part of the main Indian Union. The question of the future of Indian States had to be decided in the changed context. Britain would not be there to decide the issue. It was a matter for the people of the States to decide. The Princes had to abide by the collective will of the people. Neither they nor their Governments could coerce the people of India into any arrangement, which the people themselves did not desire. The States people had persistently demanded that the States should form integral units of the Indian Union.

Adverting to the British Plan for India, the President said that the procedure for the immediate transfer of power to India was in the nature of a compromise. As such, it was bound to be unsatisfactory. The conception of a United India had been put aside and for some time at least, certain parts might probably be separated from the main Indian Union. No Congressman would feel happy over the prospect of a divided India, but the inevitable had to be accepted. They had to take things as they stood and hope that future experience would create conditions that might restore the inherent unity of India.—F.O.C.

Nehru's Faith In
Kashmir People's
Struggle

KASHMIR, June 10.—"We are living in changing and stirring times when the fate of India is being decided. Many things have happened and are happening which we do not like but I have firm conviction that the will of the people will prevail in Kashmir as in the whole of India and the ideals that Sheikh Abdullah has stood for will find a large measure of fulfilment," says Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in the course of a letter to Begum Sheikh Abdullah.

Pandit Nehru says "In recent years my contacts with the National Conference has brought me in touch with the masses of Kashmir and their poverty and misery have sunk deep into my heart. Nothing that can happen can break these strong bonds that tie me to Kashmir and its people and their welfare will ever remain first priority with me."

Continuing Pandit Nehru says "I have been deeply grieved to learn that the policy of repression by the State authorities is continuing with full vigour and that recently punitive fines are being collected with ruthlessness."

"I have thought often of Sheikh Abdullah's suffering in prison and I have felt distressed that at a time when his wise guidance was more necessary than ever, he should be kept in prison. What has distressed me still more is that I have been unable to do anything effective to help him and the people of Kashmir when they were facing a suffering under repression of extreme type. But at no time did I doubt the courage and sacrifice of Sheikh Abdullah."

Concluding Pandit Nehru hopes that Begum Abdullah will continue her "noble work" in Kashmir.—U.P.I.

Nizam's Claim To
Be ResistedBERAR PEOPLE'S
DETERMINATION

(By Our Staff Correspondent)

"The retrocession of Berar to the Nizam is ruled out for ever in view of the past treaties and the statement of the Viceroy on June 3 in which Berar is mentioned with the C.P., though it was not so mentioned in the Cabinet Mission Plan," said Mr. Brijlal Biyani, President of the Free Berar Committee, in a statement.

He added: "Berar may remain as it is today an administrative part of the C.P. and Berar and may enjoy all the political facilities which the people of British India enjoy. But this does not solve the problem. The most important question relating to the sovereignty of the Nizam over Berar still remains. The Nizam has his sovereignty over Berar in various forms. His flag flies in Berar, representatives of Berar in legislatures have to take the oath of allegiance to the Nizam, the Governor is appointed with his consultation, he can hold durbar in Berar, his khutba can be recited in the Berar mosques, he can confer titles on the people of Berar and he is paid Rs. 28 lakhs as lease money."

Mr. Biyani said: "The removal of this nominal or notional sovereignty of the Nizam over Berar is still to be tackled and fought. The people of Berar under the Free Berar Committee are determined to free themselves from the last vestige of the sovereignty of the Nizam."

"The people of Berar," he said, "do not want to enjoy the administrative adjustments at the mercy and consent of the Nizam. They want to enjoy their political status as a right for ever."

National call
11-6-47

"Greater Gujarat" States Bloc

DARBAR GOPALDAS URGES CONFEDERATION

BARODA, June 11.—Darbar Gopaldas Desai, speaking at a reception given to him by the Baroda State Praja Mandal on his first visit to the city after his restoration to his gadi in Rai Sankli taluka, pleaded for a confederation of the Gujarat, Kathiawar and Cutch States under the Maharaja of Baroda to form a Gujarati-speaking unit of the Indian Union.

Darbar Gopaldas said that times were fast changing and the rulers of States had to become constitutional monarchs. Only the will of the people in the States could prevail.

Darbar Gopaldas Desai said that he was restored to his gadi but his work was not finished. It was his hope and desire that the States of "greater Gujarat" should form a united bloc in the Indian Union. He appealed to the people for their co-operation in achieving this goal.

The Central Committee of the Gujarat, Cutch and Kathiawar political workers met here under the presidency of Darbar Gopaldas Desai earlier on Tuesday. The Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee, the Kathiawar Political Conference, the Baroda State Praja Mandal, and the Praja Mandals of Cambay, Palanpur, Chota Udaipur, Balasinor, Rajpipla and other States were represented at the meeting.

The Committee it is understood considered at length the feasibility of the scheme for a confederation of the Gujarat, Cutch and Kathiawar States to form a Gujarati-speaking unit of the Indian Union. The Committee also discussed a programme of organisational work for the States to facilitate such a confederation.

Darbar Gopaldas Desai was elected President of the Gujarat, Cutch and Kathiawar Political Workers' Conference.—API.

REPRESSION IN KASHMIR

Punitive Taxes Exacted By Brutal Methods

NEW DELHI, Tuesday.—Mr. Ghulam Mohd. Bakshi, acting President, Jammu and Kashmir National Conference, reveals in a statement, issued here today, that the Kashmir Government has "unleashed once again one of the severest weapons of repression against the people."

Mr. Bakshi says that "punitive taxes announced to be levied last year but suspended later on are now being exacted by all sorts of brutal and inhuman methods."

The statement adds: "All these came about as an aftermath of the visit of the Congress President to Kashmir and after the announcement in the Press of Gandhiji's intention to visit Kashmir in the near future. The Government of Kashmir, in order to impress upon the people of the State that not even the might of the Indian National Congress can impress them, started realising punitive taxes."

"It may be recalled here that the Government announced that due to the activities of the National Conference the State had suffered a loss of about Rs. 7,000. In order, therefore, to make up for this loss and also to compensate the administration for the expenses incurred in suppressing the National Conference, the Government levied punitive taxes in the various towns of the State. The city of Srinagar alone had to pay a sum of Rs. 2,80,000 as punitive taxes."

"The unhappy sufferers are mostly ordinary craftsmen or wage labourers and men of ordinary callings. The fines levied on them are, therefore, out of all proportion to their capacity to pay. As the people have no means to pay, their belongings and other possessions

are being auctioned away for the realisation of the fine."

"Realisation of the punitive taxes is going on and for the moment it is difficult for us to give any exact figures as to the amount collected and the number of families rendered penniless, propertyless and homeless. A thick veil of censorship has been hanging over Kashmir, for the last one year and very little information comes out."

"It is also important to note that these fines are being realised not by ordinary officers but by military and police. The methods of extortion adopted by these people can easily be imagined."

"It is significant that this fresh wave of repression should follow so soon after the visit of the Congress President and after the high hopes raised in the minds of the public about a speedy solution and settlement of the political tangle in Kashmir."

"These latest tactics of the Kashmir Government, coupled with their indifference to our repeated demand for joining the Constituent Assembly, is significant indeed and should serve as an eye-opener to every lover of freedom. It has been our sad experience that the Kashmir Government is determined to crush popular forces in the State and to carve out an independent existence for itself in flagrant disregard of the aspirations of the people."

TRAVANCORE STATE TO BE INDEPENDENT ✓

Ruler To Assert Status "By All Means": Dewan's Exhortation

TRIVANDRUM, June 12.

THE Maharaja of Travancore has decided to declare independence from August 15 and not to enter the Constituent Assembly.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, the Dewan, announcing this at a press conference yesterday, declared: "As far as His Highness is concerned, he is prepared for any risk that might have to be taken or for any step that might have to be embarked upon?"

A State with a population of 6 1/2 millions and a revenue exceeding Rs. 9 crores could easily assert its independence said the Dewan. Travancore, he observed, was destined to be the saviour of South India and to protect her from calamities arising from the partition of India.

The Dewan made an impassioned appeal to the people of Travancore, both official and non-official, to stand solidly by His Highness in the stand the State has taken.

As the head of the administration, he asked officials to abandon their usual detachment and take full part in what was a matter of life and death to the State, come out into the open and use their experience, equipment and knowledge to convince the doubters that "Travancore deserves and is entitled to get their unstinted support in its decision." Such of those officials as did not agree with this decision should, in fairness to the State and themselves, give up their official position and join those who are against this policy.

"CRITICAL TIME"

Pointing out that the present was a critical juncture in the history of Travancore inasmuch as the future of the State was now in the making, the Dewan asked the people to prove that they were with His Highness, "who is their leader and the spear-point of the State's activities and aspirations. The time is now come when everyone of His Highness's subjects, Hindu, Christian or Muslim, Sir C. P. R. Aiyar, official, or non-official, should make up his mind whether he is for the ideal of independent Travancore or against it."



The Dewan made a fervent appeal to the great traditions and glorious heritage, unique history and unquestioned patriotism of Travancoreans and urged on them the need to cogitate and decide whether they wished to cherish their freedom and independence or preferred to be submerged and absorbed as an adjunct to a Dominion in a divided India or be a colony or dependency.

The Dewan was sharply critical of the latest view expressed by Sir Alladi Krishnaswamy Iyer on the position of States and pointed out how it was quite contrary to the views expressed by Sir Stafford Cripps—a lawyer about whose eminence there could be no question and whom he preferred to follow rather than Sir Alladi—and eminent British statesmen like Mr. Attlee and Lord Pethick-Lawrence, "who have all made it clear that Paramountcy cannot be transferred to a new Government and, on the lapse of Paramountcy, the States will be independent."

DISTINCT IDEALS

What Travancore wanted was to be left alone to pursue her own ideals, because they were distinct and separate, although in harmony with those of the rest of India.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar made strong observations with regard to "panicky" acceptance of Dominion Status by the Congress, which had loudly protested against it when Dr. Annie Besant, Sir T. B. Saprú, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Dr. M. R. Jayakar and himself had suggested Dominion

Status as a compromise and a *via media* from 1930 onwards. Mr. Gandhi had hinted, the Dewan said, that Dominion Status might not be merely temporary. The Dewan characterised this step as a big "climb-down" on the part of the Congress, owing no doubt, to panic and fear of Mr. Jinnah and the League.

It was also astonishing that Mr. Gandhi, who till last week was opposed to division of the country, should now declare himself in favour of it or justify its acceptance by the Congress on the ground that he could not coerce the people, and that he had become a backnumber.

"Is he a leader now or is he not," asked the Dewan. "Does he propose to function as a political leader after his recent pronouncement that, as to

the partition of India, division of the Punjab and Bengal, need for industrialisation and necessity for an army, his opinions have been set aside by his disciples.

Continuing, the Dewan said they had now reached a stage when India was to be divided into Hindustan and Pakistan—two States which must maintain an unstable equilibrium with possibilities of perpetual conflict and frontier incidents and with foreign, commercial, excise, taxation, communication, defence, and other policies, in all likelihood diametrically opposed to each other. What then was to happen, he asked, to States like Travancore, who were not concerned with those quarrels and had their own special problems to face.

If the Congress, instead of allowing its camp-followers to go about making fiery speeches and embarrassing the administrations, came to grips with problems like currency, communications, defence, etc., and sought agreement, they would find that Travancore would go not only the proverbial half-way but three-quarters of the way to meet them.

Travancore had always remained an international unit, he said. It had never been conquered, but, on the contrary, had an enviable record being an Indian country which decisively defeated a European Power, namely the Dutch, in the naval Battle of Colachel. The State had entered into a treaty of alliance with the British, but that would become *functus officio* with the lapse of Paramountcy.

The Dewan was intrigued to find that Congress leaders and British Indian politicians, who were so quick and alert to criticise the attitude of Hindu States, were nervous whenever Mr. Jinnah or Muslim States were concerned. It was curious that the Congress, which had once fought with the Moderates and had accepted a weak centre, was now shifting its ground both as to centre's powers and as to residual powers in the units.

He was sorry he was not a Travancorean, but he hoped all Travancoreans would join in the rejoicing and elation every member of the State should feel at the prospect of an independent existence.—A.P.I.

Times of India 13-6-47

SOVEREIGN STATUS FOR HYDERABAD

Nizam's Decision: State Not To "Take Sides"

FRIENDLY TIES WITH BRITISH INDIA UNITS

Travancore To Be Independent

H E. H. the Nizam of Hyderabad has announced his decision to declare the independence of his Dominions and not to enter either of the two Constituent Assemblies for the proposed separated units of British India.

The division of India is communal, says the Nizam, in his "firman", and as he is desirous of maintaining the traditional cordiality of relations between the two communities in his State, whom he regards as the "two eyes" of his realm, he does not intend to "take sides" by joining either of the two proposed units of a divided India.

On the lapse of Paramountcy, the Nizam asserts, he will become entitled by law to resume the status of an independent sovereign.

Hyderabad State, the "firman" adds, will enter into friendly relations with the units of British India and "negotiate working agreements on matters of common interest for the mutual benefit of all."

Travancore State has announced a similar decision, the Maharaja declaring independence from August 15.

The following is the full text of His Exalted Highness's declaration relating to the constitutional position of Hyderabad, issued on Thursday:

"At the time when the Cabinet Mission issued their statement of May 16, 1946, the States were invited to join one representative Constituent Assembly for the whole of India. I thought it wise then to wait before making my decision till I had seen how the political situation would develop.

"His Excellency the Viceroy's announcement of June 3, 1947, makes it clear that in all probability British India will now be divided into two parts, and that there will, accordingly, be not one Constituent Assembly, but two. I have now, therefore, to consider whether my State should send representatives to one or the other of these Assemblies.

COMMUNAL AMITY

"The basis of the division of British India is communal. In my State, however, the two major communities live side by side, and I have sought, since I became Ruler, to promote, by every means, good and friendly relations between them. My ancestors and I have always regarded the Muslims and the Hindus as two eyes of the State, and the State itself as the indivisible asset of all the communities inhabiting it. I am happy to say that there has not been in my State the same acute cleavage as has led to the recent events in British India.

"The subjects of my State have affinities and common interests with both the constituent Nizam of Hyderabad new Unions.

By sending representatives to either of the Constituent Assemblies, Hyderabad would seem to be taking one side or the other. I am sure, I am consulting the best interests of my subjects by declining to take such a course. I have, therefore, decided not to send representatives to either of the Constituent Assemblies.

"The result in law of the departure of the Paramount Power in the near future will be that I shall become entitled to resume the status of an independent sovereign. But the question of the nature and extent of the association or relationship between my State and the units in British India



remains for decision at a later stage, when their constitutions and powers have been determined. Whatever form of constitution they ultimately adopt, it will be the desire of Hyderabad to live in the closest friendship and amity with both.

"Meantime, I and my Government will lose no opportunity of reaching, by active negotiation, working agreements on matters of common interest for the mutual benefit of all. When the time comes to decide on the nature of the State's association or relationship with the new units, after they have settled their constitutions, I shall continue to be guided by a consideration of the best interests both of Hyderabad and of India as a whole.

"The political and constitutional picture of India has in the past few years been changing rapidly and who can say whether the two units now contemplated for British India represent the final solution, or whether there will be still further divisions, or whether, after all, unity may eventually be achieved by mutual agreement? In these rapid changes, I am satisfied that the course of political wisdom lies in not taking sides, in concentrating on the maintenance of the integrity of my Dominions and fostering the welfare of my peoples.

"The achievement of that object depends upon the continuance of mutual goodwill between the two communities in my State and, in the unsettled conditions all around, upon ensuring for all my subjects the benefits of peace and security.

"Before making this declaration I have taken into consideration the divergent views of local political opinion and I feel confident that the best solution is to follow the policy which I have adopted in this firman."

(Travancore Deewan's Statement on Page 10)

Times of India 13-6-47

"NO SOVEREIGNTY FOR STATES"

Sir A. K. Iyer's Views

NEW DELHI, June 11: "When making the declaration of the withdrawal of Paramountcy on May 16, His Majesty's Government naturally expected the States to get into the orbit of the Union or by treaty or other similar arrangement to be linked in some way or other with the Indian Union then contemplated", said Sir Alladi Krishnaswamy Iyer, a member of the Constituent Assembly, in the course of a statement, analysing the position of Indian States in the light of H.M.G.'s proposals. He adds: "Now that the present plan envisages the setting up of two independent governments in India, the States by parity of reasoning will have to enter into constitutional or quasi-constitutional relationship of the nature of Paramountcy with that independent Government or State which is nearest or closest to them by geography or the affinity of its people.

His Majesty's Government could never have contemplated the emergence of independent States irrespective of size, population and of previous history spread over the length and breadth of India and the assumption by these States of sovereign powers which a good number, if not most of them, never enjoyed in the whole course of their history. Any such position, if sound, would lead to the Balkanisation of India and might result in mutual feuds and internecine wars among units spread over the great continent of India and might easily threaten the peace of India and of Asia.

"The voluntary withdrawal of the British Power from India cannot clothe the Indian States with an independent or international status which they never possessed and it is inconceivable that the U. N. or any other international organisation would concede to them such a status. The public law of India and its long history is against any such recognition. Even in the case of independent States, the rules of public international law have been interpreted and moulded so as to take note of the peculiar conditions obtaining in a particular part of the world. The Monroe Doctrine in its every phases amply illustrates the above statement. The public law of India and the position of the Indian States during British rule and earlier cannot be ignored in any consideration of their status consequent on the withdrawal of the British Power from the rule and hegemony in India."

A-I.S.P.C. STANDING COMMITTEE RESOLUTIONS

(Continued from page 1, col 1.)

ment which has done great harm to India and the States, the Committee disapproves of the steps being taken which are likely to lead to administrative chaos all over India. The Political Department and the Residencies and Agencies were not only the agents for carrying out the functions of Paramountcy but also represented the Central authority of the Government of India in numerous matters of common concern. It is necessary and inevitable that some Central agency should exist for carrying out these common functions. So long as some new arrangement is not made for this purpose the existing structure and channels of communication should be maintained with suitable modifications and without exercising Paramountcy functions. This will be to the advantage of both the Government of India and the States.

The Standing Committee, therefore, demands that the Political Department and its Agencies be handed over to the Government of India for this purpose, or, in the alternative, a new Central department should be created immediately which can take charge of the staff, property and buildings, equipment and records of the Political Department, Residencies and Agencies in the States.

Paramountcy

It is the considered opinion of the Standing Committee of the A-I.S.P.C. that on the termination of Paramountcy sovereignty should as a matter of course rest in the people of the States. In view of this, the attempt of Rulers in certain Agencies, at the instance of local Residents, to form councils to annex certain administrative functions of Paramountcy is indefensible and constitutes a serious encroachment on the sovereign rights of the people. So long as the States are not sufficiently democratized to enable the people of the States to exercise their sovereignty, the administrative functions of Paramountcy should continue to be exercised by the Interim Government of India which commands the confidence of the people of the States as well.

The Committee further calls upon the States that during the intervening period popular Interim Governments should be established in the States or groups of States and that steps should be taken for setting up a suitable machinery in each State or group of States for framing the constitution on the basis of full responsible Government through a Constituent Assembly composed of people's representatives.

Popular Representatives

This Committee has considered the procedure approved by the joint sub-committee of the two Negotiating Committees for the election of the popular representatives from the Residuary Group of States. Looking to the number and dispersed character of these States as also the total absence of representative institutions in them, it is the considered opinion of this Committee that the joint sub-committee itself should select the two popular representatives from a panel of names submitted by popular organizations in the areas concerned, thus adhering to the original proposals of the joint sub-committee in this behalf.

The recent developments in the State of Travancore have demonstrated the utter irresponsibility of the Government there. The State Government, through its Dewan, declared repeatedly that Travancore would join the Constituent Assembly of India. This statement was made again to the Negotiating Committees by the Dewan and it is further added that at least four and possibly five representatives out of six would be elected by the Travancore Legislature. In spite of these assurances and commitments the State Government not only has not joined the Constituent Assembly but has suddenly dissolved the Legislature thereby making it impossible for any elections to take place through that Legislature.

This action of the State Government acting through the Dewan is an affront both to the Constituent Assembly and the people of the States who have clearly declared in favour of joining the Assembly. The Dewan has been acting more than ever as the supreme autocrat of the State and in a manner which is strongly reminiscent of what was done in a bigger way by the Fascists and Nazis. He has recently on his own authority declared that Travancore will be independent thereby meaning that the Travancore Dewan will continue to function independently of all canons of democracy and decency. Meanwhile, the Dewan has been making other political and financial commitments without any reference to the people, and the Working Committee of the Travancore State Congress has protested against this. The Legislature having been dissolved there is no means left for checking these extravagant pretensions and commitments. Having put an end to the Legislature with all its limitations, the Dewan is attempting to rush through his scheme of constitutional change which has been condemned all over India as being unde-

democratic and reactionary and which cannot be accepted.

The Standing Committee is in agreement with the Travancore State Congress that this systematic deprivation of the fundamental rights of the people and repeated affronts to the people's dignity cannot be tolerated. If the Dewan has any doubts about the will of the people, this Committee invites him to have a referendum on the question of joining the Constituent Assembly of India and the Indian Union.

This Committee trusts that the Travancore State Government will not persist in its present disastrous and reactionary policy. Any such persistence will lead the people of Travancore to resist by all legitimate and non-violent means, the deprivation of their basic rights in regard to joining the Indian Union and the introduction of responsible Government in the State.

Patiala

The Standing Committee of the A-I.S.P.C. has given its careful consideration to the recent happenings in Patiala State in connection with its representation to the Constituent Assembly. It approves of the steps taken by the Patiala State Praja Mandal in getting the nominated members withdrawn from the Constituent Assembly and notes with satisfaction the recognition by the Ruler of the people's right to represent the State and to speak on this behalf through duly elected representatives and thus withdrawing the nominated members.

The Committee, however, cannot but view with grave concern the attitude of the Patiala Ruler in nominating the personnel of the electoral college and thus depriving the people of the right of choice of their representation to the Constituent Assembly. This is in effect taking away by the left hand what was given by the right. This is against the terms and spirit of the agreement arrived at between the Negotiating Committee of the Princes Chamber and the corresponding Committee of the Constituent Assembly regarding the method of election.

It, therefore, urges the Maharaja of Patiala to undo this wrong and following the example of other States, such as Udaipur and Jodhpur, to send people's representatives through election by members of whatever elected bodies exist in the State.

The Committee condemns the repressive measures resorted to by the State authorities and demands immediate and unconditional release of all politicals and withdrawal of cases against them so as to create harmony and goodwill in the State.

Hyderabad

The Standing Committee notes with regret that Hyderabad, the premier State of India, has not yet declared its willingness to join the Indian Union. It has by its conduct given rise to widespread reports that it is going to declare its independence. That no State can remain independent on the British withdrawal from India has been made sufficiently clear from the standpoint of international law as well as historical precedence. The Committee earnestly hopes that Hyderabad will respect the wishes of the vast majority of its people and decide to join the Indian Union before long and that in the meantime a Constituent Assembly duly elected on wide popular franchise would be set up and that an Interim Government would be formed pending the preparation of a new constitution designed to establish responsible Government in the State.

PRINCES CAN CONTINUE ONLY AS CONSTITUTIONAL HEADS

SOVEREIGNTY WILL REVERT TO PEOPLE

"INDEPENDENCE" DECLARATIONS UNTENABLE

CHALLENGE TO DEWAN OF TRAVANCORE

(By Our Staff Correspondent)

The Standing Committee of the All-India States People's Conference passed a resolution on Thursday declaring that "on the lapse of Paramountcy sovereignty will reside in the people of the States and the Princes can only be constitutional Rulers embodying the people's sovereignty."

The resolution added: "Any Ruler declaring his State independent will thereby express his hostility not only to the Indian Union but to his own people. Such an act will have to be resisted."

The resolution requests the Constituent Assembly to allow the people of such States to elect their representatives to the Assembly so that the State may be properly represented and the people's views may prevail.

The resolution demands that the Political Department and its agencies should be handed over to the Government of India so that they may carry out functions of common concern as the Central authority of the Government. If that was not possible, a new Central Department should be set up immediately to take charge of the staff, property and buildings, equipment and records of the Political Department and the Residencies and Agencies in the States.

In a strongly worded resolution on Travancore, the Standing Committee invited the Dewan if the Dewan has any doubts about the will of the people, to have a referendum on the question of joining the Constituent Assembly of India and the Indian Union.

The following is the text of resolution.

(A) The declaration of the British Government of June 3 states that the position in regard to the States remains the same as it was under the Cabinet Mission's statement of May 12, 1946. The Standing Committee and the States People's Conference have previously declared their policy and interpretation of this scheme. It has been pointed out that the implications of the Cabinet Mission's scheme were that the people of the States must have an essential voice in determining their future. Because of this representation was given to the States as to the rest of India on the population basis of one per million.

The Standing Committee has never accepted the recent interpretation of the theory of Paramountcy. In any event if Paramountcy lapses it cannot mean that the Princes should function as autocratic and despotic rulers with full power to dispose of their States as they will. The Cabinet Mission's statement of May 16, 1946, made it clear that the States would form parts of the Indian Union and it was not open to any State to go out of the Union. On the lapse of the Paramountcy it does not and cannot follow that any State is free to go out of the Union. Any such conception would meet with fantastic results and India would be reduced to a state of anarchy.

Status Of States

It is well known that none of the States were completely independent at the time of the advent of the British Power. In some way or other they recognized and submitted to suzerainty of the Moghul Empire, the Marhatta Supremacy, the Sikh Kingdom or later the British Power. A number of States were created by the British, many of them having no sense whatever of an independent existence in the past. To recognize the right of these States to independence now is to go against history and tradition, law and practice as well as practical implications of the situation today.

In any event, it must be recognized that on the lapse of Paramountcy sovereignty resides in the people of the States and the Princes can only be constitutional rulers embodying the people's sovereignty. Any Ruler declaring his State independent will thereby express his hostility not only to the Indian Union but to his own people. Such an act will have to be resisted.

The Committee trusts, therefore, that all remaining States will join the Constituent Assembly of India in terms of the agreement arrived at between Negotiating Committees. In the event of any State refusing to do so, the Standing Committee requests the Constituent Assembly to allow the people of such a State to elect their own representatives to the Assembly so that the State may be properly represented and the people's views might prevail.

(B) The Committee is informed that as a consequence of British withdrawal from India the Political Department and its Agencies in the States are being wound up. While welcoming the ending of the depart-

(Continued on page 10, col. 2)

Hindustan Times 14-6-47

STATES CANNOT STAY OUT OF INDIAN UNION

NEED OF FRESH POLITICAL RELATIONSHIP

If any States insist on assuming an independent status without entering even into standstill agreements in regard to political relationship, the whole political and economic life of India is bound to be radically upset and to lead to chaos and anarchy, said Sir N. Gopalaswamy Ayyangar, in an interview in New Delhi on Friday.



Gopalaswami Ayyangar

Commenting on the Nizam's *firman* claiming the status of an independent sovereign and the Travancore Dewan's similar announcement, Sir Gopalaswamy added that geography, history, economics, social and cultural relations compel Indian States being in the Union, because of their own interests, and because in the interests of the Union they cannot be permitted to do otherwise.

If they do not join the Union and become parts of the federal structure, Sir Gopalaswamy said, the dominant Power must in any case prevent their having foreign relations of their own, protect them from external attack, function as ultimate guarantee for their internal order and interference to end misrule and tyranny. Therefore, the Cabinet Mission gave the choice to them only between two alternatives, namely, either Federation or a fresh political relationship, even if you do not call it paramountcy and if, in fact, it is in content less than the full quantum of the subtraction from their political sovereignty which the British Crown claimed and exercised under the name of paramountcy.

Britain's Policy

A third status, namely, full independent sovereignty involving equality with the dominant Power in substance and fact and not merely in name and form—will mean India getting effectively balkanized. There can be no prospect in that case of one India, let alone a strong India, vis-a-vis the world. India cannot permit this and should either resubjugate these bits of State territory in her midst or force them to make the choice between the Cabinet Mission's two alternatives.

A frank transfer of paramountcy—modified in its content and if possible defined within limits—was the obviously indicated step for Britain to take in transferring all her power to the people of India, but her commitments to the contrary during the last 12 months are too deep to enable her with any face directly to disown them and take the obviously straight course.

Britain has made it clear:

(a) That she will not stay in India or retain any British troops to render help to Indian States in emergencies or otherwise;

(b) That she will not encourage any State or group of States breaking away from the Union and constituting themselves as separate Dominions of the British Commonwealth; and

(c) That her assistance will not be available for such States or groups of States obtaining international recognition and that she herself will have no separate diplomatic relations with any of them.

"States Must Join Union"

If, as is to be hoped, there is no wobbling on the part of Britain in respect of these, the States will soon drop all ideas of independent status and troop into the Union. The Viceroy has so far refused a plebiscite on the issue of independence in the case of provinces on the ground that the political leaders are agreed against it.

The Crown Representative should similarly make it clear to States that this third alternative is not open to them. Britain, the Congress and the States' people are certainly against such an option being given to States. The Muslim League may try with it, but its view even if confirmed authoritatively can affect only States within the outer boundaries of Pakistan.

So far as India is concerned, the States within its periphery should make the election between federation and political relationship at once, on pain of India refusing to agree—pending a review of existing treaties, agreements and other established relationships—to standstill arrangements at all, or agreeing to such arrangements only if they were to apply not merely to economic and financial agreements but also to existing political treaties, *sanads* and other relationships.

If any States insist on assuming an independent status without entering even into standstill agreements on this basis, the whole political and economic life of India is bound to be radically upset and to lead to chaos and anarchy.

Sir Gopalaswamy added that the general rule should be that no State within the periphery of India could be allowed to have any relations with Pakistan without reference to India and vice versa.—A.P.I.

Hindustan Times 14-6-47

REPORTED ARMAMENTS RACE IN STATES

BREACH OF LAW AND ORDER APPREHENDED

(By Our Staff Correspondent)

Strong apprehension over the intentions of certain States who are reported to be increasing their armed forces and, in particular, smuggling arms and ammunition, was expressed in a resolution passed by the Standing Committee of the All-India States People's Conference in New Delhi on Thursday.

The resolution called upon the Government of India to take immediate action so that there may not be any breach of law and order.

Resolutions expressing deep concern over the continued policy of "ruthless" repression in Kashmir, demanding the release of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, President, All-India States People's Conference, and other workers of the National Conference, condemning the reactionary policy of the Bhopal Government and calling upon the Mysore Durbar to take immediate steps to meet the demands of the people, were also passed.

The following is the text of resolutions passed by the Standing Committee:

Armed Forces In States

It has come to the knowledge of the Standing Committee that some States are increasing their armed forces and, in particular, smuggling in arms and ammunition. This can only mean that the States concerned have certain designs which they wish to enforce by force of arms on their people. The Committee wishes to draw the attention of the Government of India to these activities. Further, the Committee asks the people of the States to be vigilant and be prepared for all contingencies.

The Standing Committee is given to understand that a large number of smaller States who wish to join the Constituent Assembly have been unable to do so because the groups in which they are placed does not function or because some member of the group is not prepared to join the Assembly. In such cases the Standing Committee hopes that the Constituent Assembly will make immediate arrangements to enable the willing States to join the Assembly. The people's representatives from such States will be chosen by the people.

The Standing Committee has carefully considered the election procedure now being followed in the States of Orissa and C.P., and notes with surprise that in the election rules framed by the Council of Eastern States Rulers, there are gross deviations from the principles agreed upon by the two Negotiating Committees. These will entirely vitiate the purpose of the election, and cannot be accepted.

The Committee also views with great concern that many States, such as, Khairagarh, Korea, Kanker, Rangpur, Nayagarh, Baudh and others, have committed irregularities in not publishing their rules and voters' lists on the specified date and later on, have hustled the entire procedure, so that popular candidates have been kept out.

Kashmir

The Standing Committee expresses its deep concern over the continued policy of ruthless repression in Kashmir by the State Government. For more than a year past untold sufferings have been borne by the gallant people of Kashmir who have faced State repression with commendable fortitude and valour. It is highly regrettable, however, that the State Government has not changed its attitude towards the people in spite of the rapidly changing conditions in the country. The Standing Committee in this connection views the fresh wave of repression which has been launched by the State Government against the people soon after the Congress President, Acharya Kripalani, had left the State with indignation and surprise.

The way in which the punitive tax amounting to about 3 lakhs of rupees in Srinagar City alone is being forcibly collected today is most reprehensible. Along with this a systematic policy to further impoverish the poor inhabitants of Kashmir is being relentlessly pursued by the Kashmir Government.

The Committee notes with great concern the vindictive treatment that the Kashmir Government is meting

out to political prisoners and detenus.

The Committee has repeatedly been noting for the last 13 months that the State Government and some other reactionary elements there have from time to time attempted to confuse public opinion by declaring that the Kashmir struggle for responsible government and people's sovereignty, does not have the support of the A-I.S.P.C., though the Conference has made its position quite clear in several of its resolutions last year. To remove such misrepresentation this Committee once more declares with all emphasis at its command, that the Kashmir movement for responsible Government has all the support of the organization at its back and objectives of the Kashmir National Conference are strictly in accordance with the objectives of the A-I.S.P.C.

The Committee even at this stage trusts that better sense will soon prevail with the Kashmir authorities and they will, without resorting to further atrocities, release Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, President of the A-I.S.P.C., and all other leaders and workers of the National Conference unconditionally and restore to the Kashmir people the civil liberties which do not simply exist in the State today.

The Committee have for over a year noted with sorrow and resentment the reactionary policy pursued by the Bhopal Government in spite of the fact that it was the Ruler of Bhopal who, as the then Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, had on January 18, sent round a circular urging the recognition by the Princes of Fundamental Rights and the early establishment of responsible Governments in States. Bhopal, however, has not respected such rights.

On the top of this it is clear that Bhopal has not so far sent its representative to the Constituent Assembly and intends to declare his independence on the termination of Paramountcy. Such an attitude of isolation is not consistent with the interests of the State and is wholly opposed to the wishes of the vast majority of its population.

The Committee therefore trusts that even at this stage the Nawab of Bhopal will see the wisdom of participating in the Constituent Assembly's work and join the Indian Union.

Mysore

This Committee views with concern the continued delay on the part of the Mysore Durbar in implementing its original declaration made as early as October 1946 in favour of participation in the work of the Indian Constituent Assembly and in needlessly coming in the way of the people's representatives contributing their just share to the framing of the constitution of the Indian Union, while the representatives of many other States have already begun to take part in the work of the Constituent Assembly. The Committee notes with equal concern the extremely tardy manner in which the Dewan has been proceeding to implement the message of His Highness the Maharaja given to his people on January 8, in the matter of making proposals for constitutional reforms, none of which have so far taken any definite shape despite the clarification sought by the President of the Mysore Congress at interviews he had with the Dewan.

The Standing Committee calls upon the Mysore Durbar to take immediate steps to meet the demands of the people of the State and to obviate their resorting to Satyagraha for the realization of their objectives which would become inevitable if the Government chooses to persist in its dilatory tactics.

Hindustan Times 14-6-47

Communal Harmony In Kashmir

ALLAHABAD, June 11.—The political situation in Kashmir is not pleasant to contemplate but there is one aspect of it which especially deserves our notice and commendation and that is the communal goodwill and harmony which is prevalent in the State. Mr. Sadiq Ali, permanent Secretary, A.I.C.C., who recently returned from a visit to Kashmir and Udaipur, said when asked to give his impressions of conditions obtaining in these States.

He said: "The credit for this goes to the National Conference of Sheikh Abdulla which, in spite of plenty of provocation in the situation and the ill-advised policies pursued by the rulers of Kashmir, has consistently striven to maintain communal harmony in the province. To us of non-State India where communal hatred has been carried to the point of madness the spectacle of vast majority of Muslims fraternizing with the small Hindu minority and having no ill-will towards it is a most delightful and refreshing experience. One begins to wonder whether the communal hatred in India is not after all the creation of ambitious and misguided politicians."

"In a school Acharya Kripalani and some of us visited some 200 Muslim and 40 Hindu boys living together on terms of utmost cordiality. The boys treated us to recitations from the Quran, Vedas and Ramayana and poems of Iqbal Ghalib and Surdas. This is so in Kashmir because the leaders of Kashmir have wished it so."

Referring to Udaipur, Mr. Sadiq Ali—a citizen of Mewar—said: "The most important recent event in the Mewar State is the promulgation of a constitution purporting to put the public on the road to democracy. In framing this constitution the Mewar Government has had the benefit of the advice and guidance of Mr. K. M. Munshi"—A.P.I.

Sir C. P. Claims Popular Support!

TRIVANDRUM, June 13.—I wish to assert emphatically that the vast majority of the people of Travancore are in favour of the declaration of independence made by the Ruler and it is only a group, following the mandate of the States Peoples Conference, that wishes to subordinate Travancore to the fluctuating policies of that Conference," said Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Travancore Dewan, in an interview.

He added that the resolution of the Standing Committee of the A-I-S. P.C. on Travancore was obviously based on misapprehensions and misrepresentations. Elections on the basis of adult franchise—as envisaged in the new constitution—could themselves constitute a referendum such as is urged in the resolution, he said.

—A.P.I.

National call. 14-6-47

Indian Republic Will Inherit Sovereignty Over States

—K. M. MUNSHI.

BOMBAY, June 13—"The declaration of independence by some of the Indian States is entirely meaningless," said Mr. K. M. Munshi, in an interview today on the announcements of the Nizam of Hyderabad and Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer, the Dewan of Travancore.



"In International Law" Mr. Munshi said.

"The Indian States are vassals of Great Britain. The word paramountcy was invented to disguise the fact that the only sovereign Power in India was Great Britain. The international status of that sovereign Power is going to be inherited by the Republic of India which will exercise protecting power over the States in India. 'Paramountcy' implies power and strength to protect the weaker States within the ambit of its influence, and whichever the word that is used, the defence of India will in fact necessarily remain with the Republic of India."

These declarations were "verbal gestures, which have no reality in politics," Mr. Munshi said. "The people of India are one, excluding of course the Muslims of the seceding areas and the national consciousness of the people is so strong that it will not permit any artificial barriers imposed by autocratic rulers to exist for long."

The attitude which the Constituent Assembly and the Government of the Indian Union would formally adopt towards such recalcitrant States had yet to be decided, Mr. Munshi added.

INDIA AND NOT HINDUSTAN

Mr. Munshi endorsed the opinion expressed by Mahatma Gandhi that the Indian Union should not be called "Hindustan".

"I am strongly of the view," he said, "that the word 'Hindustan' is inapplicable to the parts of India represented in the Constituent Assembly. It is the Constituent Assembly of India; it represents India and if we want an Indian term, the only term applicable is 'Bharat'."

Referring to the subjects which will come under the purview of the Central Government of the Indian Republic Mr. Munshi said that the Union Powers Committee would reconsider its report, in the light of the declaration of June 3, 1947 and the report so amended would be placed before the Constituent Assembly in its coming session. The committee would so on June 30, when it was expected to take up the work, he said.

Mr. Munshi hoped that the Constituent Assembly would complete its task of drafting a constitution for the Indian Union by October next. "It will be at least November before the new constitution comes into operation but it may be longer," he added.—API.

A.-I.S.P.C. Resolution

DECCAN STATES UNION PLAN APPROVED

CALL TO INDORE RULER TO JOIN INDIA ASSEMBLY

(By Our Staff Correspondent)

A resolution approving the Deccan States' Union plan and urging those States who have not yet joined the proposed Union to do so early was released by the Standing Committee of the All-India States People's Conference on Saturday morning.

In another resolution the committee expressed "deep regret that the ruler of Indore has not yet responded to the demand of his people to co-operate with the Constituent Assembly." The resolution called upon the ruler "to line up with his people and declare in an unequivocal manner his intention to enter the Indian Union and to co-operate fully with the Constituent Assembly and to take immediate steps to confer responsible Government on his people."

The resolution discussing the Deccan States Union scheme says: "A thorough study of the principles on which this Union is sought to be constituted proves the sincerity of the rulers in the matter of establishing a composite State with a view to linking it as a component unit of the Indian Union."

"The committee learns with gratification that it is intended to implement the scheme forthwith by the appointment of an Interim Government and a Constituent Assembly and exhorts (i) the Princes concerned to proceed with the scheme (ii) the people concerned to offer their wholehearted co-operation in implementing the scheme. At the same time the Standing Committee commends the schemes of the people and Princes of other regions for early adoption with such adjustments as may be found necessary."

Appeal To Indore Ruler

The resolution on Indore says: "The Standing Committee deeply regrets that the ruler of Indore has not as yet responded to the demand of the people of the State to co-operate with the Constituent Assembly and that he still maintains an equivocal attitude on the question in defiance of the expressed wishes of the people."

"The Committee further notes with grave concern that no material progress has been made to respond to the pressing demand of the people of the State as expressed through their representative bodies such as the State Legislative Council, the Indore City Municipal Council, the Panchayat Conferences and the people of thousands of villages for the immediate establishment of responsible Government in the State."

"The Committee calls upon the ruler to line up with his people and to declare in an unequivocal manner

his intention to enter the Indian Union and to co-operate fully with the Constituent Assembly and to take immediate steps for conferring responsible Government."

"The Committee, also, hopes that the State authorities will not precipitate matters by persisting in their present reactionary and isolationist policies and thus compel the people of the State to enter upon a struggle for securing their inalienable rights."

Jodhpur Army Policy

"There is growing tendency to encourage sectionalism, particularly in the army, in certain States," says another resolution condemning such methods. It says: "The army should be open to all classes of people in the State and full opportunities of training and promotion subject to merit should be given to people from all classes in the State."

"The Committee has noted with regret that Jat units in the Jodhpur Infantry, including officers and men, have been suddenly disbanded. Such a course should not have been taken without proper enquiry. The Jats form an important element in the population of Jodhpur State and they should be given full opportunities of progress and service in the State both in the Army and Civil Departments. On no account should any decision be based on communal considerations or on the desire of keeping one particular group dominant. The Committee, therefore, trusts that in Jodhpur State Jats will be given full facilities to serve in the army in all ranks."

Kolhapur Pay Commission

The Committee congratulated Mr. Kamalnayan Bajaj and Mr. Shantilal Shah as well as the authorities of the Kolhapur Praja Parishad and the Kolhapur Durbar in bringing about a compromise in the matter of establishing a pay commission for State employees.

Another resolution condemned "the brutal murder," on May 24, of Mr. A.V. Sabade, a member of General Council and a selfless and sincere worker of Jamkhandi State in the Deccan States. The Committee requested the Rajasahib of Jamkhandi to set up an immediate and impartial inquiry so that justice might be done."

Hindu 15-6-47

REFORMS IN STATES

PEOPLE'S COMMITTEE RESOLUTION

ENTRY INTO CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY URGED

NEW DELHI, June 13.

The Standing Committee of the States Peoples' Conference to-day adopted resolutions on Kashmir, Mysore, Bhopal and Eastern States, and the Constituent Assembly. The resolution on Kashmir condemned the repressive policy in the State, demanded the release of Sheikh Abdullah and other political prisoners and the restoration of civil liberties in the State.

In regard to Bhopal, the Committee noted with sorrow and resentment the reactionary policy pursued by the Bhopal Government in spite of the fact that it was the Ruler of Bhopal who, as the then Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes had in January 1947, sent round a circular urging recognition by the Princes of the fundamental rights and the early establishment of democratic Government in their States.

The Committee regretted the operation of Section 144 in the State for the best part of the year and that the reforms announced by the Nawab made no approach whatever to the principles of popular Government.

The resolution further stated that it was clear that Bhopal had not so far sent its representative to the Constituent Assembly and the Nawab intended to declare his independence on the termination of Paramountcy, without joining the Indian Union. Such an attitude of isolation was not consistent with the interests of the State and was wholly opposed to the wishes of the vast majority of its population. The Committee expressed the hope that even at this stage, the Nawab would see the wisdom of participating in the Constituent Assembly's work and join the Indian Union.

The Committee condemned certain Eastern States which ignored the election procedure to the Constituent Assembly, and criticised them for deviating from the principles agreed upon by the two Negotiating Committees. The voters' lists were not published on the specified date and later on the entire procedure was hustled through, with the result that popular candidates had been shut out. In the case of Bastar State, the list had not been published before June 4, while nominations should have been filed on May 24.

KASHMIR GOVT'S POLICY

The Committee passed the following resolution on Kashmir:

This meeting of the Standing Committee of the A. I. S. P. C. expresses its deep concern over the continued policy of ruthless repression in Kashmir by the Government. For more than a year untold sufferings have been borne by the gallant people of Kashmir, who have faced the State repression with commendable fortitude and valour. It is highly regrettable that the State Government has not changed its attitude towards the people in spite of the rapidly changing conditions in the country. The Standing Committee, in this connection, views the fresh wave of repression, which has been launched by the State Government against the people soon after the Congress President, Acharya Kripalani, had left the State, with indignation and surprise. The Committee has noted that during the last one year the Kashmir Government has invariably intensified its repressive policies whenever any notable popular Indian leader has visited the State. These vindictive tactics are highly condemnable and in the opinion of this Committee they are bound to react unfavourably against the State authorities.

PUNITIVE TAX IN SRINAGAR

The way in which the punitive tax amounting to about three lakhs of rupees in Srinagar City alone is being forcibly collected to-day is most reprehensible. The whole State machinery, including its military forces, are going from house to house and using foul and shabby methods in extracting money out of poor people by attaching their properties. Along with this, a systematic policy to impoverish the poor inhabitants of Kashmir further is being relentlessly pursued by the Kashmir Government, with the result that all trades and other means by which people used to earn their living are at a standstill. On the top of this the prices of foodgrains and other necessities of life are deliberately maintained at a very high level and perpetual conditions of famine, in spite of bumper crops last year, are facing the semi-starved people in the country.

The Committee notes with great concern the vindictive treatment that the Kashmir Government is meting out to political prisoners and detenus, most of whom have been lodged in far-flung fortress prisons situated in hot, waterless and malaria-infested areas of the State. Most of the detenus and political prisoners in various State jails are suffering from ailments caused by such conditions and no proper medical aid is being made available to them. All this is being obviously done to terrorise the people into submission. But the Committee is sure that the Kashmir Government will signally fail in its attempts at frightfulness and suppression of the people's legitimate aspirations and this confidence is borne out by the gallant resistance of the Kashmir people themselves.

The Committee has repeatedly been noting for the last thirteen months that the State Government and some other reactionary elements there have from time to time attempted to confuse public opinion by declaring that the Kashmir struggle for Responsible Government and people's sovereignty, does not have support of the A. I. S. P. C. though the conference has made its position quite clear in several of its resolutions last year. To remove such misrepresentation this Committee once more declares with all emphasis at its command, that the Kashmir movement for Responsible Government has all the support of the organisation at its back and objectives of the Kashmir National Conference are strictly in accordance with the objectives of the A. I. S. P. C.

The Committee, even at this stage, trusts that better sense will soon prevail with the Kashmir authorities and they will without resorting to further atrocities release Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, the President of the A. I. S. P. C. and all the other leaders and workers of the National Conference unconditionally and restore to the Kashmir people, the civil liberties which do not simply exist in the State to-day.

SITUATION IN MYSORE

In regard to the situation in Mysore, the resolution said: This Committee views with concern the continued delay on the part of the Mysore Durbar in implementing its original declaration made as early as October 1946 in favour of participation in the work of the Indian Constituent Assembly and in needlessly coming in the way of the people's representatives contributing their just share to the framing of the constitution of the Indian Union, while the representatives of many other States have already begun to take part in the work of the Constituent Assembly. The Committee notes with equal concern the extremely tardy manner in which the Dewan has been proceeding to implement the message of His Highness the Maharaja given to his people on January 8, 1947 in the matter of making pro-

posals for constitutional reforms, none of which has so far taken any definite shape, despite the clarification sought by the President of the Mysore Congress at interviews he had with the Dewan.

The Mysore Congress, which has decided on the launching of a struggle for the realisation of both of its demands in the matter of (1) Mysore's participating in the work of the Constituent Assembly and joining the Indian Union and (2) of the immediate establishment of Responsible Government, the convening of a Constituent Assembly of the chosen representatives of the people of the State for the purpose of framing a constitution on that basis and the formation of an Interim Government composed of persons enjoying the confidence of the Legislature, has shown commendable reasonableness, in postponing the struggle for the while in view of the negotiations between the Mysore Congress and the Government.

Now that the excuse put forward by the Government that there was propriety in awaiting H. M. G.'s proposals of June 1947 before coming to final decisions, no longer holds good, there could be no reason for any further delay in meeting the demands of the people. Delay and indecision on the part of the authorities have the same effect as a denial of the demands. Mysore, being a premier State was justly expected to lead the other States in the right direction. It is yet not too late to retrieve its position.

The Standing Committee calls upon the Mysore Durbar to take immediate steps to meet the demands of the people of the State and to obviate their resorting to Satyagraha for the realisation of their objectives, which would become inevitable if the Government chooses to persist in its dilatory tactics.—A.P.I.

Times of India 6-6-47

DECCAN STATES UNION

Inauguration On
August 1

From Our Special Representative

NEW DELHI, June 15.

The Deccan States Union is expected to be launched by August 1. Every effort is being made to complete the preliminaries by that date.

The setting up of an Interim Government and the formation of a Constituent Assembly will form the first step towards the implementation of the project.

The Standing Committee of the All-India States Peoples' Conference, while commending the Deccan States Union scheme to the other Rulers of the States, has exhorted the Princes concerned to proceed with the implementation and the people wholeheartedly to co-operate in that task.

A covenant for the participating Princes is now being drafted and it will be considered at a meeting of the sub-committee of the Rulers of the Deccan States, which has been convened at Poona on June 20.

It is learnt that the Deccan States Joint High Court will also meet shortly to discuss the situation arising out of the Kolhapur Durbar's decision to withdraw from the Joint High Court scheme with effect from July 1.

"RULERS' SINCERITY"

The resolution passed by the Standing Committee of the States Peoples' Conference, commending the example of the Deccan States to other Princes, says: "Only one group namely the Deccan States Union, has aimed at demanding the geographical boundaries of the units and establishing a responsible Government under a Board of Rulers presided by one amongst them as the constitutional head. A thorough study of the principles on which this Union is sought to be constituted proves the sincerity of the Rulers in the matter of establishing a composite State with a view to linking it as a component unit of the Indian Union."

The Standing Committee of the States Peoples Conference approved of and endorsed, the ten principles on which the proposed Union is intended to be based and which serve as a guide to this Union. The ten principles are:

Firstly, the Rulers of the participating Deccan States shall make a declaration to the effect that all power and authority are derived from the people.

POSITION OF ADVISORS

Secondly, it will be declared by the Rulers that the constitution-making body will consist of peoples' representatives only drawn from the States agreeing to participate in the Union, the Rulers' representatives occupying merely the position of advisers who can take part in the discussions but who will have no right to vote. Each Ruler of a participating State may send only one such adviser, if so desired by him. Further, the Constituent Assembly so formed will be free to invite gentlemen of experience and repute in the public life of India for expert counsel. The Chairman of the Assembly will be elected by the constitution-making body.

Thirdly, the constitution framed by the Constituent Assembly shall not be changed for a period of ten years from the date of its inauguration except on a resolution passed by the Union Legislature by a three-fourths majority of the total sanctioned strength, and with the assent of the constitutional head to such a change.

Fourthly, the Board of Rulers shall always act through its Chairman who

(Continued on page 7).

BASIS OF DECCAN UNION

Power Derived From
States' People

(Continued from Page 1)

shall be their sole representative in all matters with which the Board have any concern under the constitution.

Fifthly, the Judges of the Union High Court shall be appointed by the constitutional head.

Sixthly, the question of the powers, prerogatives and privy purse of individual Rulers of the participating States, will be referred to a Board of Arbitration constituted of the President of the Indian Constituent Assembly, the President of the All-India States Peoples' Conference, the General Secretary of the All-India Congress Committee, Mr. Shankarrao Deo, and two nominees of the Rulers.

Seventhly, there shall be a single Union of the participating States, the administrative and political boundaries as between themselves being wiped out.

TWO ADMINISTRATIONS

Eighthly, in order to ensure administrative and linguistic convenience there shall be two administrative divisions in the Union territory, one being Kannada and the other Marathi.

Ninthly, there shall be a provision in the Union constitution that the respective linguistic areas shall have generally the right to join the neighbouring linguistic provinces as and when formed, the interests of the Rulers of the respective States being suitably safeguarded.

Tenthly, there shall be a provision in the Union constitution for the Union joining or combining with any other province or State or Union of States.

The Standing Committee of the States Peoples' Conference invited the States from the Deccan States group that have not joined the proposed Union to hasten to participate in the scheme in their the people.

Hindu 16-6-47

TRAVANCORE'S STATUS

PARAMOUNTCY ISSUE

SIR ALLADI CRITICISES DEWAN'S STAND

MADRAS, June 13.

Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar writes: On the issue of Paramountcy, I am quite willing to rest in the company of the late Pandit Motilal Nehru, Sir Sivaswami Aiyar and Sri S. Srinivasa Iyengar and do not desire to court the honour of following the opinion of Sir Stafford Cripps, eminent as a lawyer Sir Stafford is. In regard to the position of the Indian States, the statement in the Butler Committee Report which is regarded as a kind of Bible by some of the Indian States, that most, if not all the Indian States, did not enjoy the position of independence at any time in their recorded history is sufficient for my purpose. The history of Travancore and other Indian States as narrated in "Atchison's Treaties", to which no exception has been taken up till now, amply bears out the above conclusion. But the more important and vital issue before the country is: Is India or the Indian people, including the people in the Indian States, to countenance the splitting up of India into a congeries of States of varying size spread over the whole of the Indian continent, paralyzing its defence and communications and promoting economic strife and trade barriers and to leave these matters to individual agreement or disagreement between the Indian Union and the five hundred and odd States which are now supposed to have emerged into independent sovereign units according to the protagonists of undiluted and unrestricted sovereignty of State Rulers?

The most interesting part of the present situation is that some of these State protagonists are British Indian nationals who are in the service of Indian Rulers. If the cry had come from the people of any State, apart from the wisdom of the cry, there might be something to be said for it.

At present, in the State of Travancore, the Legislature is not functioning and in the normal course is not expected to function until the necessary preparations are made for the new elections by compiling a fresh electoral roll under the proposed reforms.

The declaration of independence and non-accession is made without reference to the duly constituted legislature or to the people of the State by the process of referendum, which is nowadays a familiar mode of ascertaining the wishes of the people. The conflicting and the contradictory statements and reasons given from time to time by the Dewan of Travancore for the non-accession of the State baffle any attempt by a disinterested reader to discover any co-ordinated or rational policy underlying these utterances.

"CO-OPERATION WITH NO SUBSERVIENCE"

DEWAN REAFFIRMS STATE'S AIM

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT.)

TRIVANDRUM, June 13.

In the course of a statement to the Press, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan of Travancore, says:

As was pointed out by the B.B.C. Correspondent at New Delhi to-day, this is a turning-point in the history of Travancore and of the States as a whole. A challenge has been thrown out by the State Congress, which the people of this State have taken up not only with reference to the proposal for independent status but also, and even more definitely, with the claim now advanced by some Congressmen and their agents that the future Congress Dominion must have powers over all States analogous to Paramountcy.

"One enthusiast goes so far as to say that the States which do not admit this claim may have to be subjugated or re-subjugated. Those States which have already entered the Constituent Assembly on the faith of the assurance of the Congress Negotiating Committee may have to ponder over this problem and readjust their mental focus. Further, the right of rebellion on the part of the subjects has been asserted by one or two persons, and hinted at by the Congress President.

"All these persons evidently do not realise the implications of these statements, and forget that this calamitous doctrine would be equally available in the future Dominion to Communists and like-minded groups.

"Some leaders of the Congress have blamed British Indians like myself for attempting to act according to their lights and, as we firmly believe, in the true interests of the States. We have been inferentially asked to subordinate our loyalty to the State and its Ruler to the dictates of a political organisation attempting to establish control over the State."

If any British Indian in the service of an Indian State should feel that his loyalty was primarily due to the Congress or to the ideals professed by it from time to time, his obvious duty is to resign from the service of the State and devote himself to public work and Congress propaganda, as Sir M. Gopalaswami Iyengar is so unflinchingly doing.

LOYALTY TO RULER

Personally, I hold the view that so long as I am in the service of our Maharaja, my loyalty is primarily due to him and to his State and not to the Congress. As a member of the Congress and of the Home Rule League, I pleaded for Dominion Status years ago, and I am glad to see that the contention put forward by the leaders of the Liberal Party has been in effect accepted by Mahatma Gandhi and his followers.

What was scornfully rejected has become an useful formula and may soon be a settled fact, notwithstanding the Objectives Resolution passed some weeks ago by the Constituent Assembly. We also know settled facts are hard to unsettle.

I am very glad to learn from the very well instructed New Delhi correspondent of THE HINDU that the Congress now feels the need to change the Objectives Resolution and if this be true, the leaders of the Congress deserve congratulations for the timely flexibility of their minds.

The backward communities who owe so much to our Maharaja, the well-organised Ezhava community as well as the bulk of Christians and Muslims in the State, have given ample proof of their adherence to the ideal of independence and I feel confident that they will stand by their Ruler.

Some Nair leaders like Mr. Malloor Govinda Pillai have also come into the open. But several persons of all communities are sitting dubiously on the fence evidently because they cannot be convinced that the doctrine of non-violence advocated by Gandhiji will be put into practice by the Congress Dominion of the future.

"NO MIDDLE COURSE POSSIBLE"

The State Congress, following the lead of the Congress Dominion and Sir N. Gopalaswami Iyengar, goes so far as to appeal to the British Crown to help the new entrant to Dominionhood in subjugating the States.

In this crisis, the sole question for decision by the Ruler and the people of the State is whether they prefer outside dictation or will stand together in vindication of honourable and co-operative independence. Those who are at

this juncture not with us are against us. There is no middle course possible.

Whatever individual or communal differences or legitimate grievances may have existed or may exist must now be forgotten and will easily be rectified.

His Highness' Government now call upon all people of the State to rally round the greatest Ruler that Travancore has ever had and to prove that the Maharaja and his people are single-minded in their endeavour to be masters in their own houses while at the same time they are prepared cheerfully, and willingly to work in harmony with every other part of India to achieve common ends.

Comradely co-operation in the interests of India as a whole and Travancore in particular without subservience or subordination is our declared aim and ambition.

States man 16-6-47

TRAVANCORE DEWAN REPLIES TO CRITICISM

TRIVANDRUM, June 15.—This is a turning point in the history of Travancore. A challenge has been thrown out by the State Congress, which the people of the State have taken up, not only with reference to the proposal for independent status but, and even more definitely, with the claim now advanced by some Congressmen and their agents that the future Congress dominion must have powers over all States analogous to paramountcy," said Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer, Dewan of Travancore, in an interview.

"One enthusiast goes so far as to say that the States which do not admit this claim may have to be subjugated or resubjugated. Those States which have already entered the Constituent Assembly on the assurance of the Congress Negotiating Com-

mittee may have to ponder over this problem and readjust their mental focus. Further, the right of rebellion on the part of the subjects has been asserted by one or two persons and hinted at by the Congress president.

"All these persons evidently do not realize the implications of these statements and forget that this calamitous doctrine would be equally available in the future dominion to Communists and like-minded groups.

"Some readers of the Congress have blamed British inquis like myself for attempting to act according to their lights and as we firmly believe in the true interests of the States, we have been incidentally asked to subordinate our loyalty to the State and its ruler to the dictates of a political organization attempting to establish control over the States.

Loyalty to Ruler

"Personally I hold the view that so long as I am in the service of our Maharaja my loyalty is primarily due to him and to his State and not to the Congress. As a member of the Congress and of the Home Rule League I pleaded for Dominion Status years ago, and I am glad that the contention of leaders of the Liberal Party has been accepted by Mahatma Gandhi and his followers.

"What was scornfully rejected has become an useful formula and may soon be a settled fact, notwithstanding the objectives resolution passed some weeks ago by the Constituent Assembly. We also know that settled facts are hard to unsettle.

"I am very glad to learn that the Congress now feels the need to change the objectives resolution, and, if this be true, the leaders of the Congress deserve congratulations for the timely flexibility of their minds.

"In this crisis the sole question for decision by the Ruler and the people of the State is whether they prefer outside dictation or will stand together in vindication of honourable and co-operative independence. Those, who are at this juncture not with us are against us. There is no middle course possible.

"His Highness's Government now call upon all people of the State to rally round the greatest Ruler that Travancore has ever had and to prove that the Maharaja and his people are singleminded in their endeavour to be masters in their own house while at the same time they are prepared cheerfully and willingly to work in harmony with every other part of India to achieve common ends.

"Comradely co-operation in the interests of India as a whole, and Travancore in particular, without subservience or subordination is our declared aim and ambition."—API.

Nizam Govt.'s Warning Against Violent Speeches

HYDERABAD (Dn), Monday.—A Communiqué issued by the Nizam's Government contains a warning to members of 'political and communal parties' against making public speeches in language calculated to incite violence and racial hatred.

"Government regret" says the Communiqué, "that the freedom of the platform is being abused by some who have been giving expression to unrestrained and intemperate views", and will be compelled to take action if speeches of the nature described above continued to be made.

"Government have been watching with anxiety" the Communiqué continues, "the increasing tendency on the part of certain speakers representing different political and communal parties to use language which is tantamount to incitement to violence and calculate to create racial hatred. Such speeches have contributed not a little to the tension which exists and which has already manifested itself in certain incidents which have occurred in different parts of the state.

"While it is the duty of Government to take necessary steps, by all the means within their power, to put an end to such practice, and Government intend taking immediate action in that direction, they consider it necessary at the same time to convey a public warning as well as an appeal to all political and communal organizations in order that they might exercise due control over their speakers and workers, as otherwise the responsibility for any untoward development must rest on them."—API.

PEOPLE'S RAJ DEMANDED IN HYDERABAD

HYDERABAD (Dn), June 16.—In his presidential address to the first session of the Hyderabad States Congress, Swami Ramananda Tirtha, President of the Congress, appealed to the Nizam's Government to join the Indian Union and participate in the work of the existing Constituent Assembly.

He also urged the Government to convene a Constituent Assembly for the State, elected on the basis of adult franchise, to frame a democratic constitution with responsible Government under the aegis of the Nizam for Hyderabad as an integral part of the free Indian Union.

In the meanwhile, Swami Ramananda suggested the formation of an Interim Government for Hyderabad. "If the demands are not conceded," he said, "I shall have no hesitation in commencing to you total resistance."

Hyderabad was fast heading to a crisis, he added. He exhorted the people to be prepared for every sacrifice and to go to jail in thousands if their demands were not met. "We are confident that all the forces of freedom are watching the progress of our struggle with deep anxiety. Hyderabad people's freedom is a national urgency which brooks no delay."

Swami Ramananda expressed regret at the Firman issued recently by the Nizam outlining the future constitutional position of Hyderabad, and said it did not reflect the will of the people and was "contrary to their aspirations."

Discussing the implications of Paramountcy and sovereignty in the light of the Firman, Swami said: "Paramountcy connotes superior sway of one State over another. The Indian States were subjugated by the British Government. They have been subordinate not sovereign. Paramountcy will certainly lapse. The question is, who will be sovereign. The stern reality of the situation is that it is not the Princes but the millions of people of the States who will be free and independent, the moment the British withdraw from India."

"The Princes cannot", Swami Ramananda added, "claim freedom to keep their people under subjection. The States' people will be free."

Referring to the Nizam's declaration of independence, he said: "Isolated independence would not be possible for Hyderabad economically nor would it be able to make adequate arrangements for the defence of its boundaries."

"We demand people's raj in Hyderabad, a democratic regime under which every citizen, irrespective of caste, colour or creed, will enjoy honoured existence and will have equal opportunity for his own economic social and political uplift," Swami Ramananda declared.—API.

the conditions of these, Pandit Shukla had asked, and had replied (according to the report) that they would be treated as aliens. They would have no citizenship rights. The grants that were being given today for their education would be withdrawn and they would have to depend on their own resources."

The newspaper report added: "Pointing to Minister Hasan, who was sitting next to him, Pandit Shukla jocularly observed: "Dr Hasan will not only have to quit the Cabinet but he would not be allowed to live in Wardha. He will have to seek shelter elsewhere, in Pakistan. Even though religious and cultural freedom may be conceded to the Muslims living in Hindustan, they will have no representation in the legislatures or in the services. They will have to maintain their own institutions and they will be entitled to no Government grants."

If the report was fairly accurate the speech was unfortunate, Gandhi said, although it might have been made in the lighter vein. Surely the Union Provinces were not going to be caught in the trap prepared for them. They had to show by their action that the Muslim members in the provincial Cabinets were just as welcome as they were before and that no matter what was done in the so-called Pakistan Provinces, the Union Provinces would be strictly just and fair in their treatment of their Muslim brethren. Pakistan should make no difference in their regard for the Muslims as well as the other minorities. This had no reference to the apples of discord which the foreign Power had thrown in their midst, such as separate electorates.—API

National call. 18-6-47

JOIN INDIAN UNION OR ACCEPT PARAMOUNTCY

Only Two Alternatives Before States, Says Sir Alladi

MADRAS, June 18.—Sir Alladi Krishnaswamy Iyer, former Advocate-General of Madras and member of the Constituent Assembly, speaking at a public meeting here on Tuesday referred to the position of Indian States in the future set-up of the country and said they had only two alternatives before them.



Either they had to form one federal union with the rest of India, on a democratic basis, the State representatives occupying an honourable place in the Union and participating in the solution of the problems of India, or in the alternative, the States had to have some kind of nexus and accept the paramountcy or something in the nature of it, and occupying a subordinate or dependent position in the Indian Union.

"The unity of races and culture, the larger interests of the people of India and even the self-interests of the rulers themselves," Sir Alladi said, "must compel them to adopt one of these two courses."

ARGUMENT UNTENABLE

Sir Alladi referred to the argument that the fact that certain predominantly Muslim parts of India are not to be parts of the Indian Union furnished a ground for Indian States keeping out of the Indian Union.

This argument did not deserve serious consideration, he said, when we remember the circumstances under which the Congress and the trusted leaders who had given their best to the services of India and to the cause of the Indian independence were compelled to accede to the new scheme, as was clear from the proceedings of the A.I.C.C. The Congress leaders were not without hope that the seceders "will some day see the wisdom of coming back to India. So far from furnishing a reason for the States in this part of India not acceding to the Indian nation, it must furnish an additional reason for their joining the Indian Union and strengthening it.

PROBLEMS OF "INDEPENDENCE"

Sir Alladi dwelt at length on the problems of communications, citizenship, postal and telegraphic services and trade barriers that will crop up if the Indian States were to declare their independence. Turning to the question of defence, the speaker said even an Indian Union composed of all provinces and States will have an arduous task before them in maintaining and strengthening independence after it was won. It would take some years before the Union could build up land, naval and air forces according to modern standards for the defence of the country. The Indian States by themselves cannot cope up with these problems and they had to remember the fate of the small countries that were swept away by the holocaust of German forces in the early days of war.

The lecturer pointed to the example of America where after the war of independence some staunch protagonists of State sovereignty were against a federal union of the States. But history had shown that wisdom lay with the fathers of the American Union and not with the protagonists of undiluted and unrestricted State sovereignty.

Concluding Sir Alladi Krishnaswamy Iyer appealed to the Indian States, particularly to Travancore to join the Indian Union unreservedly. Whatever independence had been gained by the Indian States it was the result of the valiant fight which the Congress and the national forces had put up during the last 25 years.—API

STATES SHOULD ENTER CONSAMBLY

Sir C. P.'s Stand Untenable,
Says Sir Alladi

MADRAS, June 18.

Speaking on "States and Indian Union" last evening at Lakshmi-puram Young Men's Association, Sir Alladi Krishnaswamy Iyer said that the Indian States had only two courses open to them, and they were either formation of federal union with the rest of India on a democratic basis, the States representatives occupying an honourable position in it and participating in the solution of the problems of Indian or the states having some kind of nexus and accepting the paramountcy or something in the nature of paramountcy and occupying a subordinate or dependent position in the Indian Union.

Sir Alladi appealed to the British Government and the Viceroy to act in a statesmanlike manner, avoiding intestine feuds and dissimular tendencies resulting in the Balkanisation of India. He appealed to all the States to put company with legalism and narrow provincialism or state authority and sovereignty.

Sir Alladi congratulated the Mysore Dewan and the Ruler, who have decided to enter the Constituent Assembly. Especially when everyone felt proud of the better methods of administration in the South Indian States and the advancement made in the field of education in Travancore, Cochin and Mysore, the people of those States should make a contribution to the future Indian Union.

Sir Alladi was greatly disappointed at the decision of the Travancore State not to join the Constituent Assembly. He also felt sorry that a talented Dewan and an able administrator should be the protagonist of the separatist policy. "If I am constrained to refer frequently to Travancore in the context," Sir Alladi continued, "that is because the Dewan of Travancore, a British Indian subject, is the chief exponent of state separatist policy and unrestricted state sovereignty and an anti-Indian Unionist." He also expressed his dissent at Sir C. P.'s pungent terms of reference to Mahatma Gandhi, who is the father of the Indian structure. If an independent country emerged as a result of the British withdrawal it was worth investigating how it was won. "If independence is achieved as a result of hard won battles by the rulers there may be something to gloat over. Some of the states were in no sense independent. The fact remains for over a century and a half at least they owed obedience to the British Power in India and in particular instance, even without a single show of battle the States yielded to the British Power. That cannot be a matter of either pride or self-glorification," (cheers).

WRONG HISTORY

Sir Alladi added, in no way he wanted to minimise the importance of Travancore; nor did he dispute the smaller states like Travancore occupying a bigger position. Indeed he wanted them to make greater contribution towards Indian national life. He also sounded a note of caution that those who wanted to expose the cause of state should not rely upon wrong history. It must be made clear that he did not dispute the paramountcy which Travancore occupies today, among South Indian states in almost every field. There was nothing 'infra dig' for the state to enter the Federal Union and share the larger life of the Union. He emphasised that whatever independence was gained by the State was as a result of the valiant fight of the Congress and the national forces during the last 25 years. Independence had not been wrested by the rulers or courts of arms. But for the great popular forces, was it conceivable that the independence of the State could be achieved. Sir Alladi asked. Sooner the State rulers and their representatives realised this point, it was better for them and India as a whole.

Sir Alladi continued: "What would contribute to the glory of the Indian States? Was it the entrance to the federal union of India, while retaining internal autonomy and sovereignty in several respects or the assertion of independence in a narrow restrictive and competing spheres. The course of events has demonstrated what the fate of smaller nations would be under the stress and strain of total war under modern conditions.

The constitutional history of America would disclose to them that the sovereign State of America emerged as a result of rebellion against Britain-American War of Independence. Some of the protagonists of state sovereignty in America were against the Federal Union. But history has shown the wisdom of the fathers of modern American nation, which was leading the world in all spheres. Therefore they had to emulate at least the experience of other nations like America, and to profit by it.

The Indian Union might be composed of provinces and Indian States which had before them an arduous task of maintaining and strengthening the independence they had won. It would take some years before they equipped themselves with a modern Army, Navy and air force for the mighty task of defending India.

THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

Sir Alladi then referred to the economic problems of the country and said "it would not be even possible to secure a decent standard of living for the average citizen of India, unless there was co-ordinated and concerted effort. This could not be achieved if a multiplicity of Indian States of varying size, population, and resources spring up over this vast continent. They must also take note of Railways and communications and other aspects which were stretched to the interior covering States and Pakistan areas. To imagine that a co-ordinated and united effort could be achieved by mere agreement with the several States on a voluntary basis and possibly on a differential basis is nothing short of a fantastic approach of the problem," observed Sir Alladi.

Pointing out that there were only two solutions to the problem of the States, Sir Alladi said that one of them was the formation of a federal union with the rest of India functioning on a democratic basis, the state representative occupying an honourable place in the Union and participating in the solution of the problems of India. The other solution, the speaker suggested was that the States should have some kind of constitutional nexus accepting the paramountcy or something in the nature of a paramountcy and occupying a subordinate or dependent position in the Indian Union. He emphasised that there was no third course possible for them. He appealed to Sir C. P. to realise this and requested him to join and participate in the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly. He said he could not add to what Mahatmaji had already expressed, namely that Indian States need not feel 'infra dig' in entering into federal relationship with the Indian Union.

Many were unable to understand the stand taken up by Indian States. The rulers of these states recognised the British Power as paramount, and they considered it 'infra dig' to enter into relationship with their own kith and kin.

An argument was being advanced, that certain parts of India predominantly Muslim areas, were not to be parts of the Indian Union. It was an argument which did not merit serious consideration, the speaker held. One must remember the circumstances under which the Congress and its trusted leaders who had given up their past to the service of the country were compelled to accede to the new scheme. Even at present the Congress leaders hoped that the seceded parts would have the wisdom of joining the Union at a later stage.

PEOPLE SHOULD DECIDE

"Even apart from the question of expediency, national interest and solidarity, no ruler or Dewan is entitled to take a decision on so vital a point affecting the future of the country and of his State without getting the verdict of the people. Could any ruler or Dewan forestall the verdict and anticipate the decision of his people and regiment the opinion in favour of his conclusion without reference to the people? He hoped that in Travancore a verdict would be called for in the usual constitutional manner. In this connection he referred to the reports of how the State Government was "suppressing" the activities of the people expressing their dissent at the attitude taken by the Dewan." He wanted that the verdict of the people should be taken on a democratic basis. Sir Alladi appealed to the ruler of Travancore and his Adviser to give a chance to the people of his State to give

their verdict at least through a duly constituted Legislature or through the process of referendum. Sir Alladi said that the British Power which had been exercising direct control over British India and indirect and effective supreme power over the rest of India (States) must see that they did nothing to weaken the future Indian Union. He wanted that everyone, especially the intelligentsia of Travancore should make a constructive approach to the problem instead of remaining content with an academic discussion. He also referred to the Government of India Act which allowed the State subjects to be entertained in British Service, and if the States declared themselves independent their services would be affected.

Referring to Sir C. P.'s criticism that the Congress was changing its attitude from time to time, the speaker said that he would not be surprised if Sir C. P. himself changed his attitude and decided to enter the Consambly.

Sir Alladi made a personal reference to the talents of Sir C. P. and said that the nation needed the service of such a great statesman and able administrator.

R. Srinivasa Raghavan welcomed Sir Alladi and Mr. V. Ramaswamy proposed a vote of thanks.

TRAVANCORE SEEKS NO SEPARATE RELATIONS WITH FOREIGN POWERS

—Sir C.P.

TRIVANDRUM, June 17.—“No Indian State wishes to enter into any relations with foreign and hostile Powers against the interests of India,” says Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar, Travancore Dewan, in a telegram sent yesterday morning to Mahatma Gandhi.

The telegram says:—

“Will you allow me to protest against the erroneous statements made by you at your prayer meeting yesterday, relying on inaccurate reports. There was no banning of meetings in Travancore except where breaches of peace were apprehended and a number of meetings have been actually held. Only 14 persons have been arrested throughout the State, of whom eight have been ordered to be released. Those who were arrested were dealt with for defying the magistrate's orders in places where breach of peace was apprehended. There was no lathi charge anywhere.

Self-Reliance Of States

“You have asked the Indian States not to rely on the British. It is not Indian States that are now relying on the British Government but the Congress and I am aware that the British Government are more anxious to secure the consent of the Congress to Dominion Status than to befriend the States. I wish to assure you that we are at least as conscious of our need for self-reliance as you are.

“You will find out for yourself that the people of Travancore are in overwhelming majority in favour of the stand for independence. May I also make it clear that this independence is wholly consistent with close relations as to Defence, Foreign Affairs and all matters of common concern with the rest of India. Needless threats indulged in by Pandit Nehru are really uncalled for because no Indian State wishes to enter into any relations with foreign and hostile Powers against the interests of India. I hope you will persuade yourself and your followers to credit those who differ from you with as much patriotism as you claim for yourself.

Cabinet Mission Quoted

“With regard to the audacity attributed to Indian States by you, I may invite your attention to the statement of Sir Stafford Cripps at the Press

conference on May 16, 1946, in which he said: ‘It is not necessary for me to state that a contract or arrangement of this kind cannot be handed over to a third party without the consent of the States. They will, therefore, become wholly independent.’

“On July 18, 1946, both Lord Pethick-Lawrence and Sir Stafford Cripps have stated: ‘As for States, they need have no anxiety. It is for them to agree to come in or not as they choose.’

“Lastly, the present Secretary of State on June 3, 1946, stated that after transfer of power, the States should be free to choose their own future and that British Paramountcy would end. The course left open to the States would be autonomy or affiliation with either Pakistan or Hindustan. The audacity, if any, is on the part of those statesmen under whose aegis the Congress is now embarking on Dominion Status.

Nehru's 'Threats'

“The threats of Pandit Nehru and his reliance on world Powers, including Britain, to help him to implement those threats will no doubt be considered by Lord Listowel and Sir Stafford Cripps, but it is difficult to see how they can go behind their own statements.

“I note with intense regret that you have not yet withdrawn the false allegation that I have asked Travancoreans who do not agree to independence to quit the State in spite of my denial and a telegram addressed to you by 12 journalists who attended the Press conference. B.B.C. has repeated the calumny this morning, evidently taking shelter under your statement.”—A.P.I.

MYSORE DECIDES TO ENTER UNION ASSEMBLY

BANGALORE, June 17.—Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, Dewan of Mysore, at a Press conference today announced that Mysore had decided to join the Constituent Assembly.

The Dewan hoped that this Constituent Assembly would evolve a federation which would be acceptable to the Indian States.

He also made it clear that on the particular arrangements, agreements or conventions with special reference to Mysore State, made therein, will depend the question whether Mysore should ultimately join the federation or make some other arrangements with adjacent areas.—A.P.I.

H. T. 18-6-47

STATES' "DEPENDENCE" CLAIM UNTENABLE

RULERS CAN CONTINUE ONLY AS CONSTITUTIONAL HEADS

Continued From Page 1 Col 2

problem which may turn out to be worse than the Hindu-Muslim problem as it is sure to result in the further balkanization of India. Such a crucial problem requires to be seriously considered by all so that the right solution may be found. It is in that spirit that I wish to state what I think about the Indian States declaring themselves independent instead of joining the Indian Union.

There are obviously two aspects to the question. Can the States declare themselves independent? Should they declare themselves independent? For the sake of avoiding confusion it is better to deal with the two aspects of the question separately.

Basic Of Claim

To begin with the first, the basis of the claim made by the States for a right to declare themselves independent lies in the statement of May 12, 1946, issued by the Cabinet Mission in which they say that the British Government cannot transfer paramountcy to an Indian Government which means that the rights of

longer exist and that all the rights surrendered by the States to the paramount power will return to the States.

The statement of the Cabinet Mission that the Crown could not transfer paramountcy is obviously not a statement of political policy. It is a statement of law. The question is: Is this a correct statement of the law as it applies to the States?

There is nothing original in the proposition set out by the Cabinet Mission. It is a statement of the view propounded by the Butler Committee appointed in 1929 to examine the relationship between the Crown and the Indian States.

Princes' Contentions

As students of the subject know, the Princes in the stand they took before the Butler Committee contended for two propositions:—

(i) That paramountcy could not override the terms and conditions contained in the treaties between the Princes and the States but was limited by them.

(ii) That the relations embodied in paramountcy were of a personal nature between the Crown and the Princes and could not, therefore, be transferred by the Crown to an Indian Government without the consent of the Princes.

The Butler Committee without much ceremony repudiated the first of these two contentions. It put the matter in most ruthless language by declaring that "the States were paramount and was not limited by any terms contained in the treaties."

As regards the second contention, strangely enough it was upheld by the Butler Committee. Whether the Butler Committee did it in order to appease the Princes, who were annoyed with the Committee for turning down their contention regarding paramountcy, it is difficult to say. The fact, however, remains that it gave immense satisfaction to the Political Department of the Government of India and to the Princes.

Mischievous Doctrine

The doctrine that paramountcy cannot be transferred to an Indian Government is a most mischievous doctrine and is based upon an utter misunderstanding of the issues involved. The doctrine is so unnatural that the late Prof. Holdsworth, author of the *History of the English Law*, had to exercise a great deal of ingenuity in defending it in the pages of the *Law Quarterly Review* for October, 1930.

Unfortunately, no Indian student of constitutional law has ever bothered to controvert his views with the result that they have remained as the last and final word on the subject. No wonder, the Cabinet Mission adopted them as valid and acted upon them in settling the issue of British India vs. Indian States. It is equally a matter for pity that the Congress Working Committee, which was negotiating with the Cabinet Mission for a settlement, did not challenge the proposition enunciated by the Mission in regard to paramountcy.

But these circumstances cannot take away the right of Indians to examine the matter *de novo* and come to their own independent judgment and stand for it if they are convinced that their view is the right view, no matter what the Cabinet Mission has said.

Legal Standpoint

The case against the position taken by the Cabinet Mission in regard to paramountcy can be stated in the following propositions:—

(i) Much of the mystery which surrounds paramountcy is due to the fact that most people do not understand what it stands for. Paramountcy is merely another name for what is called the prerogative of the Crown. It is a prerogative of the Crown as a prerogative of the Crown differs from the ordinary prerogative of the Crown in two respects:

(A) The basis of the ordinary prerogative of the Crown lies in common law as distinguished from statute law while the basis of the prerogative arising from paramountcy lies in treaties supplemented by usage.

(B) The common law prerogative of the Crown extends to all the subjects of the Crown resident in the King's Dominions and over aliens temporarily resident therein while paramountcy is a prerogative which extends only over the Indian States. Paramountcy is no doubt a distinct part of the prerogative of the Crown. Notwithstanding these differences the fact remains that paramountcy is a prerogative of the Crown.

(ii) Paramountcy being the prerogative of the King, the exercise of paramountcy is contrary to the general opinion, not subject to the rules of international law but is subject to that part of the municipal law of the British Empire which is called the Law of the Constitution.

(iii) According to the principle of the constitutional law of the British Empire while the prerogative vests in the King the King has no discretion in the exercise of his prerogative. The King cannot exercise it independently of the advice of his Ministers. He can exercise it only in accordance

with the advice of his Ministers. He cannot do otherwise.

It follows that when India becomes a Dominion the Crown will be bound to act in the exercise of its prerogative rights in accordance with the advice of the Indian Cabinet.

The protagonists of the theory that paramountcy cannot be transferred to the Government of India rely on the omission from the Government of India Act, 1935, of the provisions of Section 29 of the Government of India Act, 1833. They were reproduced in Section 33 of the Government of India Act, 1935, and it is to be noted that the Government of India Act, 1935, to which the civil military Government of India is distinguished from the civil and military Government of British India, is a Dominion.

Under the Government of India Act, 1935, the Government of India cannot be transferred to an Indian Government.

To say the least the argument is spurious. The existence or non-existence of such a provision in the Government of India Act is quite beside the point and proves nothing. The non-existence of the clause does not prove that India can under no circumstances claim the right to advise the Crown in regard to the exercise of paramountcy.

Its existence in the Government of India Act does not mean that such a power was vested in it during 1833 or 1935. The question is: For what very clause contained the proviso whereby the Governor-General-in-Council was required to pay due obedience to the Government of India? He was to do so from 1833 to 1935 the ultimate authority to advise the Crown in the matter of the exercise of the prerogative of the Secretary of State for India, i.e., the British Cabinet of which he is a member.

Parliamentary Acts

The different methods of disposing of paramountcy adopted in the various Acts passed by Parliament relating to the Government of India between 1833 to 1935 do not and cannot in any way affect the claim of the Indian people to advise the Crown in the exercise of paramountcy. Under the constitutional law of the Empire only when a country has become a Dominion that it can claim the right to advise the Crown, and the fact that before it became a Dominion the Crown was differently advised is no bar to its claim.

Under the 1935 Act, India was not granted responsible government. But as India was granted responsible government, the Crown in regard to the exercise of its prerogative rights regarding Indian States, this is because the constitutional law of the British Empire makes an unambiguous difference between responsible government and Dominion Status.

In responsible government the right of the Cabinet to advise the Crown and the obligation of the Crown to accept it is confined to cases of the exercise of the prerogative arising out of the internal affairs of the country. As to external affairs, the British Cabinet retained the right to advise the Crown. But in case of a Dominion, the Crown is bound to accept the advice of the Ministry with regard to all cases of the exercise of the prerogative whether they relate to internal affairs or external affairs.

This is why a Dominion can make a treaty with a foreign country without the intervention of the British Cabinet. The fact that the Government of India was not in the past permitted to advise the Crown in the exercise of its rights of paramountcy does not mean that there is any inherent constitutional incapacity which disqualifies her from claiming the right to advise the Crown. But in case of a Dominion, the Crown is bound to accept the advice of the Ministry with regard to all cases of the exercise of the prerogative whether they relate to internal affairs or external affairs.

India's Right

What has been stated above is no more than a summary of the constitutional law of the British Empire and the process of its evolution showing how a part of the Empire which acquires the status of a Dominion becomes vested with the exclusive right to advise the Crown in the exercise of its prerogative affecting that Dominion. Why should this right be denied to India when she becomes a Dominion, it is difficult to understand.

On parity of reasoning India should get the right to advise the Crown in the exercise of its prerogative as Canada, Australia, South Africa and Ireland when they become Dominions.

That Prof. Holdsworth came to a different conclusion is due not to any difference in the fundamental propositions of the constitutional law stated above, indeed, he accepts them in toto. The reason why he came to a different conclusion is because he posed quite a different question for argument. The question posed by Prof. Holdsworth was whether the Crown could cede or transfer paramountcy to an Indian Government. This is not the real issue. The real issue is whether the Indian Dominion can claim the right to advise the Crown in the exercise of paramountcy. In other words, we are not concerned with the question whether paramountcy could be transferred. The issue with which we are concerned is how paramountcy can be exercised. I am sure that if Prof. Holdsworth had realized what the real issue was he could not have come to a different conclusion.

So far I have dealt with one part of the Cabinet Mission's statement where they say that the Crown could not transfer paramountcy to an Indian Government. There remains for consideration the other part of their statement in which they say that the Crown will not transfer paramountcy to an Indian Government.

Mission's View Rebutted

According to the Cabinet Mission, paramountcy will lapse. This is a most astounding statement and runs contrary to another well-established principle of constitutional law. According to this principle, the King cannot surrender or abandon his prerogative rights. If the Crown cannot transfer paramountcy the Crown cannot also abandon it. The validity of this principle was admitted by the Privy Council in the Queen vs. Edulji Byramji reported in 5 Moore's Privy Council cases p. 258 wherein they said (p. 25) that the Crown could not even by charter part with its prerogative.

It is therefore, obvious that the statement made by the Cabinet Mission that

proper for the British Parliament to make a law permitting the abandonment of paramountcy.

It would be open, I am sure, for Indians to argue that such a step by the British Parliament would either be proper or not legal. It would not be legal for the simple reason that after India becomes a Dominion the advice abrogating paramountcy can be passed by the Dominion Parliament of India, and the British Parliament would have no jurisdiction in this matter at all.

Again, a statute passed by the British Parliament abrogating paramountcy would be improper. The reason is obvious. The army is the ultimate sanction for paramountcy. This army has been the Indian Army for which British India has paid all along. Without the aid of this powerful army maintained by British India, and placed at the disposal of the Crown through its agent, the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, the Crown would never have been able to build up and conserve the powers of paramountcy. These powers are of the nature of a trust held by the Crown for the benefit of the people of India and it would be a gross abuse of power on the part of the British Parliament to pass a statute destroying that trust.

Independent India

A question may be asked: What happens when India becomes independent? The Crown disappears and the question of advising the Crown does not remain. Can independent India claim to inherit the

to the provisions of international law relating to succession among States. Oppenheim admits that a succeeding State can inherit certain rights of the preceding State. From Hall's *International Law*, it would appear that among other things property and advantages secured to it by treaty can be inherited by a succeeding State.

India will be a succession State. Paramountcy is an advantage which is secured to it by treaty with the Princes. Independent India can, therefore, make a valid claim for the inheritance of paramountcy.

The conclusion is that India States will continue to be in the same position when India becomes independent as they are now. They will be sovereign States to the extent they are, but they cannot be independent States so long as they remain under the suzerainty of the British Crown. If the Crown of India remains a Dominion or under the suzerainty of the succession State of India becomes independent.

While the suzerainty remains they can never be independent, but they must realize that while the suzerainty lasts it must continue even when India becomes independent. India will not give up its independence nor can a foreign State accord them the status of an independent State.

Way Out For Rulers

The only way in which Indian States can free themselves from paramountcy would be to bring about a merger of sovereignty with the Indian Union as constituent units thereof. The States apportioned to know this. But as they seem to have forgotten it is necessary to remind them of what happened at the Round Table Conference. In the beginning, the States were not prepared to join the federation. They agreed to join the federation when they came to know that they could not escape from the clutches of paramountcy by reason of the Butler Com-

mission's view that paramountcy was paramount.

This change of attitude was due to the realization that to the extent that powers comprised in paramountcy were handed over to the federation, to that extent paramountcy would vanish. In fact, as most of us know, the Princes did raise the question with the then Secretary of State for India and asked him that the scope of paramountcy should be dissolved to the extent of the subjects included in List No. 1. The then Secretary of State had no answer to give and viewed the Princes by frowning upon them.

Warning To Princes

Apart from the attitude of the then Secretary of State, the fact remains that the Princes had seen the point that the only way for the dissolution of paramountcy lay in joining the federation. The point remains as valid now as it was then. It would be wise on the part of the Indian States to follow that line and not to pursue the mirage of independence. The States should realize that their independence as sovereign independent States will not be worth five years' purchase. It is in the interest of the Princes themselves that they should join the Indian Union and become constitutional monarchs.

Any Dewan who advises his Prince not to join the Union is really acting as the enemy of the Prince. The joining of the federation will no doubt involve the abdication of responsible government but it has this advantage, viz. that the Union will guarantee to the Princes the rights relating to dynastic succession, which is

get recognition and protection from U.N.O. is to live in one's own paradise. It is doubtful if U.N.O. will give recognition to Indian States ignoring the claim of India of suzerainty over them. But even if that happens U.N.O. will never grant any assistance to an Indian State against external aggression or internal commotion without consulting with the State's first independent government within its area. All these things are well known to the wall. He who runs may read them. The Dewan who refuses to follow them, will not share the fate which befalls all those who are blinded by their self-interest.

Call To Interim Govt.

Whatever the choice the Indian States may make the duty of the people of India is clear. On their behalf, I would ask the Interim Government at the Centre to take the following steps:—

(1) To notify to H.M.G. that the British Parliament has no right to pass any law abrogating paramountcy and that any clause to that effect in the forthcoming constitution conferring Dominion Status on India would be treated by the people of India as repugnant to their sovereignty, and therefore null and void.

(2) To declare that the Government of India will never recognize any Indian State as sovereign independent State.

(3) To inform U.N.O. that admitting an Indian State which declares itself as sovereign independent State to the membership of U.N.O. would meet with the strongest objection from the people of India as a violation of the sovereign rights of the Union of India.

Of these the first is the most important and most urgent. If Britain abrogates paramountcy she will be ultimately committed to guaranteeing recognition to Indian States as sovereign independent States. It is, therefore, obvious that no time must be lost by the Interim Government in issuing a warning to H.M.G. against the course they intend to pursue in regard to paramountcy.—A.P.I.

problem which may turn out to be worse than the Hindu-Muslim problem as it is sure to result in the further balkanization of India. Such a crucial problem requires to be seriously considered by all so that the right solution may be found. It is in that spirit that I wish to state what I think about the Indian States desiring themselves independent instead of joining the Indian Union.

There are obviously two aspects to the question. Can the States declare themselves independent? Should they declare themselves independent? For the sake of avoiding confusion it is better to deal with the two aspects of the question separately.

Basin of Claim

To begin with the first, the basis of the claim made by the States for a right to declare themselves independent lies in the statement of May 12, 1946, issued by the Cabinet Mission, in which they say that the British Government could not and will not in any circumstance transfer paramountcy to an Indian Government which means that the rights of the States which follow from their relationship to the Crown will no longer exist and that all the rights surrendered by the States to the paramount power will return to the States.

The statement of the Cabinet Mission that the Crown could not transfer paramountcy is obviously not a statement of political policy. It is a statement of law. The question is, is this a correct statement of the law as it applies to the States?

There is nothing original in the proposition set out by the Cabinet Mission. It is a mere repetition of the view propounded by the Butler Committee appointed in 1929 to examine the relationship between the Crown and the Indian States.

Princes' Contentions

As students of the subject know the Princes in the stand they took before the Butler Committee contended for two propositions:—

(i) That paramountcy could not override the terms and conditions contained in the treaties between the Princes and the States but was limited by them.

(ii) That the relations embodied in paramountcy were of a personal nature between the Crown and the Princes and could not, therefore, be transferred by the States to an Indian Government without the consent of the Princes.

The Butler Committee without much ceremony repudiated the first of these two contentions. It put the matter in most ruthless language by declaring that the States were paramount and was not limited by any terms contained in the treaties.

As regards the second contention, strangely enough it was upheld by the Butler Committee. Whether the Butler Committee did it in order to appease the Princes who were annoyed with the Committee for turning down their contention regarding paramountcy, it is no use speculating. The fact, however, remains that it gave immense satisfaction to the Political Department of the Government of India and to the Princes.

Mischievous Doctrine

The doctrine that paramountcy cannot be transferred to an Indian Government is a most mischievous doctrine and is based upon an utter misunderstanding of the issues involved. The doctrine is so unnatural that the late Prof. Holdsworth, author of the *History Of The English Law*, had to exercise a great deal of ingenuity in defending it in the pages of the *Law Quarterly Review* for October, 1930.

Unfortunately, no Indian student of constitutional law has ever bothered to controvert his views with the result that they have remained as the last and final word on the subject. No wonder the Cabinet Mission adopted them as valid and acted upon them in settling the issue of British India and Indian States. It is equally a matter for pity that the Cripps Working Committee, which was negotiating with the Cabinet Mission for a settlement, did not challenge the proposition enunciated by the Mission in regard to paramountcy.

But these circumstances cannot take away the right of Indians to examine the matter 'de novo' and come to their own independent judgment and stand for it if they are convinced that their view is the right one, no matter what the Cabinet Mission has said.

Legal Standpoint

The case against the position taken by the Cabinet Mission in regard to paramountcy can be stated in the following propositions:—

(I) Much of the mystery which surrounds paramountcy is due to the fact that most people do not understand what it stands for. Paramountcy is merely another name for what is called the prerogative of the Crown. It is true that paramountcy as a prerogative of the Crown differs from the ordinary prerogative of the Crown in two respects:

(A) The basis of the ordinary prerogative of the Crown lies in common law as distinguished from statute law while the basis of the prerogative arising from paramountcy lies in treaties supplemented by usage.

(B) The common law prerogative of the Crown extends to all the subjects of the Crown resident in the King's Dominions and over aliens temporarily resident there while paramountcy as a prerogative extends only over the Indian States. Paramountcy is no doubt a distinct part of the prerogative of the Crown, notwithstanding these differences the fact remains that paramountcy is a prerogative of the Crown.

(III) Paramountcy being the prerogative of the King, the exercise of paramountcy is contrary to the general opinion, not subject to the rules of international law but is subject to that part of the municipal law of the British Empire which is called the Law of the Constitution.

(IV) According to the principle of the constitutional law of the British Empire when the prerogative vests in the King, the King has no discretion in the exercise of his prerogative. The King cannot exercise it independently of the advice of his Ministers. He can exercise it only in accordance with the advice given to him by the Ministers.

Advice To Crown

The last proposition enunciated above requires further elaboration. For it may be asked on the advice of which Ministry is the Crown to act. The answer is in the advice of the Ministry of the Dominion

concerned. Before the Statute of Westminster the British Empire constituted one single Dominion. Consequently, in the matter of the exercise of its prerogative rights the Crown acted on the advice of the British Cabinet. After the passage of the Statute of Westminster which carved out Canada, Australia, South Africa and Ireland as separate Dominions, the Crown in the exercise of its prerogative rights acts on the advice of the Cabinet of the Dominion concerned. It is bound to do so; it cannot do otherwise.

It follows that when India becomes a Dominion the Crown will be bound to act in the exercise of its prerogative rights, i.e., paramountcy, on the advice of the Indian Cabinet.

The protagonists of the theory that paramountcy cannot be transferred to the Government of India rely on the omission from the Government of India Act, 1935, of the provisions of Section 39 of the Government of India Act, 1857, they are reproduced in Section 33 of the Government of India Act and 1935-36 according to which the civil military Government of India is distinguished from the civil and military Government of British India vested in the Governor-General-in-Council, and argue that the omission is evidence in support of the conclusion that paramountcy could not be transferred to an Indian Government.

To say the least, the argument is puerile. The existence or non-existence of such a provision in the Government of India Act is quite beside the point and proves nothing. The non-existence of the clause does not prove that India can under no circumstances claim the right to advise the Crown in regard to the exercise of paramountcy. Its existence in the Government of India Act does not mean that such a power was vested in it during 1857 to 1935 when it formed part of the Act. For, that very clause contained the proviso whereby the Governor-General-in-Council was required to pay due regard to the advice of the Princes. It was issued from the Secretary of State which means even during 1857 to 1935 the ultimate authority to advise the Crown in the matter of the exercise of the prerogative was the Secretary of State for India, i.e., the British Cabinet of which he is a member.

Parliamentary Acts

The different methods of disposing of paramountcy adopted in the various Acts passed by Parliament relating to the Government of India between 1857 to 1935 do not add anything in any way after the claim of the Indian people to advise the Crown in the exercise of paramountcy. Under the constitutional law of the Empire only when a country has become a Dominion that it can claim the right to advise the Crown, and the fact that before it became a Dominion the Crown was differently advised is no bar to its claim. Under the 1935 Act, India was not granted responsible government. As a Dominion it has granted responsible government India could not have claimed to advise the Crown in regard to the exercise of its prerogative rights regarding Indian States. This is because the constitutional law of the British Empire makes an unambiguous difference between responsible government and Dominion Status.

In responsible government the right of the Cabinet to advise the Crown and the obligation of the Crown to accept it is confined to cases of the exercise of the prerogative arising out of the internal affairs of the country. As to external affairs, the British Cabinet retained the right to advise the Crown. But in the case of a Dominion, the Crown is bound to accept the advice of the Ministry with regard to all cases of the exercise of the prerogative whether they relate to internal affairs or external affairs.

That is why a Dominion can make a treaty with a foreign country without the intervention of the British Cabinet. The fact that the Government of India was not in the position to advise the Crown in the exercise of its prerogative of paramountcy does not mean that there is any inherent constitutional incapacity which disqualifies her from claiming the right to advise. The moment India gets the status of a Dominion it automatically acquires the capacity to advise the Crown on paramountcy.

India's Right

What has been stated above is no more than a summary of the constitutional law of the British Empire and the process of evolution showing how a part of the Empire which acquires the status of a Dominion becomes vested with the exclusive right to advise the Crown in the exercise of its prerogative affecting that Dominion. Why should the right be denied to India when she becomes a Dominion, it is difficult to understand.

On parity of reasoning India should get the right to advise the Crown in the exercise of its prerogative as did Canada, Australia, South Africa and Ireland when they became Dominions.

That Prof. Holdsworth came to a different conclusion is due not to any difference in the fundamental propositions of the constitutional law stated above, indeed, he accepts them in toto. The reason why he came to a different conclusion is because he posed quite a different question for argument. The question posed by Prof. Holdsworth was whether the Crown could cede or transfer paramountcy to an Indian Government. This is not the real issue. The real issue is whether the Indian Dominion can claim the right to advise the Crown in the exercise of paramountcy. In other words, we are not concerned with the question whether paramountcy could be transferred. The issue with which we are concerned is how paramountcy can be exercised. I am sure that if Prof. Holdsworth had realized what the real issue was he could not have come to a different conclusion.

So far I have dealt with one part of the Cabinet Mission's statement where they say that the Crown could not transfer paramountcy to an Indian Government. There remains for consideration the other part of their statement in which they say that the Crown will not transfer paramountcy to an Indian Government.

Mission View Rebutted

According to the Cabinet Mission, paramountcy will lapse. This is a most astounding statement and runs contrary to another well-established principle of constitutional law. According to this principle, the King cannot surrender or abandon his prerogative rights. If the Crown cannot transfer paramountcy the Crown cannot also abandon it. The validity of this principle was admitted by the Privy Council in the Queen vs. Edulji Bhatani reported in 3 Moore's Privy Council cases p. 278 wherein they said (p. 28) that the Crown could not even by charter part with its prerogative.

It is, therefore, obvious that the statement made by the Cabinet Mission that the Crown will not exercise paramountcy is contrary to the constitutional law by which the Empire is governed. The Crown must continue to exercise paramountcy. It is of course true that the Crown can surrender its prerogative if permitted to do so by express statutory authority. The question is whether it could be legal and

British Parliament would either be proper nor legal. It would not be legal for the simple reason that after India becomes a Dominion the prerogative of paramountcy could be passed by the Dominion Parliament of India, and the British Parliament would have no jurisdiction in this matter at all.

Again, a statute passed by the British Parliament abrogating paramountcy would be improper. The reason is obvious. The army is the ultimate sanction for paramountcy. This army has been the Indian Army for which British India has paid all along. Without the aid of this powerful army maintained by British India and placed at the disposal of the Crown through his agent, the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, the Crown would never have been able to build up and conserve the powers of paramountcy. These powers are of the nature of a trust held by the Crown for the benefit of the people of India and it would be a gross abuse of power on the part of the British Parliament to pass a statute destroying that trust.

Independent India

A question may be asked: What happens when India becomes independent? The Crown disappears and the question of advising the Crown does not remain. Can independent India claim to inherit the prerogative rights of the Crown? For an answer to this question, one must refer to the provisions of international law relating to succession among States. Oppenheim admits that a succeeding State can inherit certain rights of the preceding State. From Hall's *International Law*, it would appear that among other things property and advantages secured to it by treaty can be inherited by a succeeding State.

India will be a successor State. Paramountcy is an advantage which is secured to it by treaty with the Princes. Independent India, can, therefore, make a valid claim for the inheritance of paramountcy.

The conclusion is that Indian States will continue to be in the same position when India becomes independent as they are now. They will be sovereign States to the extent they are, but they cannot be independent States so long as they remain under the suzerainty—as they must be either of the Crown if India remains a Dominion or under the suzerainty of the successor State if India becomes independent.

While the suzerainty remains they can never be independent, but they must realize that while the suzerainty lasts it must continue even when India becomes independent—India will not recognize their independence nor can a foreign State accord them the status of an independent State.

Way Out For Rulers

The only way by which Indian States can free themselves from paramountcy would be to bring about a merger of sovereignty or suzerainty. That can happen only when the States join the Indian Union as constituent units thereof. The States' spokesmen ought to know this. But as they seem to have forgotten it is necessary to remind them of what happened at the Round Table Conference. In this conference the States were not prepared to join the federation when they came to know that they could not escape from the clutches of paramountcy by reason of the Butler Com-

mission to the federation, to that extent paramountcy would vanish. In fact, as most of us know, the Princes had raised the question with the then Secretary of State for India and asked him that the scope of paramountcy should be dissolved to the extent of the subjects included in List No. 1. The then Secretary of State had no answer to give and staved the Princes by frowning upon them.

Warning To Princes

Apart from the attitude of the then Secretary of State, the fact remains that the Princes had seen the point that the only way for the dissolution of paramountcy lay in joining the federation. The point remains as valid now as it was then. It would be wise on the part of the Indian States to follow that line and not to pursue the mirage of independence. The States should realize that their existence as sovereign independent States will not be worth five years' purchase. It is in the interest of Princes themselves that they should join the Indian Union and become constitutional monarchs.

Any Dewan who advises his Prince not to join the Union, is really acting as the enemy of the Prince. The joining of the federation will no doubt involve the introduction of responsible government but it will guarantee to the Princes the right relating to dynastic succession which is the most that a Prince can expect in these days. To be independent and to hope to get recognition and protection from U.N.O. is to live in one's own paradise. It is doubtful if U.N.O. will give recognition to Indian States ignoring the claim by India of suzerainty over them. But even if that happens U.N.O. will never grant any assistance to an Indian State against external aggression or internal commotion without insisting upon the State's first introducing responsible government within its area. All these things are writ large on the wall. He who runs may read them. The Dewan who refuses to read them will no doubt share the fate which befalls all those who are hindered by their self-interest.

Call To Interim Govt.

Whatever the choice the Indian States may make the duty of the people of India is clear. On their behalf, I would ask the Interim Government at the Centre to take the following steps:—

(1) To notify to H.M.G. that the British Parliament has no right to pass any law abrogating paramountcy and that any clause to that effect in the forthcoming legislation conferring Dominion Status on India as a sovereign independent State, is repugnant to their sovereignty and therefore null and void.

(2) To declare that the Government of India will never recognize any Indian State as sovereign independent State.

(3) To inform U.N.O. that admitting an Indian State which declares itself as sovereign independent State to the membership of U.N.O. would meet with the strongest objection from the people of India as a violation of the sovereign rights of the Union of India.

Of these the first is the most important and most urgent. If Britain abrogates paramountcy she will be ultimately committed to guaranteeing recognition to Indian States as sovereign independent States. It is, therefore, obvious that no time must be lost by the Interim Government in issuing a warning to H.M.G. against the course they intend to pursue in regard to paramountcy.—A.P.I.

Hindustan Times
18-6-47

H.M.G. CANNOT ABROGATE PARAMOUNTCY

DR AMBEDKAR'S WARNING TO WAVERING PRINCES

BOMBAY, June 17.—The only way by which the Indian States can free themselves from paramountcy is by bringing about a merger of sovereignty or suzerainty and this can happen only when they join the Indian Union as constituent units, says Dr B. R. Ambedkar, former Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, in a statement opposing the declaration of independence by certain Indian States.

Dr Ambedkar declares that the States should realize that their existence as sovereign States will not be worth five years' purchase. It is in the interests of the Princes themselves that they should join the Indian Union and become constitutional monarchs.

To be independent and to hope to get recognition and protection from U.N.O., says Dr



Dr. Ambedkar

Ambedkar, is to live in one's own paradise. Dr Ambedkar doubts if U.N.O. will give recognition to the Indian States, ignoring the claim by India of suzerainty over them. But even if that happens, Dr Ambedkar affirms, U.N.O. will never grant any assistance to any Indian States against external aggression or internal commotion without insisting upon them to first introduce responsible Governments.

Dr Ambedkar adds: "Whatever the choice of the Indian States may be, the duty of the people of India is clear. On their behalf the Interim Government should notify H.M.G. that the British Parliament has no right to pass any law abrogating paramountcy and that any clause to that effect in the forthcoming legislation, conferring Dominion status on India, should be treated by the people of India as repugnant to their sovereignty and therefore null and void, and to declare that the Government of India will never recognize any Indian State as a sovereign independent State."

The following is the text of Dr Ambedkar's statement:

The announcement by Travancore and Hyderabad that they will declare themselves independent sovereign States on August 15, 1947, when India becomes a Dominion and the inclination shown by other States to follow their example has created a new

(Continued on page 4, col. 3).



THURSDAY, JUNE 19, 1947.

THE FUTURE OF THE STATES

THE decision of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore to direct the State to participate in the Constituent Assembly of the Indian Union is worthy of the highest praise, taken, as it has been, in an atmosphere rendered corrupt by the unenlightened obstructionism of two well-known neighbouring States. His Highness and, following him, his able adviser, Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, have resolutely and wisely refused to take note of the legalistic logomachy on the subject current in the Press. They are content, as patriotic statesmen, to view the question purely from the point of view of the welfare of the people of Mysore and of the people of India as a whole. The reasons adduced in His Highness's message and the lucid commentary on it by the Dewan, compel conviction. The country, caught in the vortex of a grave political crisis such as it has seldom had to face, seeks by discussions in the Constituent Assembly the collective wisdom of all its well-wishers, including the States, in formulating its future constitution. No one has issued a command or a directive to the States, nor has any onerous condition been imposed as the price of participation. As Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar fairly and squarely put it, the British India Negotiating Committee met in every respect the desires and not merely the difficulties felt by the States' Negotiating Committee. The British Committee was anxious to secure the co-operation of the States' Committee on the terms suggested by the latter. It loudly proclaimed that it had absolutely no intention to dominate the States; and it faithfully accepted the rigid limitations placed by the Cabinet Mission on the powers of the Union vis-a-vis the States, these powers being confined to the absolute minimum, namely, foreign affairs, defence and communications. "The States were happy to see", we quote Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, "that certain misunderstandings (regarding States' internal affairs) that had cropped up had been definitely removed". The States, in other words, have everything to gain by joining the Assembly and nothing to lose. As Mysore has shown, co-operation with the Assembly by participating in it has indeed become a duty of every Indian State, especially as none of them is called upon to commit itself in respect of any matter merely by reason of its participation in the deliberations of the Assembly. And it is these considerations which have influenced a number of States, big and small, to join the Assembly as experienced publicists like Sir N. Gopalaswami Iyengar, Sir B. L. Mitter and Sir V. T. Krishnamachariar have shown.

We do not desire to enter into the legal aspects of the controversy. From the commonsense point of view and the point of view of the layman, these arguments cannot cut much ice. Paramountcy, in essence, is an incident of political authority, authority successfully asserted as occasion demanded; and if those who say that Paramountcy has lapsed mean simply that British authority having disappeared, their Paramountcy must be held to have lapsed, there is something to be said for that view. Granting that Paramountcy as Lord Reading defined it has lapsed, can it be contended that the treaties which subsist between the Government of India, the understandings corollary to them and the usages flowing from them have ceased to be of any validity? Sir Sivaswami Aiyar's views, which Sir Alladi Krisnaswami Aiyar quoted in his penetrating address on the subject, seem to us conclusive on this matter. The existing relationship between the States and the British Indian successor Government must, if absurd and dangerous consequences are to be avoided, be construed to continue till they are replaced by freshly negotiated relationship. Any one

who seeks to repudiate or ignore the present relationship will do so at his peril, no matter whether the party be the State or British India. "For the States," as Prof. Keith has pointed out, "have been brought into inextricable relations of unity with British India by the establishment, through roads, railways, posts, telegraphs, telephone, and wireless systems, of through communications. They have interests in British Indian currency and banking, and are vitally affected by the development of Indian industrialism and by the growth of overseas commerce. Tariff policy affects them deeply. All these factors operate in much the same way on all the States and help to create in their rulers the sense of common interests." It is because the States recognised these facts that their spokesmen at the Round Table Conference like the late Sir Akbar Hydari, the Maharaja of Bikaner and Sir Mirza Ismail favoured joining an Indian federation provided it was independent of British control. Can Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, working in self-stultifying isolation as the untiring protagonist of the independence of the States, to-morrow, in virtue of the independence which he claims for Travancore, ask the British Indian Post or Telegraph Offices to be closed or order the winding up of branches of companies registered in British India? Will he stop the operation of the Trivandrum Express and other through railway and other communications or declare the Indian currency no more legal tender in the State? If he will not do these things and if, on the other hand, he will, as a practical statesman, allow the established relationship to continue, without detracting from the status of independence which he envisages for the State, what difficulty is there for him in joining the Constituent Assembly and bettering these relationships in the future as a result of joint discussions between the representatives of the States and of British India? Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar should remember in this connection that the sovereignty of few modern States will stand the test of Austinian definition. The derogation from the status of independence which relationship between the States and the Indian Union on the basis of the suggestions thrown in the Cabinet Mission Plan involves can be no more than that which the present treaty and other arrangements, which even Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar dare not repudiate, imply. The only difference between the method he suggests and the one the country as a whole favours is that under Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar's plan, the British Indian Union should, after establishing its authority, make humble overtures to the Dewan of Travancore when he will graciously accommodate and negotiate a treaty with the Union on the basis, of course, of the State's independence whatever the latter term may mean. The Dewan of Travancore blissfully ignores the practical difficulty involved in this course. When can an agreement be arrived at on the basis of the British Indian Government negotiating individually with every one of the six hundred or so States over every detail concerning Union subjects?

In view of these circumstances and in view of the fact that the Dewan has not mentioned one single concrete disadvantage which Travancore will suffer by participation, we still hope that Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar will advise His Highness to permit the State to join the Assembly. It is significant that the Dewan has not given any idea of the definite advantages he hopes to secure by preventing Travancore from joining the Assembly. Vague statements that an "independent" status will be culturally, politically, economically and otherwise advantageous do not help. One passage in the Dewan's statement is of happy augury. He says that by far the vast majority of the people in the State are in favour of independence which makes the inference permissible that if that were not so, he will advise His Highness to let the State accede. If what he says is a fact, why not public opinion be consulted directly on the question by any one of the well-known methods? Far from doing this, he has directed the officials of the State and used the full weight of his influence and authority to promote an intensive campaign in favour of independence and against co-operation with the Constituent Assembly. The State Legislature was dissolved before it could catch an opportunity to declare its views; and, it is argued—on the worst pattern of British Imperialism—that if the State Congress favours participation, others are opposed to it—the Christians, Muslims, Tamilians and all the rest. The least that the Dewan should do in the circumstances is to get the affirmative support of the people if he feels his claim is well based. The better, the patriotic and statesman-like course, one that is best in the interests of the people, is of course forthwith to join the Assembly.

MYSORE'S DECISION

"NO RESERVATIONS"

DEWAN EXPLAINS POSITION

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT)

BANGALORE, June 17.

The following is the text of a statement made by the Dewan, Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, at a Press Conference clarifying the decision of Mysore to join the Constituent Assembly.

I would like to clarify the issues that were contained in H. H. the Maharaja's message and to make the position perfectly clear as to the circumstances under which Mysore is now entering the Constituent Assembly. There are two stages and it has always been recognised that there are these two stages. First, the stage when there is a co-operative effort to evolve a Constitution for a Federation in which the State of Mysore can take part. Secondly, the stage where after the evolution of this Constitution and on the basis that it is satisfactory from the point of view of the State of Mysore the decision to join the Federation by a Treaty of Accession is to be made by the Ruler of the State. These two positions have to be kept clearly distinct and apart and the present decision is to send a Delegation from Mysore which will take part in the deliberations of the Constituent Assembly and help as far as it can in the formation of a Constitution for a Union Centre for this area.

There were certain fundamental propositions which had to be accepted before any State could enter the Constituent Assembly. The need for a statement of affirmation on behalf of British Indian politicians on these fundamental propositions arose owing to certain misunderstandings having been created by resolutions, statements or speeches made in British India. It was this fundamental issue that was raised by the States' Negotiating Committee and States were happy to see that these misunderstandings and misgivings were removed by a clear indication from certain leading British Indian politicians that there was no need for such misunderstandings.

The first thing that was emphasised as a result of these negotiations was that the scheme was essentially a voluntary one where no compulsion was indicated. The second was that there was no desire to question the monarchical form of Government in any Indian State, that that question had not arisen at all in the Constituent Assembly, nor would it arise in its future deliberations, that the British Indian politicians and leaders do not want to come in the way of monarchical form of Government at all, that it is the desire of the people of the State to have such monarchical form of Government. Speaking of Mysore, there is no reason to doubt that every citizen of the State values, appreciates and is

anxious to preserve the monarchical form of Government in this State.

There was some misunderstanding and apprehension also about territorial readjustments. It was made quite clear that such territorial readjustments referred only to a possible distribution of narrow areas in provinces and that in any case no question of territorial readjustment would arise without the voluntary and willing consent of the parties concerned.

I have already said that neither the entry of the Constituent Assembly nor the subsequent accession of State or not accession as a result of the deliberations of the Constituent Assembly can be a matter of compulsion.

It was made clear owing to some misunderstandings about the right to have inherent powers that the States will retain all subjects and powers other than those specified by the Union. This is the background on the basis of which those States that have already entered the Constituent Assembly have decided to do so and on the basis of which again the State of Mysore will be willing to enter the Constituent Assembly for the purpose of making a Constitution for that Assembly, to frame a Constitution which may, we all hope, ultimately prove acceptable to the State of Mysore.

Let me say this again in view of the controversies that are raging in British India and elsewhere to-day—controversies which I must consider most unfortunate and the manner in which they are being waged is not likely to prove helpful to the country as a whole. The Delegation of Mysore will enter into the deliberations neither as supervisor to any part of India, however big or strong it may be, nor in any spirit of rivalry much less of antagonism. One decision has been made that the Delegation will take part in the Constituent Assembly for the purpose of evolving a Constitution every member of the Delegation would try to be as helpful as possible, as co-operative as possible and by no means and in no sense prove obstructive. I want to make it quite clear that there are no reservations mental or otherwise, in this decision to enter the Constituent Assembly. At the same time it must be equally clear that if Mysore as a distinct unit enters the deliberations of the Constituent Assembly there must be some special problems which Mysore, some special objectives which Mysore has in view, which it must promote or solve. The point of view of Mysore must be brought to bear on these deliberations. Mysore is no small State. Mysore has got its traditions. Mysore has got decades of progress behind it. These are factors which must weigh when the Delegation makes its view felt in the deliberations of the Constituent Assembly.

PROBLEMS OF FEDERAL INDIA

Let me come to some details which may perhaps illustrate the bearing of these deliberations of the Constituent Assembly itself. It has been proposed that the three subjects which form or may form subjects of the centrally administered responsibility for the Union or Federation are Defence, External Affairs and Communications. These are the very obvious subjects that Mysore at the very first instance after the Cabinet Mission put forward its proposals accepted them as the basis for entry into the Constituent Assembly. But even with reference to these subjects there are aspects of Mysore's problems which have to be placed before the Assembly and in regard to which, as I have already referred to, arrangements, agreements or conventions may have to be arrived at. The defence of external India is of course a matter for the Union Government, but Mysore has got State Troops which are necessary for internal security and have played their part, and not an unworthy part, in the external defence of India as a whole. When the defence of the country is a responsibility purely of the British Government, even in that regime, Mysore had its State Troops, Imperial and otherwise, which played a part in such defence. It seems to me obvious that Mysore cannot have a lesser position under a voluntary Federation where its own people will have a voice in the legislature and that the position of the Mysore army subject, of course, to such understandings and agreements as regards its number as may be arrived at, will form one of the matters for negotiations. Take the question of communications which is intended to mean so far as inland is concerned primarily railway communications and road communications. The fact that communications may be Federal subject has its own bearing on the Mysore State Railways. Will not Mysore continue to administer that system which has done so well and worthily during years of stress and strain of the Great War, contributing what it can through a well-correlated system of communications for the defence of the country. Take a minor matter relating to External Affairs which means not merely the relationship with other countries through embassies and consulates but also relations through what may be called trade commissions. At a time when External Affairs were completely under the jurisdiction of His Majesty's Government, Mysore had established its own Trade Commission abroad, not with the purpose of entering into trade relations with reference to economic or commercial matters, but to help the State in disposing of its products and in purchasing commodities and capital goods for the State. These are matters which will arise in the course of the deliberations of the Constituent Assembly, if possible, outside it in the nature of negotiations, if necessary. But apart from these subjects there are a variety of other matters in which the Delegation will have to submit Mysore's point of view and these matters also require some little consideration. When one enters a Federation even on subjects which are within the scope of the Federation does one necessarily become administratively subject to the Federation or is it possible, nay, is it not desirable that the administrative functions should vest in the State itself while it may accept legislative authority of the Federation in such matters? The necessary powers for the administration of these three subjects will be taken up by the Federation. It involves taxation of various kinds. Some idea of it has been given by the report which has already been presented by the Union Powers Committee. It is not necessary to go into the details of that Report or subject the recommendations to criticism now for the reason that it has not yet been accepted by the Constituent Assembly and the Delegation will have an opportunity to study and make its remark on that report when it enters the Constituent Assembly. But granting that certain powers of taxation extend to a State through accepted legislative responsibility does it mean that the administration will be carried on with reference to it within the State by the agency of the Federation? Or does it mean that it can be carried on by the State Government on behalf of the Federation? These are not unimportant matters when one realises the background of the State administration and compare it with the administration in Indian Provinces. The State has had certain well-established precedents and canons which were not applicable and never even applied in Provinces and therefore there are several matters both of major and minor importance where perhaps the difference between the way in which the State is treated and the Province is treated even after it enters the Federation become obvious, vital and desirable.

Let me state one other aspect of the issue. Matters like these to which have been referring are of vital importance to the people of the State. The encroachment on such matters is really

an encroachment on whatever administrative part the representatives of the people have now that are going to have in a larger measure in the near future. I want to emphasise the fact that where the Union Government or Federal Government takes upon itself the responsibility of administering such subjects in a State like Mysore the authority is really taken away from the legislature and from the Ministers. It is for the people of the State to consider how far they are prepared to waive their powers to give up their responsibility to put a limitation on their own administration and where with the best of intentions to co-operate in the formation of a Federation. They are not prepared to go there are not matters which are out forward either in a cantankerous spirit or with a view to be obstructive. I have ventured to deal with them because I feel that the time has come when any Delegation that goes should have public opinion on these matters clearly focused, should know how public view these matters and should understand through spokesmen of the public and through responsible journalists the trend of opinion in the country.

INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION OF THE STATE

One last thing I should like to say it has been stated that the matter of internal administration is one for the State itself. I do not want to refer to what is happening now outside the borders of the State, to the statements that are being made outside. I fully realise and I have myself made it clear that it is a matter internal and I hope to make my submission to His Highness who was graciously pleased to command me to do so. On these matters there will be no misunderstanding whatever that any compulsion from outside will result either in a speedier or in a different form of submission to what I hope to make. I hope to make this submission in consonance with the best wishes of the people, to the desire expressed by as large a section of the population as possible and I am not going to be deflected by anything that is said outside in the discharge of that onerous and responsible duty that I have undertaken. His Highness, whose interest in the State is well known to be identical with the interests of the people of the State, is anxious to preserve the best traditions and the institutions of the State of Mysore which has earned for itself the name of a Model State everywhere except perhaps among a few within the State itself, whose credit stands high and is you chased by anyone who visits the State at any time whatever the political complexion the person may have. His Highness is anxious that that unique position of the State of Mysore should be preserved, that that preservation it is hoped will be in consonance with the higher demands that are now being made, that the State of Mysore should play a greater part in the larger life of even the truncated India. I am sure in echoing the opinion of the vast majority of the people of Mysore, in fact all the people of Mysore, that their ambitions and aspirations coincide with the hopes and desires of the gracious Ruler of the State.

DEWAN'S REPLY TO QUESTIONS

The Dewan then answered a number of questions.

Q: When is it proposed to choose this Delegation?

A: I hope it may take its part at the next session of the Constituent Assembly—Mid July 1947.

Q: What is the basis of selection?

A: The basis will be generally on the understanding which has been arrived at between the two Negotiating Committees of the States of British India.

Q: The Mysore Delegation will consist of seven members among whom the Dewan will be one and out of six, three will be elected and three will be nominated by the Dewan?

A: That is how I understand. That is the minimum required by the agreement reached at the Negotiating Committee.

Q: Will the election be by the joint session of the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council of the Council?

A: I hope to consult the party leaders on that subject.

Q: Will the election of members be among the members of the Assembly and the Council or will they be from outside the Legislature also?

A: On that point also I should like to consult leaders of parties.

Q: What steps are you going to take for the representation of the Muslim community in the Delegation?

A: It is a matter for consideration whether Muslims should be represented and if so, what steps should be taken.

Q: Do you think that the Muslim community is important enough in the Mysore State or not?

A: These are the sort of questions asked in the Legislative Council. I do not think these are questions to be raised at the Press Conference.

Q: Out of the seven members that are going to be chosen, will they speak with one voice or will there be any understanding that they would offer their own individual or borrowed opinions?

A: I am glad this question has been raised. Every member of the delegation is at liberty to speak as he likes. There is no question of freedom of expression in any way curtailed. I do not look upon myself as one competent to exercise that control. But in view of what I have been saying all along and that why I have elaborated these points, I hope on all these points the Delegation will speak as one united body. I hope to meet them every morning, place before them my views, hear their views and the Delegation will come to a conclusion. As far as I can see there is no reason why on these vital matters which affect the State there should be any difference of opinion. I hope, therefore, that the Delegation will keep this in mind and speak with one voice. That does not mean I can coerce anybody; that is obviously impossible, when three elected members are there. Probably they may be able to coerce me if they liked.

Q: Will the Legislature be consulted?

A: If the Legislature is in session and if it is possible, it will be consulted. In any case the Legislature has got facilities to express its views through adjournment motions or resolutions.

Q: As far as internal administration is concerned, there will be no compulsion or coercion from outside.

A: That has been agreed to.

In conclusion the Dewan thanked those who attended the Press Conference.

"A WISE DECISION"

BANGALORE, June 18.

Interviewed on Mysore's decision to join the Constituent Assembly, Mr. D. V. Gundappa said: "It is a matter for satisfaction that at long last, Mysore has come to a decision and that a wise decision. It is an irony that the State whose authorities and publicists were the first in all India to plead for All-India Federation with States in it should have delayed to long when the opportunity actually came. I know that so far back as February 1937 everything was ready in Mysore for her entry into the national polity under the 1935 Act."

The late Maharaja was the first among the Princes and certainly the very first among India's public men to stand out for an All-India Union. What therefore calls for comment now is not the decision of to-day, but the delay of so many days. In view of the unattractive lines adopted, let me hope only temporarily, by Hyderabad and Travancore, it may even prepared to render thanks to Mysore for having fallen into line with nationalist India. Not that the Constituent Assembly is going to be the richer by Mysore

it but that Mysore will be acting fully by her own interest in the long run by taking a place in the Constituent Assembly and the resulting status.

Union.

"I pay the authorities may be made to see the propriety of sending only the elected representatives of Mysore and that those who have power should be acted by a sense of the State and the nation.—F. O. C.

TRAVANCORE DEWAN'S COMMENT

TRIVANDRUM, June 17.

Interviewed regarding the decision of Mysore to enter the Constituent Assembly, when asked whether the sending by Mysore will have any step taken by Travancore, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan of Travancore, said: "I feel sure His Highness is correct. Mysore has had his own special reasons for joining the Constituent Assembly. As far as Travancore is concerned, I have already stated in several conferences and commented in the Press. The position of Travancore is sui generis and the policy of Travancore to assume and maintain an independent status will not be affected by the action now taken by the Mysore State.—A.P.I.

Dawn 19-6-47

Retrocession Of Berar

(Continued from page 4)

In spite of this glaring injustice, it was insisted that Berar should be ceded permanently. But the Nizam though weak was obdurate.

The tussle went on for 50 days, but the Nizam did not yield. Another 15 days were spent in coercing him to agree to a lease and he had to submit to it as in case of refusal, there was the threat of an immediate military occupation. A politician might say anything but a jurist cannot but treat this treaty as scrap of paper as it was brought about by force and undue influence. Under the treaty of 1853, Berar was handed over to the British management, "merely for a time to maintain the Contingent as long as the Nizam should require that force." It is a matter of record that the Nizam greatly resented this arrangement, and he was so keen to get Berar back that "between 1853 and 1830 he had consistently and persistently held himself entitled to the restoration of the whole of the assigned districts of Berar, no less than six different occasions, being on record, of this claim having been urged between these years."

cc.cobis

(To be Continued)

Dawn 19 6-47

CASE FOR RETROCESSION OF BERAR—I

BY ABDUS SATTAR KHAN, M.L.A.

THE declaration of the British Government to transfer power to Indians by June, 1948, and the consequential lapse of paramountcy has deeply affected the Indian States. In view of the new circumstances, HEH the Nizam is again pressing his oft-repeated demand for the retrocession of Berar, which he calls a part of his Dominions. Since the visit of Sir Mirza Ismail to Berar, in April last, a furious controversy has been raging in the Press and on the platform about the political future of Berar.

Various arguments are being advanced to repudiate the Nizam's claim over Berar. Alarmist rumours are being spread to terrify and cow down a nervous public. It is said that Nizam's claim is untenable, it does not stand on any legal, moral and political ground, that all agreements and treaties regarding Berar, should be treated as null and void.

It is maintained that after the exit of the British rulers, Berar should be treated as an independent unit or that it should be united with the Maharashtra, or included in the future province of Mahavidyha. It is further claimed that its future can only be decided by the Hindustan Constituent Assembly and threats are held out that a voluntary army would be raised to resist the claim of the Nizam by force. The issue has, it seems, been side-tracked and there is so much rignarole and loose thinking in this behalf, that the thinking public do not have a correct perspective in which to judge the merits of the case.

No discussion of this vital question can be made without referring to the past history of Berar. In this article an attempt has been made to examine closely to the past, critically review the present current of thought and deal with the future as far as it is going to affect Berar.

HIGH-LEVEL NEGOTIATIONS

It is a fact that some sort of negotiations on high constitutional level are going on concerning Berar between the Hyderabad and British Governments; and nobody is in a position to predict the result.

UNWARRANTED AGITATION

Under the circumstances, when the Muslims are observing a studied silence, when they have not started any p.o.-Nizam agitation, when the Nizam's armies are not on the march (and Hyderabad has contradicted the so-called report of the so-called invasion of Berar) and when the British Government have not yet foisted any unreasonable settlement on Beraris, it is to be noted with regret that the Congress Press and Congressmen have started an unwarranted agitation in which the main target is the Nizam's Government. It might be maintained that a timely agitation for a right course influences the course of events, but this sort of worked-up agitation will produce absolutely no effect on the negotiations that are in progress. On the other hand, it would have been far better to adopt constitutional means to cope with the situation. It is satisfying to note that after a good deal of fuss, the Free Berar Committee has after all decided to submit a Memorandum to the Viceroy "Hitavada," dated 1-6-47. Mr. Brijlal Blyani and the members of his "Free Berar Committee" would do well to be cautious at this critical juncture, when the history of India is being re-written amongst tears and blood.

It does not require any exceptional genius to understand that the anti-retrocession agitation soon turns into a denunciation of the Hyderabad State and finally degenerates into an anti-Muslim movement.

NOT A MERE GIFT

To minimize the force of the Nizam's case, Mr. Shankarrao Deo declared: "He (Nizam) received it (Berar) purely as a gift." ("Times of India" dated 5-5-47) Diwan Bahadur Brahma also repeated this very idea when he said: "He got it as a reward by a treaty." ("Hitavada," dated 24-5-1947). But this history does not support these statements and they are factually wrong. Even neutrality gets its price; but in this case, the Nizam had actually helped the English with men and money and both together brought about the defeat of the Bhonslas. The property of the vanquished party was then distributed amongst the victorious allies. The Nizam got part of Berar. (As Ellichpur side was already in his possession) as his share. Thus

it would become clear that Berar was obtained by the Nizam as the fruit of victory and conquest and was not given by the Company Bahadur as a reward or gift for doing nothing.

During the chaotic conditions of the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century, when the Moghul Empire was tottering and Indian potentates were fighting against one another, the star of the East India Company was gradually rising up on the political horizon of this country.

In spite of all the valuable help that Hyderabad gave the "East-India" always played false with Hyderabad. In 1763 five districts known as Northern Sarkars were taken away from the Nizam as the price of military aid. In 1763 the Nizam was asked to pay Rs. 24 lacs every year to meet expenses of a subsidiary force stationed at Hyderabad. Then in 1800, Nizam was persuaded to part for ever with the valuable districts of Bellari and Kadapa yielding an annual revenue of 43 lacs, for the expenses of the subsidiary force. Then in 1804 (after the Nizam had got Berar) he was asked to maintain a separate force called the Hyderabad Contingent, at an annual cost of Rs. 40 lacs, although the subsidiary force was meant to discharge the same duties for which Hyderabad Contingent was being created.

TREASON OF 1853

It seemed that the East India Company was repaying the allotment of Berar to the share of the Nizam, but as that rich territory could not be taken back, so soon, on any pretext, it was planned to burden the State with such exorbitant and unwarranted army expenditures that the Nizam may go bankrupt; and then Berar may be taken back. But the capacity of Hyderabad to pay, proved limitless. The Company waited long enough and ultimately came forward in 1853 with a false claim, demanding Rs. 43 lacs arrears of Contingent expenses. The Nizam was surprised to hear this demand as he had a counter demand of Rs. 41 lacs against the Company who had recovered the amount as Excise Revenue from 8 Kanabads, between 1842 and 1853. Besides, though the Company kept the Contingent at reduced strength, yet the expenses of the full force were charged.

(Continued on page 2)

"C.P." OPPOSES PEOPLE'S WILL

TRAVANCORE STATE CONGRESS MAY HAVE TO LAUNCH MASS CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

NEW DELHI, Wednesday.—Mr. Pattom Thanu Pillai, President of the Travancore State Congress, to-day envisaged a "mighty conflict," in the form of a mass civil disobedience movement, between the Travancore Government and the people of the State, if the demand for responsible Government under the aegis of the ruler and entry into the Constituent Assembly and the Indian Union was not conceded.

Mr. Pillai demanded the immediate establishment of an Interim Government in Travancore as in British India or Cochin.

As regards the nature of the conflict, Mr. Pillai, who was addressing a Press conference, said, "We have all along been following the methods of Mahatma Gandhi and whatever we do, we will strive to keep strictly to our non-violent methods. We know that Government repression will be very great and the stiffenings of the people incalculable but we hope that whoever is responsible for them will be made answerable one day for his actions."

"The Dewan, who had 'no stake in the State,' was opposed to the will of the 6,500,000 people of Travancore on every important issue. He has already begin banning our meetings on a large scale and we cannot leave these issues to his decision any longer. They have to be settled one way or the other."

REFERENDUM

The State Congress, the President said, was prepared to face a referendum on the issue of independence of Travancore. He estimated the strength of the Travancore State armed forces at 4,000, and the police at between 3,000 and 4,000. The State Congress had a membership of about 80,000.

Mr. Pillai and Mr. T. M. Verghese, Vice-President of the State Congress, who was also present at the Press conference, will return to Travancore in a day or two and call a meeting of the Working Committee to consider the issues involved and the future course of action.

SOLE OPPONENT

Dealing with the plethora of Press statements made by the Travancore Dewan recently, Mr. Pillai said, "Whatever assertions he may make, you may take it that the Dewan is the only individual in the State who is against our entering the Constituent Assembly and the Indian Union. In the interests of Travancoreans we want to be part of the great Indian Union."

"To start with, it will make a lot of difference between Travancore citizenship and Indian citizenship. The latter has its definite advantages for the people of Travancore."

Referring to the Travancore Dewan's statement that the people of Travancore would be able to give their verdict on independence when the new constitution based on adult franchise was introduced, Mr. Pillai said that there was now no constitution in existence "except the Dewan" as the previous constitution had been repealed.

NEW CONSTITUTION BOGEY

The proposed new constitution had been rejected by the State Congress, as real power was not sought to be transferred to the people. As regards the question of adult franchise, all that had been done so far was to appoint a franchise committee which had not yet begun to function. Rules regarding reservations for certain communities, system of voting and other connected matters had to be made and the rolls had to be prepared. It would probably take years to prepare the electoral rolls. Obviously the issue could not wait till all this process was completed.

UNITED KERALA

Mr. Pillai said that the people of Travancore were all in favour of a United Kerala on a linguistic basis. But the question of United Kerala could not be decided until Travancore joined the Indian Union and the people of Travancore had a democratic form of Government in the State.

The State Congress President criticised the present internal administration of Travancore and commented on the absence of civil liberties. "If you publish anything that displeases government," said Mr. Pillai, in conclusion, "the paper will be straightaway suppressed."—API.

HYDERABAD

Treaties and agreements between the British Government and Hyderabad take up 202 pages of volume 9 of Alcockson's Treaties, Engagements and Sanads. In one important respect they are different from similar treaties. In one important respect they relating to other Indian States.

For about 50 years from the date of the first treaty of 1759, the Nizam and the East India Company were negotiating more or less on the footing of equality though it was obvious that the Nizam's was weaker and that of the Company's was stronger. But even then it did not find such clear and decisive expression as in the case of the other States. The subjects and agreements of these treaties may be classified into: (1) territorial arrangements; (2) railway and postal agreements; (3) commercial and legal matters; and, (4) provisions relating to the stationing of British troops in Hyderabad and involving British surety.

TERRITORIAL ARRANGEMENTS. The first treaty with the Nizam in 1759 starts with the following clause: "The whole of the Circar of Masulipatnam, with eight districts, as well as the Circar of Nizampatnam, and the districts of Condav and Vecal, manner, shall be given to the English Company as an item for free gift, and the sanads granted to them in the same manner as done to the French." The East India Company was not sure that this large assignment would not be questioned later and it obtained a *firman* from the Mogul Emperor of Delhi to endorse and give force to the above-mentioned English Company, their heirs and descendants, for ever, and even, the afore-said Circars and esteeming them likewise free, executed and gave notice of displacing or removal, by no means whatever either molest or trouble them on account of the Dewan's Office or those of our Imperial Court." From this time forward there were many territorial transactions between the East India Company and the Nizam transferring from one to the other districts, taluqs and villages. If these treaties can be taken as annulled, the present boundaries of Hyderabad will cease to exist. The slices taken from Mysore after the fall of Tipu Sultan and the slices taken from the Peishwa's territories were disseminated will go out of Hyderabad and other territories like Circars of Guntur and Adoni may be claimed by the British Government. It is, therefore, the continued recognition of these treaties by both the Indian Union and the Nizam are necessary for the existence of Hyderabad State. A repudiation of these treaties would throw the State in the melting-pot, out of which would emerge a new British sovereignty can emerge intact.

It may, however, be worthwhile to give some extracts from the treaties

relating to-Berar which has been the subject of recent controversy.

The British Government's possession of Berar under a treaty with the East India Company in 1822. The principle of this treaty says: "Whereas certain rights, foras, and territories have come into the possession of the Honourable East India Company from the hands of Nagpore and Holkar, and in consequence of the reduction and occupation of the dominions of the Peishwa, the following articles of agreement for the settlement of the said rights, foras, and territories have been concluded by the said Honourable Company and His Highness the Subadar of the Deccan."

Article 3: His Highness the Nizam being desirous of possessing certain of the districts acquired by the late war on account of their situation within the exterior line of His Highness's frontiers, the following exchanges of territory are hereby agreed upon for His Highness's benefit and satisfaction: The annuities for the districts of Berar, formerly belonging to the Peishwa as specified in Schedule A, hereunto annexed, and the sum of Rs. 5,69,275-8 are hereby transferred to His Highness the Nizam.

The districts formerly belonging to the Peishwa as specified in Schedule B, hereunto annexed, and estimated at the annual sum of Rs. 2,12,543-8 together with the foras of Gawalgur and Nagpur, and the range of hills on which they situate, shall belong to the Nizam, and the sovereignty to His said Highness.

Article 6: The districts of Limber and Elora, formerly belonging to the Maharaja of Mulhar Rao Holkar, and estimated at an annual sum of Rs. 1,89,373, shall also belong to the Nizam, and the sovereignty to His said Highness.

These districts ceded by the East India Company were retained by the Nizam under the Treaty of 1823.

Article 6: For the purpose of providing the regular monthly payment to the said Company, the troops and payment of Appa Desai's court, and the allowances to Mulhar Rao's family, and to certain Maharrat pensioners, as guaranteed in Article 10 of the Treaty of 1822, and also for the payment of interest at six per cent on the principal of the debt of the Honourable Company, so long as the said Company shall be in debt, the Nizam unpaid, which debt now amounts to about fifty lakhs of Hyderabad Rupees, the Nizam hereby agrees to assign the districts mentioned in the accompanying schedule marked A, yielding an annual gross revenue of Rs. 50 lakhs to the Resident for the time being at Hyderabad, and to such other officers acting under his orders, as may from time to time be appointed by the Government of India to the charge of these districts.

This assignment was extended and confirmed by Article 6 of the Treaty of 1860.

Article 6: The districts in Berar already assigned to the British Government under the Treaty of 1823, together with all the said districts,

whose sovereignty over the assigned districts in reaffirmed, passes them to the British Government in perpetuity, and the full and exclusive jurisdiction to him by the British Government of a fixed and perpetual rent of Rs. 25 lakhs per annum.

(b) The British Government, while retaining the full and exclusive jurisdiction and authority in the assigned districts, shall be at liberty to alter the boundaries of the Territories of 1833 and 1860, shall be at liberty, notwithstanding anything to the contrary contained in the said Treaties, to administer the assigned districts in such manner as they may deem desirable, and also to redistribute, reduce, reorganize and control the forces now composing the Hyderabad Contingent, as they may think fit, due provision being made as stipulated by Article 3 of the Treaty of 1833 for the protection of His Highness's Dominions.

Therefore, Berar became a part of the Central Provinces and from 1910 the people of Berar have been sending representatives to the Central Provinces Legislature. The Government of India Act of 1935 got rid of the foundations which tended to dictate the legal separation of Berar from the C.P. By the Agreement of 1936, the Nizam has assumed the claims to Berar except a nominal annuity of Rs. 25 lakhs.

RAILWAY & POSTAL AGREEMENT

Agreements about railways occupy a large space in the Hyderabad Treaties. The main point in which the public are interested is that on May 26, 1917, Hyderabad State executed deeds of cession reding "to the British Government full and exclusive power and jurisdiction of every kind over the said State, and the right of way, Dhond-Mannad Railway, the Barak Light Railway, the Madras Railway and the Southern Maharrat Railway." A similar deed was executed in 1922 ceding exclusive power and jurisdiction over the lands occupied by the Hazratpur-Maharrat Railway. A postal agreement was made in 1832 providing close co-operation between Nizam's State Post and the Post Office in British India, the Imperial Post Office.

COMMERCIAL AND LEGAL TREATIES

Article 1 of the Treaty of 1802, provision was made for trade and commerce between the Hyderabad State and British India. The relevant clauses are as follows:

"There shall be a free transit between the territories of the contracting parties of all articles, be the goods produce or manufactured of each respectively; and also the free transit of the growth, produce or manufacture of any part of His Highness's Majesty's Dominions."

Article 4: All *rahadary* duties and all duties collected by individual persons, zamindars or *chodas* passing to and from the territories of the contracting parties shall be abolished, and all zamindars, renters, etc., shall be strictly prohibited from levying any acts of extortion or violence on the merchants passing through the respective territories of the contracting parties.

Article 5: A duty of five per cent and no more shall be levied at Hyderabad indiscriminately on all articles of merchandise whatsoever imported into His Highness's dominions from the Company's possessions. No articles shall pay duty more than once, and no article payable by the Government by a just valuation of the article or commodity which they shall be

offenders for the time being in force in British India shall be followed in every such case.

SUZERAINTY

The first indications of British suzerainty are to be found in Article 3 of the Treaty of 1759, by which the Nizam was bound not to commit any excess or aggression against the British Government, and in the event of such differences arising, whatever adjustment of the English Government, weighing things in the scale of truth and justice, shall determine upon, shall, without hesitation or objection, meet with, full acquiescence, becomes clear. One Article says that "the Governor-General-in-Council will at all times maintain and defend the rights or territories of H.H. the Nizam."

Article 5: As by the present Treaty the union and friendship of the two States are so firmly connected as that they may be considered as one and the same, His Highness the Nizam engages neither to commence nor to pursue in future any negotiations with any other Power whatever, nor giving previous notice, and entering into mutual consultation with the Honourable East India Company's Government, and the Honourable Company's Government on their part hereby declare that they have no manner of concern with any of His Highness's children, relations, subjects or servants with respect to whom His Highness is absolute.

Article 16: As by the present treaty

of mutual defensive alliance, mutual defence and protection, against all enemies are established, His Highness engages never to commit any act of hostility or aggression against any Power whatever; and in the event of any differences arising whatever adjustment of them the Company's Government, weighing matters in the scale of truth and justice, may determine shall meet with full approbation and acquiescence.

In 1821, the Nizam's Government issued a *sanad* vesting the Resident at Hyderabad with jurisdiction over disputes among "Europeans, foreigners and others, descendants of Europeans and born in India". In 1900, an agreement was made regarding the maintenance of Imperial Service troops by Hyderabad on the same terms as other States.

From this account, it will be clear that the State of Hyderabad is bound up with the surrounding part of British paramountcy in many ways and the lapse of British paramountcy cannot possibly free the State from the multifarious obligations it has undertaken through the treaties and agreements of the last 180 years. The geographical situation in the State, the composition of its population and the intricate system of communications and trade which has developed during these long years, require either the entry of Hyderabad into the Indian Union or the establishment of new relations between the Union and the State similar to those which exist today.

THE STORY OF HYDERABAD

Treaties and agreements between the British Government and Hyderabad take up 202 pages of volume 9 of Aitchison's Treaties, Engagements and Sanads. In one important respect they are different from similar treaties. In one important respect they relating to other Indian States.

For about 50 years from the first Treaty of 1759, the Nizam and the East India Company were negotiating more or less on the footing of equality though it was obvious that the Nizam's power was waning and that of the Company waxing. From the beginning of the 19th century, the ascendancy of the British became pronounced. But even then it did not find such clear and decisive expression as in the case of the other States. The subjects and agreements of these treaties may be classified into: (1) territorial arrangements; (2) railway and postal agreements; (3) commercial and legal agreements; and (4) provisions relating to the stationing of British troops in Hyderabad and involving British suzerainty.

TERRITORIAL ARRANGEMENTS

The first treaty with the Nizam in 1759 starts with the following clause: "The whole of the Circar of Masulipatam, with eight districts, as well as the Circar of Nizampatam, and the districts of Condav and Wacalmanner, shall be given to the English Company as an *encom* (or free gift), and the sanads granted to them in the same manner as done to the French." The East India Company was not sure that this large assignment would not be questioned later and so it obtained a *firman* from the Mughal Emperor of Delhi "to cede and give up to the above-mentioned English Company, their heirs and descendants, for ever and ever, the aforesaid Circars and esteeming them likewise free, exempt, and safe from all displacing or removal, by no means whatever either molest or trouble them on account of the Dewan's Office or those of our Imperial Court."

From this time onward there were many territorial transactions between the East India Company and the Nizam transferring from one to the other districts, taluqs and villages. If all these treaties can be treated as annulled, the present boundaries of Hyderabad will cease to exist. Large slices taken from Mysore after the fall of Tipu Sultan and the Maharathas when the Peishwa's territories were dismembered went to out of Hyderabad and other territories like Circars, Guntur and Adoni may be claimed by him. It is, therefore, obvious that the continued recognition of these treaties by both the Indian Union and the Nizam are necessary for the existence of Hyderabad State. A repudiation of these treaties will throw the whole State in the melting-pot out of which only the principle of popular sovereignty can emerge intact.

It may, however, be worthwhile to give some extracts from the treaties

relating to Berar which has been the subject of recent controversy.

The Nizam obtained possession of Berar under a treaty with the East India Company in 1822. The preamble of this treaty says: "Whereas certain rights, forts, and territories have come into the possession of the Honourable East India Company from the States of Nagore and Holkar, and in consequence of the reduction and occupation of the dominions of the Peishwa, the following articles of agreement for the settlement of the said rights, forts, and territories have been made between the said Honourable Company and His said Highness the Subadar of the Deccan."

Article 3: His Highness the Nizam being desirous of possessing certain of the districts acquired by the late war on account of their situation within the exterior line of His Highness's frontier, the following exchanges of territory are hereby agreed upon for His Highness's benefit and the mutual convenience of the contracting parties.

Article 4: The districts formerly belonging to the Peishwa as specified in Schedule A, hereto annexed, and estimated at the annual sum of Rs. 5,69,275-8 are hereby transferred in perpetual sovereignty to His Highness the Nizam.

Article 5: The districts formerly belonging to the Rajah of Nagore according to Schedule B, hereto annexed, and estimated at the annual sum of Rs. 1,13,743-8 together with the forts of Gawlihar and Narnulla, and the range of hills on which they are situated, shall belong in perpetual sovereignty to His said Highness.

Article 6: The districts of Kimpur and Ellora, formerly belonging to the Maharaja of Mulhar Rao Holkar, and estimated at the annual sum of Rs. 1,89,373, shall also belong in perpetual sovereignty to His said Highness.

These districts ceded by the East India Company were returned to it by the Nizam under the Treaty of 1853.

Article 8: For the purpose of providing the regular monthly payment to the said contingent troops and payment of Appa Dessaye's chout, and the allowances to Mohiput Ram's family, and to certain Maharatta pensioners, as guaranteed in Article 10 of the Treaty of 1822, and also for the payment of interest at six per cent per annum of the debt due to the Honourable Company, so long as the principal of that debt shall remain unpaid, which debt now amounts to about fifty lakhs of Hyderabad Rupees, the Nizam hereby agrees to assign the districts mentioned in the accompanying schedule marked A, yielding an annual gross revenue of about Rs. 50 lakhs to the exclusive management of the British Resident for the time being at Hyderabad, and to such other officers, acting under his orders, as may from time to time be appointed by the Government of India to the charge of those districts.

This assignment was extended and confirmed by Article 6 of the Treaty of 1860.

Article 6: The districts in Berar already assigned to the British Government under the Treaty of 1853, together with all the Surji-Khas taluqs comprised herein, and such additional districts adjoining thereto as will suffice to make up a present annual gross revenue of thirty-two (32) lakhs of rupees, currency of the British Government, shall be held by the British Government in trust for the payment of the troops of the Hyderabad Contingent, Appa Dessaye's chout, the allowance to Mohiput Ram's family, and certain pensions mentioned in Article 6 of the said Treaty.

In 1902 the assignment was reaffirmed and the territories leased in perpetuity to the British Government.

THE TERMS

The following terms are hereby agreed upon between the Viceroy and Governor-General of India in Council and Nawab Mir Sir Mahabub Ali Khan Bahadur Fateh Jung Nizam, Hyderabad:—

(a) His Highness the Nizam,

whose sovereignty over the assigned districts is affirmed, leases them to the British Government in perpetuity in consideration of the payment to him by the British Government of a fixed and perpetual rent of Rs. 25 lakhs per annum;

(b) The British Government, while retaining the full and exclusive jurisdiction and authority in the assigned districts which they enjoy under the Treaties of 1853 and 1860, shall be at liberty, notwithstanding anything to the contrary in those Treaties, to administer the assigned districts in such a manner as they may deem desirable, and also to redistribute, redivide, reorganize and control the forces now composing the Hyderabad Contingent, as they may think fit, due provision being made as stipulated by Article 3 of the Treaty of 1853 for the protection of His Highness's Dominions.

Thereafter Berar became a part of the Central Provinces and from 1919 the people of Berar have been sending representatives to the Central Provinces Legislature. The Government of India Act of 1935 got rid of the formalities which tended to indicate the legal separation of Berar from the C.P. By the Agreement of 1936, the Nizam has renounced all claims to Berar except a nominal acknowledgement of sovereignty.

RLY. & POSTAL AGREEMENT

Agreements about railways occupy a large space in the volume but the main point in which the public are interested is that, on May 23, 1901 Hyderabad State executed deeds of cession ceding to the British Government full and exclusive power and jurisdiction of every kind over the lands occupied by the G.I.P. Railway, Dhooli-Mannat Railway, the Bara Dabhi Railway, the Mahras Railway and the Southern Marhatta Railway. A similar deed was executed in 1927 ceding exclusive power and jurisdiction over the lands occupied by the Khazpe-Balharshah Railway. A postal agreement was made in 1882 providing close co-operation between Nizam's State Post and the Post Office in British India, the Imperial Post.

COMMERCIAL AND LEGAL

TREATIES

By the Treaty of 1802, provision was made for trade and commerce between the Hyderabad State and British India. The relevant clauses are as follows:

Article 3: There shall be a free transit between the territories of the contracting parties of all articles being the growth, produce or manufacture of each respectively; and also of all articles being the growth, produce or manufacture of any part of His Britannic Majesty's Dominions.

Article 4: All *rahdari* duties and all duties collected by individual renters or zamindars on goods passing to and from the territories of the contracting parties shall be abolished, and all zamindars, renters, shall be strictly prohibited from committing any acts of extortion or violence on the merchants passing through the respective territories of the contracting parties.

Article 5: A duty of five per cent and no more shall be levied at Hyderabad indiscriminately on all articles of merchandise whatever imported into His Highness's dominions from the Company's possessions. No articles shall pay duty more than once: The duties payable shall be regulated by a just valuation of any article of commodity for which they shall be charged, and which shall be determined by an invoice authenticated by the seal and signature of the proper officer on each side. Nor shall any arbitrary valuation of any article of commodity be admitted to enhance the amount of duties payable thereon, and the said duties shall be fixed and immutable except by the mutual consent of the contracting parties.

In 1875, the Nizam's Government, at the request of the Government of India, agreed to prohibit the free transit of salt though it was contrary to the provisions of the Commercial Treaty of 1802. In 1833 an agreement was entered into by which the Nizam undertook to prohibit the cultivation of poppy and manufacture of opium in the State. An extradition treaty was made in 1867. In 1867 this was modified and Hyderabad State undertook to see that the procedure prescribed by law as to the extradition

offenders for the time being in force in British India shall be followed in every such case.

SUZERAINTY

The first indications of British suzerainty are to be found in Article 3 of the Treaty of 1759 by which the Nizam was bound not to commit any excess or aggression against the Circar of Rao Pundit Prudhan and "in the event of such differences arising, whatever adjustment of them the English Government, weighing things in the scale of truth and justice, may determine upon shall, without hesitation or objection, meet with full approbation and acquiescence." In the Treaty of 1800, this assertion of paramountcy becomes clear. One Article says that "the Governor-General-in-Council will at all times maintain and defend the rights or territories of H.H. the Nizam."

Article 15: As by the present Treaty the union and friendship of the two States are so firmly connected as that they may be considered as one and the same, His Highness the Nizam engages neither to commence nor to pursue in future any negotiations with any other Power whatever without giving previous notice and entering into mutual consultation with the Honourable East India Company's Government; and the Honourable Company's Government on their part hereby declare that they have no manner of concern with any of His Highness's children, relations, subjects or servants with respect to whom His Highness is absolute.

Article 16: As by the present treaty

Dawn 20-6-47

Retrocession of Bihar

(Continued from page 4)

keep a separate oath of allegiance to Nizam, their real sovereign.

14. That in Section 47 of the Government of India Act itself, the sovereignty of Nizam over Berar, is recognized and in clause 1(b) the Beraris are held to be his subjects.

If words in English language carry any meaning, if legal phraseology and political terminology connote any sense, and if contracts, agreements and treaties have got any sanctity, then the Nizam is the 'de jure' as well as 'de facto' (barring administration) sovereign of Berar.

(TO BE CONTINUED)

Hindustan Times
20-6-47

Sir C.P. Welcomes Jinnah's Views On States

TRIVANDRUM June 19.—Addressing a Press Conference here yesterday Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, Dewan of Travancore, said that as against what persons like Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Iyer, Sir Gopalaswami Iyengar, Dr Ambedkar and Mr K. M. Munshi had stated about the rights of States to declare their independence, must be cited the authority of eminent British statesmen including Sir Stafford Cripps, Lord Pethick-Lawrence and Lord Listowel who had stated in unambiguous terms that on the conclusion of paramountcy States could become absolutely independent.

Even presuming that the legal position was otherwise, the Ruler and the people of the State had decided to become independent and they would implement their resolve without reckoning the cost and irrespective of the obstacles they might have to encounter. The Travancore Dewan added: "He was confident that the vast bulk of all communities, especially the Ezhvas, Christians and backward groups, were for the independence ideal. They amounted to two-thirds of the people. They had laid aside all differences and now wholly co-operated with the Government's plan."

Quoting Jinnah

The Dewan also referred to the recent statement of Mr Jinnah emphasizing that constitutionally and legally the Indian States would be independent and sovereign on the termination of paramountcy. The Dewan added that he was himself an inveterate opponent of the idea of the division of India which, he had pleaded, would cause irreparable damage to the country. But the British Government and the Congress had agreed to such a division.

The Dewan added that he and Mr Jinnah had worked together in the past but later their views on Pakistan and Hindustan became widely divergent. It was significant however, that Mr Jinnah—himself an eminent lawyer—should hold the views he did on the rights of States to declare their independence, and he welcomed that statement from the leader of one of the two future Dominions.

Congress And Non-Violence

The Dewan also referred to a recent Press report in which Acharya Kripalani winding up the proceedings of the 4th session of the Congress

had said: "Mahatma Gandhi was saying that he was solving the problem of Hindu-Muslim unity for the whole of India."

He said it was difficult to see how that was being done. There was no definite step as in non-violent non-co-operation that had led to this desired goal. That was why he (Congress President) was not with him today.

The Dewan contended that in view of this statement attributed to the Congress President he was entitled to assume that the Indian National Congress through its president had in effect negatived its creed of non-violence and the Congress and Gandhiji had parted company with each other. He would decline to regard the Indian National Congress any longer as being 'non-violent', especially in view of the speeches of Pandit Nehru and partial-minded persons like Sir N. G. Iyengar and Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Iyer.—A.P.I.

Dawn 20-6-47

CASE FOR RETROCESSION OF BERAR—II

BY ABDUS SATTAR KHAN, M.L.A.

IN 1860, a supplementary treaty was entered into as a result of which the Government of India communicated to the Nizam that the "alienation of this portion of his Dominions is temporary only and for a special purpose and that whenever the districts in question are restored to the Nizam, His Highness will derive all the future benefits that may possibly arise from the improvement while under the management of British Officers."

In the same year the Government of India wrote to the Nizam in another letter that "the Government of India desires to hold this territory not in sovereignty but in trust for His Highness so long as the Contingent is kept up and no longer, and that Berar shall be restored to him entirely whenever it shall deem fit to the two Governments to terminate the engagement under which the Contingent is kept up."

In 1872, Sir Salar Jung and the Amir-e-Kabir as Regent Ministers, proposed to the Government of India, to accept a capital sum sufficient to secure payment of the Contingent force and give back Berar. Correspondence went on and ultimately this proposal was turned down in 1878, on the flimsy excuse that the then Nizam was minor.

CURZON'S PROPOSALS

Everything was going on as usual, when in 1902 one fine morning, Lord Curzon got into his head the idea of acquiring Berar permanently. He raised this question on his own initiative and started the negotiations of his own accord. The Nizam and all his noblemen very strongly resisted this proposal. On the contrary, it was suggested to the Government of India that the Contingent force should be abolished and Berar be restored. But Lord Curzon was bent upon getting through his own policy; and the proposed lease on a permanent basis, was secured practically at the point of bayonet. But the sovereign rights of Nizam over Berar were duly recognized in this treaty also.

LETTER TO READING

The present Nizam wrote a historic letter on October 25, 1923, to Lord Reading making out a very strong case for the restoration of Berar and offering complete autonomy to the Beraris. But the matter was very arrogantly shelved as de.

This short survey of the past, clearly shows:

- (i) That the Nizam was forced to transfer Berar on lease in 1933 as well as in 1902;
- (ii) that he being an unwilling party, the treaties are invalid in Law;
- (iii) that in both the treaties, the sovereignty of Nizam over Berar, was recognized and he was given the balance from the Berar Revenue after defraying the Contingent expenses till 1902. Thereafter a fixed sum of Rs. 25 lacs is being paid to him, every year.
- (iv) that the Nizam was quite alive to his sovereign rights over Berar; and that demands for its restoration, were made by him, on eight different occasions;
- (v) that in recognition of the Nizam's sovereign rights over Berar, his birthday celebrations are held annually at Amraoti (in Berar) by unfurling his flag and firing a salute of 21 guns.
- (vi) that constitutionally, Berar was treated as a separate unit under the direct control of the Government of India. Foreign Department, though joined administratively with CP.

AGREEMENT OF 1936

Now we come to the last and the most important link of this discussion. The agreement of 1936 between His Majesty and the Nizam, has virtually settled the question of the restoration of Berar. In this agreement, the sovereignty of the Nizam over Berar, was not only recognized and re-affirmed but he was able to acquire so many valuable rights as if a decree on merit, was obtained by him and only its execution remained. Under this agreement, all the possible overt indication of his sovereignty are there, and only the actual occupation of the territory remains to be effected. This agreement begins

with the words: "Whereas the dominions under the sovereignty of HEH the Nizam of Hyderabad include certain territories known as Berar." No more clear proof is required to show that Berar is a part and parcel of the Nizam's Dominions. Though Mr. Aney would not agree to this, and he would still call "Berar as part and parcel of British India" ("Times of India," dated 28-5-47).

RE-AFFIRMATION OF SOVEREIGNTY

That apart from the re-affirmation of his sovereignty over Berar, the recognition of his right to receive an annual lease money of Rs. 25 lacs and the Gun Salute at Amraoti, the 1936 agreement, shows his acquisition of the following additional rights and privileges which are of immense legal and political significance:—

1. His heir apparent is now called the "Prince of Berar."
2. The Governor of CP and Berar is appointed with his consultation.
3. The Governor has functions in Berar because of the assent given to it by the Nizam.
4. His flag flies on all public buildings in Berar along side the British flag.
5. He is entitled to hold Darbar in Berar.
6. He is entitled to confer titles on Beraris.
7. He is entitled to ask the Governor to pay ceremonial visits to Hyderabad on suitable occasions.
8. He gets the right to allow the Muslims to read his name and pray for him in the Friday Sermon "Khutba" in mosques in Berar.
9. He gets a right to appoint his Agent at Nagpur.
10. The Governor is charged with a special responsibility to safeguard the commercial and economic interests of Hyderabad.
11. No Bill is to be applied to Berar, without obtaining his assent.
12. That the Beraris serving in or retired from the Nizam's Police and Military get the right of vote in Berar.
13. That all Berar MLAs have to

(Continued on page 3)

STATES AND INDIAN
UNIONSIR ALLADI'S REPLY TO
TRAVANCORE DEWANPEOPLE'S VERDICT MUST
BE ASCERTAINED

MADRAS, June 19.

When interviewed by the U.P.I. in regard to certain statements made by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, the Dewan of Travancore, at the Press Conference at Trivandrum reported in to-day's papers, Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar stated as follows:

I am sorry to note that the fervent appeal made by me to Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar has evoked no response, but, on the other hand, has made him indulge in certain sneers against me.

I am thankful to Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar for challenging me to lead the rebellion in Travancore and complimenting me on being martial-minded. I may at once confess that I have no pretensions to the valour and martial prowess of the kind which enabled him to assume the supreme command of the entire field forces of Travancore and to suppress a crowd of alleged Communist agitators at the great battle of Shertally and Ambalapuzha. Even if I had the flair for battle, which he obviously seems to possess, not being a subject or a citizen of Travancore, I would not undertake the heading of a rebellion by the Travancore subjects, while the Dewan himself as a British Indian citizen, may see no anomaly in heading a movement for independence as against the Indian Union before getting the verdict either of the people or the duly constituted legislatures.

The Dewan has chosen repeatedly to distort my statement in regard to the right of rebellion of a people. In my statement, dated 11th June, I referred to the natural right of rebellion of a people where there is misrule or need for a change of Government, such right however being kept in suspense and control by the Paramount Power, during the subsistence of Paramountcy, the Paramount Power taking upon itself the duty to see to the proper Government and to proper reforms being effected in the Government of the State. I also pointed out that if, as is alleged, on the British withdrawal, Paramountcy has come to an end and cannot be assumed by the Indian Union, it is up to the people to take steps for not merely effecting a change in the Government but also to compel the Ruler to enter into constitutional relations with the Indian Union. If only the history of Europe and America and the assertion of the people's rights in the different parts of the world are kept in view, no exception can be taken to my statement.

ASCERTAINING THE WILL OF
PEOPLE

I am glad to note that there is a change in Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar's stand and that he is no longer resting upon the 'divine right' of rulers but upon the alleged support of the people of the State, including Ezhavas, Christians, Muslims and Anglo-Indians. But there is no answer to the point made by me repeatedly that the proper way of ascertaining the will of the people is through the medium of the duly elected legislatures and, preferably, by a referendum. Neither the Ruler nor his (Dewan) has any right to anticipate the verdict of the people and to coerce them to a pre-judged issue.

Obviously, in his present state of mental exaltation, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar is unable to answer the points made by me, especially the point as to the greater need for the States joining the Indian Union as a result of the separation of certain parts and the need for a single Government exercising control over Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications over the different parts of India.

The conflicting statements made by the Dewan from time to time as to (1) the need for a strong Union Centre and the unsatisfactory nature of the Cabinet Mission's Statement of 16th May 1946 in this regard, and (2) complaining at the same time against the Constituent Assembly's trying to widen the scope of the Union Centre and going behind the Cabinet Mission's statement, are too well-known to need any further refutation.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar again reiterates the point that the separation of predominantly Muslim areas in pursuance of the wishes of the people of those areas furnishes a reason for the Travancore State, which is predominantly Hindu and Christian, and which is in close proximity to and inter-connected with the Indian Union, not joining the Union. The argument will have only to be stated to be refuted.

PARAMOUNTCY ISSUE

In regard to the legal issues as to the effect of the withdrawal of British Paramountcy or the assumption by the Indian Union of the rights of Paramountcy, I congratulate Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar on finding a friend and supporter in Mr. Jinnah besides Sir Stafford Cripps. I repeat I prefer to follow the lead of my distinguished countrymen, like Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar and others. It is some consolation that the independence claimed by the Dewan is to be "co-operative independence".

The frequent reference to the proposed change in the "Objectives" Resolution and the Congress accepting Dominion Status is misleading. The Dominion Status is a transitional arrangement and designed merely to get over certain difficulties in the working of the present Interim Government and to ensure a smoother passage into complete independence when the new Constitution as framed by the Constituent Assembly comes into force.

As regards Travancore seeking the membership of the United Nations Organisation and the U.N.O. entertaining any such claim or similar claims by Indian States following a similar policy, it will be time enough to deal with this subject when it becomes a practical and live issue. Having regard to the rights and obligations of the members of the U.N.O. and India's position in the U.N.O., it is unthinkable that any such claim will be entertained or countenanced.—U.P.I.

Hindu. 21-6-47

TRAVANCORE AND INDEPENDENCE

"NOT AFRAID OF A REFERENDUM"

DEWAN'S REPLY TO CRITICISMS

"PEOPLE WHOLLY BEHIND GOVT."

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan of Travancore, writes under date Trivandrum, June 20:

You have devoted two columns in your issue of yesterday, to a general attack on Travancore's attitude towards the Constituent Assembly and towards the Hindustan Dominion and to a special attack on myself in particular by suggesting that it is inconceivable that the Indian Dominion should make humble overtures to the Dewan of Travancore "when he will graciously accommodate and negotiate a treaty with the Union on the basis, of course, of the State's independence—whatever the latter term may mean". I trust, therefore, that you will grant me the hospitality of your columns for a reply, which, I hope, will be published at least as prominently as the attack itself.

I observe with regret, though not with surprise, that you are comparatively reticent regarding Hyderabad, but in this you are not singular. Whereas individual Englishmen, especially Englishmen in business and the professions, have been noted for their consistent loyalty to their friends, the British Government from 1857 have too often taken their friends for granted and treated mainly with their opponents. The Congress is following the same policy. Gandhi's special certificates and titles of honour are awarded generally to persons who attack him like Mr. Jinnah, whose determined courage and unalterable opposition to the Congress have secured for him not only the recognition of his title of Qaid-e-Azam, but resulted in several humble overtures culminating in the approach of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan to Mr. Jinnah on the dictation of Gandhi.

FREE PATHAN STATE

At the same time that your newspaper reached my hands, I also read the message of Gandhi advocating a free Frontier State. Pathanistan with one-third the population and less than one-third of the revenues of Travancore can, of course, be independent. Nepal, with less than the population of Travancore and less resources, can of course be independent and Pandit Nehru can appoint an Ambassador to Nepal without too much scrutiny of its internal administration and without demanding a referendum. Siam can be independent. Burma can be independent. Switzerland can be independent, but it is a cardinal sin for Travancore to ask for the fulfilment of what British statesmen have said and undertaken to do. Pandit Nehru has uttered the threat that the dream of independence will be dissipated in a few months owing to internal troubles and economic pressure from outside. Although prominent Congressmen and others have told me that his words should not be taken too seriously, as he is apt to become emotional on public platforms, I cannot forget that he is the Vice-President of the Interim Government. Added to that are the threats of subjugation of Indian States by Sir N. Gopalaswami Iyengar, the incitements to internal rebellion by Mr. J. B. Kripalani, Mr. Shankarrao Deo and the ex-Advocate-General of Madras. These utterances, however, have been of great assistance to Travancore as they have unified public opinion here and, in effect, solved the problem of independence. I am hoping that your leading article will complete the process.

I would invite you to send any representative of yours to Travancore so as to realise for himself the intensity and the pervasive character of the enthusiastic response that has been evoked to the call of His Highness the Maharaja and his Government for the declaration of Travancore's independence. I am literally receiving dozens of unsolicited telegrams and letters every hour of the day from persons of all communities and classes pledging their support to this cause. I am myself positive that the Travancore State Congress will hesitate to ask for a referendum. I am not and shall not be afraid of a referendum but I am confident that the problem will solve itself much more easily.

SUPPORT TO INDEPENDENCE MOVE

In all likelihood and judging from my correspondence, most members of the State Congress will soon declare themselves in favour of the independence of Travancore and will probably resign from the State Congress on this issue. Public opinion is gaining so much strength that within a few weeks, I believe that it will not be possible for the State Congress openly to speak against Travancore's independence. Let it should be stated that the Travancore Government are curbing public opinion or are guilty of Fascist methods as suggested by certain Congress adherents, who are apt to enthuse over every cause and every person or group that may be in the ascendant for the time being. I hereby issue an invitation to your paper and to every other newspaper in India to send representatives here as observers to judge the situation for themselves.

Please do not think that I am bluffing or indulging in wishful thinking when I say that a great revulsion of feeling is already setting in against the Congress and its methods. I have yielded to none in my admiration for and my homage to Gandhi for his great services in rousing the self-respect and the conscience of India in political and in social matters, but, surely, prayer meetings are intended for communion or attempted communion with the Supreme and cannot be utilised for attacks, well-founded or ill-founded, against political opponents. Gandhi made certain inaccurate statements regarding what I said at a Press Conference. Twelve journalists who were present at that Conference telegraphed to him pointing out the inaccuracies and yet, during the next prayer meeting, there was no retraction or expression of regret. He admits that he is a back-number and that his views on non-violence, the uselessness of the Army and the evils of industrialisation are not shared by his followers. He, however, is present at every meeting of those followers, and is supposed to guide them. The President of the Congress openly asserts that, on certain fundamental issues like non-violence, he has parted company with Gandhi. There is a definite tendency on the part of the Congress High Command to interfere with local and provincial affairs as well as with the internal politics of States. The only thing that they seem to respect and yield to is open and unflinching opposition. Mr. Savarkar telegraphs to me as follows: "In the very interests of Akhand Hindustan itself, I strongly support the Maharaja and the far-sighted and courageous determination to declare the independence of our Hindu State of Travancore. The Nizam has already proclaimed his independence and other Muslim States are likely to do so. Hindu States bold enough to assert it have the same rights."

You ask in your leading article whether the Posts and Telegraphs offices would be closed and companies will be wound up or railways stopped. I am not aware that with a frontier of 4,000 miles, the independent States of Canada and the U.S.A. are adopting such measures or even North and South Ireland, notwithstanding their well-known ideological animosities. I have always asserted that Travancore, in matters of

defence, communications and other matters of common concern, will wholeheartedly co-operate with the rest of India consistently with the special interests of Travancore as a maritime State with traditions of independent trade, customs and currency policies.

ENTRY INTO CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

I feel that entry into the Constituent Assembly, if made, should be wholehearted. There is no point in entering into that Assembly and wishing to go out if the decisions of the Assembly are unfavourable to one's own interests.

I have endeavoured to point out in several conferences and statements that the decisions of the Union Powers Committee, now ratified by the Constituent Assembly, the Objectives Resolution of the Constituent Assembly, which though practically nullified by the acceptance of Dominion Status is bound to be ratified at the next and succeeding sittings of the Assembly, and the general antagonistic attitude of the Congress to States which do not follow its dictates may operate to the prejudices of the economic and industrial future of Travancore, whose position is peculiar. I am not alone in the opinion that there is no real democracy within the Congress and Babu Purushottamdas Tandon has openly stated that the recent decisions taken by the Congress are not in consonance with the real will of the people. I do not wish to repeat my previous arguments, but the people of Travancore are fully cognisant of and are wholly behind the State in its assertion of independence.

The Madras Mail and the Times of India have partially perceived the reasons underlying the decision of Hyderabad and Travancore and I have stated and repeated over and over again that the special problems of Travancore demand its independent status which is as much its birthright as it is that of any other autonomous unit in India, that this independence will not be used excepting for the purpose of forwarding the interests of India as a whole, and that the Maharaja and the people of Travancore are determined at all costs and at whatever risk to preserve not their own isolation, but their own Swarajya, which will be compatible with the evolution of common and harmonious policies for the country as a whole.

Practically all the discussions that take place to-day in this matter ignore the existence of the United Nations. We either believe in it or do not. If we believe in it, any thoughts of subjugation and rebellion are mischievous and irrelevant. If we do not believe in it, the world will be a congeries of warring elements and each element has to work in self-defence and self-vindication. Travancore is one such unit. It believes in the Union of India; it believes in the U. N., but it also believes in the need for its own independence, consistent with inter-dependence with the other units comprising the great land of India. What it does not believe in is the dragging of every self-reliant unit into submission to a regime that is democratic in its professions and authoritarian in practice and is apt to use the Press and the platform and the radio for steam-hammering opposition to its own ideologies that have varied from time to time, from Independence to Dominion Status, from the non-vivisection of India to an appeal for Pathanistan.

Hindu 20-6-47

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

MYSORE'S DECISION WELCOMED

STATE CONGRESS RESOLUTIONS

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT.)

BANGALORE, June 19.

A resolution welcoming the decision of H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore that Mysore would join the Indian Constituent Assembly has been passed by the Working Committee of the Mysore State Congress, which concluded its meeting to-day after deliberations extending over three days. Mr. K. Chingalroya Reddi presided over the session.

The resolution states: "The Working Committee welcomes the decision of H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore that Mysore will join the Indian Constituent Assembly and that steps will be taken immediately to send her representatives to participate in its deliberations. This decision fulfils earnestly the cherished desire of the people of Mysore in this behalf. The Committee has all along held that the present decision should have been taken much earlier and that the statement of February 20, if anything, should have hastened the date for joining the Constituent Assembly, as was indeed was the case with regard to some States, instead of its being made a plea for postponing the decision. However, the Committee considers it a matter for relief that Mysore should have finally decided to join, particularly at a time when States like Hyderabad and Travancore had declared for independence and there was doubt and apprehension as to what Mysore would do."

"The Committee is confident," the resolution adds, "that Mysore's entry into the Constituent Assembly would be helpful in evolving the Union Constitution, which would so provide for the respective rights and obligations of the units and the Union as to ensure the units joining the Union for the common benefit of all."

MYSORE'S REPRESENTATIVES MUST BE ELECTED

Proceeding, the resolution states: "The Committee reiterates its stand that all representatives from Mysore should be elected by the elected members of the Legislature and declares that any other course will be unsatisfactory and unacceptable."

By another resolution the Working Committee urges that the date of establishment of Responsible Government should be hastened and that an Interim Ministry, composed of persons commanding the confidence of the Legislature should be constituted forthwith. The resolution recalls the various meetings the Congress President has had with the Dewan and states that "the present Ministry, irresponsible and inefficient as it has been, can no longer be trusted to discharge its duties to the satisfaction of the public. The interference of the Ministry in the District Board elections and in the recent elections of the Presidents of District Boards, setting at naught all consideration of fairplay and justice, with a view to crushing the Congress and continuing its own existence, is the latest instance of its autocratic and arbitrary administration. The Committee feels that a fair and impartial election of the representatives to the Constituent Assembly, which is to come off soon, will not be possible if the present Ministry continues in office."

The resolution adds: "An Interim Ministry composed of persons commanding the confidence of the Legislature should be constituted forthwith and the Working Committee considers it desirable that a definite reply in this behalf should immediately be had from the Dewan, to decide upon its future course of action."

Hindu 20-6-47

DEWAN'S REPLY TO MR. THANU PILLAI

TRIVANDRUM, June 19.

"I have read Mr. Pattom Thanu Pillai's statement and accept the challenge offered by him on behalf of the Travancore State Congress," said Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar in an interview to the Press this morning.

The Dewan continued: "On account of the confusion of issues involved, a great deal of controversy is taking place in respect of the decision of the Maharajah and the people of Travancore not to join the Constituent Assembly and to declare an independent status. The Travancore Government have always expressed their complete willingness to enter into agreements with the Government or Governments of the future for the purpose of regulating all matters of common concern and to avoid dislocation of trade and business relationships and to safeguard defence and communications of the country."

"It has been freely asserted that this assertion of independent status has not the support of the people of Travancore. The following facts will prove the contrary. The Ezhas of Travancore, numbering a million out of six million, and their well-knit and authoritative organisation, the S.N.D.P. Yogam, with

branches all over the country, is wholeheartedly against the United Kerala proposal and is in favour of the independence of Travancore. All organised associations of backward communities have also taken the same line. Catholics, Jacobites and other Christian communities who had opposed the Travancore Government's policies in certain matters are at this critical moment declaring themselves in favour of independent Travancore. The Chairman of Changanacherry Municipality has now formed an Independence League. The Chairman of Alwaye Municipality has resigned his membership of the Travancore State Congress. It may be remembered that Alwaye and Changanacherry are two important Christian centres. Literally, hundreds of telegrams and letters are reaching me every day from Christians belonging to many denominations adopting the same attitude.

They realise that the education controversy has been settled on the basis of compromise as also pending questions as to the construction of churches and cemeteries. Many prominent Mayars have also stood by Government even before the declaration of Mr. Jinnah supporting the claim for independence on the part of States who desire it. Muslims of Travancore were practically unanimous with the Government and, after the declaration of Mr. Jinnah, their attitude has been expressed unequivocally.

Mr. Savarkar and Dr. Moonje have expressed the views of impartial Hindus and enthusiastically supported Travancore's stand.

I therefore, make bold to say that a vast majority of people of Travancore, including Hindus, Christians and Muslims, will be with the Maharaja and his Government in this matter of independence of Travancore. In these circumstances, Government can easily afford to put the question to the State Congress and the Indian National Congress whether they want a referendum to be taken. If so, an opportunity is available when the elections on the basis of adult suffrage will take place within the next few months. But I feel certain that when Messrs. Thanu Pillai and Varghese return to Travancore after their Delhi confabulations, they will find that the people of Travancore have responded to the call made by the Maharaja and that their defiance and threat of direct action will be futile. I note that Mr. Thanu Pillai contrasts the number of the army and police in Travancore with that of his organisation. This is strange incitement to violence emanating from a disciple of the Apostle of non-violence."

KASHMIR AND THE PUNJAB STATES

The history of the present Punjab States and Kashmir is very simple. They are pure creations of British rule and from the first they have been completely subordinate to the Government of India.

The following Articles from the first Treaty between Maharaja Gulab Singh of Jammu and the British Government explain the origin and status of Kashmir:—

Article 1: The British Government transfers and makes over for ever, in independent possession, to Maharaja Gulab Singh and the heirs male of his body, all the hilly or mountainous country, with its dependencies, situated to the eastward of the river Indus and westward of the river Ravee, including Chumba, and excluding Lahul, being part of the territories ceded to the British Government by the Lahore State, according to the provisions of Article IV of the Treaty of Lahore, dated March 9, 1846.

Article 2: The eastern boundary of the tract transferred by the foregoing Article to Maharaja Gulab Singh shall be laid down by Commissioners appointed by the British Government and Maharaja Gulab Singh respectively for the purpose, and shall be defined in a separate engagement after survey.

Article 3: In consideration of the transfer made to him and his heirs by the provisions of the foregoing Articles, Maharaja Gulab Singh will pay to the British Government the sum of Rs. 75,00,000 (Nanukshahnee), Rs. 50,00,000 to be paid on ratification of this Treaty, and Rs. 25,00,000 on or before October 1 of the current year, A.D. 1846.

Article 10: Maharaja Gulab Singh acknowledges the supremacy of the British Government, and will in token of such supremacy present annually to the British Government one horse, twelve perfect shawl goats of approved breed (six male and six female), and three pairs of Cashmere shawls.

In 1850 a Treaty was entered into regarding development and trade with Eastern Turkestan. It provided that the route selected by the British Government should be declared "by the Maharaja to be a free highway in perpetuity and at all times for all travellers and traders." Two Commissioners, one appointed by the British Government and the other by the Maharaja, are to be in charge of supervision and maintenance of the road in its entire length.

Article 6: The Maharaja agrees to levy no transit duty whatever on the aforesaid free highway; and the Maharaja further agrees to abolish all transit duties levied within his territories on goods transmitted in bond through His Highness's territories from Eastern Turkestan to India, and vice versa, on which bulk may not be broken within the territories of His Highness. On goods imported into, or exported from, His Highness's territories whether by the aforesaid free highway or any other routes, the Maharaja may levy such import duties as he may think fit.

Article 9: The British Government agree to levy no duty on goods transmitted in bond through British India to Eastern Turkestan, or to the territories of His Highness the Maharaja. The British Government further agree to abolish the export duties now levied on shawls and other textile fabrics manufactured in the territories of the Maharaja, and exported to countries beyond the limits of British India.

In 1872 the British Resident at Srinagar was given civil and criminal jurisdiction over European British subjects in the States. Various agreements have been entered into regarding Sialkot-Jammu Railway and Posts and Telegraphs.

The Punjab States

There are no less than 45 States in the Punjab, the smallest of which has an area of 2 sq. miles and a popu-

lation of 442. Most of these States were Jemins with no pretensions to even limited sovereignty. In 1921 the following States were brought into direct relations with the Government of India through the Governor-General Punjab States:

	Area	Population
	(sq. miles)	(1941 census)
(1) Patiala	5,942	19.3
(2) Bahawalpur	16,434	13.4
(3) Jalandhar	1,299	4.6
(4) Nabha	947	3.4
(5) Kapurthala	599	3.8
(6) Simla	1,046	1.6
(7) Malwa	1,130	2.3
(8) Bilaspur	453	1.6
(9) Malerkotla	165	.9
(10) Faridkot	638	2
(11) Chamba	3,127	1.7
(12) Suket	397	.7

The ancestors of the present Rulers of these States were petty Chiefs who sought the protection of the East India Company against Maharaja Ranjot Singh. An *Ititlah-Namch* of 3rd May, 1809 says: "The country of the Chiefs of Malwa and Sirhind having entered under the protection of the British Government, in future it shall be secured from the authority and control of Maharaja Ranjot Singh, conformably to the terms of the Treaty."

It is unnecessary to give long extracts to define the status of these States. Two illustrations will suffice. The *sanad* issued by the Governor-General of India to the Maharaja of Patiala on the 5th May, 1860, contains the following clauses:

Clause V: The Maharaja Sahib and his successors will never fail in their faithful and devoted obedience to the Empress, Queen of England, and her successors.

Clause VI: The Maharaja Sahib Bahadur will always pursue the course of obedience and loyalty to the powerful Government who will likewise continue to uphold his honour, respect, rank and dignity in the manner it is done at present.

Similarly, the treaty between East India Company and Nawab Bhawal Khan Bahadur of Bahawalpur has the following Articles:

Article 3: Nawab Bhawal Khan, and his heirs and successors, will act in subordinate co-operation with the British Government, and acknowledge its supremacy, and will not have any connection with any other Chiefs or States.

Article 4: The Nawab, and his heirs and successors, will not enter into negotiation with any Chief or State without the knowledge and sanction of the British Government, but the usual amicable correspondence with friends and relations shall continue.

Article 5: The Nawab, and his heirs and successors, will not commit aggressions on any one. If by accident any dispute arise with any one, the settlement of it shall be submitted to the arbitration and award of the British Government.

All these States have various agreements regarding Railways, Posts, Customs and river traffic. As usual, the Railway lands have been ceded in perpetuity. A special feature of these States is the existence of agreements between the Government of India and some of these States collectively in regard to canals and railways, which depend for their working upon the continuation of the present relations between them and the Government of India. For instance, an agreement was entered into between the Government of India and the State of Patiala, Jind and Nabha in 1873 regarding the Sirhind Canal which defines the division of cost of construction and distribution of water supply. The ultimate control is left with the Government of

India as may be seen from the following Articles:—

Article 30: In case of dispute between any two States as to the amount of compensation to be paid on account of land taken up, or any other matter under this agreement, the amount of compensation or dispute shall be determined by an officer appointed by the British Government.

Article 44: It shall at any time be competent for the British Government to resume the entire management of the canal works or irrigation in the territories of any of the States concerned, if it shall consider that that State has not properly fulfilled the obligations which attach to the discharge of the duties which will devolve on it under the arrangement detailed above.

In 1920, an agreement was entered into between the Government of India, the Nawab of Bahawalpur and the Maharaja of Bikaner about the Sutlej Valley Canal Project.

Article 17: The British Government will have full and exclusive control of the distribution of supplies at the canal heads and the Head Gauge Registers with discharges observed shall be held to be the authoritative data for calculating the quantity of water supplied.

Article 27: The British Government reserves to itself the right of extending or altering the river works at any time in any way it pleases, on the understanding that the share of the water first assigned to the parties under this agreement shall not be diminished without their assent being obtained.

Article 31: If any difference of opinion shall arise between the Government of either of the States concerned and the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab as to the construction of this Agreement or any matter under it a reference may be made to the Governor-General-in-Council, whose decision shall be final.

The State of Jind entered into an agreement in 1892 for regulating the supply of water for irrigation from the Western Jumna Canal.

Jind and Malerkotla Darbars entered into an agreement with the Government of India in 1889 for the construction, maintenance and working of the "Ludhiana-Dhuri-Jakkhal Railway."

The Raja of Mandi by an agreement of 1925 has granted a lease of 99 years of all the land and water rights to the Uhi River Hydro-Electric Project in the State.

Faridkot gets water from the Sirhind Canal on the basis of agreement of 1923.

The Raja of Chamba, by agreement of 1864, has vested in the Government of India the sole control of all forests in the territory of the State. Article 12 of the revised agreement of 1872 is as follows:

Article 12: This agreement shall continue in force for a term of 20 years, commencing from the first day of May 1864.

On the expiry of this term, it shall be renewable at the pleasure of the British Government for a further term of 20 years, on expiry whereof it shall be again renewable on a like manner until the term of 99 years, counting from the first day of May, 1864, shall have expired.

At the expiry of such term it shall be at the option of the Raja of Chamba to renew this agreement or enter into a fresh one.

It is evident that the economic life of all these States will be completely disrupted unless all of them enter the Indian Union as a group. Those States that do not do so will have to accept the position of a vassal State. In any case, the lapse of paramountcy cannot release them from their obligations towards the neighbouring States or the Indian Union and it is the indispensable duty of the authorities of the Union to see that the terms of the agreements are scrupulously adhered to.

Dawn 22-6-47

TRAVANCORE TO SEND ENVOY TO PAKISTAN STATE

Sequel To Jinnah-Sir C.P. Discussions

Nominee To Take Charge As Soon As Paramountcy Lapses

TRIVANDRUM, Saturday.

As a result of personal discussions and correspondence between Mr. Jinnah and the Dewan of Travancore, the Dominion of Pakistan, on its establishment, has agreed to receive a Representative of Travancore and to establish relationship with this State which will be of mutual advantage," says a Communique issued by the Travancore Government.

"In pursuance of this decision, the Travancore Government have nominated Rajyaseva Pravina Khan Bahadur Abdul Karim Sahib, retired Inspector-General of Police, Travancore, as Representative of Travancore State in the Dominion of Pakistan, and he will take charge of his duties from the date on which Paramountcy lapses and Travancore becomes independent.

"This agreement with Pakistan is especially valuable because it banishes the prevalent fear as to rice supplies for Travancore which can hereafter be expected from Karachi and will be despatched direct to ports in Travancore.

"As already stated in more than one conference by the Dewan, the chief surplus areas in India in respect of rice are Sindh and Baluchistan, parts of the Punjab and parts of Bengal. Karachi will also be an important marine centre through which Travancore can obtain petrol and petroleum products from countries of the Middle-East.

"Those countries and the Dominion of Pakistan will be most valuable markets for Travancore's tea, spices, coconut products and coir. The Government have been assured that these markets are even more valuable potentially than European countries.

GOVERNMENT'S ASSURANCE

"It may be remembered that as a result of similar discussions and correspondence with the present Interim Government, an agreement has been entered into in respect of utilisation of Travancore's minerals for atomic research.

"It has already been notified that Rajyaseva Pravina. A Parameswara Pillai has been nominated Representative of Travancore State in Delhi for negotiating temporary and standstill arrangements pending the establishment of permanent relations between the Hindustan Dominion and this State."

Dawn 22-6-47

CASE FOR RETROCESSION OF BERAR—III

BY ABDUS SATTAR KHAN, M.L.A.

HAVING regard to all these treaties and agreements discussed above and the official documents duly published in Government Gazettes from time to time and provable under Section 78 of the Indian Evidence Act, can one really believe that the Nizam has got no legal, moral or political claim over Berar? If it is so, then all legal documents creating rights and obligations, at once lose their value and deserve to be thrown in the waste paper basket.

And whatever applies to individuals, applies with greater force to corporate bodies and States. But Mr. Brijlal Biyani while tacitly admitting the legal force, is out to repudiate the

sovereignty of Nizam by disregarding all relevant agreements and treaties. According to him, the "People of Berar were never a party to these treaties."

It seems quite strange that Mr. Biyani who shows so much antagonism to the Princely Order, does not know that Congress leaders like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel are not at all out to abolish the monarchical rule of the Princes. On the contrary, they have guaranteed the territorial integrity of the Indian Princes. Does Mr. Biyani know that the Congress boss Mr. Kripalani has advised the people of Kashmir to accept the Maharaja as their constitutional monarch and unfortunately he has gone so far

(Continued on page 5)

(Continued from Page 4)

RETROCESSION OF BERAR

as to justify the sale of Kashmir to the first Maharaja in 1875 for Rs. 50 lacs. Solemn treaties and agreements about Berar, should be repudiated, but an out and out sale of that "earthly paradise" by the amount should be upheld!

"FREE BERAR COMMITTEE"

Looking to the feverish activities of the "Free Berar Committee" it seems as if a war is going to be waged against the Nizam. The erstwhile believers in the cult of non-violence are now justifying the use of violence if for their purpose it became necessary. A hint in this connection, may be taken from some unfortunate words occurring in the reply sent by Premier Shukla to Mr. Brijlal Biyani at an invitation to attend an all-Parties conference. He wrote: "The people of Berar, may rest assured that any attempt—no matter by whom—made, to force them against their will into a constitutional arrangement, they do not like, will be resisted by the Government and the people of CP and Berar with all the resources at their command." It is highly deplorable that such words should emanate from the pen of a provincial Prime Minister.

SIR C. P. REASSERTS TRAVANCORE'S RIGHT TO INDEPENDENCE

Conditions For Co-operating With Indian Union And Entry Into C.A.

TRIVANDRUM, June 20.—"If Pathanistan with one-third of the revenues of Travancore can be independent, is it a cardinal sin for Travancore to ask for the fulfilment of what British statesmen have said and undertaken?" asks Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyer, Dewan of Travancore, in a statement to the Press, replying to the recent criticisms on the declaration of independence by Travancore.

"Nepal with less than the population of Travancore and less resources can, of course, be independent and Pandit Nehru can appoint an Ambassador to Nepal without too much scrutiny of its internal administration and without demanding a referendum. Siam can be independent. Burma can be independent, Switzerland can be independent, but it is a cardinal sin for Travancore to ask for the fulfilment of what British statesmen have said and undertaken.

"Pandit Nehru has uttered the threat that the dream of independence will be dissipated in a few months owing to internal troubles and economic pressure from outside. Although prominent Congressmen and others have told me that his words should not be taken too seriously, as he is apt to become emotional on public platforms, I cannot forget that he is the Vice-President of the Interim Government. Added to that are the threats of subjugation of Indian States by Sir Gopalaswami Aiyangar, the incitements to internal rebellion by Acharya Kripalani and Mr Shankarrao Deo. These utterances, however, have unified public opinion here and, in effect, solved the problem of independence.

People's Support

"In all likelihood and judging from my correspondence most members of the State Congress will soon declare themselves in favour of the independence of Travancore and will probably resign from the State Congress on this issue. Public opinion is gaining so much strength that within a few weeks I believe that it will not be possible for the State Congress openly to speak against Travancore Government that they were curbing public opinion or were guilty of Fascist methods, as suggested by certain Congress adherents who are apt to enthuse over every case and every person or group that may be in the ascendant for the time being. I, hereby, issue an invitation to every newspaper in India to send here observers to judge the situation for themselves."

Congress And Gandhi's Ideology

"I have yielded to none in my admiration for and my homage to Gandhi for his great services in raising the self-respect and conscience of India in political and in social matters, but surely prayer meetings are intended for communion or attempted communion with the Supreme and cannot be utilized for attacks, well-founded or ill-founded, against political opponents. Gandhi made certain inaccurate statements regarding what I said at a Press conference. Twelve journalists who were present at that conference telegraphed to him pointing out the inaccuracies and yet during the next prayer meeting there was no retraction or expression of regret.

"He admits that he is a back-number and that his views on non-violence, the uselessness of the Army and the evils of industrialization are not shared by his followers. He, however, is present at every meeting of those followers and is supposed to guide them. The President of the Congress openly asserts that on certain fundamental issues like non-violence he has parted company with Gandhi. There is a definite tendency on the part of the Congress High Command to interfere with local and provincial affairs as well as with the internal politics of the States. The only thing that they seem to respect and yield to is open and unflinching opposition.

Savarkar's Approval

"Mr Savarkar telegraphs to me as follows: 'In the very interest of Akhand Hindustan itself I strongly support the Maharaja and the far-sighted and courageous determination to declare the independence of our Hindu State of Travancore. The Nizam has already declared his independence and other Muslim States are likely to do so. Hindu States bold enough to assert it has the same rights.'"

Replying to questions whether British post and telegraph offices would be closed and companies wound up or railways stopped, Sir C. P. says: "I am not aware that the independent States of Canada and the U.S.A. are adopting such measures or even north and south Ireland, notwithstanding their well-known ideological animosities. I have always asserted that Travancore in matters of defence, communications and other matters of common concern will whole-heartedly co-operate with the rest of India, consistently with the special interests of Travancore as a maritime State with traditions of independent trade, customs and currency policies.

"I feel that entry into the Constituent Assembly, if made, should be whole-hearted. There is no point in entering into that Assembly and wishing to go out if the decisions of the Assembly are unfavourable to one's own interest.

"I have endeavoured to point out in several statements that the decisions now ratified by the Constituent Assembly, the objectives resolution of the Constituent Assembly, which though practically nullified by the acceptance of Dominion Status is bound to be ratified at the next and succeeding sittings of the Assembly, and the general antagonistic attitude of the Congress to those States who do not follow its dictates, may operate to the prejudice of the economic and industrial future of Travancore, whose position is peculiar.

Invitation To Press

"I am not alone in the opinion that there is no real democracy within the Congress and Babu Purushottamdas Tandon has openly stated that the recent decisions taken by the Congress are not in consonance with the real will of the people. I do not wish to repeat my previous arguments but the people of Travancore are fully cognizant of and are wholly behind the State in its assertion of independence."

"Travancore believes in the Union of India. It believes in U.N.O., but it also believes in the need for its own independence, consistent with interdependence with the other units com-

#-T- 22-6-47

ANTICIPATION OF POPULAR VERDICT

BASIS QUESTIONED

MADRAS, June 20.—"I am glad to note there is change in Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer's stand, and that he is no longer resting upon the 'Divine Right' of Rulers but upon the alleged support of the people of the State," said Sir Alladi Krihnaswami Iyer when his attention was drawn to certain remarks made by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer at his recent Press conference.

"But there is no answer to the point raised repeatedly that the proper way of ascertaining the will of the people is through the medium of a duly-elected legislature and preferably by a referendum. Neither the Ruler nor his Dewan has any right to anticipate the verdict of the people and coerce them to a prejudiced issue."

Continuing Sir Alladi said: "The Dewan has chosen repeatedly to distort my statement in regard to the people's right of rebellion. If only the history of Europe and America and the assertion of people's right in different parts of world are kept in view no exception can be taken to my statement.

"Conflicting statements made by Sir C. P. from time to time as to the need for a strong Union Centre and the unsatisfactory nature of Cabinet Mission's statement of May 16 in this regard and complaining at the same time against the Constituent Assembly trying to increase the scope of the Union Centre and going behind the Cabinet Mission's statement, are too well known to need any further refutation.

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"In regard to legal issues as to the effect of the withdrawal of paramountcy or its assumption by the Indian Union, I congratulate Sir C. P. on finding a friend and supporter in Mr Jinnah besides Sir Stafford Cripps."

Referring to reports in the Press regarding a change in the Objectives Resolution of the Constituent Assembly, Sir Alladi said: "Frequent reference to the proposed change in the Objectives Resolution and about the Congress accepting Dominion Status are misleading. Dominion Status is a transitional arrangement and designed merely to get over certain difficulties in the working of the present Interim Government and to ensure a smoother passage into complete independence when the new constitution as framed by the Constituent Assembly comes into force.

"As regards Travancore seeking membership of United Nations Organization and U.N.O.'s entertaining any such claim by the Indian States following a similar policy, it will be just to deal with this subject when it becomes a practical and live issue. Having regard to the rights and obligations of the members of U.N.O. and the position of Indians there, it is unthinkable that any such claim will be entertained or countenanced."

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Hindustan Times

22-6-47

SIR C.P. WOOS

JINNAH

ENVOY TO PAKISTAN NOMINATED

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ALL STATES MUST JOIN PAKISTAN OR INDIA C.A.

FORMER COCHIN DEWAN CONDEMNS SIR C.P.'S ATTITUDE

MADRAS, June 22.—Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chetty, former Dewan of Cochin, in a statement criticizes the attitude of certain Indian States declaring themselves independent as constituting "the real danger to the unity and prestige of India."

"The most disquieting feature of the Indian political situation," says Sir Shanmukham Chetty, "is not so much the fact of division or the potentialities of communal troubles, but the declaration of some of the Indian States that they intend to remain as independent sovereign states on the termination of the British Paramountcy. However much one may deplore the idea of the division of India, the creation of the separate State of Pakistan may not be a damaging blow to India's prestige or influence. After all, out of a population of 400 millions the new State of Pakistan takes away only about 50 million people. With the remaining 350 millions we can count as a vital force in the world. Politically, we must all wish well of the Pakistan State and live in the hope that in spite of separation there would still be unbreakable bonds of common interests which will make the two States to work in the closest co-operation."

The Real Danger.

The real danger to "the unity and prestige of India is the attitude of certain Indian States. If a considerable number of Indian States choose to follow the example of Travancore and Hyderabad, it would mean the Balkanization of India with all its attendant dangers to internal and external peace. The claims of these States will not stand the test of either juristic or realistic examination."

"Whatever might be their loud-mouthed claims," Sir Shanmukham Chetty says, "the Rulers of Indian States have never enjoyed any international status. The only test of the sovereignty of a State is whether it would be recognized as such by the sovereign States of the world. There does not seem to be the slightest chance of any of the great Powers of the world recognizing Travancore or Hyderabad as their equals in sovereignty. If this surmise is correct all talk of independent sovereignty by these States ceases to have any meaning."

Paramountcy Quibble

"With regard to the significance of the rights of Paramountcy over the States exercised by the British Crown, it should not be forgotten," says Sir Shanmukham, "that these rights owe their origin to the fact that the Crown had in the Government of India. It is as the master of India and not in its absolute and independent capacity that the Crown exercised the rights of Paramountcy over the States. It may be possible to indulge in legal quibbles and establish that the Crown's relation with the Indian States is something different from the Crown as representing the Government of India. Legalism without any relation to the facts of history has no practical value. Notwithstanding the declaration of the British Government to the contrary, Paramountcy over the Indian States must in fact devolve on the Government of India. The one and the only way in which the States can extricate themselves from the tentacles of Paramountcy is for them to join one of the two Indian Dominions as an integral part."

Sir C. P. Criticized

"It is one of the ironies of fate," Sir Shanmukham Chetty states, "that the Dewan of Travancore who has been the champion of true Indian nationalism and a strong Central Government should now make an alliance with Mr Jimmah who broke that national unity and should have created a situation which may threaten to weaken the Central Government. Now that partition of India is an accomplished fact, the Indian States should throw in their lot with India or Pakistan according to their respective geographical positions. Anyone, whether the Prince or the Dewan, who goes against this natural and inevitable trend will be doing an irreparable harm to the cause of India and of Pakistan. It should, however, be remembered that the Dominions of India and Pakistan are infinitely greater than the greatest of Indian Rulers or their Dewans. Maybe that the harm that will ensue will be to the detriment of those gentlemen than to the detriment of these two Dominions. Whatever might be the temporary course of events the ultimate answer will no doubt be given by the people of the States themselves in whom vests the ultimate sovereignty."

Future Constitution

Stressing the need of a strong Centre, Sir Shanmukham Chetty says: "Now that the position of the Indian Constituent Assembly apart from the Pakistan Assembly had become more clear, I hope that the Indian Constituent Assembly will evolve a constitution with a really strong and efficient Centre. It would be found that the much-abused Government of India Act of 1935 furnishes a pattern for the constitution of the Dominion of India. The fate of the 1935 Act is one of the tragedies of Indian history. If the British statesmen could have had at that time the courage and the vision to couple Dominion Status with the provisions of that Act, India today would have been one of the great Powers of the world taking part effectively in the reconstruction of a more peaceful and orderly world."—A.P.I.

State Congress Planning For Struggle

MADRAS, June 22.—"Certain arrangements are being made to secure help from outside Travancore, particularly from Travancoreans living outside the State," said Mr Pattanathan Pillai, President of the Travancore State Congress.

He made this statement when asked if it was true that the State Congress would soon launch an all-out struggle against the decision of the Government to declare Travancore independent.

He said that the Travancore Administration was "most autocratic" and that the recently promulgated Constitution Act was calculated to "continue that autocracy. The people of Travancore would give 'the right answer.'"

He continued: "The stand now taken by Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer against the State entering the Constituent Assembly in the Indian Union is clearly against the wishes of the people and is supported only by himself and his favourites."

"I am amused by Sir C. P.'s repeated talk of Travancore's independence while the people are completely denied any voice in the decision of such important issues as relate to the future status of Travancore in relation to the Indian Union and the system of internal administration of the State."

"The people are prepared to undergo any sacrifice and to go to any extent in asserting their rights."

Non-Violent Campaign

"The people's struggle against Travancore's independent decision, which is bound to assume very serious proportion, has become inevitable and imminent in Travancore and the State Congress will not fail in its duty to the people of the State," Mr Pattan Pillai added. "The struggle has, in fact, started there with the issue of the prohibitory order by the Government and its violation by the State Congress."

Asked what form the struggle would take, he said: "It will, of course, be a non-violent struggle but I cannot predict what will happen under the present changed conditions in India."

He referred to his challenge to the Travancore Dewan to submit the issue of Travancore joining the Constituent Assembly to a referendum and expressed surprise that the Dewan should be so positive that the Travancore State Congress would hesitate to ask for a referendum and that the people were with him in his present stand.—A.P.I.

CONGRESS TO CRY 'THUS FAR' TO STATES' CACKLES

Mr. Shankerrao Deo Clarifies

BOMBAY, Sunday.

M R. SHANKERRAO DEO, General Secretary of the All-India Congress Committee, today said that the Congress would do its best to prevent any State from declaring independence for itself, in clarifying certain important issues arising out of the Mountbatten Plan, at the adjourned meeting of the Congress Legislative Party, held this afternoon at the Council Hall.

Mr. Deo held that it was clear in the nature of things that the Indian Union will inherit paramountcy.

A packed House listened intently to the General Secretary as he set out to picture the shape of things to come. Mr. B. G. Kher, Leader of the Congress Legislative Party was in the chair.

At the outset, Mr. Deo explained

to the mixed House of Gujarat, Maharashtra and Karnatak M.L.A.'s the circumstances under which he made his statement regarding inclusion of Bombay City in Maharashtra. The statement, he said, was made, not in his capacity as General Secretary of the Congress, but in his personal capacity as President of the Samyukta Maharashtra Parishad. The two roles were not to be confused one with the other.

NO WEIGHTAGE

Mr. Deo who then discussed the future constitution of free India said that henceforward there would be no weightage given to any community and elections would be based on joint electorates. It was possible that reservations of seats might continue, but at any rate the distribution of seats would be strictly in proportion to population.

Mr. Deo said that of late a few States were busy proclaiming to the world that they wanted to be independent. As things stood, nobody could say what would be the exact content of that independence, which these States were demanding. But as the Congress President had once remarked, it would definitely be an unfriendly act for any foreign nation to have international relations with an Indian State.

Mr. Deo said that the Congress would do its best to prevent any State from taking such an attitude.

Declaring that the partition of the country was a matter to be greatly regretted, Mr. Deo asserted that in order to get freedom the Congress had to sacrifice the unity of India. There was an impression that somehow or other, the Congress had lost the struggle and that the League had scored over it. This, he could confidently say, was not true.

If Mr. Jinnah had won one point, he had at the same time, lost many.

For instance, just after Lord Mountbatten had left for Britain, it was stated that the League would never accept a moth-eaten truncated Pakistan. Mr. Jinnah, besides, had also stated that he wanted a corridor. That demand had to be dropped and the League after all got only a moth-eaten, truncated Pakistan. Was that a victory for Mr. Jinnah or the League?

ANOTHER DEBUNKING

The two-nation theory had not been accepted, either. If it had been Hindus and Sikhs would not take part in the referendum. The fact that the League had to accept the referendum in the Frontier and the voting in Bengal and the Punjab was sufficient proof that the two-nation theory had not been accepted.

Mr. Deo said that in accordance to the resolution passed by the All-India Congress Committee in 1942, the Congress accepted democracy as its principles and had stated that it would not compel any unwilling part to join the Indian Union. The corollary to it was that the League cannot compel unwilling parts to join Pakistan either, as it wanted to do. The Congress principle of non-compulsion had therefore been fully vindicated.

"We shall try to win over the separated parts of India not by the swords, but by improving the conditions of our people. We shall always work ceaselessly for the unity of the people of both Pakistan and the Indian Union," he added.

As regards the army, no province of the Indian Union could have a separate army of its own. Defence would be a Central subject and the maintenance of an army would be looked after by the Centre.

Mr. Deo also said that with the setting up of two Dominions in India, each would have the right to choose its own Governor-General. Like any other Dominion.

EDUCATION POLICY

The Legislative Party then proceeded to discuss the Primary Education policy of the Government and it is understood that mainly the staffmanship between Government inspection staff and administrative officers of the School Boards came under discussion. The question whether Government should undertake preparation and publication of text books for primary schools, was also discussed.

Mr. Dinkerrao Desai, Minister for Civil Supplies, is understood to have made a strong plea for the removal of controls over all commodities excepting food supplies. The question of removal of controls on cloth, kerosene and pulses, was also discussed, but decision, it is understood, was deferred. The Central Government's decision is being awaited.



NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Dawn-23-6-47

CASE FOR RETROCESSION OF BERAR-IV

BY ABDUS SATTA KHAN, M.L.A.

PANDIT SHUKLA has referred to the "hard-won freedom" which the Beraris are said to enjoy. And what is this freedom? One has not to go very deep to find that the lot of the true son of Berar, is extremely pitiable.

He is in the administrative grip of the Brahmins, economic clutches of the Banias and under the political thralldom of Mahakoshal. Out of about 446 cotton pressing and ginning factories in Berar, about 425 belong to the non-Beraris. None of the four weaving mills in Berar belong to them. The whole business and industry of Berar, has been monopolised by the Marwaris and banias, who have also grabbed a large proportion of the lands of the original cultivators.

While commenting on the Bengal Tenancy Reform, the *Hindustan* rightly remarked (25-4-1947) that "rich money lenders grabbed the land, a phenomenon similar to that in Berar, where an undue percentage of the land is in possession of money lenders."

BERAR AND C.P.

Since Berar is linked up with C.P. Berar is a great loser. It is being fleeced by C.P. for the last 40 years. Berar's representatives cry hoarse but nobody is prepared to listen to them. The Sim formula of 60:40 was never acted upon faithfully, and the present Finance Minister has declared more than once that it has been buried deep and the Beraris should not refer to it again. The Hindu MLAs of Berar, who count for something, do smart under a righteous indignation at the unfair treatment meted out to Berar, but their plaintive protests and dismal wallings are throttled by the combined evil force of CP Hindi and CP Marathi. They have no guts to stand erect and assert the legitimate rights of Berar. They are carried away by their party affiliations, political sentiments and personal conveniences at the sacrifice of the real interests of those whom they represent. Even now, all the great industrial, irrigation and educational projects like the huge central thermal station, the great Narmada Tapli Irrigation Project, the State managed Paper and Cement Mills, the Engineering, Medical, Commercial and technical Colleges are being located in C.P. After all this, no Berari worth his salt will believe in the crocodile tears of the CP friends and the greedy banias and he would very well say: "God save me from my friends."

GUISE OF DEMOCRACY

In the name of democracy, "People's Raj" and self-determination, every political clique and party in power is out to loot the people; for

them "People's Raj" is the Raj of Capitalists and self-determination is the domination of their own will.

Much is made of the fact that as no consent of the Nizam was obtained at the time of selecting Berar representatives for Constituent Assembly (as is required at the time of the appointment of the Governor) and as "Berar is now represented in its own right and not by the grace of Nizam, shows that the Berar agreement is dead" (*Hindustan*, 16-4-1947). This is a very queer argument based on fallacious reasoning. Those who advance this, fail to understand that while the Governor is appointed, the members of the Constituent Assembly were sent through election though indirect, in which the Berar MLAs bound by aply their oath of allegiance to the Nizam, had also participated.

NIZAM'S OFFER

I have not a grievance against my Hindu friends, who are all the while, terrifying the public by the slogans that the Nizam is taking back Berar and as Berar is now more advanced and is completely transformed it should not be restored to the undemocratic rule of Nizam. It is a pity that nobody has the political honesty to explain the true state of affairs. This sort of propaganda is carried on for fear that if the people of Berar come to know the real state of things they may veer round in favour of restoration.

COMPLETE AUTONOMY

Few know that the Nizam in his historic letter of 1923 "has resolved to grant the people of Berar, a constitution for a responsible Government conferring upon them full control of their internal affairs and complete autonomy in administration, except military affairs and foreign relations under a constitutional Governor appointed by the Nizam as his representative." The same statement was reiterated by Sir Mirza Ismail from Delhi in April last. Berar is not to go back; but she is to get more rights and privileges at the hands of Nizam. This is incorrectly called restoration of Berar.

WHEN THEY KNOW

When the Beraris will come to know:

1. that they are going to attain a higher political status, than what they are enjoying today;
2. that they are going to have their own University, their own High Court and their own House of Representatives, unfettered and uninfluenced by CP;
3. that they are likely to have the benefit of Rs. 25 lacs per year, which today are going into the Coffers of the Nizam;
4. that they are going to be

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benefitted by all the costly post-war development schemes of the progressive state of Hyderabad;

5. that for their agricultural and economic uplift, they would get such a great and benevolent patron as the Nizam;
6. that they will have great industrial and banking facilities; and
7. that they are going to get a separate constitution, which will be framed in consultation with their representatives, wherein the fundamental rights of the people will be fully safeguarded and they will have an opportunity to shape their own future; then it is most likely that they would ponder over the problem rather dispassionately and after careful weighing would decide for unity with Hyderabad.

(TO BE CONTINUED)